The Five Stories of Shah Ṭahmāsb: a Textual History

Gennady Kurin

Thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in Oriental Studies

Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies

University of Oxford

St Antony's College

May 2026

Word Count:

Thesis (appx. 103,262)

Appendix and Bibliography (appx. 98,555)

Abstract

This thesis examines the textual history of a unique first-person Persian narrative attributed to Shah Ṭahmāsb I (r. 1524–1576), which recounts key episodes of Safavid-Ottoman conflict across the mid-sixteenth century. Commonly referred to in modern scholarship as the Memoirs of Shah Ṭahmāsb, this work survives in multiple manuscript recensions, each bearing distinct paratextual and ideological features. By employing stemmatological and paratextual analysis, the study reconstructs the manuscript genealogy of the text and identifies two major traditions: the M-Recension, which took shape in the early seventeenth century as part of Safavid bureaucratic historiography and circulates under titles such as maqālāt or mokālemeh; and the T-Recension, a late seventeenth-century mystical adaptation, often known as taẕkereh, closely associated with Qezelbāsh spirituality and Safavid memory culture.

The thesis traces how these recensions emerged from separate editorial lineages—the Naqqāsh and Kāteb stemmas for the M-Recension, and the GPL and BL stemmas for the T-Recension—and situates their transformations within the broader contexts of Safavid court politics, Sufi devotional practice, and manuscript transmission. Rejecting earlier attempts to treat these versions as sequential drafts by the Shah himself, this study argues that each recension functioned as a distinct textual and mnemonic project, shaped by shifting audiences, ideological frameworks, and scribal institutions.

Through detailed analysis of prefaces, colophons, marginalia, and illustrations, this work demonstrates how the evolving presentation and framing of the text reflect broader changes in Safavid conceptions of history, legitimacy, and spiritual authority. Ultimately, it offers a new model for understanding Persian historiographical texts not as fixed authorial statements, but as dynamic sites of memory (lieux de mémoire) continually reshaped by their transmitters and readers.

Acknowledgements

In many ways, this work has been in the making long before my time as a doctoral student at Oxford, and far more people have contributed to it than can be acknowledged here. Many have already received thanks in the footnotes of this dissertation or in person. I will therefore limit these acknowledgements to those whose support over the past five years has been most instrumental in bringing this project to completion.

First and foremost, I wish to thank several friends and colleagues whose conversations on history, literature, manuscripts, and texts have shaped both the contours and the substance of this work. Among them, three deserve special mention. Reza Radbeh has been a constant source of encouragement; his encyclopaedic knowledge and unfailingly insightful feedback were a steady guide throughout. Hamid Nikravesh has likewise been an immense help –reviewing portions of the text, tracking down manuscripts, deciphering and helping translate difficult passages, and offering thoughtful commentary throughout many discussions. Aslisho Qurboniev, both a friend and a colleague for many years, has generously shared his deep knowledge of Persianate and Islamicate traditions and remained remarkably available, despite his many commitments, to read drafts and resolve textual puzzles.

I am also deeply grateful to my supervisor, Professor Charles Melville, who stepped in at a critical stage to help bring this project to completion. His careful readings, timely and constructive criticism, and helpful suggestions played a crucial role in shaping a collection of unfinished chapters into a coherent dissertation. In addition, I would like to thank my examiners, Sholeh Quinn and Maria Szuppe, and my proofreader, Linda S. George, for closely reading my dissertation, and the subsequent valuable comments and feedback all of which have helped improve this work.

Lastly, I would like to acknowledge the institutions that have supported this research. I am grateful to the Houtan Foundation, the Cosmos Club Foundation, and to the History of

Department of the University of Maryland, College Park, for their early support. I also extend thanks to the Oxford Nizami Ganjavi Centre, and especially to the anonymous donor from Azerbaijan whose contribution, however circuitously, ultimately helped fund this project.

Finally, the greatest gratitude goes to my family, who have consistently supported me throughout this seemingly never-ending process.

Introduction: The Problem, a Solution, and Frameworks of Inquiry

i) *Defining the Problem, Outlining a Solution: The Text and Its Editions* **[7]**
ii) *A Note on Writing Histories of Books* **[21]**
iii) *The Manuscripts and the Stories They Tell: Transmission, Evolution and Readership* **[31]**

PART ONE: ***The M-Recension***

Chapter One: The Naqqāsh Stemma

MS. National Library of Russia: Dorn, No. 302
The Manuscript of Shah ʻAbbās I: Text and Context

i) *Approaching the M-Recension and the Naqqāsh Stemma* **[45]**
ii) *The Royal Manuscript as a Site of Memory* **[50]**
iii) *Making Sense of the Preface* **[53]**
iv) *The M-Recension as a Mythomoteur* **[60]**
v) *Wisdom, Piety, and Law in the Five Stories* **[65]**
vi) *Binding Justice in the Narrative of the Five Stories* **[76]**
vii) *The Image of Ṭahmāsb in Contemporary Historiography* **[86]**
viii) *Growing up in Ṭahmāsb's Shadow, Following in his Footsteps* **[89]**
ix) *A Few Notes of the Image of ʻAbbās in Eskander Bēg's History* **[105]**
x) *Conclusion* **[110]**

Chapter Two: The Kāteb Stemma

ʻAbd al-Vahhāb-e Kāteb's Copy and MS. AQRL: No. 7886
The Less Studied Manuscripts: The Transmission, the Scribes, and the Other Prefaces

i) *On the Significance of the Less Studied Manuscripts and the Kāteb Stemma and Variant* **[113]**
ii) *Approaching the Manuscripts and the Collections* **[119]**
iii) *Surveying the Manuscripts and Para-texts: Making Sense of Notes, Colophons, and Prefaces* **[123]**
iv) *Early Seventeenth-Century Manuscripts* **[129]**
v) *Comparing the Naqqāsh and Kāteb Textual Variants* **[151]**
vi) *On the Place of the Five Stories in the Collections* **[159]**
vii) *Later Copies, the Other Prefaces and the Mashhad Codex* **[181]**
viii) *Conclusion* **[202]**

PART TWO: *The T-Recension*

Chapter Three: The GPL Stemma

MS. Golestān Palace Library: No. 831
The Manuscript of Shāh Soleymān I: Text and Context

i) *Approaching the T-Recension* **[203]**
ii) *The GPL Stemma: The Qajar Readership and Scholarship* **[207]**
iii) *What Does the Para-text Tell Us* **[216]**
- *Making Sense of the Preface* **[217]**
- *What does the Colophon Tell Us?* **[224]**
- *A Closer Look at the Historical Introduction* **[227]**
- *Comparing the Core T-Recension Paratext with the Urtext* **[240]**

iv) *Ṭahmāsb as Morshed* **[251]**
v) *Some Concluding Remarks* **[263]**

Chapter Four: The BL Stemma

MS. British Library: Or. 5880
Abū al-Fatḥ Mīrzā Ṣafavī in India, the Anglo-German Orientalists, and the Fourth Edition

i) *Introduction: The BL Stemma and the Stories it Tells* **[264]**
ii) *Dating MS. BL: Or. 5880 and its Relation to MS. GPL: No. 831* **[266]**
iii) *The First Leg of the Journey, from Ardabil to India* **[271]**
iv) *Abū al-Fatḥ Mīrzā in Lucknow and the Origins of the Fourth Edition* **[276]**
v) *The Paratext in the BL Manuscript and its Reproduction in the Later Copies* **[284]**
vi) *The Second Leg of the Journey, from India to Berlin and London: The Anglo-German Orientalist Discourse and the Emergence of the Fourth Edition* **[288]**
vii) *Conclusion: Bringing the Discourse to a Dead End* **[297]**

Conclusion [300]

Appendix [302]

Bibliography [469]

Introduction: The Problem, a Solution and Frameworks of Study

Defining the Problem, Outlining a Solution: The Text and its Editions

Students of Safavid history have known for quite some time that there exists a first-person narrative, widely understood to have been composed by Shah Ṭahmāsb I (r. 1524-76) himself, describing wars with the Ottomans interspersed with times of peace during his long reign. As scholarly interest in the text and its manuscripts steadily grew throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, several articles on the subject, along with four modern editions, were published both inside and outside Iran. As a historical source too, the Shah's retrospective on his relations with a major adversary over thirty years – from the early 1530s to the early 1560s – has been extensively used to support various arguments and narratives, concerning either Ṭahmāsb himself or the society, politics and religion of his age.

Over the course of this research, I have collected and closely studied more than twenty manuscripts of the text. While the autograph (what I am calling the *first edition*) appears to have been lost, the existing manuscripts contain *two distinct recensions* – henceforth referred to as the *M-Recension*, for the older, and the *T-Recension*, for the younger, or alternatively the *second* and the *third editions* respectively. These, while sharing much of the urtext, are defined by several layers of paratext, including prefaces and abundant scholia and marginalia (see the stemmatological chart and the bibliography for the list of manuscripts).

These two recensions have been variously known in Persian as *maqālāt*, *ḥekāyāt*, *mokālemeh bā īlchīyān-e rūm*, *tārīkh*, *rūznāmeh*, or *taẕkereh-ye shāh ṭahmāsb*, while the later and better known *T-Recension* has usually been referred to in English as his *diary*, *memoirs*, or *autobiography*.[1] This dissertation presents a close study of the corpus of relevant

[1] It is worth pointing out here that many of the manuscripts do not bear titles, and some of the Persian terms/names have been extracted from the body of the text, usually from the prefaces.

manuscripts, along with a critical interpretation of the text, paratexts and contexts of the *M*- and *T*- recensions, which, taken together, construct the story of the composition, reception, transmission, evolution and readership of this important work, from the early 1560s to its (re)discovery and publication by Iranian and non-Iranian scholars in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The Shah seems to have completed his composition within two years of the tragic episode involving the fugitive prince Bāyezīd, son of the Ottoman sultan Soleymān, who had sought refuge at Ṭahmāsb's court and was first welcomed as an honoured guest and then held in detention, and eventually delivered to Ottoman envoys and subsequently executed (in 1561). My research has shown that, for more than two centuries, the text continued to evolve, through the interest and efforts of scribes, calligraphers, artists and gilders, as well as other Safavid courtiers, chroniclers and family members. The autograph, possibly never quite finished and including only the five stories arranged chronologically and forming a self-referential narrative, was widely read and extensively used in several Safavid chronicles for nearly forty years. At the turn of the seventeenth century, it acquired a preface, while a beautifully illuminated and illustrated royal copy, alongside several other related manuscripts, including another single-text codex, were produced. Over the next eighty years more (multi-text) manuscripts containing the composition (in its *M-Recension*) appear to have been made, which allowed it to gain an even wider circulation and readership.

The *M-Recension* should be viewed as the *second edition* of the text, representing the earlier round of paratextual evolution. No fewer than eleven manuscripts contain this recension, in two stemmas and textual variants; of these manuscripts, only two are single-text, while the rest are part of multi-text manuscripts, preserved mainly in Iran (at least eight copies), but also in libraries in Britain, Russia, and Georgia. It appears that all the known copies of the *M-Recension* (except three that are later copies), date from the seventeenth

century. The *M-Recension* has received very limited scholarly attention, in that most of its manuscripts have remained virtually unknown and consequently unstudied.

The oldest manuscript (and copy of the text) overall, from which all the other *M-Recension* copies descended, is part of the epistolary collection (*monsha'āt*) of Ṣādeqā-ye Tabrīzī, a scribe in the chancellery of Shah ʻAbbās I (r. 1587-1629).[2] This has been labelled the ***Kāteb*** stemma, for a certain ʻAbd al-Vahhāb-e Kāteb appears to have been the first person to make a copy of Tabrīzī's collection, on Rabīʿ al-Ākhir of 1010 AH [September-October of 1601], while other related manuscripts had a wide circulation in the Safavid scribal milieu.[3] It is thus argued that Tabrīzī had reproduced what was either Ṭahmāsb's 'autograph' or perhaps its earliest copy; at the beginning of his text (and of its later reproduction) there is a preface, distinct from the prefaces to either recension, apparently belonging to the autograph (or the *first edition*).

Also among the oldest manuscripts of this recension is another royal commission, also produced by order of Shah ʻAbbās I, also circa 1010 AH [1601/02].[4] It bears the signature of ʻAlī Reżā-ye ʻAbbāsī, the famous artist, and, along with two other manuscripts, descending from it though not single-text, it belongs to what we shall call the ***Naqqāsh*** stemma, which contains a different textual variant from that of the *Kāteb* stemma. Known as the ***Saint Petersburg Codex*** (*SPC)*, it was among the items ʻAbbās donated to the Safavid dynastic shrine in Ardabil in 1608, where it was to remain for more than two centuries. It dates to almost forty years after the composition of the text itself and contains a preface that frames it in a very particular manner. Shaped by contemporary politics, as well as the historical consciousness of that generation (discussed below), the *M-Recension* is best known to

[2] MS.Bodleian Library: Pers. D. 84, ff.88r-104r.
[3] MS.Malek: No. 6323, f.212r – "These blessed discourses and beautiful words were transcribed by the sinful slave, ʻAbd al-Vahhāb, the scribe, in [September-October of 1601] – "*tamma hāẕihi al-maqālāta al-mubārakāt wa-al-mukālimāt al-mustaḥsanāt katabahu al-ʿabd al-moẕnib ʿabd al-wahhāb al-kāteb fī shahr-i rabīʿ al-ākhir sanat 1010*."
[4] MS. National Library of Russia, Saint Petersburg: Dorn, No. 302, ff.1v-2r (henceforth the ***Saint Petersburg Codex***, or the ***SPC***). For the colophon, (discussed below) see f.72v.

scholars as *Shah Ṭahmāsb's Conversation with the Ottoman Emissaries* (*mokāllameh-ye shāh ṭahmāsb bā īlchīyān-e rūm*).

Though not completely unknown to students of Safavid history, the *Kāteb* stemma and variant of the *M-Recension* has received even less scholarly attention than that of *Naqqāsh*. Not subject to careful examination or understood within its proper context, the *M-Recension in general*, and particularly the *Kāteb* stemma manuscripts, have consequently been virtually excluded from mainstream Safavid historical discourse.[5] Chapters One and Two of this thesis examine and discuss, respectively, the *Naqqāsh* and *Kāteb* stemmas and textual variants, in hopes of restoring them to their proper place in Safavid history.

As a result of the wide circulation of the *M-Recension*, towards the end of the seventeenth century, having undergone another round of revisions – namely a new preface followed by a 'historical introduction', alongside several changes in the narrative itself – the text finally became the book most people know today as *Taẕkereh-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb*, that is the *T-Recension*, or the *third edition*, which forms the basis of these widely available and extensively cited modern editions.[6]

The oldest manuscript containing the *T-Recension*, now in the Golestān Palace Library (henceforth ***GPL)***, is also a royal commission (*ḥasab al-amr-e navvāb-e mosṭatāb-e khānī*) and dates to the end of Sha'bān 1090 AH [Sept.-Oct. 1679], the second decade of

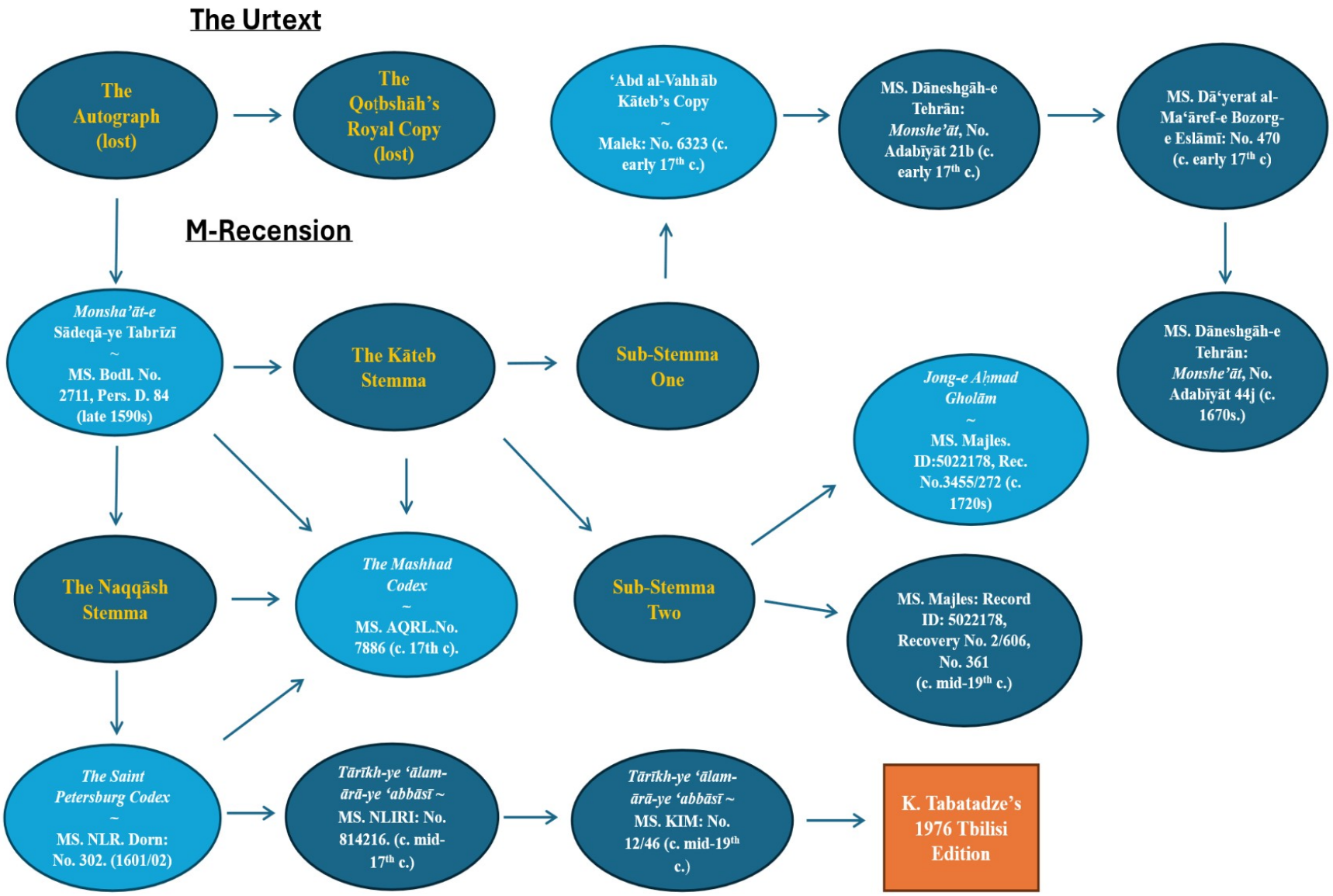
[5] Although the manuscript of Shah 'Abbās is one of the oldest surviving *M-Recension* manuscripts, closely related to it is MS. Āstān-e Qods-e Raẓavī Library, Mashhad: No. 7886. (henceforth the ***Mashhad Codex***, or the ***MC***). It is the only other single-text codex of the *M-Recension*, jointly with the ***SPC*** manuscript, representing a key stage in the history of this book, to be discussed below.

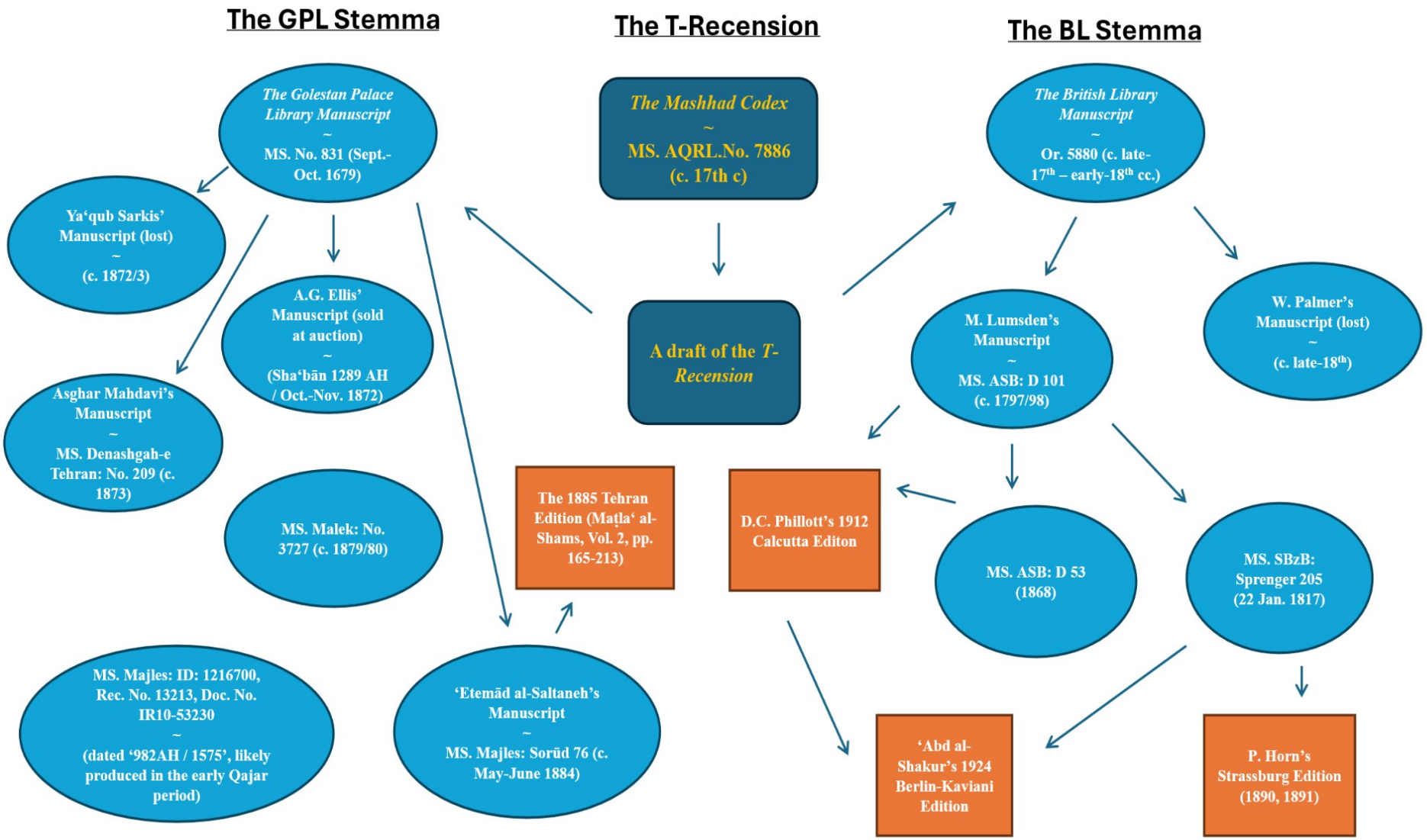
[6] See **(i)** Moḥammad Ḥasan Khān. *Maṭla' al-Shams*, vol. 2 (Tehran: Pahlavi Commemorative Reprint Series, 1976), pp.165-213; **(ii)** Horn, P. "Die Denkwurdigkeiten des Schah Tahmasp I von Persien," in *ZDMG*, vol. 44, No. 4 (1890), pp.563-649; "Die Denkwurdigkeiten des Schah Tahmasp I von Persien," in *ZDMG*, vol. 45, No. 2 (1891), pp.245-91; *Die Denkwürdigkeiten Schâh Tahmâsp's des Ersten Von Persien (1515-1576)*, aus dem Originaltext zum ersten Male übersesst und mit Erläuterungen verschen von Paul Horn (Strassburg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, 1891); **(iii)** Ṭahmāsp I, and Phillott, D.C., ed., *Memoirs of Shāh Ṭahmāsp* (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1912); **(iv)** 'Abd al-Shakūr, ed., *Taẕkereh-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb: Sharḥ-e Vaqāye' va Aḥvālāt-e Zendegānī-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb beh Qalam-e Khodash* (Berlin: Kaviani Press, 25 Moḥarram 1343 | 26 August 1924).

Shah Soleymān I's reign (r. 1666-94), postdating the original composition by well over a century. It thus should thus be read and understood within its proper context. One could argue that it may reveal at least as much (if not more) about late Safavid society, and particularly the enduring memory of Ṭahmāsb – hence the title *taẕkereh*, which ought to be translated as '*aide-memoire*' or 'reminder' rather than *memoirs* – as it does about his age or the man himself.[7] Indeed, ten of the total of twelve manuscripts, all single-text, containing this recension are traceable to just two Safavid-era codices, produced at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries – while the text itself represents a key stage in its evolution.[8] Of the ten, nine copies come from the nineteenth century – and just one from the late eighteenth, 1212 AH [1797/8] to be precise – with all of them produced either in Qajar Iran or in India during the late-Mughal and British rule. These two manuscripts form two eponymous stemmas to be studied as part of this dissertation, in Chapters Three and Four respectively. The two stemmatological charts, outlining the transmission of the text and the relationships between different manuscripts, to help readers follow the argument, are presented in the next two pages.

[7] MS.Golestān Palace Library, Tehran: No. 831, f.87r (henceforth ***GPL***).

[8] MS.British Library, London: Or. 5880 (henceforth ***BL***) is in fact undated, probably deliberately so. Yet it is highly unlikely, as will be demonstrated below, to predate the ***GPL*** manuscript – two partly illegible notes (f.1r) state that it "… [had been] purchased in 1132 AH [1719/20]" and then "bound into a codex in 1136 AH [1723/4]."


The Urtext
The Autograph (lost)
The Qoṭbshāh's Royal Copy (lost)
'Abd al-Vahhāb Kāteb's Copy ~ Malek: No. 6323 (c. early 17th c.)
MS. Dāneshgāh-e Tehrān: Monshe'āt, No. Adabīyāt 21b (c. early 17th c.)
MS. Dā'yerat al-Ma'āref-e Bozorg-e Eslāmī: No. 470 (c. early 17th c)
M-Recension
Monsha'āt-e Sādeqā-ye Tabrīzī ~ MS. Bodl. No. 2711, Pers. D. 84 (late 1590s)
The Kāteb Stemma
Sub-Stemma One
MS. Dāneshgāh-e Tehrān: Monshe'āt, No. Adabīyāt 44j (c. 1670s.)
Jong-e Aḥmad Gholām ~ MS. Majles. ID:5022178, Rec. No.3455/272 (c. 1720s)
The Naqqāsh Stemma
The Mashhad Codex ~ MS. AQRL.No. 7886 (c. 17th c).
Sub-Stemma Two
MS. Majles: Record ID: 5022178, Recovery No. 2/606, No. 361 (c. mid-19th c.)
The Saint Petersburg Codex ~ MS. NLR. Dorn: No. 302. (1601/02)
Tārīkh-ye 'ālam-ārā-ye 'abbāsī ~ MS. NLIRI: No. 814216. (c. mid-17th c.)
Tārīkh-ye 'ālam-ārā-ye 'abbāsī ~ MS. KIM: No. 12/46 (c. mid-19th c.)
K. Tabatadze's 1976 Tbilisi Edition


The GPL Stemma
The T-Recension
The BL Stemma
The Golestan Palace Library Manuscript ~ MS. No. 831 (Sept.-Oct. 1679)
The Mashhad Codex ~ MS. AQRL.No. 7886 (c. 17th c)
The British Library Manuscript ~ Or. 5880 (c. late-17th – early-18th cc.)
Ya'qub Sarkis' Manuscript (lost) ~ (c. 1872/3)
A.G. Ellis' Manuscript (sold at auction) ~ (Sha'bān 1289 AH / Oct.-Nov. 1872)
A draft of the T-Recension
M. Lumsden's Manuscript ~ MS. ASB: D 101 (c. 1797/98)
W. Palmer's Manuscript (lost) ~ (c. late-18th)
Asghar Mahdavi's Manuscript ~ MS. Denashgah-e Tehran: No. 209 (c. 1873)
MS. Malek: No. 3727 (c. 1879/80)
The 1885 Tehran Edition (Maṭla' al-Shams, Vol. 2, pp. 165-213)
D.C. Phillott's 1912 Calcutta Editon
MS. ASB: D 53 (1868)
MS. SBzB: Sprenger 205 (22 Jan. 1817)
MS. Majles: ID: 1216700, Rec. No. 13213, Doc. No. IR10-53230 ~ (dated '982AH / 1575', likely produced in the early Qajar period)
'Etemād al-Saltaneh's Manuscript ~ MS. Majles: Sorūd 76 (c. May-June 1884)
'Abd al-Shakur's 1924 Berlin-Kaviani Edition
P. Horn's Strassburg Edition (1890, 1891)

Perhaps the most important finding to be presented and discussed throughout the present work and crucial to understanding the history of the text is the tripartite relationship between (1) Ṭahmāsb's original narrative, (2) the corpus of letters exchanged between the Safavid and Ottoman courts, mainly though not exclusively between the Shah and Sulṭan Soleymān (r. 1520-1566) and (3) the official Safavid historiography of the wars and their aftermath. This finding is what brings us to the *first generation* of the text, the autograph, or the elusive urtext, and reveals not only how it was received by contemporaries, primarily several well-known chroniclers, but also offers insights into the author's motives and mindset, as well as how he went about composing it.

The royal correspondence pertaining to the war and the subsequent peace between the two states during the period in question is voluminous, much of it preserved in several sixteenth to seventeenth-century epistolary (*ensha'*) collections, chiefly those oif Fareydūn Bēg, Ḥeydar Bēg Īvoghlī and Ḥātem Bēg Ordobādī, and in the 1970s collected and published in a single volume by 'Abd al-Ḥoseyn Navā'ī. Reading through these collections, I was struck by the extent to which Ṭahmāsb had been involved in composing those letters as well as his reliance upon them as his sources.[9] Incidentally, from Būdaq Monshī Qazvīnī's (d. circa late 1570s) work, we learn that Ṭahmāsb had often been 'involved in drafting, correcting and revising letters to be sent to the rulers of India, Rome, and Transoxiana.'[10] In fact, close examination of more than forty letters reproduced in Navā'ī's volume and comparison of their contents with those of the text reveal that not only did they provide the factual pool, thus serving as something of his journal or diary, but they also offered the

[9] Navā'ī 'A.H.., *Shāh Ṭahmāsb Ṣafavī: Majmū'eh-ye Asnād va Mokātebāt-e Tārīkhī hamrāh bā Yāddāshthā-ye Tafṣīlī* (Tehrān: Bonyād-e Farhang-e Īrān, 1350/1971). Several letters from his volume have been translated and are included in the Appendix.

[10] Qazvīnī, Būdaq Monshī, *Javāher Al-akhbār: Bakhsh-e Tārīkh-e Īrān Az Qarāqūyūnlū Tā Sāl-e 984 H.Q.*; Chāp-e Avval. Ed. Bahrāmnezhād, M. (Tehrān; Mīrāth-e Maktūb, 2000), p.145.

chronological narrative structure to his composition, thus on some level, rendering the text as both a digest and an exegesis of the epistolary corpus in question.[11]

Likewise, a close examination of the well-known Safavid chronicles, composed between the 1560s and 1590s, reveals the nature of the relationship between our text and these works. Ṭahmāsb, taking upon himself the role of historian, narrated his view of the causes and the course of the conflict, while also emphasizing his own efforts to bring about a reconciliation and preserve the peace, as well as offering a few practical lessons for the benefit of posterity. Thus, he had essentially defined the boundaries of the Safavid historiographical discourse before anybody in his domains even began to write an account of the preceding three decades. This is confirmed by the fact that his five stories (*hekāyāt*) are the earliest written account of the events and are subsequently echoed throughout much of Safavid historiography and beyond.

Even though it is difficult to say with certainty whether authors such as Qāżī Aḥmad Ghaffārī Qazvīnī (d. circa late 1560s), Ḥasan Beg Rūmlū (d. circa 1577) and Būdaq Monshī Qazvīnī had read the text, they nonetheless explicitly adhered to the narrative outlined by the Shah. At the same time, others, namely Khūrshāh b. Qobād, ʻAbdī Beg Shīrāzī, and Qāżī Aḥmad Qomī, having first-hand access to its earliest manuscript copies, essentially reproduced Ṭahmāsb's narrative, in part or almost in full, occasionally virtually verbatim, in their respective chronicles.[12]

[11] Many more letters belonging to the corpus have not been published and are still in manuscript form, and therefore their study is beyond the scope of this project.

[12] See Qāżī Aḥmad Ghaffārī, *Tārīkh-e Jahān-ārā*, ed. Mojtabā Mīnovī (Tehran: Ketābforūshī-ye Ḥāfeẓ, 1964); Ḥasan Rūmlū, ed. Navā'ī, ʻAbd al-Ḥoseyn. *Aḥsan Al-tavārīkh*. Majmūʻeh-ye Motūn-e Fārsī (Tehrān: Bongāh-e Tarjomeh va Nashr-e Ketāb, 1970); Būdāq, Qazvīnī, ed., Bahrāmnezhād, Moḥsen. *Javāher Al-akhbār: Bakhsh-e Tārīkh-e Īrān Az Qarāqūyūnlū Tā Sāl-e 984 H.Q.*; Chāp-e 1. ed. (Tehrān; Mīrāth-e Maktūb, 2000); Khūrshāh b. Qobād al-Ḥoseynī, eds. Muhammad Reza Nasiri and Koichi Haneda, *Tārīkh-e Īlchī-ye Neẓāmshāh* (Tehran: Anjoman-e Āthār va Mafākher-e Farhangī, 2000); See ʻAbdī Beg Shīrāzī, *Takmelat al-Akhbār*, ed. Navā'ī, ʻAbd al-Ḥoseyn (Tehran, Nashr-ae Ney, 1990); Aḥmad b. Ḥoseyn Monshī Qomī, *Kholāṣat al-Tavārikh*, vol. 1, ed. Eḥsān Eshrāqī (Tehran: Enteshārāt-e Dāneshgāh-e Tehrān, 1984).

However, of the aforesaid authors, only Khūrshāh b. Qobād, the envoy of the Neẓāmshāh of Deccan, to Ṭahmāsb's court, explicitly acknowledges having used the text in the composition of his *Tārīkh*.[13] He records that while he was busy working on his chronicle, the Shah, having first examined his writings, kindly allowed him (*marḥamat farmūd*) to closely reproduce some of the stories and accounts from 'that noble manuscript', likewise described as 'exquisite [and] neat' (*noskheh-ye laṭīf-e pākīzeh*).[14] Khūrshāh b. Qobād goes on to tell us that the text contained 'accounts of some events and affairs (*ḥālāt va vāqe'āt*) which had happened to [the Shah,] from the beginning of the Ottoman war (*jang-e rūmīyeh*) and up to the aforementioned date [i.e., 971 AH, sometime between August 1563 and July-August 1564], in sleep and wakefulness (*dar khāb va bīdārī*), all of which he had penned in a delightful narrative in several chapters (*bar chand faṣl*).'[15]

The manuscript, in turn, was eventually included among the gifts sent to the Qotbshāh ruler of Talangana with the Safavid envoy, Qabā Bēg Qūrchī Qājār, in the aforesaid year, thus corroborating the *īlchī* Khūrshāh b. Qobād's characterization of it as 'exquisite and neat'. This fact, clearly, is what rendered it worthy of being chosen as a royal gift.

We thus have three royal manuscripts containing our text (the oldest of which has not yet been discovered and may well have perished), exactly corresponding with three key stages in its history, or the *three editions*: the autograph, the *M*-, and the *T*- recensions mentioned above.

What is particularly remarkable is that the *īlchī*, having spent many years at the Safavid court, including the period involving the fugitive prince Bāyezīd and the several embassies dispatched from Istanbul to Qazvin to retrieve him, does not describe the text he had used as a record of the Shah's exchange with the ambassadors. Indeed, neither does he mention Ṭahmāsb delivering a long address, in the form of five stories, during any of his

[13] al-Ḥoseynī, *Tārīkh*, p.115.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid. – "*beh taqrīr-e delpaẕīr dar ḥayyez-e taḥrīr dar āvardeh*."

audiences with the Ottoman envoys (in fact none of the known chroniclers does), nor does he say a word about the text having a preface of some sort or even a title, nor does he call it a *taẕkereh*. Instead, it is simply described as 'tales and stories' (*akhbār va ḥekāyāt*) of 'events and affairs' (*ḥālāt va vāqe'āt*), suggesting that this is how the text was viewed when Ṭahmāsb wrote it, or perhaps dictated it to one of his scribes. Moreover, this is what the text remained for nearly four decades, until the first major revision, at the turn of the seventeenth century.

In this regard it should be added that one of the letters sent by the Shah's ministers to the Ottoman court, immediately following the surrender of Bāyezīd and his sons, mentions that Ṭahmāsb had 'communicated the specifics of the affairs and stories of several years' to the envoys. It further claims that they had 'a conversation in the atmosphere of utmost sympathy and friendship, that he apologized for the necessary delay in turning in Bāyezīd and his children, emphasizing that he had made no error in this regard,' and adding that [everything] had [already] been 'clearly expressed in [the] most noble and loftiest letters and will no doubt have been communicated to Their Majesty.'[16] This allows us to deduce that the Shah had indeed attempted to relate to the Ottoman envoys his views on the episode, which had ended in the mass execution of Bāyezīd and his sons in Qazvin's main square, and it is possible that this is how the idea to compose the text ultimately crystallized. It seems rather unlikely, however, that Ṭahmāsb could have delivered the entirety of the composition orally, for even the shorter *M-Recension* takes up at least forty pages (or some twenty-five thousand words!), or that his words would have been transcribed, and therefore this suggestion can be virtually ruled out. It is possible, indeed likely, that the core messages of what became the five stories (essentially recorded in the letters) had been succinctly expressed during several meetings with Ottoman ambassadors, possibly partly transcribed, and subsequently committed to writing over the next two years.

[16] Navā'ī, *Ṭahmāsb*, p.439.

The rest of this dissertation will expand on the points outlined above and discuss how the text was created, received and transmitted, as well as how over time it evolved and how its meaning and significance varied for subsequent generations and groups of readers. Because virtually all modern editions ultimately derive from just two manuscripts of the *T-Recension*, it was deemed essential to study the two recensions closely alongside the four stemmas that make up the corpus. I have thus adopted a 'stemmatological' approach of inquiry and systematically worked through each segment of the corpus, studying the codices' physical aspects, as well as the texts, paratexts, scholia and marginalia, and of course their respective contexts. This in turn will shed light on the transmission evolution and readership across nearly three centuries. Contextualizing and historicizing the production of the two recensions and the corresponding manuscripts, along with their echoes in contemporaneous Safavid historiography, will allow for a better understanding of the composition's original and evolving meanings and will provide insights into Ṭahmāsb's psyche and legacy.

I argue that over time the original *Five Stories* have evolved into two parallel textual traditions. The *M-Recension*, contained within the manuscripts belonging to the *second generation* and produced and transmitted by the Safavid scholar-bureaucrats, represents one reading and/or reception of the text. It forms the core of what we may call the 'scribal historiography' of the reign of Ṭahmāsb and contains the Shah's image, which he himself had carefully crafted, in strict adherence to Islamic law and normative piety. It was thus explicitly intended for public consumption (*har keh khāhad bekhānad*), while being perceived as a source of 'guidance and direction' (*kalemāt-e hedāyat-ta'thīr*)[17] by his own generation, and especially by his grandson 'Abbās, who had commissioned the production of the second royal codex.

In turn, the *T-Recension* will be shown to belong to what may be termed the *ṣūfī-qezelbāsh* historiography. It was clearly prepared with different sensitivities, for a different

[17] MS NLR: Dorn, No. 302, ff.1v-2r, 3v.

audience – 'the worthy and beloved decedents' – and was intended as an *aide-memoire* (*taẕkereh*) and an *instruction* (*dastūr al-'amal*). Most importantly, however, it is defined by explicit emphasis on Ṭahmāsb's high mystical station and his role as the *morshed-e kāmel* of the House of Ṣafī al-Dīn (*dar rāh-e ṣūfīgarī morshed-e yekī-rā mīdanand*) as well as linkages to a parallel tradition of Safavid historiography.[18]

These two readings of the text, alongside the two parallel views of Ṭahmāsb, though by no means commensurate, can nonetheless be argued to represent the *exterior* and the *interior* – *ẓāher* and *bāṭen* – aspects of Safavid kingship, thus offering a more holistic portrait of the persona and legacy of the Shah. To the extent possible, this theme will be explored throughout the present work. I argue that each recension can be said to reflect a distinct way in which Ṭahmāsb came to be remembered by different groups, while the production of manuscripts, especially the single-text and the royal copies, are to be viewed both as 'memorials' (*yādegār*) and/or sites of memory (*lieux de mémoire*) of Ṭahmāsb and his era.[19] Moreover, to help make sense of the composition, transmission, paratextual evolution and reception of the text, several elements and analytical concepts from the field of memory studies, especially though not exclusively those developed by German Egyptologist Jan Assmann in his two well-regarded studies – *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization* and *Moses the Egyptian* – will be adopted and applied throughout this study.[20]

---

[18] Of these the most notable and relevant examples, as will be demonstrated, are the so-called 'popular histories' or 'historical romances'; see Wood, Barry, *The Adventures of Shah Esma'il: a Seventeenth-Century Persian Popular Romance* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2018), and Afshār, I., *'Ālam-ārā-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb: Zandegī-ye Dāstānī-ye Dovvomīn Pādshāsh-e Doureh-ye Ṣafavī* (Tehran: Enteshārāt-e Donyā-ye Ketāb, 1370); MS.GPL: No. 831, f.3v, f.44v.

[19] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," in *Representations* No. 26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory (Spring, 1989), pp.7-24.

[20] Rather than dedicating a separate chapter/section outlining the conceptual framework, elements of this framework will simply be introduced when deemed appropriate. The main reason for this is the relative infancy of this project and the necessity to engage with more sources. See Jan Assman's *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination* (Munich: Cambridge University Press, 2012), and *Moses the Egyptian: Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2022); See also, Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*. First ed., trans. by Francis J. Ditter, Jr. and Vida Yazdi Ditter (New York: Harper & Row, 1980).

Finally, to present the research findings and to situate them within the existing scholarship on this manuscript-textual tradition, the discussion will also touch upon earlier attempts by different scholars to make sense of the text. The next section elaborates on the meaning of the term the term ‘textual history’ and its uses, and some approaches applied in studying the present corpus are presented. From there, the relevant manuscripts and the stories they tell are surveyed, along with the contours of the current scholarly consensus on the Shah’s composition.

A Note on Writing Histories of Books

In a narrow philological sense, textual history (*textgeschichte*), sometimes referred to as book history, is a subset of textual criticism concerned primarily with the history of editions of a single work. As a methodological approach it has been most widely utilized in the study of biblical and other ancient texts, whenever possible with the goal of 'recovery and reconstruction of the original text, that is, [what] the author wrote or wanted to have written down if he dictated [it] to a secretary.'[21] The goal of recovering the original text, defined by G. Mink as a 'hypothetical, reconstructed text, as it presumably existed, according to the hypothesis, before the beginning of its copying,' for a range of reasons may not be attainable and oftentimes scholars have to accept various limitations imposed upon them in undertaking such a recovery, not least by lack of manuscript materials.[22]

However, assuming a sufficiently representative corpus of manuscripts is available, the process of 'recovery' is accomplished through first tracing the 'genealogical' relationships linking the different copies, followed by the reconstruction of the history of the text itself. Once the relationships between individual manuscripts and variants of the text have been established, the next step typically involves identifying the paratextual layers which have been added (or removed) over time. By removing, or adding, these words, sentences and passages, one should eventually be able to arrive at something approximating an urtext. The recovery of an urtext is, however, never the sole objective of textual archaeology. The method is also useful for establishing how and why a particular work evolved, often revealing a lot about the individuals/groups behind its composition, transmission and evolution, including both intended and accidental readership, while also shedding light on historical periods which coincided with these text-evolutionary stages.

[21] Strutwolf, H., "Original Text and Textual History," in *The Textual History of the Greek New Testament: Changing Views in Contemporary Research*, eds. Klaus Wachtel and Michael W. Holmes (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), p.23.
[22] Mink, G., "Problems of a Highly Contaminated Tradition, the New Testament: Stemmata of Variants as a Source of a Genealogy for Witnesses," in *Studies in Stemmatology II*, eds. Pieter van Reenen, August den Hollander, and Margot van Mulken (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2004), p.25.

Ideally, provided all the above conditions hold, one should be able to examine a text's different recensions/editions within their proper contexts and thus more critically engage with the data they contain.

Transcending the strictly philological sense of the term textual history, whether with manuscripts or printed books – that is, an exercise in stripping away layers of paratext to reach some imagined (or otherwise) archetype from which all subsequent manuscripts descend – there is no particular reason why a text, along with its various recensions and manuscripts, or one could say its 'afterlives', should not be a subject of historical inquiry in its own right. In other words, just as we can study an individual's biography, or a political movement and its transformation over time, seeking to explain how it emerged and developed, or to answer why and how it influenced others, we can, in the same way, study a text's history.

This point has in fact been recognized by scholars of the humanities for some time and it is, therefore, not surprising that book history exists as a separate, full-fledged, academic discipline supported by societies, networks and institutions dedicated exclusively to the study of the history of authorship, reading and publishing.[23] Furthermore, this field by its very nature is reliant upon the tools offered by disciplines such as bibliography, paleography, philology and codicology, not to mention the rapidly developing field of digital humanities, and therefore is virtually inseparable from them. Depending on the subject and its context, the goals of writing a book history may vary, as do the questions scholars are able to answer. Given the existence of academic infrastructure supporting research in book history, it is to be expected that the field has produced a range of important works. A brief discussion of a few of those works follows, suggesting epistemological models, approaches and questions to consider in making sense of the material at hand.

[23] See the Society for the History of Authorship, Reading, and Publishing – www.sharpweb.org/main/conferences – or the Book History Research Network – www.cphc.org.uk/book-history-research-network.

Among these works is a three-volume *Textual History of the Bible*, produced by a group of scholars under the chief-editorship of Armin Lange and published in recent years by Brill.[24] This collective effort and scholarly collaboration, involving at least a dozen editors and contributors, brings together for the first time all the available information on the textual history of the scripture, including translations, manuscripts and textual witnesses for each of the biblical and the deuterocanonical books, thus offering a more nuanced understanding of this literary and religious tradition.

Similarly, in 2004, David Norton published a monograph which explores how the most important Bible in the English language was produced. His *Textual History of the King James Bible* demonstrates that although the story of the book begins in 1611, the text we know today attained its final form only in 1769, having undergone numerous re-editions and reprints over a century and a half. It is thus worth reiterating that about one hundred and twenty years separate the composition of Ṭahmāsb's *Five Stories* from the book most students of Safavid history know as his *taẕkereh* (the *T-Recension*).

Norton begins his study by tracing the development of English translations of the Bible through the *KJB* and then goes on to tell the story of the text itself, from 1611 on.[25] Regarding the origins of the text, we know that King James I (d.1625) wished to establish a degree of religious uniformity in the kingdom, in response to which John Reynolds (d.1607), a Puritan leader, suggested a new translation of the Bible, an idea formally presented at a conference held at Hampton Court, in January 1604. Thus began revision on a grand scale and – 'as befitted the ambitions of a recently crowned scholar king' – all done in consultation with the monarch himself.[26] Following the king's death, from 1629 on, editorial intervention

[24] *The Hebrew Bible*, vol. 1 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016); The *Deuterocanonical Scriptures*, vol. 2; *A Companion to Textual Criticism*, vol. 3; ed. Lange, A., et al.
[25] Norton, D., *A Textual History of the King James Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p.4.
[26] Ibid., pp.5, 11. With his characterization of James I as "scholar", it seems appropriate to point out that the English monarch, in addition to several works on the occult, philosophy and political theory, is known to have authored a treatise on government, a proverbial mirror-for-princes, in the form of a private letter to his eldest son, Henry, Duke of

became a major factor in creating the text we have today: spelling was modernized, changes were made in the translation, and punctuation was revised, to mention just a few of the emendations. In addition to tracing the text's evolution, Norton has also re-edited the *KJB*, restoring the authenticity of the 1611 translation, and has shown how the text of the most important version of the Bible in the English language was made and how, for better or worse, it changed in the hands of printers and editors until, in 1769, it became the text we know today.[27]

Somewhat closer to the subject matter with which the present study is concerned are a few examples of fruitful textual history research from Islamic contexts. One such work is Andrew MacLaren's study of a treatise attributed to Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 855), the eponymous founder of the Ḥanbalī school of jurisprudence, which is usually titled *al-Radd* [*'alā al-Zanādiqa wa-l-Jahmīyya*] – *the Refutation of the Heretics and the Jahmīyya*.[28] The treatise contains several arguments about the proper interpretation of the Quran, while also addressing some theological questions about the nature of the Prophet's message. MacLaren shows that three different, if related, recensions of the text exist in manuscript, and, drawing on evidence from the text itself, as well as bio-bibliographical sources, he challenges the established dichotomy of scholarly views – that is, 'either the text was authored by Ibn Ḥanbal or it was not.'[29]

Transcending this binary, he argues that in all likelihood, the text, in any given form, postdates Ibn Ḥanbal and that its growth is 'part and parcel of the attempt by [his] followers

---

Rothesay (d.1612); see James Doelman's, "'A King of Thine Own Heart': the English Reception of King James IV and I's Basilikon Doron," *Seventeenth Century*, 9 (1) (1994), pp.1-9.

[27] In a similar effort to trace the evolution of an original text, included in the Appendix is the English translation of what, in my opinion, constitutes the closest possible approximation to the original *Five Stories* as well as the composite Persian texts of the *M-* and *T-* recensions.

[28] MacLaren, A.G., "Ibn Ḥanbal's Refutation of the Jahmiyya: A Textual History," *Journal of American Oriental Society*, 140:4 (2020), pp.901-926.

[29] Ibid., p.902.

to work out the meaning of the master's doctrine.'[30] Thus, having examined the manuscript corpus containing *al-Radd*, McLaren contends that while the idea for the text may find its roots in the earliest elaborations of the Ḥanbalī doctrine, possibly in the books by Ibn Ḥanbal himself, the existing recensions were produced over the next few centuries. Thus, 'the first recension,' using MacLaren's terminology, 'was edited to produce the second' while 'the third one is the product of combining the earliest two.'[31] He goes on to show that all but one of the printed editions are based on the recensions not attested until the fourteenth century in Damascus and which in fact exist only in nineteenth-century manuscripts.

Consequently, he attempts to reconstruct the textual history of *al-Radd* and identify the emergence of the first two recensions, dating the second one circa the twelfth century, for 'nobody seems to know anything about it until then,' and the first to the very earliest period of Ḥanbalī thought, perhaps even to the man himself. He concludes that '*al-Radd* is probably best understood as a work of *corporate authorship* by the Ḥanbalī *madhhab* across time,' and poses a question as to whether 'it [may have been] an open secret among [his followers and successors] that the text was not really penned by Ibn Ḥanbal.'[32] Certain parallels with the history of the Shah's composition are easily discernable, not least the existence of different recensions, with the later one, likewise preserved in nineteenth-century manuscripts, attaining a dominant status through having been published multiple times in the modern period. Other parallels and a range of analogous implications are detailed in the four chapters of this dissertation.

Another example of textual reconstruction, and this a more substantial effort, is a study of a vast corpus of Arabic and Middle and New Persian texts, investigating the history, on the one hand, of the transmission of the Sasanian literary canon and, on the other, *the Middle Persian Book of Kings* (my italics). Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila's *Khwadāynāmag: the*

[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid., p.923.

Middle Persian Book of Kings is an attempt to pull together and synthesize all the available data pertaining to the text, which, despite not having survived as a stand-alone book, has had quite an impact upon both Arabic and New Persian literature, in particular early Arabic historiography and Ferdowsi's (d. 1020) *Shāhnāmeh*.

Hämeen-Anttila (henceforth H-A) thus focuses on the lost text and 'its translations and reverberations in later literature.'[33] Having clarified the terminology and outlined the relevant pre-Islamic sources, he discusses the intellectual currents of the early Islamic period, surveying major works translated from Middle Persian into Arabic. The two central chapters, three and four, in turn trace the translated passages of the elusive text in the Arabic chronicles and discuss the narratives of Persian national history which have been, or are likely to have been, derived from it.

Early on, H-A points out that there are many references to Middle Persian books in general, including the *Khwadāynāmag*, which despite not having reached us, survived in translation in later works, albeit not always in their entirety. For instance, Agathias (d. 582) claims to have derived much of the relevant materials used in his *Historiarum Libri Quinque* from an official Persian source 'which,' H-A points out, 'may, or may not, have been identified with the *Khwadāynāmag*,' while Neẓām al-Molk (d. 1092) mentions 'an anonymous booklet (*kurrāsah*), which contained information on pre-Islamic Persian kings.'[34]

Indeed, the earliest tangible evidence for the *Khwadāynāmag* comes from mentions of its Arabic translations in the tenth century, including Ḥamza al-Iṣfāhānī's *Tārīkh Sinī-al-Mulūk*, Ibn Nadīm's *Fihrist*, and *Nihāyat al-'Arab*, believed by some to have been the work of Ibn al-Muqaffa', and sometimes referred to therein as *Siyar Mulūk al-'Ajam*.[35] These

[33] Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, *Khwadāynāmag: the Middle Persian Book of Kings* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2018), p. x.
[34] Ibid., p.14.
[35] Ibid., pp.59, 74, 91.

references, however, are said to be scanty, short and often in the form of lists, leading the author to suggest that the original text may well have been simply a catalogue of kings.

All in all, H-A surveys more than a dozen Arabic chronicles in his effort to ascertain what *Khwadāynāmag* may have looked like, before moving on to discuss how from the tenth century onwards it influenced the emerging New Persian literary tradition. Copies of the book survived until at least the tenth century, though probably not much beyond that, while its contents (i.e., the history of pre-Islamic Iran) figured prominently in the early Arabic chronicles. Thus, as many of these Arabic books contained materials derived from that text, soon 'these passages were, in a sense, *translated back* into Classical Persian.'[36] And although Ferdowsi was separated from the Pahlavi books and from the Sasanian historic-literary traditions by many centuries, the contents of the *Khwadāynāmag* eventually reached him via various works of historiography and/or other *shāhnāmeh*s that trickled down into his famous work.[37]

Having traced evidence for the text in Arabic translations, as well as its reverberations in Arabic and Persian literature, H-A addresses the following three questions: Was there one *Khwadāynāmag* or several? What were the contents of this book? And when was it compiled? Regarding the first question, he forcefully rejects suggestions of other scholars that there existed multiple *Books of Kings*, while accepting that earlier version(s) and/or redaction(s) may have existed. Content-wise, he demonstrates convincingly that the book indirectly constituted only one of Ferdowsi's sources. He points out how little was known to Arabic historians about, for instance, Rustam, a legendary hero in Persian mythology, or that the persona of Alexander the Great in the Pahlavi tradition was a negative one, and therefore his image in the Islamic-era literature is derived from the eponymous romance – 'for the

[36] Ibid., p.131.
[37] Ibid., p.157.

Sasanians, Alexander was hardly a legitimate Persian king, as he was for the later tradition.'[38] He further argues that the so-called 'orphan stories' – Bīzhan and Manīzheh – did not derive from Ferdowsi's main source, *the Prose Shāhnāmeh*, and that there is nothing to link them to the *Khwadāynāmag*, concluding that it was indeed a royal book of the Sasanians and therefore, most likely, included neither Parthian nor Seleucid sections. 'It was,' according to him, 'a book of very small size, be it ten, twenty, or thirty pages' and 'probably contained a rather short and dry account of each king, listing regnal years, perhaps some throne speeches or maxims ... positive events during their reigns, such as major victories ... as well as pieces of wisdom literature.' And as for the time of the composition, while difficult to date precisely, H-A suggests that 'in all probability it stems from the reign of either Khosro Anūshīrvān (d.579) or, more probably, Khosro Parvīz (d.628).'[39]

What is most valuable about this monograph and the author's approach is that, despite the limitations of the text – it was of indeterminate length, but definitely short, and apparently lost – even so, H-A manages successfully to reconstruct its history, shed light on its readership, and demonstrate the extent to which it influenced other authors and works. Indeed, the tools H-A utilizes in reconstructing his text can be fruitfully applied to Ṭahmāsb's text. It is worth restating that although we possess no manuscripts from the forty-year period following the composition of Ṭahmāsb's text, which itself is lost, it is possible to establish what was in that original text and to gain certain insights into the extent of its circulation and readership, as well as to discern ways in which it came to be transmitted up to the production of the *M-Recension* at the turn of the seventeenth century. While Ṭahmāsb's composition is generally not accorded the historic importance of the *KJB*, *al-Radd*, or the *Khwadāynāmag*, one of the goals of this dissertation, to be accomplished with the help of the analytical

[38] Ibid., p.223. For more on the subject, see: Haila Manteghi, *Alexander the Great in the Persian Tradition: History, Myth and Legend in Medieval Iran* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2018).
[39] Ibid., p.232.

framework loosely outlined here, is to demonstrate clearly and convincingly that over the centuries it has in fact been much more influential than one might have assumed.

It is hardly an exaggeration to suggest that the study of the Safavid era remains largely devoid of methodological and theoretical frameworks, with many texts in manuscript only and thus barely studied. Even in areas where there exists an abundance of texts in manuscript form, especially of the chronicle type, text-critical approaches have not been particularly popular of late with scholars in this field either. And while there are editions, at times critical, a lot remains to be done. The history of the *Five Stories* presents an opportunity to demonstrate the value of this approach and, at the very least, advance our understanding of this text.[40]

The key guiding questions for writing a textual history of the Shah's composition can summed up as follows: Why, how, and for whom was the text created? Did the author personally write or perhaps dictate it to a scribe? What sources and other works were used in its composition? What are the sources of inspiration for the composition, and did the author attempt to imitate certain literary forms/works? Throughout its history, how wide a circulation did the text attain, and how was it transmitted, received, and understood? Did it influence other authors and their works, and if so, to what extent? When, why, and by whom

[40] It seems worth noting, at least in passing, that the so-called *Memoirs of Teymūr*—also known as his *tūzokāt* or *malfūẓāt*—has often been compared to Ṭahmāsb's narrative because of its ostensibly autobiographical form, (e.g., H. Beveridge, C. Kafadar, and K. Babayan). Though widely transmitted (with multiple manuscripts in the Bodleian Library), that text, too, remains understudied. According to Charles Stewart's introduction to his English translation, it was originally composed in Chagatai, discovered in Yemen in 1610, and translated into Persian by Abū Ṭāleb Ḥoseynī. Shah Jahān, dissatisfied with its perceived sectarian tone, ordered a substantial revision by Moḥammad Afżal Bokhārī in 1637/8. Like Ṭahmāsb's narrative—which was also reshaped by royal order, first by Shah ʿAbbās and later by Shah Soleymān—this text evolved through deliberate editorial interventions that have largely gone unacknowledged. See *The Mulfuzāt Tīmūry, or Autobiographical Memoirs of the Moghul Emperor Timūr, written in the Jagtay Tūrky Language, turned into Persian by Abu Talib Hussyny, and translated into English by Major Charles Stewart, Late Professor of Oriental Languages in the Honourable East India Company's College* (Printed for the Oriental Translation Committee and Sold by J. Murray, Albemarle Street; Parbury, Allen and Co. Leadenhall Street; And Howell and Stewart, Holborn, 1830). p.vi; Appendix 11; see also Beeston, A.F.L., Hermann E., and Sachau, E., *Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindustani, and Pashtu Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*; Part 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889), pp.86-89.

was it edited, expanded and/or redacted? What are the key stages in its paratextual evolution and is it possible to speak of a canonization/stabilization of the text at some point in time? And finally, what impact did the transition across media, that is, from manuscript to print, have upon the text and its form, circulation, readership, and use? These questions will guide the reconstruction of the history of the *Five Stories*. The following section provides a review of the existing scholarship on the text, the starting point for this study.

The Manuscripts and the Stories they Tell: Transmission, Evolution and Readership

In this section the four stemmas are introduced in more detail, along with a summary of the existing scholarly consensus on the text and its evolution. Working backwards, beginning with the ***GPL*** and the ***BL*** stemmas, the current discourse crystallizes around the conclusions drawn by those who have studied these two *T-Recension* manuscripts, subsequently supplemented by the ***SPC*** *M-Recension* manuscript of the *Naqqāsh* stemma, which in turn spurred the growth of a parallel discourse on the subject.

We should note that for much of the nineteenth century our text cannot be said to have stabilised. Indeed, throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in its two main recensions, the text was still enthusiastically read and copied, while many of its manuscripts were in active circulation not only in Iran but also in India, Russia, Germany, Georgia, Iraq and Britain. This is not to suggest that the text itself underwent major paratextual changes, such as a new preface or a narrative rewrite, in this period. It did not. And yet, (a) in the case of the ***GPL*** manuscript, it did come to acquire the title 'diary' (*rūznāmeh*) among Qajar-era readers, (b) whereas the ***BL*** manuscript gained another paratextual layer, in the form of marginalia, while its text came to be referred to as 'memoirs' among Anglo-German orientalists. Both the *titles* and the *marginalia* came to be embedded in or associated with the text, through the production of new manuscript copies, and eventually the publication of the Strassburg, Calcutta and Berlin editions, effectively forming what may be called the *fourth edition*.

It would take almost a century for all these manuscripts (and in particular the *enshā'* collections containing the *Kāteb* stemma/variant of the *M-Recension*) to be identified,

catalogued, and made accessible to researchers.[41] Scholars were thus compelled to work with the limited materials available, relying on the familiar epistemological frameworks, the technological tools of the time, and somewhat unintentionally completing another chapter in the text's history by preparing its first printed editions. Thus, in many respects, those who studied the text in the modern period were not so different from the Safavid-era scribes and courtiers who read, copied, variously revised and transmitted it over the first three hundred years of its history.

Quite clearly, the proliferation of the single-text manuscript copies in the nineteenth century, the subsequent transition from one medium to another – from manuscript, first to lithography, and then to print – as well as the text's first translation into another language, should be understood as key elements, or the fourth generation, in the text's history. Therefore, to grasp the context in which earlier scholars approached, read and understood the text, the manuscripts they used ought to be introduced, both for bibliographical and text-historical purposes.

Although the earliest studies, editions and translations of our text began to appear towards the end of the nineteenth century, the question of just how the first manuscripts to receive scholarly attention found their way out of Safavid libraries and into the hands and desks of Qajar, British, German and Russian scholars is essential to fully understand the text's history. This is particularly relevant to the discussion of the *T-Recension*, and will be given in Chapters Three and Four, dedicated to the ***GPL*** and ***BL*** stemmas, respectively. Indeed, the demise of the Safavid state and the subsequent political and social turmoil of the

[41] To have an idea of the pace at which these manuscripts became known to researchers, consider that C.A. Storey's bio-bibliographical survey published in 1937 lists only seven manuscripts of the text; see *Persian Literature: a Bio-bibliographical Survey: Qur'ānic Literature, History and Biography*, vol. 1 (London, 1937), pp.122-124. Thirty-five years later, the number of manuscripts identified under the same title had grown only to twelve, in the expanded Russian translation of Storey's work, by Bregel, Yu.E., ed., Borshchevsky, Yu.E., Part II, *Special Histories of Persia, Kurdistan, Central Asia, Afghanistan, Turkey, Caucasia, Arab States, Europe and American, China and Japan* (Moscow: Department of Oriental Literature, 1972), pp. 857-58, 1468.

eighteenth century should be taken as the starting point of modern scholarship on the Shah's retrospective and likewise as the beginning of the fourth generation in its history. This period in turn would continue until 1924 when the last of the printed editions was published in Berlin – incidentally coinciding with the four-hundredth anniversary of Ṭahmāsb's ascension to the throne – thus firmly establishing the *dominant* status of the *T-Recension* (*taẕkereh*) over the text's *M-Recension* (*mokālemeh*) among students of Safavid history.

Going back to Ardabil, where the fourth generation in the text's history can be said to have begun, the inventory of the Safavid dynastic shrine library collections, prepared at the behest of its custodian, Moḥammad Qāsem Bēg Ṣafavī, on 24 March 1759, lists two manuscripts under the entry *Taẕkereh-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsp-e Māżī*.[42] The roots of modern scholarship on the subject can be traced to this point in time and place. Within just over five decades these two manuscripts along with copies found their way out of Iran and into the hands of British, German and Russian orientalists, and ultimately into libraries in Calcutta, Berlin, London and Saint Petersburg. Of the two manuscripts in question, one is currently held in the British Library (*MS. BL: Or. 5880*), another in the National Library of Russia (*MS. NLR: Dorn, No. 302*). The existing scholarship can therefore be divided into two branches which, for convenience, we shall refer to as Anglo-German and Russo-Soviet, to capture both the linguistic and geographical scope of the two somewhat parallel discourses.

These two branches in turn are supplemented by several, mostly later, Persian-language publications which, however, essentially echo the Anglo-German orientalist discourse. They are almost entirely ignorant of the Russo-Soviet scholarship and thus add very little to our understanding of this manuscript-textual tradition. Nevertheless, there is a lot that can be said about the nineteenth-century Iranian scholarship on the text, not least that its first lithographed edition, based on a copy of a copy of the ***GPL*** manuscript, was

[42] *Ganjīneh-ye Shaykh Ṣafī*, (Tabriz: Published by the National Library of Tabriz in Connection with the Celebration of Culture and Art, October 1999 / Ābān, 1368), p.43.

published in Tehran. How the Qajar intellectuals came to view the composition is another area of interest. Examining the manuscripts of the ***GPL*** stemma offers valuable insights into the reception, transmission and readership of the text in nineteenth-century Iran. The same is true of the ***BL*** manuscript, offering valuable provenance, transmission and readership data; the codex in turn found its way to India, where all its copies were produced, thus forming the eponymous stemma, around which the Anglo-German scholarship developed.

The first two chapters of this thesis focus on the *M-Recension* manuscripts and the associated Russo-Soviet scholarship. Given that most of the manuscripts of this recension have remained outside the wider scholarly purview until recently, in addition to general discussion of their text and context, those chapters also attempt to identify the relevant manuscripts and trace the transmission, evolution and readership of this section of the corpus, in its *Naqqāsh* and *Kāteb* stemmas and variants. More importantly, a close study of both the *M-* and *T-Recension* manuscripts and texts jointly, in context, and alongside several contemporary sources, allows for insight into how, why and for whom they were produced, while also demonstrating that the Shah personally had in fact nothing to do with the production of the two recensions. Challenging the existing scholarly consensus is an important component of the present dissertation.

Of the *T-Recension*, all the manuscripts are single-text, while the two stemmas are the ***GPL*** and the ***BL***. The ***GPL*** stemma includes seven codices, of which five have been available (the genealogical relationship, whenever possible to establish, has been indicated in the chart):

i) GPL: No. 831

ii) Private Collection of Alexander George Ellis: E11 (sold at auction, only catalogue description available)

iii) Ya‘qub Sarkis Collection, Al-Hikma University Library, Baghdad: No. 309 (lost, only catalogue description available)

iv) Āstān-e Qods-e Raẓavī, Ketābkhāneh-ye Mellī-ye Malek: No. 3727

v) Ketābkhāneh-ye Majles-e Shūrā-ye Eslāmī: Sorūd 76

vi) Ketābkhāneh-ye Majles-e Shūrā-ye Eslāmī: Rec. ID: 1216700, Rec. No. 13213, Doc. No. IR10-53230

vii) Private Collection of Asghar Mahdavī, Daneshgāh-e Ṭehrān: No. 209

All (with one possible exception) of the ***GPL*** manuscript copies come from nineteenth-century Iran, which explains why the Qajar-era intellectuals were the first engage with it. In this regard it is worth mentioning a range of interesting scholia by Farhād Mīrzā (d. 1888), in the ***GPL*** codex, as well as several notes, by E‘temād al-Salṭaneh (d. 1896), in *MS. Majles: Sorūd 76*, which was also used to produce the 1885 Tehran lithograph edition. From the proliferation and circulation of manuscript copies throughout the nineteenth century, it is also possible to discern a growing interest in the text, which in turn explains its eventual publication. Additionally, it should be noted that it was against the background of Qajar-era intellectuals’ writing their own diaries that the text in question came to be known as *rūznāmeh*, that is, a diary, despite being rather different from any of the Qajar texts bearing such titles. A more comprehensive discussion of the ***GPL*** stemma, alongside the Qajar readership and scholarship, followed by the critical reading of the paratext of the *T-Recension*, and the comparison with the urtext, are undertaken in Chapter Three.

The ***BL*** stemma includes five copies, of which just one appears to have been lost:

viii) BL: Or. 5880

ix) Asiatic Society of Bengal Library (Calcutta): D101

x) Staatsbibliotek zu Berlin: Sprenger 205

xi) Asiatic Society of Bengal Library: D53.

xii) William Palmer's Copy (lost, mentioned in *Favāyed al-Ṣafavīyeh*)

In turn, this stemma has received substantially more scholarly attention than that of the ***GPL***, most notably from the Anglo-German orientalists, who can be said to have established the current consensus. The earliest works (including catalogues) indeed belong to several English and German scholars, directly and/or indirectly associated with Fort William College in Calcutta. Thus, in 1883, almost two years before the first lithographed edition was published in Iran, relying on *MS. Staatsbibliotek zu Berlin: Sprenger 205*, F. Teufel published an article titled 'Schah Ṭahmasp I. und seine Denkwürdigkeiten,' introducing the text to the wider scholarly community under the title of 'memoirs'.[43]

This was followed by a series of other publications, most notably by P. Horn, and subsequently several others. While echoing Teufel's characterization of the text as 'memoirs', Horn went on to prepare another edition, and then a German translation, eventually publishing these between 1890 and 1891.[44] Within a year, V. Zhukovsky, having access to and for the first time introducing the ***SPC*** and the *M-Recension*, published a critical review of Horn's work. In it he argued (based on the preface to the *M-Recension*) that the text was in fact the record of the *Shah's Discourses with the Ottoman Envoys* (*mokālemeh*). The problematic conclusions drawn by the scholar aside, both Zhukovsky's review as well as the *SPC* would remain unknown to scholars outside Russia for decades to come.[45]

[43] Teufel, F., "Šâh Ṭahmâsp I. und seine Denkwürdigkeiten," *ZDMG*, vol. 37, No. 1 (1883), pp.113-125.
[44] Horn, P., "Die Denkwurdigkeiten des Schah Tahmasp I von Persien," in *ZDMG*, vol. 44, No. 4 (1890), pp.563-649; "Die Denkwurdigkeiten des Schah Tahmasp I von Persien," in *ZDMG*, vol. 45, No. 2 (1891), pp.245-91; *Die Denkwürdigkeiten Schâh Tahmâsp's des Ersten Von Persien (1515-1576)*, aus dem Originaltext zum ersten Male übersesst und mit Erläuterungen verschen von Paul Horn (Strassburg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, 1891).
[45] Zhukovsky, V., "159. *Die Denkwürdigkeiten Schâh Tahmâsp's des Ersten Von Persien (1515-1576)*, aus dem Originaltext zum ersten Male übersesst und mit Erläuterungen verschen von Paul Horn (Strassburg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, 1891). 156 pp." and

Over the next several decades, more works, by English and German scholars, based on other manuscripts of the ***BL*** stemma, were published, further contributing to the crystallization of the discourse on the text, most importantly the view that it was the Shah's 'memoirs.' In 1912 D.C. Phillott published another edition, based on *MS. ASBL: D101* and *MS. ASBL: D53*, in Calcutta, followed by H. Beveridge's brief article two years later, and finally by 'Abd al-Shakur's Berlin edition, combining Phillott's text with that of *MS. Staatsbibliotek zu Berlin: Sprenger 205*.[46] By this point, the text's characterization as 'memoirs' as well as the dominant status of the *T-Recension* had become firmly established.

It was not until 1934 that the *M-Recension* was introduced to scholarly circles outside Russia, by W. Hinz, who was the first scholar to try to reconcile the two recensions by arguing that it was the Shah himself who had personally revised the shorter *M-Recension* to produce the longer *T-Recension*.[47] His conclusions thus brought the discourse to a dead end, where it has remained until today.[48] A more detailed discussion of the process by which the Anglo-German discourse emerged, developed and crystallized is found in Chapter Four of this dissertation. A close look at the ***BL*** manuscript and stemma reveals a lot about the text's transmission, evolution and readership in the context of the disintegration of the Safavid state, over the early decades following the fall of Esfahan in October 1722, the flight of Abū

"160. *Die Denkwurdigkeiten des Schâh Tahmâsp I von Persien*. Von Paul Horn. Zeitsch. D. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch. Bd. XLIV, pp.563-649." in *Zapistki Vostochnogo Otdeleniya Imperatorskogo Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obschestva*. Ed. V.R. Rozen. vol. 6. 1891 (Saint Petersburg: Tipografiya Imperatorskoy Akademii Nauk, 1892), pp.377-383.

[46] Phillott, D.C., ed., *Memoirs of Shāh Ṭahmāsp* (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1912); Beveridge, H. "The Memoirs of Shah Tahmasb, King of Persia from 1524 to 1576," in *Asian Review*, no. 4 (1914), pp.460-472; 'Abd al-Shakur, ed., *Taẕkereh-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb: Sharḥ-e Vaqāye' va Aḥvālāt-e Zendegānī-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb beh Qalam-e Khodash* (Berlin: Kaviani Press, 25th of Moḥarram, 1343/1924), p.6.

[47] That is, until the publication of Hinz, W., "Zur Frage der Denkwürdigkeiten des Schah Ṭahmāsp I. von Persien," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 88, no. 1 (1934), p.52.

[48] Hinz's conclusions (i.e., that both recensions go back to the Shah's own writing and re-writing of the text) have been echoed, more recently, by Ph. Bockholt, "Shah Ṭahmāsp and the Taẕkira: A 16th Century Ruler's Justification of His Politics," in *Rulers as Authors in the Islamic World: Knowledge, Authority and Legitimacy*, ed. Fierro, M., Brentjes, S., and Seidensticker, T. (Leiden: Brill, 2024), pp.635–59, and Peacock, A., ed. and trans., *The memoirs of Shah Tahmasp I: Safavid ruler of Iran* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2024), p.32.

al-Fatḥ Mīrzā Ṣafavī to India, his exploits there, and subsequently the production of all the remaining ***BL*** stemma copies. These, alongside the relevant context and paratext, are also discussed in Chapter Four.

Out of at least eleven copies of the lesser-known *M-Recension*, alternatively known as *maqālāt*, *mokālemeh* or *ḥekāyāt*, only the ***SPC*** (*MS. NLR: Dorn, No. 302*) and the ***MC*** (*MS. AQRL: No. 7886*) are single-text manuscripts. Another seven are included in multi-text collections (*majmū'eh, monsha'āt*), alongside mostly royal correspondence. The remaining two are prefixed to *'Ālam-ārā-ye 'Abbāsī* manuscripts. Once again, by virtue of circumstance, that is, the availability of certain manuscripts and not others, it was this recension of the text (in just the two copies), which formed the basis of the Russo-Soviet scholarship on the subject.

Thus, the *Naqqāsh* stemma includes one single-text and two multi-text manuscripts:

xiii) MS. NLR: Dorn, No. 302

xiv) MS. Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts, Georgian Academy of Sciences (Tbilisi): No. 12/46.

xv) MS. National Library of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Tehran: No. 814216

xvi) MS. AQRL: No. 7886 (close to the *Naqqāsh* variant, yet shares a range of elements with the *Kāteb*, to be discussed in due course)

Building upon Zhukovsky's work, yet not unaware of Anglo-German scholarship, after the Second War World, interest in the text continued to grow, as more scholars in places such as Soviet Georgia and Azerbaijan studied, published, translated and otherwise variously used the text. Few, however, attempted to challenge the conclusions collectively reached by the first generation of scholars, and subsequently sealed by Hinz – that the Shah himself had

personally revised the shorter *M-Recension* to create the longer *T-recension* – while virtually nobody made much progress on supporting or disproving that assumption.

In 1955, K. Tabatadze, a Georgian scholar, defended a dissertation in which he examined the text as a source for the 'study of the history of Transcaucasia,' discussing (and lamenting) the calamities that befell the region, its largely agricultural economies, and its peoples, as a result of centuries of domination by nomadic powers and in particular the incessant Ottoman-Safavid warfare.[49] Despite calling his source the *Taẕkereh* and briefly discussing earlier scholarship on the text, Tabatadze does not seem to have actually read the *T-Recension* variant, let alone attempted to compare it to the *M-Recension* he had access to. Instead, he focused his efforts exclusively on the text prefixed to the *'Ālām-ārā-ye 'Abbāsī* manuscript from the National Museum of Georgia (No. 12/46).[50]

Unlike the ***SPC***, the Tbilisi copy did not have any defects, while it did have a title – *Mokālemeh-ye Navvāb-e Jannat Makān Shāh Ṭahmāsb bā Īlchīyān-e Rum* – leading the Georgian scholar to explicitly endorse Zhukovsky's view that the '[*Taẕkereh*] was merely a record of the Shah's conversation with the Ottoman ambassadors,' as opposed to being his own composition, or perhaps a later recension defined by a layer of paratext. In addition to the general discussion of the work and the two manuscripts, as well as the sections pertinent to Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia, the dissertation also contained a complete Persian text, collated from the ***SPC*** and Tbilisi manuscripts, and the translation into Georgian. Tabatadze's Persian text, transcribed manually, presumably by the scholar himself, along with the Georgian translation and a commentary, was eventually published twenty years later but

[49] Tabatadze, K.G., "'Tazkire' Shaha Tahmaspa I kak Istochnik dlya Istorii Narodov Zakavkaz'ya," (Synopsis of the Dissertation for the Degree of Candidate of Historical Sciences; I.V. Stalin University of Tbilisi, 1955), pp.3-15.

[50] The Tbilisi manuscript, today kept in the Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts, of the Georgian Academy of Sciences, is the 1850 copy of the seventeenth-century manuscript, now in the National Library of the Islamic Republic of Iran – Record No.: 814216: ff.1r–13r. The stamp right at the beginning (f.1r) reads: *nāsir al-dīn shāh-e shāhān*. The texts of the Tbilisi and Tehran manuscripts are virtually identical to the one in the ***SPC***.

unfortunately remained little known, or simply inaccessible, to most researchers – the 1976 Tbilisi edition remains the only published edition of the *M-Recension*.[51]

Along with Tabatadze, several scholars in Soviet and post-Soviet Azerbaijan also studied the text in various capacities. S.Ə. Xəlilov, for example, published a short piece on 'matters concerning the history of sixteenth century Azerbaijan in the *Taẕkereh* […]', while O. Əfəndiyev and Ş. Fərzəliyev attempted to push against the scholarly consensus within the Russian-Soviet orientalist literature concerning the provenance of the text, namely the one articulated and promoted by Zhukovsky, Petruschevsky and Tabtadze, that it was 'merely a record of his speech' and thus 'was not in fact *written* by the Shah.'[52] Fərzəliyev and Əfəndiyev's argument, however, was not anything original, as they simply pointed to the reference by Khurshāh b. Qobād to the effect that the Shah had personally composed the work he extensively cited in his *Tārīkh*.[53]

A slightly more nuanced, though again hardly original, and therefore still problematic, attempt to reconcile the two recensions and the 'two schools of thought' concerning the composition of the *T-Recension* and its relationship to the *M-Recension* came from Ə. Rəhimov. In addition to the ***SPC*** and Tabatadze's edition, available to him through the scholarly networks that survived the demise of the Soviet Union, Rəhimov managed to get his hands on the second volume of *Maṭla' al-Shams* and Phillott's Calcutta edition, as well as,

---

[51] Tabatadze, K.G., *Šah-T'amazis Saubari Osmalet'is Elčebt'an* (T'bilisi: Met'niereba, 1976). I have not yet been able to examine the Georgian commentary on the text.

[52] Xəlilov, S.Ə., "'Təzkireyi-Şah Təhmasib' əsərinde XVI əsr Azərbaycan tarixi ilə bağlı bə'zi məsələlər haqqında," in *Azerbaycan Elmlər Akademiyası Mə'ruzələeri*, 1978, No. 7, pp.77-80; and Əfəndiyev, O. and Fərzəliyev, Ş. "Baḥth-e Pīrāmun-e Yek Maużu'-e 'Elmī," in *Majmu'eh*-ye *Ketāb*, 1361 [1982], Fifth Year, No. 1, pp.71-80 (Published in Afghanistan, in Persian) – cited in Rəhimov Ə.H., *Şah Təhmasibin Təzkirəsi* (Baku: Azərbaycan Dövlet Neşriyyatı, 1996), p.4.

[53] Most Soviet-era scholars never questioned Zhukovsky's interpretation; see, for example, Petruschevsky, I.P. "Iranskie Istochniki po Istorii Azrbayjana," in *Sbornik Statey po Istorii* Azerbayjana. vol. 1 (Baku: Akademiya Nauk Azerbayjanskoy SSR, 1949), pp.299-310; Tabatadze, K.G., "Tbilisskaya Rukopis' 'Tezkire' Shaha Tahmaspa I," in *Vostochniy Sbornik*, vol. 1, (Tbilisi, 1960), pp.169-182; Əfəndiyev, writing in 1981, informed his readers that "only two copies of the *shorter* version were known" – *Azerbayjanskoye Gosudarstvo*, pp.15-16.

thanks to Eleazar Birnbaum (d. 2019) of the University of Toronto, a microfilm of the ***BL*** manuscript. 'After a close reading of the [*T*-] and the [*M-Recensions*], and while translating [both] into Azerbaijani,' he writes, 'we came to a conclusion that Ṭahmāsb himself was the author of both works.'[54] Having said that, Rəhimov did not actually attempt to properly compare the two recensions, or critically engage with the texts, or try to challenge the notion that the 'conversation with the Ottoman envoys' had in fact taken place. Instead, he argues that the Shah '[obviously] did not sit down and, like other historians, relying on various sources, write this work.' Instead, he attributes to Ṭahmāsb's famously prodigious memory the level of detail contained throughout the narrative for names of people and places, and for the numerous verses of poetry, Quranic verses, and *hadith*s; accordingly, Rəhimov speculates that '[the speech] was [indeed] recorded by *two scribes* (*stenografçı*)' and subsequently revised by the Shah himself. Thus, Rəhimov simply repeats what Hinz had already suggested more than sixty years earlier.

Having also closely studied and translated several works of 'Abdī Bēg Shīrāzī, Rəhimov conjectured that 'had the Shah composed the work in question Shīrāzī would have certainly mentioned it.'[55] Though not entirely objectionable, given that Khurshāh b. Qobād did get a chance to consult and copy the manuscript subsequently sent to the Qoṭbshāh, this point nonetheless compels one to also ask why the same author, who also happened to be one of the most prominent scribes and prolific authors at the court of Ṭahmāsb, failed *explicitly* to mention the Shah's 'speech' or 'conversation' with the infamous ambassadors. A close reading of Shīrāzī's *Takmilat* indicates that Shīrāzī was in fact one of the early 'witnesses' to have used the text, yet without mentioning the alleged 'speech'. The simple answer to Rəhimov's question is that early on, i.e., the first forty years following its composition, the

[54] Rəhimov, *Təzkirəsi*, p.5.
[55] Ibid., p.8.

text did not have a preface framing it as *mokālemeh*. This point is further discussed and elaborated in Chapters One and Two.

Finally, what really seems to have misled Rəhimov was the note at the beginning of the ***BL*** manuscript stating, without specifying the date, that at some point 'it entered the library of Abū al-Fatḥ Solṭān Moḥammad Mīrzā.'[56] Titles such 'Sāsānī' and 'Keyānī', honorifics which follow the prince's full name on the flyleaf, should have raised suspicions, for neither seems to have been in common usage among the Safavid shahs in the sixteenth century; but probably because little scholarship on the last of the Safavids was available, Rəhimov – as admittedly I myself did upon seeing this note for the first time – assumed that the Solṭān Moḥammad Mīrzā was none other than Ṭahmāsb's eldest surviving son, Moḥammad Khodābandeh (d. 1595).[57] Thus, the ***BL*** manuscript, which is not actually dated, was assumed to have been produced in the sixteenth century, further reinforcing the widespread assumption that Ṭahmāsb personally revised his composition to produce the *T-Recension*. The truth, however, is that this Solṭān Moḥammad Mīrzā is Abū al-Fatḥ Mīrzā (d. 1816/17), in whose library said manuscript ended up; he was the already-mentioned last claimant to the Safavid throne who, having fled to India, came to be known to the British as 'the Persian prince.'[58]

Overall, Rəhimov's work, though not comparative, for first time brought the two variants into translation side by side, albeit in Azerbaijani Turkish, and this can be said to mark a shift towards greater awareness and accessibility of different manuscripts, stemmas and variants of the text, which ultimately made the current work possible. Nevertheless, at the time, it was clearly not enough to transcend the established consensus, and the two recensions

[56] MS.BL: Or. 5880: f.1v.
[57] Rəhimov, *Təzkirəsi*, p.11; Beveridge, "The Memoirs of Shah Tahmasb," p.472; Meredith-Owens, G. M. – in his *Handlist of Persian Manuscripts: Acquired by the British Museum, 1805-1966* (London: British Museum, 1968), p.22 – also suggested that the ***BL*** manuscript of the *Taẕkereh* (Or. 5880) was from the sixteenth century.
[58] Rota, G., "The Man Who Would Not Be King: Abu'l-Fath Sultan Muhammad Mirza Safavi in India," in *Iranian Studies*, vol. 32, No. 4 (Autumn, 1999), p.514. See also, Perry, J. R. "The Last Ṣafavids, 1722-1773," in *Iran* 9 (1971), pp.59-69.

continued to be viewed as having been produced by the Shah himself and thus read and understood outside the proper contexts. The missing element, as should become apparent from the discussions in Chapter One, and especially in Chapter Two, was the multi-text manuscripts containing the *Kāteb* stemma and variant.[59]

The *Kāteb* stemma, alongside the ***MC***, constitutes the missing link allowing us to trace the transmission and evolution of the text from its composition all the way to the emergence of the *T-Recension*. This subsection of the corpus consists of seven *monsha'āt* (and likely a few more) – six kept in several Iranian libraries and one at the Bodleian Library at Oxford – which contain a more complete textual variant (including two other prefaces) of the *M-Recension* than that of *Naqqāsh*. It has, however, remained virtually unstudied while the *Kāteb* textual variant these manuscripts contain went largely unnoticed until recently, that is despite the efforts of M-T. Dāneshpazhūh, who in the early 1970s published two important bibliographical articles drawing attention to the copies of the text in the aforementioned collections.[60] Consequently, virtually all of the existing scholarship, be it Anglo-German or Russo-Soviet, is based on no more than eight manuscripts – a third of the total identified and

[59] Notably publications by Iranian scholars, pertaining to the text, include: Ṣafarī, A., ed., *Taẕkereh-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb (bā moddemeh va fehrest-e e'lām)* (Tehran: Enteshārat-e Sharq, 1984); and Fayẓī, K., ed. *Taẕkereh-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb*. (Qom: Maṭbu'āt-i Dīnī, 2004). Both are reprints of Phillott's edition, accompanied by brief introductions, limited commentary, and indices. In her review of Fayẓī's work, Mītrā 'Asgarī criticizes him for not saying a word about the different manuscripts – "Seyrī dar Taẕkereh-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb," in *Ketābdārī, Ārshīv va Noshkheh-pazhuhī: Mīrāth-e Shehāb*, Spring-Summer 1384/2005, Nos. 39 and 40, p.353. The Turkish translation, again, of Phillott's text, was published by Kırlangıç, H., trans. and intro., *Şah Tahmasb-ı Safevî: Tezkire* (İstanbul: Anka Anı Yayınları, 2001).

[60] See Dāneshpazhūh, M-T., "Yek Pardeh az Zendegānī-ye Shāh Tahmāsb-e Ṣafavī," in *Jostārhā-ye Adabī*, Winter, 1350, Issue: 285, pp.915-997; this offers a good survey of primary sources on Ṭahmāsb and his reign, including a list of manuscripts containing images of the Shah, and also touches upon the text and its two recensions. See also his "Āyyīn-e Shāh Ṭahmāsb," in *Barresīhā-ye Tārīkhī* 1, no. 7 (1351/1972), pp.121-142; in addition to the text of the *Āyyīn*, the article offers a useful, albeit incomplete, survey of different manuscripts of the Shah's composition, in both recensions, even though the author does not attempt to study the relationship between them.

studied during the course of this research.[61] It also almost completely ignores the *enshāʾ* (royal correspondence) in these collections, in fact a key stage in the history of the text.

The *Kāteb* stemma includes:

xvii) MS. Dāneshgāh-e Tehrān: No. Adabīyāt 21b

xviii) MS. Dāneshgāh-e Tehrān: No. Adabīyāt 44j

xix) MS. Malek: No. 6323

xx) MS. Dāʾerat al-Maʾāref (Tehran): No. 470

xxi) MS. Majles: ID: 5022178, Rec. No. 3455/272, No. IR10-34162

xxii) MS. Majles: ID: 5022178, Rec. No. 2/606, No. 361

xxiii) MS. Bodleian Library: No. 2711, MS. Pers. D 84

The *Kāteb* stemma and variant (as well as the ***MC***) are the subject of Chapter Two of this dissertation. The examination of the manuscripts and the paratexts, along with the comparison of the *Naqqāsh* and *Kāteb* textual variants, allows us to trace fully the transmission, evolution and readership of the text, both in the first forty years following the composition, as well as throughout much of the seventeenth century leading up to the production of the *T-Recension*. This retracing is supplemented by discussion of the relationship between the text and, on the one hand, contemporary Safavid historiography and, on the other, the corpus of epistolography in the collections under discussion.

The following two parts and four chapters thus examine the codices in a loosely chronological order, provide contexts (to the extent possible), and offer critical readings of

[61] The exception is the dissertation by Zahir Bhalloo, "From Oral to Written Discourse: Shāh Ṭahmāsp's Narrative of Safavid-Ottoman Relations, 939-961/1532-1562" (MPhil diss., University of Oxford, 2008). Although he used more manuscripts than anyone before him, including one *monshaʿāt* containing the *Kāteb* variant, overall, his conclusions do not go beyond the established consensus, that is that Tahmāsb had personally revised and expanded the text; see pp. 84, 99, 102. I would like to thank him for kindly sharing with me the file in question.

the text and paratexts, while explaining how and why the *Five Stories* – the text composed by Ṭahmāsb – evolved into two parallel recensions over three generations. Since the oldest royal manuscript, that is the autograph, has been lost, it seems most appropriate to begin with the second royal copy, that of ʻAbbās I, with the aim of understanding what that text may have meant for him.

PART ONE: *The M-Recension*
Chapter One: The Naqqāsh Stemma

MS. National Library of Russia: Dorn, No. 302
The Manuscript of Shah ʻAbbās I: Text and Context

Justice comes to him distilled,
Shaped in the sayings of the ancestors.
Copy your fathers, your ancestors,
--- See, their words endure in books,
Open, read them, copy their knowledge,
He who is taught becomes skilled.[62]

Approaching the M-Recension and the Naqqāsh Stemma

Among the codices that have shaped modern scholarship on the subject, spurring the growth of its Russo-Soviet branch, is the personal copy of Ṭahmāsb's grandson, which also happens to be the oldest surviving royal manuscript of our text. Dating back more than four centuries, as the colophon indicates, and notwithstanding the significant damage throughout, from binding to folios, this fine example of Safavid book art clearly reflects the importance that generation attached to the composition, as well as to the legacy and memory of its author.

Containing two exquisite miniatures, both depicting the Shah, and transcribed in beautiful *Nastaʻlīq* by 'the most pitiful and sinful slave' – the well-known artist and calligrapher Reżā Abbāsī (d. 1635) – 'in 1010 AH' (1601/02), the manuscript is further said

[62] "The Instruction Addressed to King Merikare" (reigned c. 2075–2040 BCE) in M. Lichtheim's *Ancient Egyptian Literature I* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2019), p.99.

to have been illuminated by Zeyn al-ʻĀbedīn Tabrīzī.[63] Beyond the colophon, on the last folio of the codex, seemingly in the same hand, appears a verse which reads: ʻHe, who is [of] the lineage of the King of the East [and the West], is worthy of such words' – presumably a reference to the author/subject of the composition.[64]

The two beautiful *shamseh*s at the beginning of the manuscript in turn reveal its provenance as belonging to Shah ʻAbbās, who is said to have included it in his endowment to the dynastic shrine in Ardabil – the text, split over these two rosettes, reads:

> *ʻAbbās-e Ṣafavī, the Dog at the Threshold of ʻAlī b. Abī Ṭāleb, Peace be upon Him, endowed this book to the Blessed Shrine of Shāh Ṣafī, upon Him be Mercy, so that whoever wishes to may read it, provided it be not removed [from the shrine library], and whoever takes it outside becomes an accomplice [in the spilling] of Imam Ḥoseyn's blood.*[65]

---

[63] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.72v – "*al-afqar ʻalī reżā ʻabbāsī ghaffara allāhu ẕunūbahu fī sanati 1010*"; *"huwa al-fard katabahu al-ʻabd al-muẕnib al-aḥqar*". The gilder's signature is written in small letters, almost too small to read, at the very bottom of the leaf, with the first word unfortunately illegible – "… *zeyn al-ʻābedīn muẕahhib al-tabrīzī"*. For the miniatures, see ff.46v, 65r. For more on the collection, see: Vasilyeva, O., *A String of Pearls: Iranian Fine Books from the 14th to the 17th Century in the National Library of Russia Collections* (St Petersburg, 2008).

[64] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.73r – "*huwa, kasī keh nasl-e shāh-e mashreqayn ast, sezāvār ast keh aqvālash chonīn ast …*". The expression 'shāh-e mashreqayn' commonly refers to Imam Ḥoseyn, which in our case does not seem entirely improbable considering the Safavid use of the *niṣbah al-ḥoseynī*. Likewise, it may also be taken to mean 'Alī, if the second word is read as *mushriqiyyīn* – the 'radiant ones' – that is the *king of the sayyids*; or perhaps some Sasanian king, such as Anūshīrvān. The ambiguity is likely intentional, which is the main reason for sticking with the literal translation. Furthermore, since the ink above what we have read as *nasl-e shāh-e mashreqayn* is smattered, there is a possibility that the first two words should be read '*methl-e māh*'. The expressions *māh-e mashreqayn* and/or *nūr-e mashreqayn* both refer to Ḥoseyn; see, for instance, Dādbeh, A. and Ṣadrī, M. eds., *Kolliyyāt-e Najīb-e Kāshānī* (Tehran: Mīrāth-e Maktūb, 1382), p.417. I would like to thank Shiva Mihan for helping me read the verse, and Hamidreza Nikravesh for the reference.

[65] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – ff.1v, 2r – "*vaqf nomūdeh īn ketāb-rā kalb-e āstān-e ʿalī bin abī ṭāleb ʿalayhu al-salām ʿabbās al-ṣafavī bar āstāneh-ye motabarrakeh-ye shāh ṣafī ʿalayhu al-raḥmahu keh har keh khāhad bekhānad mashrūṭ-e ān keh az āstāneh bīrūn nabarad va har keh bīrūn barad sharīk-e khūn-e emām ḥoseyn būdeh bāshad.*" Virtually identical formulas are found in many other manuscripts. For instance, the unique manuscript of Qazvīnī's *Javāher* – MS. National Library of Russia: Dorn, 288 – see ed., Bahrāmnezhād, M., chāp-e avval. (Tehrān; Mīrāth-e Maktūb, 2000), p.49; or in a copy of Qomī's *Kholāṣat* – MS. Library of the Museum of Ancient Iran: No. 3726 – see, ed. Eḥsān Eshrāqī (Tehran: Enteshārāt-e Dāneshgāh-e Tehrān, 1984), p.24 (of the intro.). Clearly, his collection of manuscripts deserves a comprehensive study, potentially following the approach adopted by K. d'Hulster in his recent *Browsing through the Sultan's Bookshelves*: *Towards a Reconstruction of the Library of the Mamluk Sultan Qanisawh al-Ghawri* (r. 906-922/1501-1516). (Göttingen: Mamluk Studies; Volume 26, 2021).

And although we know its production date, there is nothing in the manuscript indicating when it was transferred to the library in Ardabil. However, from the unique manuscript of Būdāq Monshī Qazvīnī's *Javāher al-akhbār* – in the same collection, in the National Library of Russia – bearing the identical endowment formula and a date underneath it – we learn that this event took place in 1017 AH [1608/09].[66]

For about two hundred and twenty years, the codex remained in Ardabil, when, following the Russian conquest of the city, in late January of 1828, it was acquired by Pavel Petrovich Suchtelen (d. 1833) – along with a hundred and sixty-six manuscripts, which would come to be known as *the Ardabil Collection* (Rus. *Ardabil'skiy Sbornik*) – and moved to the Russian Imperial Library.[67] Its transfer to Saint Petersburg thus marked an important turn in the history of the text as well as the origin of the Russo-Soviet scholarship on this manuscript-textual tradition. Russo-Soviet scholarship on the codex has been discussed in the introductory chapter, and here we consider its earlier history.

To begin with, we can safely assume that, while the manuscript remained in Ardabil, over the course of more than two centuries, very much in accordance with the stated wish of the donor, it most certainly would have been read by hundreds (perhaps thousands?) of people visiting and employed at the shrine and its library. Among those would have been Safavid family members, men and women, statesmen and bureaucrats, and custodians and their assistants, as well as other individuals variously involved in the patronage, management and upkeep of the institution. To these we can add a diverse body of *qezelbāsh-ṣūfī* disciples of the House of Ṣafī al-Dīn, coming to Ardabil from the East and the West.

Supporting this notion is the fact that it was copied, apparently more than once, as we know of at least two codices of Eskander Bēg Monshī's (d. 1632/3) *Tārīkh-e 'ālam-ārā-ye*

[66] Qazvīnī, *Javāher*, p.52. Several other manuscripts bearing such formulae are known. See, Melville, Charles. "Shah ʿAbbas's Patronage of the Dynastic Shrine at Ardabil", *Muqarnas Online* 37, 1 (2020), p.111-138.
[67] Vasilyeva, O.V., "Oriental Manuscripts in the National Library of Russia," *Manuscripta Orientalia*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (1996), p.19.

'abbāsī (completed c. 1628/9) containing its text, along with the preface, directly and/or indirectly reproduced from the ***SPC*** and thus belonging to what we have termed the *Naqqāsh* stemma. These two codices – *MS. National Library of the Islamic Republic of Iran: No. 814216,* dating to 1086 AH (1675/76) and *MS. Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts: No. 12/46,* dated 1266 AH (1849/50) – with the latter likely a copy of the former, are presently kept in Tehran and Tbilisi, respectively.[68] The text appears at the very beginning of both codices, separate from the main body of the *tārīkh* which, on the one hand, indicates the intent to preserve and transmit it and, on the other, suggests a close association between the two compositions in the mind of the scribes who included them in the same codex. Indeed, by virtue of Eskander Bēg's reliance on earlier Safavid chronicles, most notably *Aḥsan* and *Kholāṣat*, and possibly having access to a copy of our text, its contents and narrative are also variously echoed and partly reproduced throughout the relevant sections of Eskander Bēg's work.[69]

Furthermore, unlike the Saint Petersburg codex, both the Tehran and Tbilisi copies contain the text in its entirety, suggesting that the aforesaid defects and damage throughout the ***SPC*** probably date to the period between 1675/76 and 1759 – the latter date being the year when the shrine inventory mentioning the defects was compiled.[70] In the 1852

[68] It seems to have been a common practice across cultures to include ancestral instructional texts in manuscripts of chronicles and/or works of historiography. For example, the oldest copy of the *Instruction of Vladimir Monomakh* (d. 1125) survived, prefixed to the so-called *Laurentian Codex*, completed towards the end of the fourteenth century and relating the events in the northeastern Rus' principalities of Vladimir-Suzdal – see Maria Nenarokova, "Vladimir Monomakh's Instruction: An Old Russian Pedagogic Treatise," in *What Nature Does Not Teach: Didactic Literature in the Medieval and Early-Modern Periods* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2008), p.110. The same is true of the *Instruction of Louis IX* (d. 1270), a copy of which is inserted in the manuscript of Guillaume de Saint-Pathus's (d. 1315) *Vie de Saint Louis* – see O'Connell, D., and Louis IX, *The Instructions of Saint Louis: A Critical Text* (Chapel Hill: U.N.C. Dept. of Romance Languages, 1979), p.18. Another example, closer to home, is the so-called *Letter of Tansar,* inserted at the start of the manuscript of Ebn Esfandeyār's *Tārīkh-e Ṭabarestān* – see https://iranicaonline.org/articles/ebn-esfandiar by C. Melville.

[69] One notable exception however is the fifth story, that of Bāyezīd, where Eskander Bēg has revised the narrative to include the poison plot against Ṭahmāsb, which would, a generation later, come to be integrated into the *T-Recension*. The plot is first mentioned in Rūmlū's *Aḥsan,* p.1416 – and subsequently reproduced by Eskander Bēg.

[70] Assuming most of the damage really does date back to this time period, over one hundred and fifty years the overall physical condition of the codex had significantly

catalogue, prepared by one involuntary accomplice in the spilling of Ḥoseyn's blood, Boris Andreevich Dorn, the manuscript is titled *Bayāż-e mokālemeh-ye shāh ṭahmāsb bā īlchīyān* and described as *une copie ou protocole des 'conferences' de Shah Tahmasp I, avec les ambassadeurs envoyés en persan par le sultan Souleiman I ..., pour réclamer son fils Bayazid, qui s'était réfugié après du souverain persan*.[71] While *bayāż* in the catalogue entry is a reference to the manuscript's typology, the rest of Dorn's title is derived from the preface, of about six hundred words (in Persian). The preface explicitly frames the composition as 'stories' and 'some discourses' (*ḥekāyāt, ba'żī-ye sokhanān*). After expressing vexation over not having been able to speak either with his counterpart or his representatives – for thirty nine years – from his ascension to the throne in 930 AH (1524) until 969 AH (1562), as well as hope that this time his words may reach His Sovereign Majesty (*ḥażrat-e khondgār*), the Shah is said to have narrated the stories to the Ottoman embassy of more than five hundred people.[72]

The vessel and the stated setting for the narrative can provide a framework for further analysis of how 'Abbās's generation viewed the author of the text and what these 'stories' and 'discourses' may have meant to them.

deteriorated; the binding was damaged and does not seem to have undergone a proper restoration; exposure to moisture/water, oftentimes rendering the text virtually illegible, resulted in several sections of the text being blackened and/or almost completely erased (ff. 5v, 6r, 14r, 23v, 24r, 26r, 26v, 27v, 46v, 47r, 49v, 50r, 63r, 64r, 71r); and finally, a couple of folios have been misplaced, as is explicitly stated in the said inventory (*moshavvash shodeh*), indicating that the manuscript may have been hastily put back together following an accident – see, *Gonjīneh*, p.43.

[71] Dorn, B.A., and Rost, R., *Catalogue des manuscrits et xylographes orientaux de la Bibliothèque impériale publique de St. Pétersbourg* (St. Pétersbourg: Imprimerie de l'Académie impériale des sciences,1852), pp.290-91.

[72] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – ff.4r/v.

The Royal Manuscript as a Site of Memory

With regard to the manuscript typology, it should be noted at the outset that the term *bayāż*, sometimes taken to mean 'fair copy', is a small album-like book with a narrow back commonly used to record 'best sayings, finest stories, rarest words and most eloquent examples of speech … thus indicating its compiler's good taste.'[73] Consequently, the choice of a stand-alone *bayāż*, rather than, say, a regular *daftar* or a multi-text *jong*, as a vessel to preserve and transmit the text beyond the current generation unmistakably indicates its significance to 'Abbās. His choice of this format suggests an effort to commemorate the historical episode that its preface references and suggests a wish to honour the figure at the centre of it. Indeed, the codex and its production, as well as its contents, including the illustrations and the illumination, when considered jointly exhibit the three key features – material, symbolic and functional, respectively – of what Pierre Nora has called *lieux de mémoire*, that is, *sites of memory*, compelling us to treat it as such –

> [they] *are simple and ambiguous, natural and artificial, at once immediately available in concrete sensual experience and susceptible to the most abstract elaboration; indeed, they are* [sites] *in three senses of the word*.[74]

[73] Afshar, I., "Maktūb and Majmū'a: Essential Sources for Safavid Research," in *Society and Culture in the Early Modern Middle East: Studies on Iran in the Safavid Period*, ed. A.J. Newman, (Leiden: Brill, 2003), p.52.
[74] Nora, "Les Lieux de Mémoire," pp.18-19.

On the material level, as has already been suggested, an exquisitely made, beautifully illustrated and skillfully illuminated codex is akin to a monument and/or a memorial to Ṭahmāsb and his era. At the same time, the royal manuscript said to contain the 'pleasing speech' (*sokhānān-e delpaẕīr*) of the 'honorable ancestor' (*jadd-e bozorvār*) whose memory and legacy lived on, not only in the imagination of his successors but also in the physical world, is not merely evidence of the patron's will to remember but is obviously also invested with a symbolic aura of intergenerational succession and continuity.[75] Furthermore, such 'act[s] of resuscitation performed by the desire of the group not to allow the dead to disappear but, with the aid of memory, to keep them alive as members of the community and to [bring] them into their progressive present,' are a key part of what Jan Assmann calls 'memory culture'.[76]

A reflection upon the two examples of the phenomenon from the ancient world, which Assmann provides to illustrate his point, offers further insights regarding our own subject matter. One example, an upper-class Roman custom, involved parading ancestors by way of portraits and masks in family processions. Another, an Egyptian custom, entailed a person during his own lifetime arranging his own tomb and having his biography (in the sense of an anticipatory obituary) inscribed on it.[77] Therefore, although further research may be needed to substantiate the idea, based on these two examples and the material at hand, we can cautiously suggest that in some respects, at least when it comes to remembering the dead, the Safavid memory culture can be situated somewhere half-way between those of the Romans and the Egyptians. The royal manuscript preserved in the dynastic shrine and containing his ancestor's images and words – which could be construed simultaneously as an obituary, an autobiography and an apologia – certainly seems to suggest that. The small caveat here is that what was being 'paraded' in the Safavid case is neither visual nor material (even though these

[75] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302, f.3v.
[76] Assmann, *Cultural Memory*, p.20.
[77] Ibid.

are not entirely unimportant), but rather it is the image of the late Shah conforming to a set of political, moral and religious norms. In other words, his self-representation in the narrative and normative planes clearly rendered Ṭahmāsb, in the eyes of the next generation, a model of proper conduct and correct behaviour, that is, in the Aristotelian sense, a 'canon' of Safavid kingship.[78]

This last point is directly connected to the functional aspect of the composition and its reception during the reign of 'Abbās, which is discussed in this chapter and the next. For now, suffice it to say that both his predecessor's words and his actions were clearly perceived as a source of guidance and direction for 'Abbās's own generation (*kalemāt-e hedāyat-ta'thīr*).[79] Indeed, as he was growing up, 'Abbās witnessed first-hand the consequences of ideological deviation from his grandfather's course, on the one hand, in the case of his uncle Esmā'īl II, and of inadequate leadership, on the other, on the part of his own father, Moḥammad Khodābandeh. Consequently, upon ascending to the Safavid throne, young 'Abbās found himself facing very similar problems, at home and abroad, to those Ṭahmāsb had been able to overcome. For decades, working relentlessly to restore the status quo of the previous two decades of his grandfather's reign, 'Abbās simply could not ignore the stories, which his honorable ancestor had clearly composed to share his experience with posterity, and which he no doubt found to be a source of wisdom, guidance and exemplary conduct to follow. The text thus received the attention it deserved, eventually prompting the production of the beautiful codex worthy of the author, and of its patron, while also acquiring a new preface.

[78] Ibid., p.93.
[79] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302, f.3v.

Making Sense of the Preface

Moving on to the second part of the catalogue entry title and the preface, which describes the narrative that follows as the Shah's address to the ambassadors – here a few things need to be said. Mentioned in the introduction, from the letter sent by Ṭahmāsb's ministers to the Ottoman court, we learn that he had indeed attempted to articulate his retrospective take on the events leading up to the Bāyezīd affair.[80] Rūmlū likewise mentions that the Shah had held an audience with the envoys – 'Alī Pāshā and Ḥasan Āghā – and 'in the manner of mighty rulers and noble kings, with affectionate words and amicable speech, polished the stains of distress off the mirror of their minds,'[81] which presumably means he expressed his views on the course of the events leading up to the embassy. Although not insignificant, these statements are hardly sufficient evidence to take the contents of the preface at face value and thus accept that he had narrated the stories, in their entirety, in front of an audience of Ottoman envoys and their large retinue.[82] Let us dig a little deeper and try to make sense of all this.

[80] Navā'ī, *Ṭahmāsb*, p.439.
[81] Rūmlū, *Aḥsan*, p.1421.
[82] Navā'ī, *Ṭahmāsb*, p.439.

It is of course beyond doubt that the stories, that is the text we possess, could not possibly have been delivered by Ṭahmāsb as a long address to the audience of five hundred Ottomans, and thus presumably in the presence of at least as many Safavid family members, bureaucrats, courtiers, guards, *ʻolamā* and *qezelbāsh*. Here is a more insightful and informed scenario.

First and foremost, no oration-like address in the form of five stories is mentioned in any contemporary, or later, Safavid chronicles, although admittedly we do have references (mentioned above) to the audience the Shah held with the second Ottoman embassy in 969/1562. Secondly, even without any formal 'preface' and/or with minimal courtly and diplomatic etiquette (or *taʻārof*), the five stories alone, approximating some twenty-five thousand words, if spoken at an average speed of one hundred and thirty words per minute, would require between three and four hours of uninterrupted speech – neither a realistic scenario nor an effective way to communicate one's views. Thirdly, the text is replete with poems and proverbs (some up to a dozen verses-long and quite emotionally charged, others quite ordinary), numerous excerpts from the Quran and the Hadiths, as well as a whole range of trivial and at times dull details, not to mention several dream narratives (some rather personal, and thus hardly appropriate for the audience of Ottoman legates), all of which are not only of limited value to the overall message but essentially render the text in its entirety unfit for the delivery in a speech-like manner. The second and third points alone make the narrative in its entirety not only extremely tedious but essentially futile to reproduce as a public address. When the length of the text and its intermittent tedium are considered along with the first point – that the Five Stories delivered as oration are not mentioned elsewhere – there can hardly remain the preface claim that this text represents the Shah's address to the Ottoman legation is surely an exaggeration at best.[83]

[83] A similarly suspect 'testimony' (*vaṣīyah*), said to have been 'delivered orally and written down', is attributed to Ghāzān Khān (d. 1304). I would like to thank Charles Melville for bringing this to my attention – see his "Ghazan Khan's Political Will and

Moreover, other examples of apocryphal settings for episodes whereby socio-religious groups' views, beliefs and dogmas are expounded and defended by their representatives – usually framed as debates, discussions, and/or dialogues with higher authorities or more powerful parties – are well attested. Two notable examples are the so-called 'debates' between the Patriarch of the Church of the East, Timothy I (d. 823), and the 'Abbasid caliph al-Mahdi (d. 785); and between the eighth Imam of the Shī'a, 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riżā (d. 818), and another 'Abbasid caliph, al-Ma'mūn (d. 833). Both of these 'debates' have been argued, and convincingly demonstrated, to be apocryphal while at the same time clearly representing efforts to articulate these groups' respective views, beliefs and dogmas, quite clearly for didactic purposes, by means of what can be said to resemble the Socratic method of instruction – an argumentative dialogue.[84] Ṭahmāsb's text, of course, is neither a debate, nor even a conversation, despite its description in the preface as a *mokālemeh* (i.e., a conversation, dialogue, discourse, implying an exchange of views and opinions). Nor is he said to have spoken with Soleymān directly, despite explicitly acknowledging his power and authority. Instead, it is a monologue, a first-person historical narrative, more informal but still akin to the style of the well-known Safavid chroniclers, in the form of five stories.[85] Finally, it should be said that the account, in all the known copies of the *M*- and the *T-Recensions*, ends with his welcoming words and a brief direct address to the two envoys:

Testament: Further Light on the Mongol Household," in *Mongols in the 14th Century*, *Ming Qing Yanjiu* 22, No. 2 [2018-19], pp.164-90.

[84] Mingana, A., trans., "The Debate on the Christian Faith between Timothy I and Caliph Mahdi in 781 A.D." *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 12. vol. 2. (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Limited, 1928), pp.60-90; and Wasserstein, D. J., "The 'Majlis of al-Rida': A Religious Debate in the Court of the Caliph al-Ma'mun as Represented in a Shi'i Hagiographical Work about the Eighth Imam 'Ali ibn Musa al-Rida," in Hava Lazarus-Yafeh et al. (eds), *The Majles: Interreligious Encounters in Medieval Islam* (Wiesbaden, 1999), pp.108-119. Indeed, the use of the term *monāẓereh* (disputation) is widespread in Islamic didactic literature.

[85] Many sixteenth-century Safavid historians, quite significantly, also integrated autobiographical sections, of various lengths, into their works. See, for instance, R. Savory's "Secretarial Career under Shah Tahmasp I (1524-1576)," in *Islamic Studies*, vol. 2 (3) (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, 1963), pp.343-352; or Genç, V. and Dehghan, M., "Reflections of Sharaf Khān's Autobiography," in *Manuscripta Orientalia*, vol. 21 (1), June 2015, pp.46-61.

> *Your Highnesses, 'Alī Pāshā and Ḥasan Āghā, are welcome! I shall abide by whatever is the command of His Sovereign Majesty; I shall not transgress his orders and warnings, and am ready and obliged to offer every service … Having said that, in exchange for such great service, I request a worthy gift from His Majesty and Salīm Khān, and let it be great indeed! Peace.*[86]

Other than these words, there is virtually nothing in the text itself to suggest it was ever delivered as a public address or indeed intended for such a purpose.

To address this apparent discrepancy, I offer two possible explanations. One, none of the chroniclers who had used the text, often copying entire paragraphs virtually verbatim, reproduces the above passage, nor does any of them say a word about the address itself, nor about its contents or form.[87] Thus, it is possible, though unlikely, that the inclusion of the passage at the end of the *M-Recension*, circa the turn of the seventeenth century, is a layer of paratext, added, along with the preface to the urtext, during the reign of 'Abbās, and subsequently reproduced (in the case of the final passage, but not the preface) in the *T-Recension* some eighty years later. A second possible explanation considers the parallels with the Pentateuch (which at this stage can only be alluded to) and with its fifth book in particular – *And it came to pass in the fortieth year … that Moses spake unto the children of Israel …* (Deut. 1:3). It is likely that Ṭahmāsb was familiar with the Pentateuch, probably in the Judeo-Persian translation. One may also speculate that the Shah, wishing to frame the stories as his address to the envoys, and ultimately to Soleymān (*ḥażrat-e khāndgār*), may have consciously included the passage containing his welcome and brief address to the Ottoman embassy, perhaps intending to revise and/or expand the text later on.

---

[86] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302, f.73r. While the *Naqqāsh* textual variant ends here and is followed by a colophon, the manuscripts belonging to the *Kāteb* group contain a *ghazal* (no. 442) from *Dīvān-e Ḥāfeẓ* on the importance of humbling oneself before God – essentially casting Ṭahmāsb as *darvīsh* and Soleymān as *pādshāh* – and asserting that 'peace is better than war' – '… *ṣolḥ beh az jang va dāvarī …*', see **C1:1** – MS.DT: Adab. 21b: – f.83v.

[87] See Qobād al-Ḥoseynī, *Tārīkh-e īlchī*, pp. 192-198; Shīrāzī, *Takmelat*, pp.115-120, Qomī, *Kholāṣat*, pp.417-419. In fact, none of the three chroniclers, unlike Rūmlū, ever mentions the Shah's audience with the envoys!

Ultimately, the *Five Stories* represent Ṭahmāsb's own etiology and retrospective, much like Moses in the Book Deuteronomy, recounting his four decades of 'wandering in the wilderness' of almost perpetual war, changing fortunes and fragile peace which had led to his exhorting both parties to observe the covenant. Why the passage in Ṭahmāsb's text addressing the two envoys did not make it to the chronicles is difficult to answer decisively, yet neither of the two scenarios outlined above undermines the conclusion that the claim that the Shah recited the contents of the composition in its entirety – and in the form of five stories – is purely fictive and symbolic. At the same time, much like *the D Source* – the core of the Book of Deuteronomy – which describes an actual covenant renewal ceremony for the second generation of the Israelites after their departure from Egypt, the ominous Ottoman embassy, arriving in Qazvin in the middle of July 1562, some three months following that of 'Alī Pāshā and Ḥasan Āghā mentioned in the story of Bāyezīd, marks the renewal of the covenant between Soleymān and Ṭahmāsb.[88]

The evidence in support of this notion is abundant indeed. For instance, in the context of the exchange of embassies and the negotiations by way of correspondence concerning the fate of the fugitive prince, Eskandar Bēg mentions various gifts and letters of friendship

[88] Stackert, J., *Deuteronomy and the Pentateuch* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2022), p.93. The parallels with the Pentateuch are in fact not limited to these and indeed require a focused study which would have to be undertaken separately. Here I simply point out that, in addition to the form (i.e. the five stories) sections of the text greatly resemble some passages found in the Pentateuch. For instance, in Numbers 1:16-46, whereby the 'renowned of the congregation, princes of the tribes of their fathers, heads of thousands in Israel' are listed, greatly resemble the section in the third story, where we find a detailed list of commanders and their tribes (with specific numbers provided for each group) that joined the Shah. Moreover, Ṭahmāsb is very likely to have been familiar with the Hebrew script and thus to have read the Pentateuch in its Judeo-Persian translation. He mentions seeing in a dream 'a line of calligraphy appear on the face of the firmament, in the style of the Hebrew script (*be-ṭarīq-e khaṭṭ-e 'ebrī*) and in the colour of the sky' – MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302, ff.42r/v, 57v. Curiously, a translation of the Pentateuch into Judeo-Persian, by Jacob ben Josheph Tavus, was printed in Istanbul in 1546. The translator was invited to Istanbul by Soleymān's physician Moses Hamon, who had accompanied the Ottoman ruler on his first Persian campaign. This, or perhaps another, older, translation is indeed likely to have been available to the Safavid Shah in manuscript form – https://iranicaonline.org/articles/judeo-persian-ix-judeo-persian-literature; see also Mathieu Terrier's "Le rôle des juifs et des chrétiens dans l'historiosophie du šī'isme imamite," in *Théologie musulmane des religions*, 33 | 2018, pp.183-219.

exchanged between the two parties and concludes that, in 1562, 'by the renewal of reciprocal covenants, a genuine treaty of peace was concluded.'[89] In turn, Qomī's *Kholāṣat* even contains a letter in Torkī, said to have been penned by Soleymān himself, which includes 'the pact and the covenant along with various assurances and oaths' to that effect.[90] In the letter, the Ottoman ruler explicitly responds to Ṭahmāsb's 'request [of] a worthy gift,' that is, 'in exchange for [his] great service,' pledging to have 'five-hundred thousand [units of] gold delivered to Erzurum.'[91] Thus, although connected with the episode in question, and clearly inspired by it, it is apparent that the text in its entirety could not have been Ṭahmāsb's actual address to these envoys. Indeed, given that the essence of the Safavid narrative of the conflict had already 'been expressed in the [copious] diplomatic correspondence and would have been communicated to [Soleymān,]'[92] it is highly improbable that Ṭahmāsb would have gone far beyond merely restating his position and views on the matter. Quite clearly then, it was only later, making extensive use of the corpus of diplomatic correspondence, that he went on to compose the text, seeking to produce a coherent narrative of the war and peace with the Ottomans – prior to any other Safavid chronicler – while also using these stories as a vessel to instruct posterity in matters of rulership, statecraft and diplomacy. Some of these letters, and their relationship to the text under study, will be introduced and discussed in the next chapter.

Considering the above discussion, we can cautiously surmise three implicit goals of framing the stories as *a public address* circa the turn of the seventeenth century, as well as of *making the text available to anyone to read* (not least by means of reproducing it both in contemporary and later chronicles):

---

[89] *The History of Shah 'Abbas the Great*, *Tārīk̲-e 'ālamārā-ye 'Abbāsī* of Eskandar Beg Monshi; trans. by Roger M. Savory, three vols. (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1978), pp.172, 192.
[90] Qomī, *Kholāṣat*, p 432.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Navā'ī, *Ṭahmāsb*, p.439.

(i) the official endorsement of the late Shah's narrative, rendering it the state-sanctioned account of the conflict and its aftermath, underpinning 'Abbās's own efforts to restore the status quo of the last two decades of his grandfather's reign;

(ii) the emphasis on the Ottomans' de facto acknowledgement of the Safavid etiology, a reminder of their assurances of friendship and the continuation of peaceful coexistence, and thus their full recognition of the Safavid statehood and sovereignty, specifically within the boundaries set forth in the Treaty of Amasya, in 1555, and subsequently confirmed seven years later, in 1562;

(iii) showing the late Shah and the Safavid polity, to the extent that it was possible, as equals to the Ottoman state and its ruler – represented by the embassy of *more than five hundred persons*[93] – while also seeking to prove that the form of piety of the Shah himself, and of his disciples and subjects, was within the bounds of Islamic law, the image carefully constructed throughout the five stories.

Indeed, if taken at face value, the preface sits awkwardly with the rest of the text. The aforesaid passage, addressing 'Alī Pāshā and Ḥasan Āghā, is the only exception which nonetheless looks more like an afterthought. It is thus not inconceivable that it was a paratextual layer added later, after the manuscript containing the autograph, along with the oldest preface (to be discussed in the next chapter), had been 're-discovered' and the new one composed, with the goal of rendering the *Five Stories* more meaningful to the current generation. Somewhat more likely appears the scenario of Ṭahmāsb's conscious imitation of the Pentateuchal narrative structure, where the purported conversation with the Ottoman envoys, at the very end of the fifth story – corresponding with the Book of Deuteronomy, that is the 'Second Law' or the 'Renewal of the Law' – functions as a locus. From it the author relates his version of events accounting for the origins of the current situation and thus implicitly calling for renewal of the covenant and observing the conditions that had made it possible. Thus, even though the said letter of the ministers, along with the passage in Rūmlū's *Aḥsan,* and the above discussion go at least halfway to answer how forty years following its composition the text came to acquire such a preface, the production of the royal manuscript

[93] Both Qomī's *Kholāṣat* (p.417) and Shīrāzī's *Takmelat* (p.117) in fact mention 'seven and six hundred persons' and 'seven hundred persons' (*bā haftṣad-o-shaṣt nafar*), respectively.

can be understood only against the historical context within which it took place, and alongside the meaning of the text in it to the then-current Safavid generation.

The M-Recension as a Mythomoteur

Proceeding to the next step, let us build upon the premises outlined above: namely (i) the royal manuscript, its production and its text, along with the new preface, should be viewed within the context of remembrance and construed as an important element of the then-current Safavid generation's official historiography and memory of the late Shah and his reign; (ii) the new preface presenting the stories as *Ṭahmāsb's conversation with the Ottoman ambassadors*, instead of taking it at face value, may be interpreted as (a) the representation of the Shah and the Safavid polity as near-equals to the Ottoman state and its ruler; (b) the reiteration of the Ottomans' de facto acknowledgement of Ṭahmāsb's etiology; and (c) the contemporary endorsement of the late Shah's narrative. Taken together with the framing of

the text in the preface, these factors simultaneously imply the intention to have its contents reach the widest audience possible, and/or to maximize its prestige and currency among the Safavid royal family and the elites.

This framework allows for an exploration of how ʻAbbās himself viewed Ṭahmāsb, to what extent he may have been inspired by his grandfather's life and deeds, and whether he tried to emulate his conduct and policies, worked to perpetuate his legacy, and perhaps outdo his achievements. Moreover, this section will also argue that for ʻAbbās and his contemporaries, especially in the first half of his reign, the narrative of the war and peace with the Ottomans composed by his grandfather, his image therein, as well as the alleged setting within which it is said to have been originally delivered, served as a *mythomoteur* – a constitutive myth and a source of guidance giving this later Safavid generation a sense of identity, purpose and direction.[94] Finally, addressing these questions requires a close examination of the text itself, directed toward gaining a better understanding of what it may have meant to the second generation of readers, and thus, one would hope, shedding light on the context within which this royal manuscript was produced. More specifically, the guiding questions are these: in what ways did Ṭahmāsb and his reign figure in the memory and imagination of the generation that succeeded him; and how is this reflected in the historiography? To what extent did the text and the image therein of the late Shah provide guidance to the young ʻAbbās, and how is this reflected in his policies as well as his own representation in the sources?

Examining the image of Ṭahmāsb, which he himself constructed throughout the text, is in order. But, before this can be done, let us have a closer look at the preface to the *M-Recension* and thus begin to probe what the *Five Stories* may have meant to ʻAbbās and his contemporaries circa the turn of the seventeenth century – just under forty years following its composition, and more than twenty-five years after its author's death. As already mentioned,

[94] Assmann, *Cultural Memory*, p.63.

all the *M-Recension* manuscripts – including those belonging to the *Kāteb* stemma, as well as the only other *single-text* manuscript containing this recension (the ***Mashhad Codex*** or *MS. AQRL: No. 7886*), both to be discussed in the next chapter – are accompanied by prefaces of various lengths framing the narrative in this particular manner. It thus seems appropriate to reproduce here in full the longest and most complete among them:

> *In the Name of God, the Merciful and the Compassionate, the Audience of His Highness, Resting-in-Paradise, Shah Ṭahmāsb, with the Rūmī Envoys*
>
> After the infinite tributes to His Majesty, the Absolute King, and the praiseworthy Holder of Dominion, and [following] the auspicious greetings upon the Lord of the Messengers, the Seal of the Prophets, and the Apostle of the Master of Both Worlds, as well as upon His good and pure posterity – the Immaculate Imams [and] especially [upon] the Commander of the Faithful [i.e., ʻAlī], the Imam of the Pious, the Leader of the Religion, and of those with the Radiant Complexion [i.e., the *sayyids*] – may peace and God's blessings be upon Him [i.e., Moḥammad], and upon Them All, it shall be proclaimed: … that His Majesty the Lord God, may His deeds be celebrated and His proof glorified, in the Noble Book, the Glorious Qur'ān, has commanded: *Invite [all] to the Way of your Lord with wisdom and kind advice, and only engage in disputation with them in the best manner* [*Surely your Lord* ˹alone˺ *knows best who has strayed from His Way and who is* ˹rightly˺ *guided* …] [16:125]; that is, [when interpreted,] "O, Moḥammad, call the people upon the path of worship and knowledge of your Creator; argue with them by way of truth and certainty, [and strive] along the path of laudable counsel and guidance, in a manner that is the superior way of disputation!"
>
> Let it not remain concealed that the Almighty God, glory be to Him, has commanded and charged His Prophet, peace be upon Him and His Family, in this noble verse, that in conveying the ordinances of the Law to all people, from the noble to the common, he [shall] observe all of the [following] three ways: *first*, he should eagerly strive to *ascertain the truth* by defined propositions [of syllogisms] and conclusive proofs; *second*, he should *manifest the truth* by satisfactory injunctions and convincing arguments; *third*, he should *prove the claim(s)* through incontestable and well-known premises.
>
> Thus, His Auspicious Highness, the August, Most Noble, and Loftiest, may God render his dominion eternal [i.e., Shah ʻAbbās], following his revered ancestor, decreed: "*With the crowd of Ottoman legates and envoys* – which in 969 AH [1561/62] came to demand [the extradition of] His Sovereign Majesty's son, Sultan Bāyezīd, who along with his [four] sons had taken refuge with His Prosperous Highness – *he* [i.e., Ṭahmāsb] *spoke in the three aforementioned ways*, articulating these *comely discourses* and pronouncing these *guidance-effecting words*, saying: 'On several occasions, I have dispatched envoys and sent messages to [His Majesty]; however, [His] grandeur and awesomeness cast such fear in their hearts that the envoys would forget even themselves, let alone my message(s) [i.e., they failed to

deliver their messages]. And since the departure of His Royal Highness [i.e., Shah Esmā'īl] to the House of Eternity, [thus] bestowing upon me the throne of sovereignty, and until now, for [the period of] thirty nine years, I have always wished that one of His Majesty's [i.e., Sultan Soleymān's] men would come [here], so that I [may] recount these stories to him. So, praise be to God, for two trustworthy men, such as yourselves [i.e., 'Alī Pāshā and Ḥasan Āghā], in the company of around two-hundred servants of His Majesty […], as well as three hundred folks of your own, are present to listen to these accounts and relate [them] to [your lord]. And even if you do not, some of those [present] most certainly will; and even if they cannot [gain access to and speak directly with] His Majesty, [then at least] let them tell the *pāshās* and their kinsfolk, so that [these stories] may [eventually] reach [him].'

Indeed, if one were to write these stories down, they will form a book of discourses, and the said accounts will thus be arranged in five chapters."[95]

As we have seen, it is stated that it was 'Abbās, following his 'esteemed ancestor' (*jadd-e bozorgvār*), presumably Ṭahmāsb, rather than the Prophet, and seeking to 'call the people upon the path of worship and knowledge of [their] Creator [and thus] convey the ordinances of the Law to all,' commissioned the production of this book of 'heart-warming speech (*sokhanān-e delpaẕīr*) and guidance-effecting words' (*kalemāt-e hedāyat-ta'thīr*). This statement reveals how the text and its author had come to be viewed by posterity, while the emphasis on the size of the audience, coupled with the expressed desire to communicate these stories to as many people as possible, including the Ottoman ruler, are clearly indicative of the then-current generation's public endorsement of the narrative as well as their intent to follow in the footsteps of its main protagonist.[96]

Thus, while Ṭahmāsb is explicitly said to have followed the Prophetic example – 'inviting all,' including the Ottomans, 'to the way of [the] Lord with wisdom and kind advice, and only engaging in disputation with them in the best manner' – his stories, regardless of the

[95] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – ff.2v – 4v. See the Persian of the preface in the appendix.
[96] Not to imply any direct relationship, it is nevertheless noteworthy that, according to the Apostle Paul, following his 'resurrection' Jesus manifested himself nine times and, upon his fifth appearance, is said to have been 'seen by over five hundred brethren at once, of whom the greater part remains to the present, but some have fallen asleep.' – *New King James Version: 1 Corinthians 15:6*. It thus appears that an audience, or a group of witnesses, of five hundred people, or more, was somehow understood to constitute sufficient proof of an event or a phenomenon, or perhaps to reinforce its significance, thus demonstrating the speaker/writer's interest in wide dissemination.

setting, were clearly viewed as adhering to the three key principles articulated in the Quran, Surat al-Naḥl, verse 125, quoted in the preface given above and summarized as: ‘ascertaining the truth, manifesting it and proffering incontestable evidence for the claim(s).’ Meeting such strict criteria is what rendered the composition worth preserving and reproducing, especially, yet not exclusively, in an exquisitely illuminated and illustrated *single-text* codex – a worthy written memorial to the man and his legacy as well as, quite clearly, a source of guidance for his descendants and successors.

Additionally, the late Shah is represented in the preface as a wise and pious ruler, not only adhering to but also actively promoting the sacred law, while emphasizing that he had personally related these stories to a very large audience, most of whom would have been explicitly assumed to belong to a religious denomination different from his own. This in turn further corroborates the statements in the two rosettes – ‘whoever wishes to may read it’ – to the effect that the contents of the text were intended for public rather than private consumption. The evident emphasis on the wisdom, piety and law-abiding character of the late Shah is worth exploring a little more, for it not only offers clues regarding his messaging and intentions but also suggests how the contents of the stories may have informed the thinking behind the new preface.

Wisdom, Piety and Law in the Five Stories

As one might expect, in addition to the narrative, the *Five Stories* also have a rich normative dimension. Drawing upon the pool of historiography, Persian classics, the Quran and Hadiths, and the *Qeṣaṣ al-Anbīyā'* (or *Isrā'īlīyāt* more broadly), as well as various proverbs, sayings and popular verses, both in Fārsī and Torkī, Ṭahmāsb aptly deploys the insights and lessons contained therein as examples to substantiate his arguments, to justify his actions, or to 'punctuate' different episodes throughout the narrative. In this way, the stories assume the function of a vessel synthesising his personal experiences and conduct with a corpus of practical wisdom passed down, written and oral, from earlier eras, thus producing an idiosyncratic mirror-for-princes.[97]

[97] Although the scholarly literature dealing with the genre of mirrors-for-princes, across cultures and ages, is substantial, few have approached the phenomenon from the angle of lived experiences, instead studying it as a literary category. One noteworthy exception

‘Ascertaining the truth, manifesting it, and proffering incontestable evidence for the claims’ – the Shah either defends his own actions or disparages those of others, supporting his propositions and arguments with excerpts from the sources listed above. He clearly endeavours to instruct his readers on a whole range of matters, touching upon themes of contentment, humility, prudence, the need for consultation and deliberation, the necessity of avoiding hasty actions, abstinence, righteousness, belief in God, love for the Prophet and His Family, filial piety, valuing family treasures, and devotional reverence for ancestors, as well as statecraft, diplomacy, and, of course, the importance of adhering to and promoting Divine Law.

He fairly often quotes from Sa‘dī’s *Būstān* and *Golestān*, be it to better illustrate how Ebrāhīm Pāshā’s unrighteous behaviour led to bloodshed,[98] or to criticize Soleymān for his greediness, and the fact that, despite having recently conquered Baghdad, he coveted still more of the Shah’s ‘poor country,’[99] or to rebuke his rebellious brother Alqās for seeking ephemeral treasures – that is, Ottoman gold – over eternal and spiritual treasures, such as the love of ‘Alī.[100] Elsewhere, he recalls the story of Darius III, who, during the war with Alexander, was believed to have been killed by two of his own officers, thus justifying his decision to leave those ‘not fully trusted’ in Herat before marching west to face the Ottomans.[101]

As might be expected, Ṭahmāsb does not fail to use the Safavid debacle at Chālderān, some fifty years earlier, to point out that his father’s decision to engage the numerically and

---

is a work by Elisa Uusimaki, *Lived Wisdom in Jewish Antiquity: Studies in Exercise and Exemplarity* (London: Bloomsbury Academic Publishing, 2021).

[98] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – ff.12v-13r – *If he [the vizier] does not take the side of righteousness, he will harm all, including the king*.

[99] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.24r – *While a beggar is full with one silver dirham, Fereydoun is* [only] *half-full with the land of ‘Ajam*.

[100] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – ff.40v-41r – *For a hungry wanderer in a desert, a cooked turnip is better than raw silver*.

[101] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.13v – *For as long as there is a worm inside a tree, it will harm it; but when the worm is outside, the tree will remain unharmed. So, the best thing is to leave whoever may cause us trouble in Herat!*

technologically superior Ottomans proved to be 'unreasonable' (*nā-ma'qūl*). He ultimately curses Dūrmīsh Khān 'for leading Shah Esmā'īl to fight the battle in this way,' and goes on to defend his own decision not to face Soleymān on the battlefield whenever challenged.[102]

A good student of history, Ṭahmāsb mentions at the outset of the third story that he 'read Timurid history,' which became his 'art of war' – a combination of scorched earth tactics and the consistent policy of not engaging the superior Ottoman forces in pitched battle. Indeed he appears to have been inspired by the strategy his own great-grandfather Uzun Ḥasan (d. 1478) had adopted against the Timurid Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā (d. 1469).[103] Thus, in addition to descriptions of raids and guerilla tactics, reflections on asymmetric warfare, cutting the enemy's supply lines, and consistently and effectively making use of spies and the natural environment – all the while claiming to care for civilian, chiefly Muslim, casualties and to favour reconciliation over continuation of conflict – the following passage can be said to sum up Ṭahmāsb's philosophy of warfare:

> *The business of war is akin to a game: one should do whatever is necessary to achieve victory against an adversary*; *war is deception – so, give no chances to the enemy in warfare, whether they fight or flee. And whenever the enemy is on the warpath, and has a greater army, as much as possible, one should avoid engaging them directly.*[104]

Though obviously of a different genre from Sun Tzu's *Art of War*, (composed circa 500 BCE) and having no direct relation to it, the Shah's stories contain many of the same prescripts and advice, accompanied by examples of their effective application, as are outlined in this ancient Chinese military treatise. The advice contained in said work has long been recognized as universally valid. Master Sun conceived of warfare in four tiers, from the most artful to the least. The first and highest tier is stratagems – 'those who render others' armies

[102] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – ff.18v-19r.
[103] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.31r; Qazvīnī, *Javāher*, p.173.
[104] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.39v. Qazvīnī attributes the maxim 'war is deception' (*al-ḥarb khud'ah*) to Ṣūfī Khalīl Mauṣillū (d. 1491), a prominent military figure who was instrumental in the succession of nine-year-old Mīrzā Bāysonghor to the Aq Qoyunlu throne; see *Javāher*, pp.86-89. This point may be taken as further evidence of Ṭahmāsb's interest in history, especially that of the Timurids and the Aq Qoyunlu, and his trying to heed its lessons.

helpless without fighting are the best of all'; then comes diplomacy – 'the next best is to attack alliances'; only when the first two fail, must one resort to battlefield tactics – 'the next best is to attack the army'; and finally, the least 'artful' and highly undesirable approach is frontal siege – 'the lowest is to attack a city, only to be done as a last resort.' Underlying this framework is the Chinese general, strategist and philosopher Sun Tzu's other important prescript – 'If you are fewer, then keep away if you are able; if you are not as good, then flee if you are able…' – commented upon, over a thousand years, later by Tang-era politician Du Mu (d. 852) – 'To be able means to be able to endure anger and humiliation, not going out to meet the opponent's challenges.'[105] Unlike his father, Ṭahmāsb can be said to have heeded the lessons of history, successfully enduring short-term anger and humiliation, and refusing to meet Soleymān's repeated challenges. In the long-run he managed to overcome the formidable enemy and not only preserved but also greatly expanded his patrimony. Endeavouring to win without fighting, and relying on diplomacy whenever possible, it was only as a last resort that the Safavid forces would attack the Ottoman forces, often by way of raiding, and/or besieging their cities – very much in line with the four-tier framework outlined above.

No doubt seeing value in passing on his experiences, the old Shah carefully recorded these for the benefit of future generations. Indeed, his strategy had proved so effective that the future Safavid rulers, both 'Abbās and his successor Ṣafī, consistently applied it against the Ottomans, finally achieving, in 1639, the permanent settlement to the conflict and the treaty of Zuhab – merely a confirmation of the boundaries established by their 'honourable ancestor' in 1555.[106] The suggestion is hardly far-fetched that 'Abbās and his contemporaries

[105] Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*, trans. Cleary, T. (Boulder: Shambala, 1988), pp.67-76.
[106] See Matthee, R., *Persia in Crisis: Safavid Decline and the Fall of Isfahan* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2020), pp.116-121; Imber, C., "The Battle of Sufiyan, 1605: A Symptom of Ottoman Military Decline?" in *Iran and the World in the Safavid Age*, ed. Floor, W. and Herzig, E. (London: I.B. Tauris, 2012), p.94.

came to be acquainted with the strategy from reading Ṭahmāsb's text or otherwise being exposed to the ideas contained in it.

In general, when it comes to matters of wisdom and advice, one theme that permeates all five stories is the emphasis on the need to avoid hasty decisions, to seek counsel, and to determine the most expedient course of action in a given situation through a combination of judiciousness and prudence.[107] At the same time, 'ignorance' (*jahl*, *nādānī*), in the sense of the lack of self-control and/or poor judgment, is consistently disparaged and said to be the root of all problems, most prominently manifested in the stories and actions of Alqās and Bāyezīd.

The examples are too numerous to list, and thus the reader is advised to consult the text in the Appendix. The cases presented above should suffice to demonstrate the didactic nature of the *Five Stories*. The emphasis on expediency along with the caution against ill-considered actions and hasty decisions are, it should be noted, likewise very much at the core of Persian classics such as *Kalila and Dimna* and *Qābūsnāmeh*, among many others, placing Ṭahmāsb's composition squarely within the mirror-for-princes, wisdom and advice literature – a point other scholars have not explicitly noted, focusing instead either on the autobiographical nature of the text or merely tapping the text (albeit mainly in its *T-Recension*) for data to support their own arguments.[108]

Moving onto the Shah's piety, here meant in the broadest sense, and thus understood as belief in God, love for the Prophet and His Family, and, of course, reverence for the

[107] The terms used by the author which we have translated as 'prudent', 'expedient', and 'best course of action' are *maṣlaḥat* and *ṣalāḥ*. They can likewise mean 'welfare', 'public interest or utility', and 'common good', all of which connote being the source of what is sound, beneficial, and conducive to peace, that is *ṣolḥ*, all ultimately derived from the triliteral Arabic root: *ṣ-l-ḥ*. The term *maṣlaḥat* is mentioned in our text six times, *ṣalāḥ* nineteen, and *ṣolḥ* thirty-six! For a discussion of the notion, see Afsaruddin, Asma, "Maslahah as a Political Concept," in *Mirror for the Muslim Prince: Islam and the Theory of Statecraft*, ed. Boroujerdi, M. (Syracuse University Press, 2013), pp.16–44.

[108] See Nasrullah Munshi, *Kalila and Dimna*, trans. Thackston, W. (Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2019), p.xv; Kai Kā'ūs ibn Eskander, *A Mirror for Princes, the Qābūsnāmeh*, trans. Levy, R. (London: The Cresset Press, 1951), p.xiv.

Safavid ancestors, the text contains plenty of examples where Ṭahmāsb acts and/or speaks with great affection for and devotion to all of them, no doubt with the intention of presenting himself as a role model for generations to come.[109] Some of these examples include pilgrimages to and/or patronage of the shrines of Shaykh Shahāb al-Dīn in Ahar, the Safavid dynastic shrine in Ardabil, and that of Imam Reżā in Mashhad.[110] Other examples of piety in the text are expressions of love for the Ahl al-Bayt, either through profusely quoting various pertinent traditions or reciting poetry eulogizing the Prophet and His Household, such as Moulānā Ḥasan Kāshī's *Haft-band*, or various verses of unknown provenance, or a whole range of Hadiths and excerpts from the Quran pertaining specifically to 'Alī, whom Ṭahmāsb frequently refers to as '[his] lord' (*āghā-ye man*).[111]

Regarding the patronage of and reverence for the Prophet's descendants, at one point he speaks of 'lending a large sum of money to the sayyids of Mashhad, so that they continually occupy themselves with prayers for [Alqās's] longevity at this Blessed Threshold'; elsewhere, he decries the alleged execution of a sayyid by 'Obayd Ozbek – the latter, said to have been so cruel that when informed of the man's descent from the Prophet, reportedly replied: 'I shall kill him because he is a sayyid!'[112] Thus, when Ṭahmāsb's own sayyidhood was questioned by Eskander Pāshā, the Ottoman governor of Erzurum, his response, via the Qezelbāsh governor of Chokhūrsa'd, Shāhqolī Solṭān, was not only assertively hostile but also somewhat evocative of passages found in the *Old Testament*:

[109] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – He likewise extensively uses the language of paternity: i) referring to a Qezelbāsh disciple as 'son' (f.23v); ii) disparaging Sām Mīrzā, Alqās Mīrzā, and Shāhzādeh Bāyezīd's 'unfilial' conduct – *qaṭ'-e ṣeleh-ye raḥem*; *bā valī ne'mat-e khod 'āq shodeh* – (ff.23v, 31v, 68v, 70r); iii) expressing concern for Armenian/Greek orphans, as well as his own children, and ordering them to be taken care of, albeit in different contexts (ff.48r/v; 58v).

[110] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – ff.26r/v; ff.42v-43r; f.10r, f.19r. Note: these three shrines saw their greatest expansions during the reign of Ṭahmāsb; see Talaee, Z., "The Political Structure and Patronage of Āstān-i Quds-i Rażavī in the Reign of Shah Ṭahmāsb (930-84 AH/AD 1524-76)," in *IRAN, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, pp.205-128; Kishwar Rizvi, *The Safavid Dynastic Shrine: Architecture, Religion, and Power in Early Modern Iran* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011), Chapter Two.

[111] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – ff.50r/v, 37v, 38r/v – *Be the servant of the Family of Mosṭafā, upon the path of the religion be the dust beneath the feet of 'Alī*!

[112] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.31r; 9r.

> *Whoever showed enmity to this family, received their punishment and so will you! The day that the accursed Umayyads martyred His Majesty, the Tormented Imam Ḥoseyn, other than Imam Zayn al-'Ābedīn—Peace be Upon Him—there was nobody else left from their men. In those days, there were fourteen thousand Umayyad children, whose cradles had golden domes. Now, have a look around: not even one of them has survived, whereas from the genus of sayyids* (az ṭabaqeh-ye sādāt), *there are thousands in every city."*[113]

Compare the above passage with Deut. 11:22-23 – '… if you diligently keep all these commandments … then will the LORD drive out all these nations from before you …' – or, for instance, Deut. 28:7 – 'the LORD shall cause thine enemies that rise up against thee to be smitten before thy face: they shall come out against three one way, and flee before thee seven ways.' To make his point even more forcefully, as a follow up, Ṭahmāsb quotes the Hadith said to have been transmitted by Ja'far al-Sādeq:

> *No house showed us enmity without being ruined, no dog barked at us without getting mange, and whoever does not believe in that shall see* [*for themselves*]![114]

Ṭahmāsb's view of the sayyids – with whom he identified himself – as divinely, as well as politically, favoured vis-à-vis others is difficult to deny. Especially so, when we consider that just like the Banī Isrā'īl and their descendants, the Prophet and His Family too were believed to have descended from Abraham, via the line of Isaac's half-brother Ishmael, and thus can be said to belong to the Banī Ismā'īl, practically speaking, the cousins of the Hebrews. In this regard, it is hardly insignificant that of his father's Biblical namesake Gen. 18:20 speaks thus: 'I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly; twelve princes shall he beget, and I will make him a great nation;' while verse 163 of the fourth Quranic surah, al-Nisāʾ, reads: 'We also sent revelation to Abraham, *Ishmael*, Isaac, Jacob, and his descendants'; and verses 54-55 of *Maryam* describe him as … 'truly a man of his word, and […] a messenger and a prophet … [who] used to urge his people to pray and give alms-tax. And his Lord was well pleased with him.' In turn, towards

[113] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.54r.
[114] *Biḥār al-Anvār*, vol. 1, p.38, attributes the hadith to Zayd, the brother of Moḥammad Bāqer, going back to the Prophet.

the end of his life, and certainly by the time of the composition of the text, Ṭahmāsb had come to see himself, though perhaps not as a prophet and recipient of revelation, certainly as a patriarch not only to his own family but also to the entire Twelver Shī'ī community (or 'nation') whose greatest expansion he had overseen.[115]

Finally, on more than one occasion, faced with a real possibility of destruction, the Shah, speaking in an almost confessional manner, repeatedly proclaims his most sincere belief in God while throughout the text also variously trying to demonstrate his adherence to Divine Law. This point merits further exploration.

In his study on cultural memory and early civilization, Jan Assmann dedicates one chapter to the relationship between history and law in the ancient world. 'The case of Israel,' he posits, 'provides us with a paradigm for two equally important phenomena: damming the stream of tradition by canonization and initiating historiography.'[116] The two are obviously closely related, for a framework for canonization is often provided by historiography. The former is thus achieved by means of the latter, that is, through exclusion of alternative narratives and representations of events and their protagonists and by committing to writing what is deemed necessary to preserve. Thus an author records what he wishes current and/or future generations of readers to remember, while discarding what might be viewed as superfluous and/or problematic. 'The common ground,' Assmann continues, '… is provided by the ethnogenetic process through which a collective identity is established with the support of a canonized tradition driven by the *mythomoteur* of an internalized history.'[117] The

[115] The author of *Favāyed al-ṣafavīyyeh*, Abū al-Ḥasan b. Ebrāhīm Qazvīnī, writing in the first half of the eighteenth century in India, not unlike Shīrāzī, the Shah's contemporary, in *Takmilat*, attributes the greatest spread of the Twelver Shī'ī community to Ṭahmāsb. See, *Favāyed*, p.30 – "*ejrā-ye aḥkām-e mellat-e azhar va ravvāj-e maẕhab-e ḥaqq-e a'emeh-ye ethnā-'ashar*"; *Takmilat*, p.162 – "*tashayyo'-faṭrā va tarvīj-e maẕhab-e ḥaqq*." Likewise, in a long eulogy composed upon the death of the Shah and reproduced in Qomī's *Kholāṣat*, p.594, the following verse corroborates the above suggestion: *So much I have spread the Twelver Creed, that in my age your name went beyond the firmament* – "*ān-qadr dādam ravvāj-e maẕhab-e ethnā-'ashar, kaz falak begoẕasht dar dūrān-e man nām-e shomā*."

[116] Assmann, *Cultural Memory*, p.206.

[117] Ibid.

Shah and his composition are a case in point. His own memory – without doubt highly selective, externalized in the *Five Stories*, and internalized as history by ʻAbbās and his contemporaries – is linked to the long-term covenant and the acceptance of binding agreements and laws, to be demonstrated below. This long-term covenant – not only adhering to but also actively promoting the sacred law – at the very least publicly, is what came to be understood as the defining characteristic of Ṭahmāsb (and of Moses), ultimately shaping the collective identity of the succeeding Safavid generation.

At the beginning of this chapter, it was proposed that the Shah had come to be viewed as the ʻcanon of kingshipʼ by his successors and, in this section, the normative dimension of the text has been touched upon. Thus, in addition to wisdom and advice, his personal piety and law-abiding character are expressed throughout the stories in several ways. More importantly, by establishing a connection between actions and consequences, of his own as well as of others, he provides a structure to his historiographical effort. And finally, by defining his own image throughout the narrative through various law-conforming duties, obligations, and decisions, he renders the *Five Stories* the key instrument in ʻcalling the people upon the path of worship and knowledge of [their] Creator [and thus] conveying the ordinances of the Law to all.ʼ

Both in the corpus of correspondence, previously referred to and discussed in the next chapter, and subsequently throughout the narrative, it is apparent that the author had carefully crafted his own image, making sure to exclude any traces of what would have been considered to transgress the boundaries of Divine Law, both in the eyes of the domestic audience and the Ottomans. More specifically, it was the antinomian practices of the *qalandar*s and the Qezelbāsh that would have been deemed unacceptable from the Islamic legal perspective. Due to the Safavids' long-standing association with these groups, the Shah was naturally suspect, viewed as, if not promoting, at the very least turning a blind eye to the

Qezelbāsh and the *qalandar*s' unruly conduct and/or questionable forms of piety. Consequently, if the goal of canonizing himself as a paragon of piety and law by means of historiography was going to be realized, no mention of, not even an allusion to, these suspect practices could be made, either in the correspondence or in the narrative. To remind the reader what some of the widespread, and no doubt partially justified, stereotypes about the Safavid *morshed*'s disciples and their practices were, below is an excerpt from a long letter Ṭahmāsb sent to Soleymān in early 1554:

> *As for the faith of the redeemed Qezelbāsh folks (ṭāyefeh-ye nājīyeh-ye qezelbāsh): most of them are adorned with the virtue of belief. They have acquired the knowledge of God, the Messenger, and the Imam. They have come to believe in resurrection and 'all that the Prophet had brought.' In all matters, they have made the Law of the Prophet their motto [lit. banner], carefully observing [the obligatory acts that] the law commands: prayer, fasting, khums, zakat, hajj, and jihad. They have abstained from all sins (lit. prohibitions), such as drinking wine, [shedding] innocent blood, adultery, and sodomy …*
>
> *They do not consider [shedding] the blood and [seizing] the property of the people of faith and Islam to be lawful. They eat neither the meat of rabbits, nor that of hyenas. They also consider [playing musical instruments, such as] daf, lyre, ney, robab, and tanbur as well as [board-games, such as] backgammon and chess unlawful. They consider [consuming] beer and wine and the like, be it in amounts large or small, filthy, and unlawful. They do not pray [wearing] unclean or expropriated clothes and [those made of] any unclean thing whose meat they do not eat. They do not wash the face, the noblest of organs, with the left hand, for the Messenger (P.B.U.H.) has proclaimed: "The right [hand] is for the upper body, and the left for the lower parts." They do not [perform the ritual purification of] ablution when drunk. Instead of wiping their feet, they wash them. In [congregational] prayer, they do not pray behind a Jew [as the leader of the prayer] or any corrupt person [for that matter]. They do not prostrate before shaykhs. They do not become the disciples of every ignorant hypocrite and are not seduced by sorcery.*[118]

The Shah, in these two short passages of the otherwise very lengthy letter, is responding to the *fatvā*, issued by the Ottoman jurists, likewise mentioned in the fourth story.[119] This legal ruling is said to have proclaimed it 'lawful to shed blood and seize property, as well as wives and children, of the Qezelbāsh and [all] inhabitants of Iran.'[120] In

[118] Navā'ī, *Ṭahmāsb*, p.217.
[119] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.56r.
[120] In the text the contents of the *fatvā* are summarized somewhat differently: *the blood of all of the people of the East, both the army and the peasantry, chiefly the Muslims, Armenians, and Jews, is allowed to be shed with impunity* (*mobāḥ*)*, seizing their property,*

his reply, addressing a whole range of accusations levelled against his most loyal followers and spiritual disciples, he uses what we may call 'normative inversion' thereby turning every charge on its head and placing the group in question, and most importantly himself, squarely within the bounds of Islamic law.[121] While there is plenty of evidence that at least some of these practices persisted and thrived, what is significant here is the fact that by committing such counter-claims to writing, first in the letters and then in his *Five Stories* – for all practical purposes the basis for virtually all the sixteenth-century Safavid chroniclers covering the latter part of Ṭahmāsb's reign – he can be said to have dammed the stream of alternative traditions, at the very least temporarily. Doing this did not merely entail excluding popular accounts and narratives, chiefly circulating within the *ṣūfī-qezelbāsh* milieu, from 'contaminating' the official historiography. It specifically implied placing and 'canonizing' his own image, and by extension that of his followers and associates, within the scope of the Divine Law. Ṭahmāsb's own response in the text, though more succinct than what we find in the letter, is likewise outright dismissive of any such claims. Upon hearing about the *fatvā*, he says:

> *Now, that's something! Even though we observe and perform all the necessities of the religion, such as prayer, fasting, alms and ḥajj, the Ottoman jurists consider us to be unbelievers! Let God Almighty pass a judgement between us and them.*

From the perspective of the Shah, writing his *Five Stories* almost a decade after this letter was composed, and in the fortieth year of his reign, which was marked by continuous invasions and almost incessant warfare on multiple fronts, the ultimate salvation and

kinfolk, and families is lawful (*ḥalāl*)*, and fighting against them is a holy war* (*ghazā*); see MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.56v.

[121] Be it in visual sources, or popular historiography, that many among the *qezelbāsh-ṣūfī* faction continued to drink, play musical instruments and chess and backgammon, not to mention a whole range of other practices outside the bounds of the Divine Law, is well attested. See, for instance, the image in the Chehel Sotoun Palace, in Esfahan, of the Safavid reception in honour of Humayun, with wine, musicians, and dancers depicted; or the image of a Qezelbāsh youth playing *bağlama* in the miniature of the imprisonment of Zahhak, from the *Shāhnāmeh-ye Ṭahmāsebī*; and the description of the two parties, one for the Qezelbāsh and another for the *'olamā*, organized to celebrate the wedding of Esmā'īl Mīrzā. More examples, from popular history – *'Ālam-ārā-ye Ṭahmāsebī* – will be provided in the Chapter Three.

deliverance from the Ottoman and Ozbek onslaught, as well as the growth and expansion of his patrimony, could only have been understood as God's reward for his persistent efforts – certain failings notwithstanding – to adhere to and promote the Law. In that regard, what Assmann calls '*iustitia connectiva*' (lit. 'binding justice') – the notion of divine justice and the corresponding idea of human responsibility – is what ties and binds Ṭahmāsb's *Five Stories* together – 'linking [his] success to good deeds and punishment [of his enemies] to crime, thus ensuring meaning and coherence in what would otherwise be an aimless, free-flowing stream of events.'[122] It is within this framework that he composed and no doubt wished readers to make sense of his stories, to internalize the narrative as their history, ideally to learn from it, and, of course, to apply those lessons. History, to a premodern mind, can thus be said to have been born out of the spirit of the law and was therefore inseparable from it. Rather than being merely a compilation of trivial events and characters, with requital as a connective tissue, it instead became a record of things to remember, de-trivialized and semioticized as signifiers of salvation and punishment.[123]

Binding Justice in the Narrative of the Five Stories

While the narrative of the text generally fits into this framework of salvation and punishment, there are three main pillars upon which it stands – these are the examples of Ebrāhīm Pāshā, Alqās Mīrzā, and Shāhzādeh Bāyezīd. From the beginning, Ṭahmāsb contrasts his own conduct with those of his adversaries, seeking to demonstrate a relationship between righteousness and reward on the one hand, and disobedience to God and punishment on the other. Take, for instance, the first two of the *Five Stories*. Therein, along with the unreserved criticism of Ebrāhīm Pāshā for believing the renegade Olāmeh Tekkelū's claims – to the effect that 'the lands to the East [were] unguarded (*khālī*) and most of the Qezelbāsh chiefs

[122] Assmann, *Cultural Memory*, p.210.
[123] Ibid., p.220.

[were] allied with [him]' – and thus mounting a campaign against the Safavids, Ṭahmāsb also points out that since [Soleymān was] 'on campaign against infidels (*ghazāt*), it [was] not advisable (*monāseb*) for [the Qezelbāsh] to attack his country.'[124] He then goes on to make a prediction – 'God Almighty will punish Olāmeh and Ebrāhīm Pāshā, for they have brought bad fortune upon their ruler!' – citing a story (*beh methāl āvordam*) of Israel's disobedience to God to illustrate his point:

> *Among the Children of Israel, there were thirty thousand people who were awake, praying at night and fasting during the day. Only three among them committed adultery. When the divine punishment came upon them, all thirty thousand of them perished. His Majesty Moses—Peace be Upon Him—asked God: "O Lord! Three among the thirty thousand engaged in immoral behaviour, what was the sin of the rest of the people?" The response came: "They were able to, and did not, prevent these three from engaging in such acts!"*[125]

Accordingly, 'because Ebrāhīm Pāshā did not pay attention to God and allowed Olāmeh to cause this amount of unwarranted bloodshed, destruction and looting of the property of Muslims,' through divine punishment he would be condemned to hell.[126]

In the same episode, when challenged to battle by Soleymān, the Shah cites the Quran, verse 195 of al-Baqarah – 'Do not let your own hands throw you into destruction!' – thus justifying his decision not to face the Ottomans on the battlefield, referencing his obligation not to transgress Quranic legal prescripts.[127] Here he also points to his father's failure to adhere to this prescript, he disparages the Qezelbāsh for drinking all night prior to the battle, and he laments the predictable consequences. Most importantly, however, he makes it clear that he had learned the lesson of history and, unlike his father, would not disobey the Law.

It is against this background that the most significant element by far in the Shah's law-centred narrative, his famous 'sincere repentance' (*taubeh*), should be understood. The

[124] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – ff.5v, 8v.
[125] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.12v. Which *Old Testament* story is this?
[126] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.12v.
[127] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – ff.18v/19r.

story goes like this: While returning from Khorasan following a campaign against the Uzbeks, and having performed a pilgrimage to Mashhad, Ṭahmāsb was approached by Amīr Sayyid Moḥammad (*pīshnamāz*) who is said to have related a dream to the Shah, at the time only twenty years of age. In the dream Sayyid Moḥammad alleges that he had seen the Prophet ordering the Shah to 'give up what is forbidden, so that [he] finds salvation and conquers countries.' After some deliberation, followed by discussing the matter with their companions, some of whom suggested that 'wine-drinking [could not] be abandoned, for it [was] an indispensable part of kingship,' Ṭahmāsb decided he needed further incentive and proof. These came in the form of another dream, this time his own, in which he claims to have seen Imam Reżā, outside the window, [who] had taken Amīr Hādī, the bookkeeper (*moḥtaseb*), by his hand and repented from wine-drinking, sodomy, adultery and all other prohibitions.' In the morning, having told the dream to his associates, the Shah finally repented:

> *Praises be to God, for, from the day that I repented, all manner of vice and immorality (fesq va fojūr) have disappeared, and day by day, through the assistance of the Almighty, our affairs progressed and continue to progress, so much so that I cannot express my gratitude even with a thousand tongues.*[128]

It is the act of repentance that represents Ṭahmāsb's real covenant with God, recorded in virtually all contemporary and later chronicles, the deed for which he would be rewarded almost immediately, at the very least according to his own retrospective. In the narrative, the connection between the Shah's repentance and the almost immediate deliverance from what appeared to be virtually inevitable ruin at the hands of the Ottomans is unmistakeable. Encamped at Sultanieyh, having just arrived by a 'forced march' from Khorasan, his prospects looked grim at best. With the diplomatic efforts at making peace with Soleymān

[128] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.20r. The text of the associated decree is 'perfectly preserved' in the inscription in the Mīr 'Emād Mosque, in Kashan, dated 7 Rabī' al-Awwal of 941 AH [16 September 1534]; for a translation, see S.A. Arjomand's "Three Decrees of Shah Tahmasp on Clerical Authority and Public Law in Shi'ite Iran," in *Sociology of Shi'ite Islam, Collected Essays* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), p.159.

having failed, all the animals exhausted, only seven thousand men by his side, and a brewing insurrection within the army and among the officers, the greatly superior Ottoman force was rapidly approaching. He candidly tells his reader that he 'had grown extremely distraught, fully entrusted [himself] to God, and sought refuge in prayer and supplication – Who responds to the distressed when they cry to Him?'[129] His prayers were answered:

> *The same night, which was the fifth night of the Scorpio* [28 October of 1534], *it snowed so heavily that even our camp got trapped amidst the snow; we marched on and reached Darjazin. Meanwhile, the governor of Kuh Giluyeh arrived with a thousand men, bringing with him two strings* (*ṭavīleh*) *of horses*.[130]

Though perhaps less impressive than the parting of the Red Sea, Ṭahmāsb and his followers were saved by a blizzard which decimated the Ottoman ranks, forcing them to withdraw to Baghdad for the winter and prompting an unknown poet to compose the following verses, so beautifully rendered in English by E.G. Browne:

I went to Sultaniyeh, that rare pasture-ground:
I saw two thousand dead without grave or shroud.
'Who,' said I, 'killed all these Ottomans?'
The Morning breeze arose from the midst saying 'I!'[131]

The Ottomans returned the following year, in the spring. After another summer of pursuing the Shah, yet unable to gain an advantage or to respond in force to the incessant Safavid raids and skirmishing, they ultimately failed to achieve any tangible results and ended up having to retreat from Ṭahmāsb's domains. Ebrāhīm Pāshā, soon executed upon Soleymān's orders, is said to have 'tasted the consequences of his own deeds.'[132]

The same narrative structure is found in the story of Alqās. In it, the Shah's half-brother is accused of a whole range of sins, namely: sodomizing a boy named Ughūrlū,

---

[129] An-Naml: 27:62; MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.20v.
[130] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.21v; Al-Naml: 27:62.

[131] E.G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, *Modern Times (1500-1924)*, vol. IV (Cambridge: CUP, 1959), p.88. According to Rūmlū, *Aḥsan*, p.1218, the authorship of these verses belonged to certain Shaykh 'Enāyat, while Qazvīnī, *Javāher*, p.174, claims Ḥāfeẓ-e Chirkin (Tur., 'the ugly') of Tabriz was the poet who composed the *robā'ī*.
[132] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.30r. See also Qobād al-Ḥoseynī, *tārīkh-e īlchī*, p.130.

telling lies, breaking an oath, drinking, and pursuing ephemeral treasures, as well as unfilial conduct, sedition, making Soleymān his lord and master, and thus, most consequentially, 'rebelling against the Almighty God himself.'[133] Ṭahmāsb, on the other hand, consistently emphasizes his sincere belief in God, and, for example, claims that during campaigns his army 'always brought along lawful provisions (*ajnās-e ḥalāl*), such as poultry, lamb, rice, oil, and other such items.' Moreover, while campaigning during the month of Ramadan, to make a meal, he went fishing, 'which is indisputably *ḥalāl*.' At the same time, he alleges that the Ottomans, 'whenever they were on campaign against [the Shah], considered [his and his subjects'] property legitimate [to seize and plunder] (*ḥalāl mī-dānestand*).' He further asserts that the Qezelbāsh forces 'deemed neither their estates nor subjects so [i.e., legitimate to plunder],'[134] adding that he had made every effort to ensure that no mosque was destroyed during Safavid raids on cities and villages in the Ottoman domains.[135]

All these claims are followed by another episode of divine intervention. During his pilgrimage to the Shrine of Shaykh Shehāb al-Dīn, in Ahar, and with the Ottomans occupying Tabriz, only a few days' march away, the Shah, with just two hundred men by his side, once again found himself pressed against the wall, with supplication as a last resort:

> *O, God! You have said that you love and have compassion for a contrite heart. Have mercy, for my heart is shattered and I have no one other than you to ask for help*![136]

Compare this episode with the time Ramses II of Egypt (d. 1213 BCE), during the Battle of Qadesh, in May 1274 BCE, was ambushed by the Hittites. Some of his troops were still on the march, others fled, and therefore he found himself with just a few faithful followers, trapped in a seemingly hopeless situation. Ultimately rescued by an elite brigade that was on a separate mission elsewhere and happened to come along at just the right moment, Ramses

[133] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – ff.31v; 33r; 34r; 36r; 52r.
[134] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – ff.46r/v.
[135] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – ff.46r/v.
[136] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.42v.

describes his deliverance as divine intervention, concluding his account with the following prayer:

> *I call to thee, my father Amun, while I am in the midst of the throng I do not know; all foreigners have united against me, while I am alone, and no-one is beside me. I found that Amun had come when I called to him. He gave me his hand, and I rejoiced.*[137]

Likewise, Ṭahmāsb, right after offering his prayer, also finds reason to rejoice:

> [The Ottomans] *remained in Tabriz for four days, could not stay there, and thus withdrew… In the meantime, two hundred and fifty* kharvārs *of weapons* [from] *the armoury* (qūrkhāneh)*, loaded on Arab camels, arrived from Iraq.*[138]

Within the next few days, further Qezelbāsh reinforcements arrived at the royal camp in Ahar. Both Ramses II's story and Ṭahmāsb's, quite evidently, are archetypal examples of salvation narratives, drawing an explicit connection between righteousness and divine reward. Alqās in his turn, was eventually captured, delivered before the Shah, imprisoned in the Citadel of Qahqaheh, and killed under suspect circumstances, whereas the story of his inauspicious rebellion came to be described, in another letter sent to the Ottoman court, in terms of divine punishment meted out 'in such a way that it was made a warning for the whole world' (*'ebrat-e 'ālamīyān shodeh*).[139]

The revolt of Alqās had such a profound impact on Ṭahmāsb that towards the end of the third story, that is the end of the 1540s, he makes a pledge 'to go on campaign against the Circassians and the Georgians, so that he would fight only the unbelievers and avoid conflict with Muslims.'[140] This pledge is only partly adhered to, for he ends up having to punish the haughty Ottoman governor of Erzurum (*gūshmāl dādan-e ū lāzem shod*), who 'repeatedly proclaimed himself the Pāshā of Shirvan and Georgia,' and made several incursions into the Safavid domains.[141]

---

[137] Assmann, *Cultural Memory*, p.223.
[138] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – ff.43v-44r.

[139] Navā'ī, *Ṭahmāsb*, p.293.
[140] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – ff 52v.
[141] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – ff.53v, 55v.

During this campaign, in Ramadan, the Shah claims to have bought the garden of a certain Malek Shams al-Dīn, in Arjish, and to have fasted there until the end of the month, once again making every effort to adhere to Divine Law.[142] Here, he also cites a tradition about the Prophet meant to emphasize the importance of (a) praising and greeting Him; (b) observing the fast in Ramadan; and (c) filial piety.[143] On the one hand, he uses this tradition to justify his decision not to attack a Muslim country during the holy month, and instead to 'go on campaign against Georgia and plunder the province of Şavşat, [for they were] hostile unbelievers (*kāfer-e ḥarbī*),'[144] yet another example of trying to show himself abiding the legal prescripts. On the other hand, more importantly, he prepares the reader for a much more consequential episode at the centre of the fifth story. Within just five years following the signing of the peace treaty, likewise, justified by a verse from the Quran – 'Reconciliation is best'[145] – he himself became the instrument of divine justice.

Although, considering the number of available sources, both letters and chronicles, the episode of Bāyezīd's refuge and stay at the Safavid court in Qazvin certainly merits a micro-historical study, discussion here is limited to the questions of law and covenant.[146] That the episode constituted a major source of distress for Ṭahmāsb is evidenced by (i) his effort to justify his own actions by means of repeatedly referring to the sources of Islamic law (in the Quran or Hadiths), and (ii) the need to preserve the covenant with the Ottomans, as well as (iii) the fact that by around 1562/3 – the time when he completed the composition of the stories – he had developed some sort of mania (*vasvaseh*) and asked Ḥosayn b. 'Abd al-

[142] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.55r.
[143] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – ff.62r/v.
[144] That is, they are outside *dār al-islām* and therefore in the *dār al-ḥarb*.
[145] Al-Nisa' 4:128.
[146] For a general outline of the prince's refuge and stay at the Safavid court, see C. Mitchell's *The Practice of Politics in Safavid Iran: Power, Religion, and Rhetoric* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2009), pp.125-130.

Ṣamad al-Hārithī al-Jabal al-'Āmilī (d. 1576) to compose a work expounding on the proper observance of religious duties and ritual ablutions.[147]

Nonetheless Ṭahmāsb endeavors through his composition to justify his actions, specifically in the context of the culmination of the narrative, i.e., the final story. From the start of the fifth, the Shah employs a very denigrating tone, calling the Ottoman prince a low fellow, a fool and a moron (*mardak, safih va ablah*), for with 'His Sovereign Majesty still on the throne, alive and well, how dare [they] (Bāyezīd and Salīm) fight one another?'[148] He eventually convinces Bāyezīd to come to Qazvin by making an oath to the effect that [he] 'shall not give him, or his children, to [Soleymān].'[149] In turn, following his arrival, Bāyezīd is said to have attempted to persuade Ṭahmāsb to attack the Ottoman domains:

> *Since Alqās went there, it was because of him that His Majesty raised an army and came to Tabriz; why won't you consider assisting me? Let two of my sons accompany you and let the other two come along with me! You would go to Erzurum, while I shall go to Baghdad!*[150]

In turn, Ṭahmāsb claims to have responded by pointing out that Soleymān had made a great mistake by listening to Alqās and launching another campaign which resulted in so much destruction and bloodshed. He subsequently ponders why he should make the same blunder, considering that even letting the fugitive prince leave his domains would constitute a breach of the treaty agreement, and thus concludes:

> *He has acted unfilially against his benefactor and is not respectful of parental rights, which are obligatory according to the Quranic verses and the Hadiths. In this regard, His Majesty Jabra'īl—Peace be Upon Him—said to the Prophet—Peace be Upon Him and His Family—that Almighty God has no mercy on those who do not respect parental rights. He is not to be shown mercy. Besides, [while] I have made peace with*

---

[147] Ḥosayn b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Hārithī al-Jabal al-'Āmilī, *al-Waswasiyyah or 'Aqd al-Ḥosaynī al-Ṭahmāsibī* (unpublished translation by Rula Abisaab). I would like to thank Abbas Amanat for sharing the text of the translation with me. Regarding the Shah's increased obsession with ritual ablutions and cleanliness, one could suggest that he quite literally tried to wash away his sins – a psychological condition likewise discernible in George W. Bush's bizarre bathtub and shower self-portraits.

[148] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – ff.66r/71v. Folios indicated in pairs have been misplaced in the manuscript; the first part indicating the original location within the codex and the second the actual one, following the scattering and reassembly of the folios.

[149] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – ff.68r/66v.

[150] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – ff.69v/68r.

His Majesty, [Bāyezīd] *is* [trying] *to challenge his father and benefactor; so, how am I* [supposed] *to assist him in that?*

Yet another of Bāyezīd's follies and vices, according to the narrative, was the fact that in the letters sent to the Safavid ruler he had addressed him as 'Shah Ṭahmāsb,' with his half-brother Salīm apparently addressing him as 'father'. Thus, the lack of filial piety, reflected for instance in verse 23 of *al-Isra'* – 'And honour your parents. If one or both reach old age in your care, never say to them even 'ugh,' nor yell at them. Rather, address them respectfully!' – and the failure of Bāyezīd to adhere to the pertinent Quranic prescripts, coupled with his failed attempt to escape from Qazvin (upon learning of the Shah's correspondence and ongoing negotiations with Soleymān), was deemed sufficient to justify detaining him. However, since the Shah had made an oath not to give him to his father, the breaking of which would constitute an illegal act, towards the end of the narrative he explicitly tells the two Ottoman envoys – 'Alī Pāshā and Ḥasan Āghā – that Selīm Khān should send his envoys and that he would give the detainees, Bāyezīd and his four sons, to them, thus formally keeping the oath he had made.[151]

Although the Shah tries hard to justify his actions, a sense of guilt permeates not only the last story, but the entire narrative. In excusing his actions, he proffers Quranic verses and traditions and emphasizes that he did not wish to make the mistake his Ottoman counterpart had made. He even quotes Ḥāfez's *ghazal*, preserved in the *Kāteb* variant of the *M-Recension*, likening himself to a *darvīsh* who seeks 'peace of mind and the hermitage of a *qalandar*,' and stressing that 'peace is better than war and strife!'. Despite all his efforts to act within the bounds of the Law, and his attempts to craft his own image throughout the narrative accordingly, he certainly knew well enough that he had fallen short of perfect

[151] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – ff.73r.

conduct, for the list of difficult and morally questionable decisions that he had had to make during his rule is long indeed.[152]

On the subject of systematic analysis of the past from the standpoint of guilt and apology, Assmann posits that 'in the context of justification, the connection between guilt and memory plays a dual role: it relates to the guilt of the [person] who must defend his actions, and to the guilt of [others] meant to vindicate [this person's] otherwise problematic [actions].'[153] By consistently focusing on the crimes and punishments of others, Ṭahmāsb somewhat successfully detracts attention from his own shortcomings, as well as those of his disciples and/or subjects, simultaneously emphasizing a connection between his righteous conduct and salvation as reward. Thus, he makes history both a function of binding justice (or *iustitia connectiva*) and a source of guidance. The past reconstructed, in so far as memory and history allow, through the establishment of binding obligations, can bring order, meaning and cohesion to the temporal and social dimensions of the world – 'remembering the past is not the result of instinct … but a duty that is part of culture's impact on man.'[154]

As already mentioned, following the episode involving Bāyezīd, despite his own personal survival and the renewal of the peace treaty with the Ottomans, Ṭahmāsb is known to have developed what is described as a mania, probably from having witnessed the execution of Bāyezīd and his four sons. As a result, during the last decade of his life, he grew ever more pious and, one could say, obsessive, in his observance of the Law, to which al-'Āmilī's *Waswasiyyah* treatise on religious obligations and ritual ablutions certainly testifies. Even Eskander Bēg reports that 'during the latter part of his life … the Shah took

[152] The fact that he was keenly aware of this fact is evidenced by his second repentance, circa 1555/56, and the crystal seal made to commemorate the event. Presently kept at the Khalili Collection, in London, Acc. No.: 379, the text on this rectangular seal cut from flawless rock crystal reads: *When the list of my offences was rolled up and taken to be weighed on the balance of human deeds, my sins outstripped those of any other person, but I was forgiven, for my love of 'Alī.*
[153] Assmann, *Cultural Memory*, p.228.
[154] Ibid., p.233.

more seriously the Koranic [sic] prescription to "do what is right and eschew evil."'[155] It appears that there were at least some who questioned his decision, which would in turn explain the revision of the Bāyezīd episode in the chronicles, starting with Rūmlū, and also found in Eskander Bēg, where, in the revised version, the fugitive Ottoman prince is said to have attempted to poison the Shah. Such an act, no doubt, would have constituted a much more significant crime which would indeed warrant punishment by death.[156]

The Image of Ṭahmāsb in Contemporary Historiography

While both the narrative and the self-representation were carefully crafted by Ṭahmāsb himself, they were subsequently adopted, promoted and transmitted by Safavid scribes. Through the copying of the Shah's composition (at least a dozen copies of this recension were produced in the seventeenth century alone, to be discussed in the next chapter) and through several works of historiography, into which the essence of the narrative as well as his image as a wise, pious, and law-abiding ruler were embedded, the stories gained wide circulation during the last four decades of the sixteenth century. Thus, for example, Shīrāzī praises Ṭahmāsb for his 'abstinence from anything doubtful and [for his] fear of God'; Qazvīnī describes him as 'supremely wise, capable, munificent, learned, diplomatic, powerful

[155] Eskandar Bēg, *History*, p.274.
[156] Rūmlū, *Aḥsan*, p.1416.

and sagacious'; Qomī commends the Shah for 'commanding right and forbidding wrong by means of [personal] devotion, rectitude, and piety'; and Rūmlū goes so far as to suggest that he was so 'chaste [and careful] that for over forty years, by word or action, he had not committed a sin, big or small.'[157] Such examples and characterizations can indeed be multiplied. On the one hand, they reflect the perception of Ṭahmāsb prevalent among his companions in the last decades of his life. And on the other, despite an impression of uniformity, they represent the outlook which the Shah himself only gradually acquired over the course of his life, yet which, retrospectively and retroactively, by means of historiography, he de facto superimposed onto his image and conduct over the entirety of his reign.

The *M-Recension*, specifically with the preface discussed above, thus represents the reception of the text in the public milieu, belongs to what I have termed the Safavid '*scribal historiography*,' and reflects the state-sanctioned version of the past. The two defining characteristics of Safavid scribal historiography ultimately yielding the relative uniformity in Ṭahmāsb's image over the entirety of his long life and reign are these: (i) the emphasis on and transmission of the aspects deemed worth remembering, especially the Shah's efforts to adhere to and promote the Law, and (ii) the exclusion of what may have been viewed as problematic, for instance the antinomian practices of the Qezelbāsh.

It is accordingly reflected in the well-known works of Safavid scholar-bureaucrats, such as Qāżī Aḥmad b. Ḥoseyn Monshī Qomī, Būdāq Monshī Qazvīnī, Qāżī Aḥmad Ghaffārī Qazvīnī, and 'Abdī Bēg Shīrāzī, as well as others, namely, Khūrshāh b. Qobād and Ḥasan Bēg Rūmlū. Subsequently synthesized and transmitted in the following generation, most notably by Eskander Bēg Monshī in his famous composition, Ṭahmāsb is explicitly cast as 'a

[157] Shīrāzī, *Takmelat*, p.166 – "*vara' va taqvā*"; Qazvīnī, *Javāher*, p.146 – "*'āqel-e kāmel-e qābel-e bāẕel-e bā 'elm va sīyāsat va qodrat va keyāsat*;" Qomī, *Kholāṣat*, p.598 – "*amr beh ma'rūf va nahī az monkar beh vaseṭeh-ye zohd va ṣalāḥ va taqvā*;" Rūmlū, *Aḥsan*, p.1529 – "*chanān parhīzgār būd keh dar moddatī motajāvez az chehel sāl gonah-e kabīreh yā ṣaghīreh-yi qaulān yā fe'lān az ū sar nazad*."

pious king and a just ruler, intent on preserving the canon law.'[158] 'In 939 AH [1532/33],' Eskander Bēg writes, 'he paid heed to the word of God … and from the bottom of his heart, repented from all forbidden acts; this act of repentance was so firmly rooted in him that he never thought of breaking it.'[159] He also 'showed great respect and reverence for sayyids because of their descent from the immaculate' (regardless of their social class), and so on.[160] Two sayyids seem particularly noteworthy and relevant to our discussion of Ṭahmāsb's adherence and promotion of Divine Law. The first, Mīr Raḥmatollāh Pīshnamāz, a sayyid from Najaf, was a prayer leader at court and is said to have been much favoured by the Shah for being 'an outstanding scholar in the fields of jurisprudence, interpretation of the Koran [sic], and Muslim tradition.' The second, another learned Arab and a jurist, was Shaykh 'Alī Menshār – 'in problems of law, his legal opinions and dicta were considered reliable and trustworthy, and he stood head and shoulders above his peers in matters pertaining to both canon and customary law,' for which he is also said to have been favoured by Ṭahmāsb.[161]

To conclude this section, consider the eulogy composed upon Ṭahmāsb's death by Mīr Ḥeydar Mo'amā'ī Kāshī, also known by his penname Rafī'ī:

When I am gone, sometimes remember my age,
Sometimes duly the length of my reign recall,
And when a just ruler probes his government,
My probing of government and myself recall,

Whenever a word of Ḥātem and Nūshīrvān is spoken,
My justice and my beneficence recall,
And should a royal pact and covenant be broken,
My pact and my covenant one ought to recall,

Despite the throne's magnificence and exterior majesty,
Sometimes my inner asceticism recall,
And should, God forbid, a flaw in religion and faith occur,

[158] Eskandar Bēg, *History*, p.76. Eskander Bēg, born in 1561/62, was in his thirties in the last decade of the sixteenth century, and had laboured at the Safavid *dīvān-e enshā'* under the supervision of Qomī, until the latter was eventually dismissed by 'Abbās.
[159] Ibid., p.203.
[160] Ibid., p.229. In fact, the author dedicates some twenty pages (!), in Savory's translation, to listing various individual and groups of sayyids.
[161] Ibid., p.234.

How I had spread it and my piety recall,

And should, Heaven forbid, dishonour the Prophet's children befall,
Their honour in my age recall,
Remember my age, my reign, and myself,
Let my spirit to the morning of the last judgement rejoice[162]

Quite obviously, such an understanding and representation of the late-Shah in the decades that immediately followed his long reign made him the ideal against which one's piety, justice and political success were to be measured.

Growing up in Ṭahmāsb's Shadow, Following in his Footsteps

With a better understanding of how Ṭahmāsb had come to be represented in the *scribal historiography* produced at the end of, or after, his reign, ultimately informing how he would be remembered by succeeding generations – at the very least on the official level among the Safavid scholar-bureaucrats, courtiers and family members – in this section we can begin to probe how this historiography and memory of the Shah and his reign may have influenced his grandson 'Abbās, particularly in his early life. This influence can then be traced in his policies, and subsequently in his own image as delineated in *Tārīkh-e 'ālam-ārā-ye 'abbāsī*. Undeniably the central work of Safavid historiography, we can reasonably assume this account to be reflective of 'Abbās and his contemporaries' views and understanding of the preceding era, as well of their own. Moreover, considering the inclusion of the *M-Recension* into at least two manuscripts of Eskander Bēg's *Tārīkh*, the chronicle seems like the most

[162] Qomī, *Kholāṣat*, pp.594-5.

obvious source for insights into ways in which the late Shah's legacy shaped his successors.[163]

To begin, there is the obvious fact that to anyone recalling the second half of the sixteenth century in Safavid Iran, or reading or writing about it, the death of Ṭahmāsb, in 1576, would have been a watershed. While the last two decades of his reign, from 1555 to his death, would have been associated with peace and stability, the decades that followed saw the resumption of strife and warfare, internally and externally – no less than twenty years of chaos and disorder – with a resulting substantial loss of territory, which it would take great effort from 'Abbās to recover. 'Under Ṭahmāsb,' the reader of Eskander Bēg's narrative is often reminded, 'the realm had been prosperous and at peace,' yet between his death and the ascension of 'Abbās, 'Iran had been without a strong king for more than ten years.'[164] In this regard, if we accept M.S. Roth's proposition that 'we are what we remember (and forget)' – that is, the stories people tell themselves shape their ethnic, religious and/or cultural identities – we must acknowledge that for 'Abbās's generation the memory of Ṭahmāsb and the history of his age were manifest in his stories and the works of *scribal historiography*, and also in the physical sites important in that era, and that all of that not only informed this later generation's identity but also presented examples to follow and models to emulate.[165] Likewise, according to Assmann, 'myths in the sense of traditional narratives play a very important role in the formation of [...] identities [as both groups and individuals] typically derive their dynamics from some master narratives which act as a *mythomoteur*.'[166]

---

[163] Sholeh Quinn's *Historical Writing During the Reign of Shah 'Abbas: Ideology, Imitation, and Legitimacy in Safavid Chronicles* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2000), while an important study on the subject, does not address the question of how the preceding era is reflected in the historiography of the period, and thus does not explore the ways in which it may have informed the image of the later Safavid generation. Instead, it focuses on comparing/contrasting the manner of history writing, both between the Timurid and Safavid periods and over the first Safavid century.

[164] Eskandar Bēg, *History*, pp.367, 517.

[165] Roth, M.S. *Memory, Trauma, and History: Essays on Living with the Past* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), p.12.

[166] Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian*, p.15.

The ‘myth’ and the ‘master narrative,’ as discussed in the preceding sections, were that by adhering to and promoting Divine Law and piety in the broadest sense, and on the whole acting judiciously, one could overcome the most formidable obstacles and ultimately ensure peace and stability for the people of the realm. The *Five Stories,* as a classic *mythomoteur*, provided the post-Ṭahmāsb Safavid generations with a sense of purpose, guidance and direction. It is thus no wonder that the text at the turn of the seventeenth century came to be described as ‘guidance-effecting words’ (*kalemāt-e hedāyat-ta’thīr*) and, almost eighty years later, in the preface to the *T-Recension*, as ‘instruction’ (*dastūr al-‘amal*).

When ‘Abbās’s royal copy was produced, in 1010 AH [1601/02], he was about thirty years old and had no doubt already acquired what E. Rothacker called ‘historical consciousness’ or ‘a sense of history,’ that is ‘a basic instinct to preserve, remember and narrate events and forms of the past.’[167] It is reasonable to assume that in the years prior to commissioning the royal codex, as he faced a series of formidable challenges not dissimilar to those his grandfather had faced and managed to overcome against all odds, he would have read the text and no doubt found in it plenty to reflect on and much-needed advice. Moreover, that his role model was Ṭahmāsb rather than Esmā‘īl seems obvious. First, for him the latter would have been a distant figure. At the time of his birth, in 1571, his great-grandfather had already been dead for almost half a century, which meant that anyone who may have known him as an adult, prior to his death in 1524, was either dead or extremely old. Second, *Tārīkh-e ‘ālam-ārā-ye ‘abbāsī* neither speaks of any major building projects undertaken by Esmā‘īl, nor does it provide any substantial data about Esmā‘īl’s court, his administration or governance. Instead, it merely offers a narrative consisting of series of battles, wars, and campaigns of conquest, culminating with the debacle at Chālderān, for which Durmīsh Khān,

[167] Rothacker, E. “Das historicsche Bewusstsein,” in *Zeitschrift für Deutschkunde* 45, (1931), cited in Assman, *Cultural Memory*, p.50.

echoing Ṭahmāsb's own views, is explicitly blamed.[168] Third, his legacy of conquest and state-building, however important, had undoubtedly been surpassed by his son Ṭahmāsb, in whose shadow young ʻAbbās grew up, from whom he would have endeavored to learn, and whom he clearly wished to supersede. In turn, the figure of Esmāʻīl likely seemed distant and perhaps less impressive, for his questionable piety, the associated failure at Chālderān, and the consequent inability of the Safavid polity to achieve recognition from their Ottoman neighbours.

Aptly summed up by Mīr Ḥeydar Moʻamāʻī (in the verse at the end of the previous section), Ṭahmāsb had indeed left behind a substantial legacy for his descendants to remember him by. ʻAbbās was only five when his grandfather passed away. Much like Ṭahmāsb himself, ʻAbbās was made governor of Herat in his infancy. It is hardly surprising that Ṭahmāsb's much-lauded qualities – piety, foresight, efforts to adhere to and promote the Law, and the asceticism and simplicity of his life – along with his achievements, such as the preservation and expansion of his patrimony as well as achieving near parity with their main rival – de facto recognition by the Ottomans, and thus twenty years of peace with them – certainly informed the upbringing and education of the prince. Eskander Bēg's *Tārīkh* demonstrates how prominently the legacy of the bygone era figured in the imagination of the then-current generation and the emphasis on continuity, succession and legitimacy derived from the late Shah.

We are told, for instance, that when ʻAbbās was born, on 1 Ramadan 978 AH [27 January 1571], his father, Moḥammad Mīrzā, wrote to the old Shah 'to ascertain [his] wishes in regard to naming the child; the letter [reportedly] reached [him] when he chanced to be reciting a verse in which the name of ʻAbbās occurred, and so this was selected as the infant

[168] Eskandar Bēg, *History*, p.68. Indeed, the section on Esmāʻīl, his relatively shorter reign notwithstanding, runs to only thirty-five pages in Savory's translation, whereas that of Ṭahmāsb is more than two hundred pages in length and incomparably more detailed.

prince's name.'[169] Moreover, it is said to have been 'the Shah's custom to present every royal baby with a carpet and all the trappings of a cradle.' He thus sent for the infant 'Abbās 'the carpet which was spread beneath his own royal throne in the Chehel Sotun hall of the Qazvin palace.'[170] A few years later, speaking to the royal-guard who had been sent on a mission to Herat, the Shah reportedly inquired about the prince's appearance and went on to say that 'he will be the one who increases the brilliance of the light of this dynasty.' Thus, Eskander Bēg continues, 'from the fact that 'Abbās Mīrzā had been appointed to the governorship of Khorasan, people deduced that he was destined to great things, because [Ṭahmāsb] himself, while still an infant, had been made governor-general of Khorasan by [his father].'[171]

In addition to the moral, religious and legal dimensions, Ṭahmāsb's legacy also had a concrete physical dimension, which no doubt served as a powerful reminder of his era and accomplishments. Among his monuments and public works, Eskander Bēg mentions 'the fortifications of the city of Tehran and the city of Mashhad; the gilding of the dome of the Shrine of Imam Reżā, and of the pointed ornament on top of the dome; the construction of the palace [complex] at Qazvin, comprising numerous bathhouses, four markets, and [gardens] … as well as a mosque in the Ṣāḥebābād district of Tabriz.'[172] In addition to these, already mentioned are the greatest expansion of the Safavid dynastic shrine complex in Ardabil, along with associated renovations in Ahar, Rey, and elsewhere in the Safavid domains. Another noteworthy monument from Ṭahmāsb's era is mentioned by Orūch Bēg Bayāt (d. 1604), also known as Don Juan of Persia, the envoy of 'Abbās to Spain. In his *Relaciones*, describing Esfahan, he mentions 'one hundred notable towers scattered around the city' distinguishing the tallest of them by the fact that its top had been made of 'thirty thousand

[169] Ibid., p.210.
[170] Ibid., p.211.
[171] Ibid., p.212.
[172] Ibid., p.205. 'Abbās is said to have had this mosque renovated (p.537).

deer skulls,' killed on the royal hunt by Ṭahmāsb and Homāyūn during the Mughal ruler's refuge in the Safavid domains in 1544-45.[173]

Of a somewhat different nature, a site of memory possessing both physical and legal dimensions, and rather oddly virtually ignored by scholars, apart from S. Arjomand and M-T. Dāneshpazhūh, is the work known as *Injunctions of Shah Ṭahmāsb* (*āyyīn-e shāh ṭahmāsb dar qānūn-e salṭanat*). While Dāneshpazhūh published its Persian text, without any commentary, Arjomand translated it into English, albeit keeping his own analysis, interpretations and commentary to a minimum.[174] Arjomand, presuming that Ṭahmāsb wished to imitate his Ottoman counterpart, Soleymān 'the Lawgiver', suggests the middle of the sixteenth century as a possible date for the promulgation of these injunctions and goes on to point out a parallel between the use of the term *velāyat* – loosely translatable into English as *authority, dominion, guardianship* – to describe both the House of Ṣafī al-Dīn (*khāndān-e nabovvat va velāyat*) and the legal theory of Khomeini (*velāyat-e faqīh*).[175]

Arjomand then breaks the individual articles into loose groupings: 'norms regulating the political economy of patrimonialism, protection of animal resources, maintenance of fair prices and prevention of hoarding and speculation in grains,' followed by 'employment of spies, security of roads, restitution of stolen property, welfare and education of orphans,' among other individual articles.

The desire to organize the affairs of the state, society and economy for the long term is unmistakable. The injunctions are sixty-nine in total and include, more specifically, admonitions on the personal conduct of statesmen and officials, both individual and public – 'they [should] not relinquish moderation and [should] keep to the middle and the mean; they

[173] Oruch-bek Bayat, *Kniga Oruch-beka Bayat, Don-Khuana Persidskogo*, translated from English by O. Efendiyev and A. Farzaliyeva (Baku: Yazichi, 1988), p.27. The manuscript in the BL – Or. 12988, f.103r – depicts the two monarchs hunting at Sultaniyeh.
[174] See M-T., Dāneshpazhūh, "Āyyīn-e Shāh Ṭahmāsb," pp.130-142; Arjomand's "Three Decrees …," pp.159-165.
[175] Arjomand's "Three Decrees …," pp.151, 154-155.

should not adorn their body or attire; let them read the books of the masters of Sufism and sincerity, like the books on ethics which are spiritual medicine; let them not become accustomed to comfort-seeking; the best acts of worship is the ordering of the affairs of the people; assist and be charitable to the poor; scrutinize the offenses, errors … according to the standards of justice; punishment (*sīyāsat*) is the most delicate of the functions of sovereignty, and should be carried out with calm, deliberation, and wisdom.' In addition, among the injunctions, a few pertain to the economy: 'endeavor to promote agriculture, to strengthen and assist the subjects with the provision of seeds, and treat them well so that the number of cities, townships, and villages be increased every year; their expenditure should not increase their revenue; no one anywhere in the protected domains should take corn from the subjects to hoard it out of greed, … [for] it would rouse the wrath of the ruler; they should make every effort for the security of the roads and thoroughfares…'[176] Of obvious significance is the emphasis on pragmatism, be it by emphasizing the need to 'develop the habit of overlooking offenses insofar as disorder is not likely to result; [for] most individuals have committed some offense; some could become bolder as a result of punishment …,' or encouraging officials to 'befriend well-wishers from every class, or endeavor to spread knowledge and art and education so that talent from [all] classes of people is not wasted, as well as to make an effort to educate the old families.'[177]

While the subject deserves closer study and thorough discussion, what is important and of great relevance here is the fact that the injunctions are said to have been 'inscribed on flint stellae (*lauḥ-e sang khārā-naqsh*) to be erected and placed in prominent locations in three-four cities of Iraq and Azerbaijan so that [they] remain in the world as a memorial (*yādgār*) to the [Safavid Dynasty], and in order to increase the intelligence of the administration for all time.'[178] Along with the stories, they provide a fairly comprehensive set

[176] Ibid., pp.160-164.
[177] Ibid., pp.162-163.
[178] Dāneshpazhūh, "Āyyīn-e Shāh Ṭahmāsb," p.165; Arjomand, "Three Decrees …," p.165.

of instructions to follow in matters of both personal conduct and statecraft. Indeed, it is safe to assume that these stellae were around during the lifetime of ‘Abbās, and most certainly during his youth, not only as a reminder of his grandfather's era but also as a practical source of guidance, which only complemented the late Shah’s first-person didactic narrative.[179]

Finally, let us consider other evidence in Eskander Bēg’s work of the extent to which Ṭahmāsb and his legacy were a part of the succeeding generation’s progressive present. For instance, the bureaucracy and the army, and the scribes and the Qezelbāsh, as well as various courtiers and governors, not to mention ‘Abbās’s tutors, and virtually everybody else born in the 1540s to the 1560s and associated with the Safavid state would have been personally or otherwise acquainted with the late Shah. Thus, they preserved and passed down the memory of Ṭahmāsb and his reign onto the next generation, including young Abbās.

Eskander Bēg’s account, covering the period up to the ascension of ‘Abbas and his early years as ruler, is replete with references to the reign of his grandfather, alluding to how things were during his reign and listing people who held various offices under Ṭahmāsb and/or their descendants, who often preserved these privileges and posts: e.g., Yūsef Khalīfeh Zeyād-oghlī, said to have held the post of ‘governor of Qarabagh during the reign of Ṭahmāsb;’ and Moḥammad Khalīfeh Ḥājjīlū Ẕū’l-Qadr, ‘governor of Astarabad at the end of the reign of Ṭahmāsb’ – in the case of the former, his nephew succeeded him, while the descendants of the latter for a period of time served as governors of Shirvan. Similarly,

[179] The founder of the Ming Dynasty of China, Zhu Yuanzhang (d. 1398), a historical figure sharing several similarities with Ṭahmāsb which merit a comparative study, left behind a similar, albeit larger and thus more comprehensive, instructional text – known as *Huang-Ming Zu Xun* (Ch., “Instructions by the Ancestor of the August Ming”) – for the benefit of his posterity. The most significant parallel between the two rulers is their legalistic mindset and the emphasis on adherence to the law as prerequisite for people to enjoy peace and security. Just as in Safavid Iran, in Ming China stellae bearing these pronouncements were erected in prominent locations throughout the country. For the text of the Ming Taizu’s injunctions, see Farmer, E., *Zhu Yuanzhang and Early Ming Legislation, The Reordering of Chinese Society Following the Era of Mongol Rule*. Sinica Leidensia, vol. 34 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), pp.114-149.

Darvīsh Moḥammad Khān Rūmlū, who had served as governor of Nishapur in the time of Ṭahmāsb, was reappointed to this post in 1591.[180]

Likewise, those who married the late Shah's daughters are explicitly mentioned, clearly pointing to the great prestige and authority afforded by such unions, the importance of marriage as a tool for forging alliances between the periphery and the centre and for ensuring the intergenerational succession and continuity across the multiple segments constituting the Safavid polity. It is recorded that Aḥmad Khān Gīlānī married Maryam Solṭān Begüm; Shāh Ne'matullah Yazdī, son of Mīremīrān Yazdī, married Khānesh Khānom; Salmān Khān in turn married Shahrbānū Begüm, Amīr Khān Faṭemeh Khānom, and Jamshīd Khān, grandson of Moẓaffar Solṭān and governor of Western Gilan, married another daughter whose name is not mentioned.[181]

Similarly, many children and grandchildren of those who held important offices under Ṭahmāsb retained their power and influence: for instance, sons of Qāżī Jahān and Shāhqolī Khalīfeh Mohrdār appear among 'Abbās's ministers.[182] Indeed, evidence of succession and continuity, from Ṭahmāsb to 'Abbās is so plentiful it merits a comprehensive prosopographical study. Yet, these examples should suffice to give an idea of the environment 'Abbās grew up in and to indicate the extent to which he may have been influenced and informed by those who once knew, or knew those who knew, his grandfather, be it in the normative, narrative or interpersonal planes.

Esmā'īl II's (d. 1577) a year-long inauspicious tenure, followed by a decade of Moḥammad Khodābandeh's rule (r. 1578-87 ~ d. 1595), saw much instability and loss of territory, east and west, as the very survival of the Safavid polity, for the first time in almost

[180] Eskandar Beg, *History*, pp.316, 357, 627.
[181] Ibid., pp.339, 341, 384, 392, 393. On some occasions Ṭahmāsb's grandchildren are also mentioned. For more on the subject, see Maria Szuppe, "Kinship Ties Between the Safavid and the Qizilbash Amirs in Late Sixteenth Century Iran: A Case Study of the Political Career of Members of the Sharaf al-Din Oghli Tekkelu Family," in *Safavid Persia: History and Politics of an Islamic Society* (London, I.B. Tauris: 1996), pp.79-104.
[182] Eskandar Bēg, *History*, pp.470, 499.

three decades, came under serious threat.[183] Merely sixteen upon ascending the throne in 1587, in Qazvin, young ‘Abbās found himself ruling from the palace his grandfather had built, surrounded by people who had personally known and served him, and inheriting his personal possessions, including manuscripts. Most important, however, was the fact that he was now facing a series of challenges not dissimilar to those Ṭahmāsb had faced in his early years. In addition to the Ottoman and Uzbek invasions and occupation in the Caucasus, Azerbaijan, ‘Irāq-e ‘Ajam, and Khorasan, he also had to tackle, in 1584, another round of Tekkelū troubles – ironically, this time, the rebels rallied behind Ṭahmāsb Mīrzā, ‘because he bore the same name as Shah Ṭahmāsb and because [he] also came to the throne in his eleventh year.’[184] Just over a decade later, in 1596, this was followed by another episode involving the Tekkelū tribe, whereby they ‘felt the full weight of the Shah’s wrath, and were subjected to a systematic purge.’ What is particularly interesting here is that the author explicitly states that ‘Abbās ‘had not forgotten,’ likely having read his grandfather’s stories, ‘that Olāmeh and Ghāzī Khān had deserted to the Ottomans during the reign of Shah Ṭahmāsb, had fought their own chief, Moḥammad Khān Sharaf al-Dīn-oghlī [Takkelū], and had handed over to […] Soleymān the provinces of Arab Iraq and Baghdad.’[185]

While overcoming the domestic troubles was certainly not an insignificant task, the greatest goal from the outset was the return to the conditions established by the Treaty of Amasya. Reading Eskander Bēg’s narrative of the resurgence of Ottoman aggression following the death Esmā‘īl II and their occupation of much of western Iran, one cannot fail to notice the repeated references to the ‘covenant made between Ṭahmāsb and Soleymān,’ which the former sought to preserve at all costs, and which was ultimately broken by the latter’s successors, followed by the emphasis on the need to restore the status quo.

---

[183] See Colin P. Mitchell, *The Practice of Politics*, pp.145-198, and Andrew Newman’s *Safavid Iran: Rebirth of a Persian Empire* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2008), pp.41-50.
[184] Eskandar Bēg, *History*, pp.427, 455, 466.
[185] Ibid., p.707.

Take, for instance, the chronicler's account of the resumption of hostilities – 'a number of seditions Kurds,' we are told, 'seeing the weakness and disarray of the Safavid state [after the death of Esmā'īl II in 1578] incited Khosrow Pāshā, the governor of Van, to take advantage of the situation.' Thus, either for his own ends or on orders from the Ottoman Sultan, he 'cast into oblivion the treaty that had been concluded between Shah Ṭahmāsb and Sultan Soleymān.' Noteworthy, Eskander Bēg continues, is 'that the treaty was reinforced by sworn oaths and by an instrument in Sultan Soleymān's own hand, and binding on succeeding generations.'[186] The author once again emphasizes that, likewise, upon the death of the Ottoman sultan Morād III (d. 1595), 'he violated the peace treaty concluded between Sultan Soleymān and Shah Ṭahmāsb, a treaty which had been sealed with the most solemn oaths, and disturbed the peaceful existence of Muslims by letting slip the hounds of war.' Moreover, Morād is said to have been guilty of the 'carrying off into captivity of Muslim women and children.'[187] At the same time, the chronicler continues, the late Shah 'always had in mind the welfare of Muslims, and the maintenance of a stable peace,' ultimately going so far as to accept the official Ottoman apology for the slaying of Ma'ṣūm Bēg Ṣafavī during his pilgrimage to the Two Sanctuaries.[188] During the first decade of the renewed warfare, having made substantial gains, the Ottomans offered a settlement, to which a group of Qezelbāsh commanders are said to have produced the following response: 'if you mean a peace treaty on the terms of the treaty concluded in the time of Shah Tahmasb, well and good!'[189]

This was objectively the late Shah's greatest achievement, which was almost lost, due to the failure of his two immediate successors to meet, one could argue, his standards of leadership, piety and obedience to the Law. Fortunately, these gains were salvaged through 'Abbās's following in his grandfather's footsteps. Towards the very end of his work,

[186] Ibid., p.347. Note the mention of the Ottoman ruler's confirmation of the treaty.
[187] Ibid., pp 679-80.
[188] Ibid., p.193.
[189] Ibid., p.386.

Eskander Bēg, listing the most significant achievements of ‘Abbās, places a strong emphasis on ‘the recovery of all lost Safavid territory [and forcing the Ottomans] to negotiate peace on the same terms as the Treaty of Amasya that had been concluded with Shah Ṭahmāsb.’[190]

The Treaty of Constantinople, signed in 1590, to some degree allowed ‘Abbās to concentrate on domestic problems as well as to turn his attention eastwards, commencing the reconquest of his appanage, which for years had been under Uzbek occupation. Thus, upon becoming Shah and securing the western front, the next task was the recovery of Khorasan, where he had spent the first half of his life. His expedition commenced in 1592, as he explicitly sought to recover the territory said to [have] ‘belonged to [the Safavid] dynasty for a hundred years.’ ‘Abbās thus sent a letter to ‘Abd al-Mo’men Khān, the Uzbek, stating:

> *If you wish to make peace on the same basis as it was concluded between Kesken Qarā Solṭān … and Shah Ṭahmāsb, my grandfather – in other words, if you hand over Khorasan to my office – then I am ready to make peace*.[191]

‘Abd al-Mo’men Khān, in his response, even challenged the Safavid Shah to a pitched battle at Jām, likely serving as a reminder to the latter of his grandfather’s feats of bravery against the Uzbeks when he was only fourteen. This time, however, the Uzbek ruler retreated to Balkh, in turn prompting ‘Abbās to return to Qazvin for the winter. ‘Abbās would dedicate the next few years to suppressing rebellions in Lorestan, Khuzestan and Gilan, as well as the conquest of Mazandaran, and eventually return to Khorasan in 1596.[192]

In the context of narrating the affairs and developments in Khorasan under Uzbek occupation and the Safavid efforts to reconquer it, Eskander Bēg relates a fascinating story of the transfer of the remains of Shah Ṭahmāsb from Mashhad to Esfahan, and from there to Ardabil, further illustrating the extent to which the memory of the late Shah was both poignant and contested across different social strata. He first relates that Esmā‘īl II ordered

[190] Ibid., p.541.
[191] Ibid., p.626.
[192] Ibid., pp.655-80.

his father's body to be transferred to Mashhad, where three or four graves were dug within the precincts of the shrine of Imam Reżā to allow for the choosing of the most suitable site, which would likely protect it from desecration by enemies. These graves are said to have been on display to the general public for several days, yet when it was decided to bury his remains, the governor had the doors of the sanctuary closed and another grave dug adjacent to the sepulcher of the Imam, where the body was ultimately buried.[193] Then, the narration continues, when 'Abd al-Mo'men Khān captured Mashhad and the shrine fell to the Uzbeks, 'the religious fanaticism of the ignorant miscreant made him resolve to desecrate the grave of Shah Ṭahmāsb; the burial site is said to have been excavated and the remains were to be taken to be Bukhara and subjected to every form of ignominy.' Dūstom Bahādor, the man tasked with carrying out 'Abd al-Mo'men's orders, prior to departing Mashhad with Ṭahmāsb's remains placed in a sack, is reported to have stayed in the house of a certain Reżāqolī Bēg, a storekeeper at the shrine. The latter in turn is said to have convinced Dūstom Bahādor that if he were to deliver the remains to the Qezelbāsh he would be paid ten times the amount promised by the Uzbeks. The two men are then said to have delivered the sack to the Qezelbāsh at Tabas. Its governor, Meḥrab Khān Qājār, then immediately reported the news to 'Abbās. The Shah, Eskander Bēg writes, was 'overjoyed at the news' and ordered the remains to be escorted all the way to Esfahan. At every stage of the journey, the populace turned out on the Shah's orders to carry the bier on their shoulders to the next stage. Reportedly, when the procession reached Esfahan, 'Abbās personally, along with all his emirs and principal office holders, came to meet it and then acted as pallbearers all the way to the shrine of Imam 'Alī Zeyn al-'Ābedīn in the city, where the body was interred.[194] 'As the news spread throughout the Safavid empire, this shrine became a place of pilgrimage for those who wished to pay their respects to the memory of Shah Ṭahmāsb,' so much so that it

[193] Ibid., p.703.
[194] Ibid., p.704.

was decided to move the remains to Ardabil and re-inter them within the shrine complex, but 'for security reasons [the author] shall not describe the location of the burial place.'[195]

In the last two years of the sixteenth century, taking advantage of the feud between the Uzbeks rulers 'Abdollāh Khān and his son 'Abd al-Mo'men Khān, and a subsequent struggle for succession, 'Abbās finally made a decisive move to recover Khorasan – 'a province praised by poets, in which were situated the shrine of Imam Reżā and his own birthplace, the city of Herat, where he spent his early years.'[196] In the spring of 1598 'the Shah's prayers to the Imam Reżā to assist him in the recovery of the province of Khorasan were finally answered.' Encamped at Nishapur, he received the news of the death of 'Abd al-Mo'men Khān and the recapture of Mashhad. He soon set off and camped on the banks the river at Tus, on 28 July 1598. The following day, he left Tus to perform the pilgrimage, as his grandfather had once done, following another victory against the Uzbeks, at the shrine of the Eighth Imam. 'When the dome of the shrine came in sight, ['Abbās] dismounted, and wept tears of joy'[197] – he would have known perfectly well who had had that dome gilded as well as overseen the largest expansion of the shrine complex to date.

Years of occupation of Mashhad by the Uzbeks apparently did not have a positive impact on the shrine – finding it in bad condition, stripped of its gold and silver chandeliers, as well as other items donated by the Safavid family, 'Abbās dedicated several months to attending to the affairs of the region and the shrine complex. He had attendants, teachers of theology, Quran reciters, and other retainers 'brought up to strength on the basis laid down by Shah Ṭahmāsb.'[198] Even when it came to taxation, 'Abbās decided to abolish a practice

[195] Ibid., p.705.
[196] Ibid., p.727. The author doesn't fail to criticize 'Abd al-Mo'men's lack of filial piety and the dire consequences thereof.
[197] Ibid., p.752.
[198] Ibid., p.764.

which had emerged after the death of his grandfather – 'since this was contrary to the old tax assessment and also to the tax regulations of Shah Ṭahmāsb.'[199]

Taken together, these actions support the notion that young 'Abbās viewed his grandfather as a role model to emulate and learn from on a personal level. Also, quite clearly, he sought to perpetuate his legacy and to ensure his achievements endured, whether by having mosques and shrines renovated, or lost territories reconquered. Likewise, it is hardly farfetched to suggest that 'Abbās wished to honour his grandfather's legacy by, among another things, having his composition copied and bound into a royal manuscript (and included in an epistolographic collection, discussed in the next chapter). Indeed, the timing of the production of the exquisite manuscript of the *Five Stories* – that is the ***SPC*** – accompanied by a new preface – circumstantial though the evidence may appear – can be argued to have everything to do with the recapture of Mashhad, circa the summer of 1598. That victory marked a turning point in the life of 'Abbās. In that year, with the eastern front now secure and the domestic troubles in check, the capital was moved to Esfahan.[200] 'Abbās had overcome a major challenge and reached an important milestone, successfully consolidating his power. He was now ready to face the more formidable enemy. It was with the etiology articulated by his grandfather, which 'Abbās no doubt had read closely, and driven by the *mythomoteur* of the *Five Stories*, that he set out to challenge the Ottomans.

The new preface sets the *Five Stories* squarely in moment of the denouement of the Bayezīd episode. The new preface appears not to have been coincidental and but clearly intended to underpin Safavid efforts to revive the Treaty of Amasya, albeit under a different name. In turn, the preface offers further insight into the memory and legacy of Ṭahmāsb. To quote M. Halbwachs, 'if a "truth" is to be settled in the memory of a group, it needs to be

[199] Ibid., p.774.
[200] Even the moving of the capital by 'Abbās could be argued to have been inspired by his grandfather's pragmatism, while the urban development plan for Esfahan, though on a larger scale, was modelled on Ṭahmāsb's redevelopment of Qazvin.

presented in the concrete form of an event, of a personality, or of a locality,' and if it is to live on in the memory of a group, it must be enriched with the meaningfulness of a significant truth.[201] The setting, it seems, has more to do with the myth-making surrounding the figure of the late Shah, raising his status and authority in the eyes of posterity to that of Soleymān. Anchoring this episode of the largest and most consequential Ottoman embassy to date in the imagination of those who most likely did not witness it yet certainly would have heard about it from their parents, was probably the goal of the scribes, or other courtiers, who came up with the idea of framing the stories this way.

Given that almost forty years separate the event in question and the production of the manuscript (the *Kāteb* copy dates to 1599/1600), what this particular juncture represents is a critical threshold in what scholars refer to as communicative memory; that is, memories related to the recent past, generational memories accrued within a group, originating and disappearing with time, or, to be more precise, with the carriers of those memories.[202] The Romans referred to this as *saeculum*, by which they meant the end point, when the last surviving member of a generation, and thus the carrier of a particular set of memories, has died. This period is commonly understood to last between eighty and one hundred years, with forty believed to represent a critical threshold: 'after forty years those who have witnessed an important event as an adult will leave their future-oriented professional career and will enter the age group in which memory grows as does the desire to fix it and pass it on.' All studies confirm that even in literate societies, living memory does not extend beyond eighty years.[203] Moreover, with the passage of time and with the help of writing, the communicative memory is replaced by cultural memory, and that seems to be the case here. In other words, framing the *Five Stories* as the Shah's narration to the ambassadors served a dual purpose. First, it

[201] Cited in Assmann, *Cultural Memory*, p.24.
[202] Ibid., pp.35-36.
[203] Ibid., pp.36-37.

firmly grounded the episode in the readers' imagination, along with all the implications of mutual recognition between the Ottoman ruler and the Safavid Shah, and it affirmed the Safavid state narrative of the wars and peace. Second, it even further amplified the status and authority of Ṭahmāsb in the eyes of the then-current generation, obviously with the intention of encouraging people to strive towards his standards of wisdom and piety, as well as his adherence to the Law. Before closing this chapter, let us briefly explore to what extent 'Abbās sought to represent himself in this preface as a pious and law-abiding ruler.

A Few Notes on the Image of 'Abbās in Eskander Bēg's History

Another question that deserves exploration but can be addressed only briefly here is to what extent did the conduct and piety of 'Abbās's grandfather shape 'Abbās's own worldly and spiritual outlook? While a thorough investigation of diverse sources would require a separate study beyond the scope of this work, short of that, Eskander Bēg's *Tārīkh*, a well-known and widely circulating work of historiography, provides a glimpse into how 'Abbās wished to be represented. My argument here is that he not only sought to adhere to the political path and legacy of his grandfather, he also endeavoured to follow in his role model's footsteps, explicitly representing himself, normatively speaking, in a very similar manner. There is ample evidence of 'Abbās's image as a wise, pious, and law-abiding ruler as well as, more broadly, further data supporting the argument of his following the policies associated with Ṭahmāsb.

Thus, for instance, Eskander Bēg writes that 'Abbās 'never transgressed the prescriptions of the Quran and often sought [its] augury, so that if [its] text expressly forbade

something, he would respect God's wise counsel and refrain from taking that action, even though it was desirable in order to gain material advantage.'[204] Furthermore, the chronicler writes at length of the Shah's 'poverty, self-discipline, inner struggle against the carnal soul – all of which have earned him great respect of [among] the mystics, shaykhs, and holy men of [his] day.'[205]

Similarly, Eskander Bēg praises 'Abbās for his 'unusual degree of understanding, shrewdness, acumen, native sagacity, and learning;' … as well as for 'his management of armies and tactics in battle, and in dispensation of justice.'[206] Pointing out that 'Iran had been without a strong king for more than ten years,' he commends him for [preserving] 'stability within the kingdom and [securing] the roads, adding that the welfare of his people was always [his] prime concern … and he was at pains to see the people enjoyed peace and security.'[207]

All these are indeed echoes of Ṭahmāsb's traits and achievements, as reflected in the historiography, further confirming that in virtually everything 'Abbās did he sought to either emulate or, whenever possible, surpass his grandfather – be that in patronage of shrines, construction projects, personal piety, or even in his policy towards Georgia. Regarding the latter, like Ṭahmāsb, 'Abbās continued the Safavid expansion in the Southern Caucasus, taking 'many Georgian women and children, non-Muslims, prisoner and [bringing them] within the fold of Islam.'[208] Indeed, even his well-known reform of the army, which entailed admitting groups other than the Qezelbāsh, which, in fact, had begun under Ṭahmāsb and resulted, by the end of his reign, in the Georgians' gradually becoming a powerful faction within the Safavid household. Hence Georgian *gholām*s named Ṭahmāsb-qolī appear in the

[204] Eskandar Bēg, *History*, p.515.
[205] Ibid.
[206] Ibid., p.517.
[207] Ibid., p.523.
[208] Ibid., p.519.

sources (e.g., Ṭahmāsb-qolī Bēg Somkhetī, said to be one of the *gholām*s of the royal household).[209]

'Abbās's piety and his patronage of sayyids and shrines, in Ardabil, Ahar, and Mashhad are also well known, as are his multiple pilgrimages, both to his ancestral tombs and to that of the Eighth Imam.[210] Echoing Mīr Ḥeydar's eulogy (above) – 'Despite the throne's magnificence and exterior majesty / Sometimes my inner asceticism recall' – Eskander Bēg also reports that 'Abbās was 'equally at home on the dervish's mat as on the royal throne.'[211] Indeed, the evidence seems sufficient to support the argument, more generally, that, following his death, Ṭahmāsb came to represent the Safavid canon of kingship in the eyes of his immediate, and subsequently distant, posterity, which his successors endeavoured to emulate but ultimately only 'Abbās managed to surpass.

Sholeh Quinn, who has spent much of her career studying the reign of 'Abbās, in her recent work discusses 'an innovation' in Persian historical writing which took place towards the end of the sixteenth century. She points out that two types of texts and/or literary genres came to be incorporated into early modern chronicles – 'biographical compendia and mirrors-for-princes.'[212] The latter is particularly relevant here. In her chapter titled 'Mirrors, Memorials, and Blended Genres,' in describing 'the innovation,' she focuses on two well-known works – Moḥammad 'Ārif Qandahārī's *Tārīkh-e akbarī* and Eskander Bēg's *Tārīkh-e 'ālam-ārā-ye 'abbāsī*. When it comes to 'Abbās, what Quinn calls the 'list of kingly virtues' in Eskander Bēg's work, only some of which are mentioned above, is the case in point. Describing him as 'a model for both kings and clerics' she lists various qualities attributed to him by Eskander Bēg: 'piety, judgement, divinely given wisdom and excellence of policies,

[209] Ibid., pp.763-64, 859 The said Georgian was tasked with overseeing the transfer of Jolfa's Armenian population to Esfahan (p.859).
[210] See Melville's "Shah 'Abbas and the Pilgrimage to Mashhad;" or Mawer's "Shah 'Abbās and the Pilgrimage to Mashhad."
[211] Eskandar Bēg, *History*, p.529.
[212] Quinn, S.A., *Persian Historiography across Empires: The Ottoman, Safavids, and Mughals* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2020), p.155.

which are in conformity with divine will, being the "Lord of the Auspicious Conjunction," justice, concern for security of the roads and welfare of subjects, authority and despotic behavior, policies and administration, simplicity of life, lack of ceremony, concern for the rights of servants and not laying hands on their possessions, breadth of vision, knowledge of world affairs and classes of society, public works and building achievements, and lastly battles and victories.'[213] Though hardly explicitly stated by Quinn, we may presume that the goal and intent of Eskander Bēg's listing of these virtues and qualities was to have readers view the Shah as an example to follow, ultimately begging an obvious question: if 'Abbās was (or wished to be) a model for both clerics and kings, who then was his role own model? This question, likewise, Quinn does not address. However, given the above discussion, the answer is clear; let us explore this further.

While seeking to answer how 'mirrors for princes literature impacted early modern writing,' Quinn overlooks well-known works such as *Qābūsnāmeh*, *Seyār al-Molūk*, *Akhlāq-e Nāserī*, and the *Shāhnāmeh*, among other relevant texts, and their possible influence on this literary, historiographical, and didactic 'innovation'.[214] More immediate historiographical examples of didactic/advice works teaching by example, the two Mughal auto/biographical texts (e.g., *Bābor-nāmeh* and *Āyīn-e akbarī*, especially its fifth volume), could have been considered,[215] not to mention the two recensions of Ṭahmāsb's text (i.e., the published editions of the *T-Recension* Tabatadze's edition of the *M-Recension*). Instead, despite 'see[ing] no evidence of direct borrowing or imitative writing,' she speculates as to possible influences upon Qandahārī's and Eskander Bēg's works as Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāme' al-tavārīkh*

[213] Quinn, *Historiography across Empires*, p.159.
[214] See Nasrin Askari's *The Medieval Reception of the Shāhnāmeh as a Mirror for Princes* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016).
[215] See Stephen Frederic Dale's *Babur: Timurid Prince and Mughal Emperor, 1483-1530* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp.6, 73. Note: Dale describes Babur's composition as *a source of advice for future monarchs, a* nasihat-namah [sic.], *or a book of advice or a mirror for princes … a deeply personal kind of mirror rather than the standard, largely impersonal* Qabus-namah [sic.].

and/or Khonjī-Esfahānī's *Tārīkh-e 'ālam-ārā-yi amīnī*, concluding that the former two 'were [not] completely innovative in providing lists of kingly virtues.'[216]

While there may indeed be some relationship between (and continuity from) these earlier works and that of Eskander Bēg, specifically regarding the 'innovation' of listing kingly virtues, Quinn's focus is on works outside the Safavid historiographical tradition. As has been shown above, virtually every post-1555 Safavid chronicler variously lists kingly virtues, and 'Abdī Bēg Shīrāzī's *Takmelat al-akhbār* in fact contains a largely identical list (of twelve entries) of virtues and qualities, which he attributes to Ṭahmāsb.[217] Whether Eskander Bēg, writing almost sixty years later, was in any way influenced by Shīrāzī's work is debatable, but it is clear that his own inclusion of such a list was not an innovation. At the same time, while Ṭahmāsb's stories provide no such lists, even so, they shaped his image in contemporary historiography and shaped the memory of the succeeding generation, leading his successor to follow in his footsteps. It seems reasonable to assume that 'Abbās (and his associates) received and perceived the *Five Stories* as an ancestral instruction.

[216] Quinn, *Historiography across Empires*, p.161.
[217] Shīrāzī, *Takmelat*, pp.165-169. i) descent from the Prophet; ii) spread of the Shī'ī faith and of Islam; iii) descent from the House of Ṣafī al-Dīn; iv) having perceived and transmitted knowledge; v) chastity and piety; vi) justice; vii) avoiding seizing property of orphans and spilling blood unlawfully; viii) penitence and repentance; ix) care for the noble and the common folk; x) good relations with foreign rulers; xi) prudence and precaution; xii) bravery rarely seen among men.

Conclusion

Ṭahmāsb's *Five Stories* bear interesting and illuminating parallels to a typologically similar work, the *Instruction of Vladimir Monomakh.* Monomakh (d. 1125) was a Grand Prince of Kiev, generally understood to have been a talented ruler, an author of a collection of laws, a lay philosopher, and a writer. He is also known to have composed several primarily didactic texts, today known collectively as his *Instruction*, that is *dastūr al-'amal*, intended to educate, exhort and set an example for posterity.[218] Incidentally, the oldest text of the *Instruction* is found in a chronicle by a monk named Lavrentiy, who had copied an earlier chronicle – probably that of Grand Prince Mikhail Yaroslavich of Tver (d. 1318) – for the Prince of Suzdal and Nizhny Novgorod, Dmitry Konstantinovich (d. 1383). Consisting of three parts – two long letters and a prayer – these were at some point combined into one pedagogic treatise which, again, not unlike Ṭahmāsb's composition, took the form of a first-person narrative of Monomakh's exploits and the lessons he had learnt.[219]

Content-wise, as one would expect, the outlook of Monomakh's 'Instruction is a medieval Christian one, based on the Holy Scripture: providing a code of behaviour and

[218] Maria Nenarokova, "Instruction," p.110.
[219] Ibid., p.109. Letters to children are a very common trope in ancestral instruction literature – see Ghazālī's *Ayyuhā al-walad*, and *Lord Chesterfield's Letters*.

rendering him a good parent and model for his heirs; according to the Bible, parents were obliged to teach their children to fear God, make God's laws known to them, instruct them while they were still young, admonish them, and teach to do good from their childhood … be good models for [them].'[220] Generally, Monomakh's advice is of two types: on the one hand, theological and moral, sourced from the Scripture, and, on the other, conventional, secular knowledge, of the sort passed down across generations. Emphasizing the importance of piety, he quotes the Old and the New Testaments extensively and almost exclusively. In turn, Ṭahmāsb's stories, along with being more explicitly legalistic, are also incomparably richer in terms of sources and references. Yet, both ultimately serve the same purpose, that is to provide an example and a model of behaviour which, if followed, would make the authors' heirs prosper and overcome all sorts of challenges. 'Only by becoming humble can one reach the next stage of spiritual growth; the victory over our enemies that comes about [by] three means: repentance, tears, and almsgiving' – humility thus is an emulation-worthy trait the two authors share.[221]Emphasis on filial piety is another shared element.

Composed towards the end of his life – making Monomakh, like Ṭahmāsb, another archetypal old wiseman (*senex*) – his *Instruction*, not unlike the *Five Stories*, posits that an 'indispensable element of an ideal ruler's code of behaviour is prayer, including, both penitential prayers and prayers expressing praise of God.'[222] Moreover, the image of an ideal ruler is articulated through a series of injunctions: 'to protect the poor; give to the orphans; protect the widows; act fairly and show forgiveness; never break an oath; respect the clergy; be humble; treat his elders with deference and the young without arrogance; be prudent and cautious during war; to protect the population of his land from the violence of his warriors;

[220] Ibid., p.111.

[221] Ibid., p.113; See also, "*Poucheniye Vladimira Monomakha,"* in *Povest' Vremennykh Let: Proizvedeniya Drevnerusskoy Literatury v Perevodakh D.S. Likhacheva* (Saint Petersburg: Azbuka-Attikus, 2022), p.209.
[222] Nenarokova, "Instruction," p.118.

avoid haste; avoid lying, drunkenness, and vice, for therein perish soul and body;' and, most importantly, 'one is urged to hold the fear of God above all else.'[223]

Besides the obvious overlap between the nuggets of advice listed above and those, notwithstanding the difference in form, found in the *Five Stories*, such parallels can be argued to constitute the clearest indication of the universalism of such didactic texts, applicable across time and space, be it in twelfth-thirteenth century Rus' or sixteenth-century Iran. It is for the universalism and timelessness of such messages that the descendants of both Monomakh and Ṭahmāsb for generations continued to read (and copy) these texts and to apply (to varying degrees) the instructions and lessons contained therein.[224] Not coincidentally, both texts were included in manuscripts of chronicles covering the ages and reigns of the two monarchs – the *Laurentian Codex* and *Eskander Bēg's History*.[225] From the time of 'Abbās, the text of the *Five Stories* gradually became part and parcel of Safavid princely education, as was likely intended by its author and as the next chapter demonstrates.

[223] Ibid., pp.119-120.
[224] Ibid., pp.128-29.
[225] Ibid., p.123.

Chapter Two: The Kāteb Stemma

'Abd al-Vahhāb-e Kāteb's Copy and MS. AQRL: No. 7886
The Less Studied Manuscripts: The Transmission, the Scribes, and the Other Prefaces

Now, it is good to study many things
that you may learn the wisdom of great men.
Thus, you can help to educate the children of the people
while you walk according to the wise man's footsteps.
The scribe is seen as listening and obeying,
and the listening develops into satisfaction.
Hold fast the words which hearken to these things
as your own footsteps hurry,
And while you are on your journey
you need never hide your heart.
Step out on the path of learning –
the friends of Man are your company.[226]

On the Significance of the Less Studied Manuscripts and the Kāteb Stemma and Variant

Constituting the hitherto missing element in the history of the text, this segment of the corpus under study consists of eight manuscripts. Although, formally, all eight contain the *M-Recension* (*second edition*), none belongs to the *Naqqāsh* stemma discussed in the preceding chapter. Seven are predominantly epistolographic collections (*monsha'āt, jong*), containing the significantly different and more complete variant of the *M-Recension*, and each

[226] "The Instruction for Little Pepi on His Way to School," in Miriam Lichtheim's *Ancient Egyptian Literature I*, (Oakland: University of California Press, 2019), p.42.

accompanied by two distinct prefaces unique to this variant. As indicated in the introduction, both this manuscript stemma and textual variant have been labelled *Kāteb*, after a certain ‘Abd al-Vahhāb, the scribe, whose signature appears in the colophon at the end of the text, albeit in only four of the seven manuscripts, pointing to the existence of two sub-stemmas. The eighth, a single-text manuscript, has no known copies and its provenance is obscure. It does, however, contain a preface which, though abridged, is close the one discussed in Chapter One, while its text bears resemblance to both *Naqqāsh* and *Kāteb* variants of the *M-Recension*.

That these eight manuscripts have remained almost entirely outside the scholarly purview is the primary reason for examining them together in this chapter. The second reason, following from the first, is that a close study of this segment of the corpus, the hitherto missing link, allows for a comprehensive view of the text’s history and brings a better understanding of its chronology and evolution. More specifically, this chapter covers a range of marginalia, colophons and prefaces across the eight codices, compares the *Naqqāsh* and *Kāteb* textual variants, and finally works out how the text fits in with the other contents of the *monsha’āt-jong* collections. These will in turn allow a tracing of the transmission, evolution and readership of the *Five Stories*, from the earliest period up to 1601, when the *M-Recension* preface was added to the text, and beyond, up to 1679, when the core text acquired a *new preface* and a *historical introduction*. The text later went through *several semi-substantial revisions*, ultimately producing the *T-Recension*.

The manuscripts of the aforesaid collections are scattered across several libraries, six in Iran and one in England, whereas the single-text manuscript is kept in Mashhad, at the Āstān-e Qods-e Rażavī Library. We shall designate the two collections as **C1** and **C2**, while referring to the single-text *MS. AQRL: No. 7886* as the ***MC***.[227] The difficulty of access, at

[227] **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b; **2** – MS.Malek: No. 6323; **3 –** MS.Bodl.: Pers. D. 84; **4** – MS.DM: No. 470; **5 –** MS.DT: No. Adab. 44j; **6** – MS.Majles: ID: 5022178, Rec. No. 2/606,

least partially, can account for their hitherto exclusion from the discourse on this manuscript-textual tradition. Of the multi-text manuscripts, specifically with reference to the text, only five have received limited attention, while the ***MC*** has not been studied, except for a catalogue entry and mention in a dissertation.[228] In fact, there are only two studies (known to me) that touch upon this segment of the corpus of manuscripts containing Ṭahmāsb's text.

In his survey of sources for the study of Ṭahmāsb's reign, published more than fifty years ago, Dāneshpazhūh first introduced four manuscripts of these collections in the section dedicated to the Shah's own writings (*negāresh-hā*). Having hastily examined the text of the *T-Recension* (without specifying the published edition(s) consulted) and able to access only a handful of its manuscripts, Dāneshpazhūh suggested that Ṭahmāsb 'may have wished to imitate Teymūr-e Gorgān by, likewise, composing a *tūzok* (*regulations*, *injunctions*), which [took the form of] a personal account of events of thirty years [and] bore the name *taẕkereh*.'[229] He went on to introduce a total of ten manuscripts containing what he termed the 'two recensions of the text,' five for each. He also mentioned the Tehran, Calcutta, Strasburg and Berlin editions, yet not the Tbilisi edition, of whose existence he seems to have been unaware.[230]

At the same time, aware of the ***SPC***, yet unable to consult it, Dāneshpazhūh mentioned its exquisite character and rightly pointed out that it was 'one of the two manuscripts of the "*taẕkereh*" mentioned in the Ardabil shrine library inventory.'[231] He then

---

No. 361; **C2** – MS.Majles: ID: 5022178, Rec. No. 3455/272.

[228] Aḥmad Golchīn Ma'ānī, *Fehrest-e Kotob-e Khaṭṭī-ye Ketābkhāneh-ye Āstān-e Qods Rażavī* (Mashhad: Chāpkhāneh-ye Ṭūs, 1346/1967), p.52.

[229] Dāneshpazhūh, "Yek Pardeh," p.961 – "*rūznāmeh-ye vaqā'ī'-e sī-sāleh-ye khod*".

[230] Dāneshpazhūh, "Yek Pardeh," pp.962-64 – "*īn resāleh-rā do taḥrīr ast*".

[231] Gonjīneh, p.43. However, regarding the second manuscript, though admitting that he had no knowledge of its whereabouts, he wrongly added that 'it [too] must have been of the same recension' (*bāyad hamīn taḥrīr-e nokhostīn mī-būdeh bāshad va nemīndānam aknūn kojāst*) – see, Dāneshpazhūh, "Yek Pardeh," p.962. As will be shown in Chapter Four, his guess was not correct as the second manuscript of the '*taẕkereh*' mentioned in the inventory is in fact MS.BL: Or. 5880, which contains the 'second', that is the *T-recension*.

briefly introduced the **C1:1**, **5**, **6** and **C2** manuscripts and, based solely on the first *of the two prefaces* to the textual variant in the first three manuscripts, concluded that the ***SPC*** belonged to the 'first recension' (*taḥrīr-e nokhostīn*).[232]

Though more a long title than a preface – used by Dāneshpazhūh to establish the relationship between the two variants of the *M-Recension* – since it framed the composition as the *Shah's Discourses with the Envoys* (*maqālāt-e shāh ṭahmāsb bā īlchīyān*), the suggestion that it belonged to the 'first recension', along with the one in the ***SPC***, was not incorrect. However, unable to compare the *Naqqāsh* textual variant found in the ***SPC***, or that in Tabatadze's edition, with the *Kāteb* variant included in the four manuscripts he introduced, Dāneshpazhūh remained unaware of the existence of the two stemmas and distinct textual variants of the 'first' or the *M-recension*. Likewise, he did not attempt to establish how the different manuscripts may be related, nor did he pay any attention to the second preface (to be discussed below), thus also making no comments about the text's transmission, evolution, and/or readership. Finally, barely familiar with the corpus and the text, having no access to most of the manuscripts he listed, and not having closely examined either of the recensions, he did not attempt to compare the two.

Besides Dāneshpazhūh, the only other scholar, to my knowledge, to have touched upon the inclusion of Ṭahmāsb's text in these collections is Zahir Bhalloo.[233] Despite attempting the most comprehensive comparison between the *M*- and the *T*-recensions to date, due to the limited number of manuscripts he was able to examine, Bhalloo, too, made no breakthrough in his interpretation of the evolution of the text. Instead, as the title of his MPhil thesis indicates that the text was a spoken narrative later written down – his conclusions merely echo the established consensus as to what the text was and why there were two

[232] **C2** does not in fact reproduce said preface and is instead accompanied only by the older one; Dāneshpazhūh does not appear to have noticed that.
[233] Bhalloo, Z., "From Oral to Written Discourse: Shāh Ṭahmāsp's Narrative of Safavid-Ottoman Relations, 939-961/1532-1562" (MPhil diss., University of Oxford, 2008).

recensions, namely, that it was originally *the Record of Ṭahmāsb's Conversation with the Ottoman Envoys* (*mokālemeh*), which the Shah *personally revised* into what today is widely known as *his memoirs*, *diary*, and/or *autobiography* (*rūznāmeh*, *taẕkereh*).[234]

Nevertheless, Bhalloo appears to be the only person to have engaged, albeit in a very limited manner, with the *Kāteb* stemma and textual variant, which in and of itself renders his work significant. Unaware of Dāneshpazhūh's article, and relying solely on catalogue research, along with several well-known manuscripts, he mentions in his introduction the ***MC*** as well as the **C1:2** and **C2** manuscripts. In fact, he even managed to obtain a black-and-white scan of the text of **C1:2**. However, perhaps due to the genuinely poor quality of the images, among other reasons, did not actually attempt to compare it with Tabatadze's edition (on which he had otherwise relied almost exclusively).[235] Consequently, the only tangible outcome of Bhalloo's discovery of these collections was his translation of the older preface, which is found in all the *Kāteb* stemma manuscripts except **C2**, and which for no immediately obvious reason he did not discuss, instead merely including it in the appendix.[236]

Such a major gap in the scholarly purview of this manuscript-textual tradition, namely the failure to recognize the importance of these manuscripts, as well as their place in the history of the text under study, made developing a holistic view of the corpus problematic. This in turn imposed serious limits on the understanding of the relationships between different codices, of either the *M*- or the *T-Recension*, or upon the transmission, paratextual evolution and readership of the *Five Stories*. The scholarly consensus, in complete darkness as to the history of the text over the first forty years of its existence and thus unable to

[234] Jackson, P., and Lockhart, L., eds. The Cambridge History of Iran, vol. Six: The Timurid and Safavid Periods (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: 1986), p.250. Hinz, "Zur Frage," p.52.
[235] Bhalloo, "From Oral to Written Discourse," pp.22-24.
[236] Ibid., p.102.

account for the existence of the two recensions, had already crystallized in the first decades of the twentieth century and has remained unchallenged until today.

Finally, considering that effectively all the existing scholarship on the *M-Recension* is based exclusively on just two *Naqqāsh* stemma manuscripts, a close study of this neglected segment of the corpus and analysis of its textual, preface and colophon variants, key to understanding the history of the text, are long overdue. Thus, the main significance of the less studied manuscripts lies in the non-trivial textual differences between the *Naqqāsh* and *Kāteb* variants of the *M-Recension*, the older preface found in several manuscripts of the latter stemma, as well as the small but important role of the ***MC*** in the transmission and evolution of the text into the *T-Recension*.

As will be demonstrated below, a survey of the eight manuscripts, accompanied by the discussion of the text's transmission and place within these collections, as well as the comparison of two textual variants of the *M-Recension*, provide important insights into the history of the *Five Stories*. First, these findings offer a glimpse into the reception, circulation and readership of the text, from the last decades of the sixteenth century, through the seventeenth, and even beyond. Second, they add to our understanding of how and why the *M-Recension* preface may have been added to the text at the turn of the seventeenth century. Third, they offer further support to the thesis that the most appropriate title for the *autograph*, or the *urtext*, is indeed the *Five Stories*. Let us now turn to examining the manuscripts, the two collections they contain, their provenance, contents, relationships to one another, and finally the role their compilers played in the transmission and evolution of the text.

Approaching the Manuscripts and the Collections

As mentioned, the *Kāteb* stemma and variant are to be found in seven manuscripts containing two different collections of letters and state documents, as well as a diverse range of other texts falling into several categories. The first collection, of which I have identified at least six manuscripts, usually described as *monsha'āt*, belongs to a prominent poet, calligrapher, and scribe at the court of Shah 'Abbās – Mīrzā Moḥammad Ṣādeq, also known as Ṣādeqā-ye Tabrīzī, or Nāẓem-e Tabrīzī (d. circa mid-1050s AH ~ mid-1640s).[237] These are the manuscripts designated as **C1**:**1**, **2**, **3**, **4**, **5**, and **6**. The second collection, commonly described as *jong*, was put together by the treasury officer and librarian of Shah Solṭān-Ḥoseyn (d. 1727) – Aḥmad Gholām (d. unknown, but still alive circa 1142 AH ~ 1730), and appears to exist only in one codex, that is **C2**.[238] Both collections are large, with three hundred entries each: the **C1** manuscripts average some two-hundred and thirty folios, and the **C2** codex has at least two-hundred and seventeen.[239] As will be demonstrated below, the **C1:1**, **2**, **3**, and **4**

[237] Reżā Shāhmalekī, Hūshang Khosroubēgī "Naqd-e Taḥlīl-e Sākhtārī-ye Noskheh-ye Khaṭṭī-ye Monsha'āt-e Ṣādeqā-ye Tabrīzī va Barresī-ye Bīnesh va Ravesh-e Kāteb (qarn-e yazdāhom qamarī)," in *Pazhūheshnāmeh-ye Enteqādī-ye Motūn va Barnāmeh-hā-ye 'Olūm-e Ensānī, Pazhūheshhā-ye 'Olūm-e Ensānī va Moṭāle'āt-e Farhangī Māhnāmeh-ye 'Elmī*, Sāl 22, No.2, Ordībehesht, 1401, p.160.

[238] Sefatgol, M., "Majmū'a'hā: Important and Unknown Sources of Historiography of Iran During the Last Safavids," in *Persian Documents*, ed. Kondo Nabouaki (London: Routledge, 2003), p.75.

[239] A discussion of the terminology used to describe multi-text manuscripts will have to be postponed, as the scholarly literature on the subject is patchy, necessitating further

manuscripts come from the late sixteenth – early seventeenth century, **C1:5** from the late seventeenth, **C2** from the early eighteenth, and **C1:6** from the early nineteenth century. On the macrolevel, such a spread suggests a gradual proliferation of copies and thus expansion in circulation and readership of the collection(s) and, by extension, of Ṭahmāsb's composition.

Overall, working with this segment of the corpus has been challenging and much work on the manuscripts, as well as on the two collections they contain, remains to be done. Due to several factors, it has been possible to examine these seven codices only superficially, without seriously engaging with the plethora of texts therein. For instance, while it has been possible to examine personally the Bodleian manuscript (**C1:3**), for the other six only digital reproductions have been available. Often, the quality of these reproductions has not been ideal. For example, both the quality of images in **C1:2**, and/or their order in **C2**, leave much to be desired. Consequently, not only the texts, but also notes, stamps, and marginalia are challenging, sometimes impossible, to read; likewise, working out the correct order for some four hundred randomly scattered digital images is beyond the scope of this study.

Regarding the first collection, although I have obtained digital reproductions of three manuscripts – **C1:1**, **2**, and **6** – in their entirety, for the remaining two – **C1:4** and **5** – only the sections containing the Shah's text (plus several flyleaves, and a few extra folios) have been available to me. This circumstance, compounded by the missing prefaces and colophons across the remaining four manuscripts, has further limited the scope of my inquiry, making the relationships between different manuscripts challenging to establish and thus obscuring their provenance/transmission.

---

research using both primary and secondary sources. Throughout this chapter, the terms *monsha'āt* and *jong* are used in reference to **C1** and **C2** manuscripts respectively but may just as well be substituted for the more generic *majmū'eh*. Indeed, the distinction between the former two is generally neither clear nor consistent, for in our case both collections contain dozens of letters and/or samples of *enshā'*, as well as a multitude of texts falling into several categories. In turn, the term *majmū'eh*, essentially meaning 'collection' and/or 'anthology', is generally applicable to any multi-text manuscript, and certainly to all the codices of interest to us.

Furthermore, a lot of the texts, notes and marginalia in these manuscripts, and particularly in **C2**, are written by different hands, many in *shekasteh nasta'līq*, while many others are genuinely difficult to read and translate, requiring substantial time and commitment. Their sheer size, the diversity of texts included – in Persian, Arabic, and Turkish – as well as the fact that the scholarship on the subject is still rudimentary, make these collections of texts difficult to work with, and even harder to conceptualize, rendering any thorough study impossible at this stage. Therefore, the manuscripts survey is limited to some general reflections about Safavid *majmū'eh*s, as well as how these collections ought to be viewed contextually. Therefore, the focus is on gaining a better understanding of the text's history and situating it within these collections. Notwithstanding the challenges, it has been possible to establish tentatively how the seven manuscripts are related, and therefore, to help demonstrate how the text under study gradually gained wider circulation and readership. These manuscripts have been bundled into two groups. These are, namely, the *Early Seventeenth-Century Manuscripts* – **C1:1**, **2**, **3**, and **4** – and the *Later Copies* – **C1:5**, **6**, and **C2**.[240] The eighth manuscript of this stemma, the ***MC***, is treated here as a follow up and/or an add-on to the latter group. Though undated and apparently not directly related to any of the collections, it seems likely to have formed the basis of the earliest manuscript of the *T-Recension – MS. GPL: No. 831* – and thus could not have been produced after 1679.

The following sections seek to accomplish several goals. First is a systematic introduction of the seven manuscripts, along with the two collections they contain, and an attempt to date them and establish how different copies may be related. Second is an exploration of various notes, scholia and marginalia found throughout these codices, aimed at gaining a better understanding of the manuscripts' provenance, circulation, and reception.

[240] Despite having a range of unique features, much more thematically diverse contents, and a different context in which it was put together, **C2** reproduces many letters, as well as the *Five Stories*, from **C1**.

Third is a further examination of some of the colophons and prefaces which accompany the collections and particularly those found in the text itself. This will shed further light on its transmission, evolution, and readership during the forty years following its composition, up to 1601, and beyond. Fourth, with the bundle of manuscripts produced at the turn of the seventeenth century introduced and discussed, the *Kāteb* and the *Naqqāsh* textual variants will be compared to ascertain the nature of the relationship between the two stemmas and to gain further insights into the text's history in this period. Fifth, a simple framework will be proposed to assist in understanding how and why the text was included in the first collection and what its inclusion, alongside other items, may tell us about the reception of the composition among succeeding Safavid generations. Exploring literary, historical and didactic dimensions of the *majmū'eh* phenomenon, and specifically of the two collections, should help make sense of their uses and functions, as well as shed light on the scribes' role in the transmission and evolution of the text. Finally, this framework will allow for the situating of Ṭahmāsb's *Five Stories* among the contents of the two collections and provide further insight into its reception and potentially account for its paratextual evolution.

Surveying the Manuscripts and Paratexts: Making Sense of Notes, Colophons and Prefaces

C1 – *Monsha'āt-e Ṣādeqā-ye Tabrīzī and its Copies*

It seems reasonable to begin with the older of the two collections, that of Ṣādeqā-ye Tabrīzī, or **C1**, which is available in multiple manuscripts. A few things should be noted regarding the state of scholarship on the collection and the associated manuscript corpus. Despite having been known to researchers for decades, the collection has received little attention and is in fact less well known than even that of Aḥmad Gholām, or **C2** (to be discussed below).

Thus, the only study (known to me) that examines the *Monsha'āt of Ṣādeqā-ye Tabrīzī* is the article by Shāhmalekī and Khosroubēgī.[241] Though aware of the two manuscripts containing this collection – **C1:1** and **2** – they were able to examine only the former. This, quite expectedly, limited the scope of their inquiry to outlining the contents, discussing the structure, and briefly indicating some of the sources used to produce the *monsha'āt*.[242]

Their dating of the collection and the manuscript, though not inaccurate, is based almost exclusively on a flyleaf note rather than an analysis of the collection's contents. In

[241] Shāhmalekī and Khosroubēgī, "Naqd," pp.155-177.
[242] Ibid., pp.162, 169.

fact, the only, albeit significant, point regarding the dating of the **C1:1** manuscript is the observation that included therein are *Two Letters Addressed to the Sons of Mollā ʻAbd al-Rezzāq Lāhījī* which postdate ʻ1009 AH' [1601/02] (i.e., the year indicated in the note and elsewhere in the manuscript). Lāhījī (d. 1662), a prominent theologian, poet, philosopher, and student of Mollā Ṣadrā (d. 1641), is known to have had at least two sons – Ebrāhīm (d. unknown) and Ḥasan (d. 1709) – the latter of whom outlived their father by at least forty-seven years. This simple fact led the two scholars to argue that some sections were added between 1060 and 1121 AH, that is, approximately between 1650 and 1709.[243] Although this observation is significant, and there may indeed be several folios/texts bound into this codex later on, as will be shown below, the core of the collection still quite clearly comes from the late sixteenth-early seventeenth century.

Regarding the provenance of the **C1:1** manuscript, the authors point out the almost complete lack of ownership marks such as signatures, colophons, or stamps, and then accurately suggest that ʻit is [nonetheless] apparent that the manuscript has been transcribed for a high-ranking person or [one of] the courtly libraries.'[244] At the same time, they also posit that ʻthe actual reason for putting together this collection [was] to exhibit the select [samples of] epistolography from the Safavid era and [thus] compile a manual for scribes and secretaries.'[245] On the first point, though the collection was indeed quite likely intended for a prominent individual, possibly a Safavid prince, that the **C1:1** manuscript is anything other than a copy of the original *monshaʼāt* cannot in fact be conclusively demonstrated. As for the second point, obviously multiple copies of the collection were in circulation in the Safavid scribal milieu, simultaneously used as didactic/training manuals, sources of historical data, and repositories of fine prose and poetry.

[243] Ibid., p.161; **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b: pp.240-241. See also: https://iranicaonline.org/articles/abd-al-razzaq-lahiji-11th-17th-century-theologian-and-philosopher.
[244] Shāhmalekī and Khosroubēgī "Naqd," p.164.
[245] Ibid., p.167.

Lastly, their identification of the collection is based on the fact that the contents of **C1:1** and **C1:2** are virtually identical, while the latter contains a colophon mentioning Ṣādeqā-ye Tabrīzī.[246] Further, in the endnotes, the authors claim that 'the scribe, on p. 347 [of the codex], underneath a *Letter of Ramażān Felicitations*, refers to himself as 'this sincere friend' (*īn ṣādeq al-vedād*),' which they associate with Ṣādeqā-ye Tabrīzī.[247]

Thus, perhaps the most valuable aspect of this article is a brief biography of the compiler, accompanied by a reference to a composition attributed to him.[248] Biographic details include that Khājeh Moḥammad Ṣādeq was born in Tabriz, in the early 970s AH [c. 1562/63] to a family of scholars (*dar khāndānī ahl-e fażl*). While he would have been quite young upon Ṭahmāsb's death, his parents and grandparents probably had access to the Safavid court, libraries, and the Shah himself in various capacities.[249] Tabrīzī subsequently took up residency in 'Abbāsābād, a neighbourhood of Esfahan, held a prominent position at the court of 'Abbās, and in the third decade of eleventh century *hijrī* (c. 1610s) set off for India. There, after living in Gujarat for some time, he is said to have entered the court of Ebrāhīm 'Adel Shāh II (d. 1627) in the Deccan, to whom he dedicated a *qasīdeh* and a panegyric.[250] The two scholars say nothing about Tabrīzī's life and exploits beyond the death of said patron.

---

[246] Apparently, the bibliographical description as well as the list of the contents of **C1:2** were available to them, yet they do not mention the highly important colophon at the end of the manuscript.

[247] Shāhmalekī and Khosroubēgī "Naqd," p.174. There are in fact four letters containing "*tahnīyat-e 'eyd-e mobārak-e ramażān*" in **C1:1** – pp.344, 348 (x2), 353 – yet none on p.347. The letter the authors claim contains the 'nickname' (*laqab*) underneath the title is in fact found on p.344, whereas the actual expression used is "*bandeh-ye ṣādeq al-vedād*", rather than "*īn ṣādeq al-vedād*". Moreover, based on the very generic nature of this letter (more a short note) and the general abundance of such humility-expressing *laqāb*s (*īn moḥebb*, *īn mokhleṣ*, and so on), the suggestion that this self-referencing expression is to be associated with Ṣādeqā-ye Tabrīzī is difficult to accept wholeheartedly.

[248] Nāẓem-e Tabrīzī, Moḥammad Ṣādeq, *Naẓm-e Gozīdeh,* ed., Āẓarmīdūkht-e Ṣafavī (India, 1388 / 2009-10).

[249] Ṭahmāsb is said to have regarded Tabrīzīs with special affection, waived the craft tax, and absolved them from divan dues – after a long period of peace, Tabriz was prospering; see Eskandar Bēg, *History*, pp.439-41.

[250] Shāhmalekī and Khosroubēgī "Naqd," p.160.

Generally, while the article is certainly useful, its insights are circumscribed by the number of manuscripts examined. Moreover, and certainly of greater consequence for the purpose of this dissertation, the authors do not say a word about the inclusion of Ṭahmāsb's composition, the longest of all the texts in Tabrīzī's *monsh'āt*.

The collection's relatively obscure provenance, along with its understudied manuscript corpus, meant that even the codices that have been examined and used, have repeatedly been misidentified, due to the lack of colophons and a substantial overlap with another such *monsha'āt*. Thus, Dāneshpazhūh, in the same article referenced above, having examined the **C1:1**, **5**, and **6** manuscripts, misattributes the collection to Ḥeydar Bēg b. Abī al-Qāssem Īvoghlī (d. 1665), whose own *monsha'āt* is better known.[251] Likewise, Navā'ī, having used **C1:6** as the main source for his volume of letters and documents from the reign of Ṭahmāsb, and having neither introduced the manuscript nor discussed the collection itself, refers to it as *Monsha'āt-e Ḥeydar-e Īvoghlī*.[252]

This misattribution is not entirely surprising, for Ḥeydar Bēg's *Jām'eh-ye Morāselāt-e Ūlū al-Ālbāb*, also known as *Majāma' al-Enshā'*, does indeed share more than half of the contents with Tabrīzī's collection (including many Seljuq, Ilkhanid, Timurid, Ottoman, Mughal and Safavid letters). Indeed, Ḥeydar Bēg and Tabrīzī were near contemporaries, and both were Turks and prominent members of the Safavid court. Moreover, according to Eskander Bēg, Ḥeydar Bēg's father, Abū al-Qāssem Bēg, had an impressive career. In the late 1590s, he is mentioned as *qūrchī*, involved in chastising rebels in Lorestan; a decade later, we find him as *yūzbāshī* and envoy to the Khan of the Crimean Tatars; next, he is mentioned as *ābdārbāshī* – supplying cooling drinks to 'Abbās – until 1617, when he replaced the deceased Ḥeydar Solṭān Begdīlū Shāmlū as *eshī-āghāsībāshī-ye ḥaram*.[253] According to *Enc. Iranica*,

[251] Dāneshpazhūh, "Yek Pardeh," pp.962-63.
[252] Navā'ī, *Ṭahmāsb*, pp.14-15.
[253] Eskandar Bēg, *History,* pp.717, 947, 1128-47.

he also did secretarial work under ‘Abbās, while his son served as doorkeeper (*darbān*), and likewise held the office of *eshīk-āghāsī* under his successors.[254] Thus, entirely absent from Tabrīzī’s collection, *Majama’ al-Enshā’* includes many letters from the reigns of Shah Ṣafī I (d. 1642) and Shah ‘Abbās II (d. 1666), while it is also said to have been dedicated to the former but finished under the latter.[255] In addition, another very important difference between the two is that Ḥeydar Bēg’s collection *does not* include Ṭahmāsb’s stories.

That Heydar Bēg copied much of the contents of Tabrīzī’s collection is a possibility, but it is worth noting that he in fact claims to have ‘reproduced many letters from the *inshā’* work which he describes as *munsha’āt-i marḥūm-e maghfūr-i Ḥatim Beg, I‘timād al-daula or ‘letters of the deceased Ḥātim Beg, pillar of the state’* [sic].’[256] C. Mitchell in turn suggests that Ḥātem Bēg’s collection is lost, which may well be the case. However, it is highly likely that Tabrīzī and Ḥātem Bēg Ordūbādī (d. 1610) were acquainted, while having access to the same royal chancellery and libraries, providing some ground to speculate that much of the contents of the allegedly lost *monsha’āt* are to be found in the **C1** manuscripts.

Thus, given that so many manuscripts of Tabrīzī’s collection lack any identifying marks and include three letters of E‘temād al-Dauleh, the possibility that Ḥeydar Bēg may have unsuspectingly reproduced much of Tabrīzī’s collection from a manuscript he assumed to contain Ordūbādī’s *monsha’āt* likewise cannot be ruled out.[257] This, however, does not

---

[254] See https://iranicaonline.org/articles/ev-ogli-haydar-beg; Maḥmūd Khāmchī, “Majama‘ al-Enshā’, Athar-e Ḥeydar Bēg Īvoghlī,” in *Nashrīyeh-ye Gonjīneh-ye Asnād*, Spring 1385, No.61, pp.18-22.

[255] Note: the title *Majama‘ al-Enshā* is very common, as is evidenced by search results on the *Fehrestegān-e Nosakh-e Khaṭṭī* website – https://scripts.nlai.ir – yielding dozens of results, that is, different epistolary collections, of which at least six are said to be by Ḥeydar Bēg.

[256] Mitchell, “Safavid Imperial Tarassul,” p.193. See also, his “Man of the Pen, Pillar of the State: Hatem Beg Ordubadi and the Safavid Empire” in *The Idea of Iran in the Safavid Period: Dynastic Pre-eminence and Urban Pride*, vol. 10, ed. C. Melville (London: I.B. Tauris, 2021), pp.47-79.

[257] **C1:1** – pp.132-134 – contains at least four letters written to/by Naṣr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 1274), of whom Ḥātem Bēg Ordūbādī was a descendant, lending further credence to the notion that his *monsha’āt* may have been partly reproduced by Tabrīzī.

explain why Ḥeydar Bēg chose not to reproduce Ṭahmāsb's text in his own collection, perhaps ultimately indicating that the source collection (or manuscript) did not contain it. Nevertheless, thematically, typologically, and, for the most part, in terms of contents, notwithstanding the differences, the two (or perhaps all three) collections have more similarities than they have differences. In this regard, the preface to *Majama' al-Enshā'* seems equally applicable to Ordūbādī's and/or Tabrīzī's *monshā'āt* and is therefore worth reproducing here:

> *This collection is the eternal rose-garden in bloom, the transient palace, and the ship to rescue those afflicted by the storm of melancholy from this seaborne mirage;* [it is] *the instruction of the pillars of the caliphate, the charter of manners, the court of justice and mercy;* [it is] *the product of thought, learning, and vision, the essence of the opinions of the orderly ornaments of creation, the register of wisdom;* [it is] *the collection of the world-adorning writings, the leaf of instruction of* [proper] *conduct – Compendium of Correspondence of the Intelligent Ones.*[258]

It is apparent that such collections would have been perceived as the distilled wisdom of past generations, of scholars and kings alike, examples of timeless beauty both in form and substance. Yet while Ḥeydar Bēg's *Majama' al-Enshā'* is relatively well-known and used by scholars, including Mitchell (even though no one has actually attempted to study the associated manuscript corpus), Tabrīzī's collection, along with most of its manuscripts (described simply as *unidentified monsha'āt* in bibliographical/catalogue plates and entries) have remained largely outside the scholarly purview.[259] A closer look at the four oldest manuscripts of the collection is essential in order to establish their provenance and thus allow for a better understanding of their context, contents, transmission, readership, overall significance and the place of the *Five Stories* in these manuscripts.

---

[258] Khāmchī, "Majama' al-Enshā'," p.18.

[259] The bibliographical plates at the beginning of five of the six **C1** manuscripts describes the collections therein as *monsha'āt* (**1**); as *monsha'āt* (**3**); as *majmū'eh-ye makātīb va monsha'āt va fatḥnāmeh-hā* (**4**); as *monsha'āt-e nā-shenākhteh* (**5**); as *majmū'eh / monsha'āt / javāme' al-ketābāt* (**6**). Only **C1:2** contains evidence of connection to Ṣādeqā-ye Tabrīzī; see the colophon on f.212r.

Early Seventeenth-Century Manuscripts[260]

[C1:1][261]

Since this manuscript has received more scholarly attention than any other, it seems an appropriate point to begin. As mentioned above, *MS. DT: No. Adab. 21b* contains neither a colophon nor a preface. However, as will gradually become apparent, there is sufficient evidence pointing to its genealogical relationship and temporal closeness to *MS. Malek: No. 6323* (which does have a colophon, to be discussed next) as well as with *MS. Bodl.: Pers. D. 84* and *MS. DM: No. 470*. Thus, although the title is not legible due to lacunae, the contents list at the beginning identifies the first entry in **C1:1** as a *Letter Announcing Victory of Shah Esmā'īl over the Uzbeks*.[262] The last entry listed is a *Letter* of *Sultan Moḥammad Khān, the Pādshāh of Rūm, to Shah 'Abbās, the Pādshāh of Īrān*, followed by several miscellanea.[263] The whole collection appears to have been transcribed by the same hand, yet neither a date of production/copying, nor its compiler's name, nor the copyist's name are given.

[260] These include the following: **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b; **2** – MS.Malek: No. 6323; **3 –** MS.Bodl. Pers. D. 84; **4** – MS. DM: No. 470.
[261] I would like to thank Hamidreza Nikravesh for helping me obtain a digital reproduction of the manuscript during the pandemic.
[262] This reading is incorrect, as will be demonstrated in the next sub-section.
[263] **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b: pp.1-2, 485-88, 488-93 – see the appendix.

Indeed, specifically regarding the codex, little of its history prior to the late nineteenth century is known. Thankfully, a few notes and a bookplate on the flyleaf provide some information on the manuscript's history in the late Qajar and Pahlavi eras. At the bottom of the page, we find an *ex libris* plate revealing that for some years, from 1298 AH [1880/81] onwards, it belonged to Ṣanī' al-Douleh Moḥammad Ḥasan Khān. Better known as E'temād al-Saltaneh (d. 1896), he served as Qajar minister of press and publications, and also as chief of the state translation department (*dār al-tarjomeh*).[264] Moreover, the note at the top of the same flyleaf indicates that the manuscript was subsequently acquired by Mokhber al-Salṭaneh Mahdī-qolī Khān Hedāyat (d. 1955) and was subsequently 'gifted to Dr. Qāsem Ghanī (d. 1952) on Friday, Ābān, 1323 Hijrī Shamsī [3 November 1944]'.[265]

E'temād al-Saltaneh and Hedāyat were certainly acquainted. For the latter, besides being a member of a distinguished family that had served the Qajars for generations, he was a son of 'Alī Khān Mokhber al-Douleh – the director of the Telegraph and Post Office under Naṣer al-Dīn Shah. In addition, Hedāyat is known to have translated German texts for Naṣer al-Dīn and even taught the language at Dār al-Fonūn, in Tehran.[266] These facts certainly warrant speculation that he may have obtained the manuscript, possibly as a gift, even before E'temād al-Saltaneh's death. It is likewise reasonable to suggest that the codex had undergone a restoration during the late Qajar or early Pahlavi period, upon the initiative of one of the two scholar-bureaucrats.

Along with the repairs, thanks to either Hedāyat or E'temād al-Saltaneh, the lithographed contents list (on the same paper used to repair/conserve the damaged/frail folios

[264] **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b, the flyleaf at the beginning – see the appendix.
[265] **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b, the flyleaf at the beginning: "*dar tārīkh-e jom'eh-ye davāzdahom abān 1323 hejrī-ye shamsī jenāb-e āqā-ye ḥāj mokhber al-salṭaneh moḥammad-qolī khān be-rasm-e yādgār be-īn jāneb marḥamat farmūdand. doktor qāsem-e ghanī*".
[266] See Manouchehr Kasheff, "Hedāyat, Moḵber-Al-Salṭana I. Life And Work," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, XII/2, pp.113-118, available online at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/hedayat-mokber-al-saltana-i.

throughout) was prepared and bound, along with the rest of the folios, all paginated, into one codex.[267] This fact renders the **C1:1** manuscript particularly helpful in navigating the collection, while the scribe's neat and clear *Nasta'līq* makes it the preferred source of the *Kāteb* textual variant and the base used to prepare the *Kāteb* component of the composite edition of the *Five Stories* (see the Appendix).

Examination of the digital images reveals what appears to be an old manuscript. Some perfunctory observations on its physical attributes include:

(i) the original paper is darker and significantly older than the one onto which the damaged folios have been grafted;
(ii) although there are several folios with large lacunae at the beginning, marks of water damage, a few large ink smatterings throughout, and some dozen folios with edges trimmed and subsequently glued onto newer sheets, the core of the codex is in a relatively good state;[268]
(iii) the beginning and the end of the codex appear to have sustained serious damage, resulting in the loss of both colophon and preface pages, and thus making the dating the production of the manuscript, though not of the collection itself, difficult.

In addition to the missing colophon and preface, which complicates the dating, there is also nothing in it to suggest that the collection was put together by Tabrīzī (except the questionable suggestion by the two Iranian scholars discussed above). There is, however, plenty of evidence allowing for the dating of the collection in the second decade of 'Abbās's reign (r. 1588–1629). First, while the letters included span the period of almost half a millennium (from the Seljuqs to the Safavids), most in fact come from the sixteenth century. Indeed, the latest cluster of letters seems to be the correspondence between 'Abbās and the Ottoman, Uzbek, and Mughal rulers – Sultan Morād III (d. 1595), 'Abd al-Mo'men Khān (d. 1598), and Akbar I (d. 1605) – respectively. Among the letters, the latest two, bearing the date 1004 AH [1595-96], were sent by 'Abbās to Sultan Moḥammad III (d. 1603), congratulating

[267] Note: there are at least fifteen entries which, preseumably accidently, have not been included in the *fehrest* – **C1:1 –** MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b: pp.135, 143, 191, 192, 193, 194, 196, 197, 200, 202, 326, 345 (x2), 392, 395.
[268] **C1:1 –** MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b: pp.1, 2, 19, 20, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 190, 191, 196, 197, 208, 261, 296 -309, 450-453, 473-483, 490-493

him on his enthronement.[269] Furthermore, at least on four occasions, in the titles of letters by/to ‘Abbās, and following his various titles, appears the formula ‘May God Almighty Render his Reign Eternal’, suggesting that the collection was produced during his tenure.[270] Lastly, although the above alone suffices to suggest that the collection could hardly postdate the second half of his reign, the note with a date already referred to, and apparently added by Dr. Ghanī, pointing to ‘the passage on page 119’, offers further insight. It provides what may well be an accurate date of the collection’s production, reveals one of its sources, and offers a clue as to the intended audience.[271] The passage itself reads:

> *He had selected several* [items] *from the Book of Epistles of Bahā’ī – compiled during the reign Alparslān-e Seljūqī,* [and] *dated Moḥarram of 528 AH* [November 1133] – *and had these transcribed in Moḥarram of 1009 AH* [Jul.-Aug. 1600], *so that this tome may be used by one of the ruler’s children*.[272]

As helpful as these may seem, indicating where some of the older letters and the formatting were derived, and while suggesting reasons for producing the *majmū‘eh*, the latter of the two dates should not be uncritically accepted. For, just seventy folios later, in the colophon at the end of Ṭahmāsb’s text, we find:

> *These blessed discourses and beautiful words have been transcribed by the sinful slave, ‘Abd al-Vahhāb, the scribe, in Rabīʿ al-ākhir of 1010 AH* [Sept.-Oct. 1601].[273]

In other words, while *Moḥarram of 1009* may indeed accurately indicate when a part of the collection was put together, it is clear that ‘Abd al-Vahhāb’s copy (of the text) was added and/or signed somewhat later, in *Rabīʿ al-ākhir of 1010 AH*. All in all, however, since there seems

---

[269] **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b: pp.19, 24 – “*dar tahnīyat-e jolūs”; “beh tārīkh-e saneh-ye arba‘ va alf*”.
[270] **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b: pp 139, 194, 351, 477 – “*khallad allāh ta‘ālā mulkahu*”. The entry on p.351 is a congratulatory note, or a proclamation (?), written upon the coronation of ‘Abbās – “*dar tahnīyat-e jolūs-e navvāb-e kāmyāb sepah-rekāb homāyūn-e ashraf-e aqdas-e arfa‘-e ajall-e a‘lā abū moẓaffar shāh ‘abbās al-ḥoseynī al-ṣafavī, khallad allāh mulkahu ābadan*”.
[271] **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b, flyleaf at the beginning: “*be-ṭourī keh az ṣafḥeh-ye 119 bar mī-āyad tā’līf-e ketāb dar 1009 hejrī qamarī būdeh*”.
[272] **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b, p.119 – see the appendix.
[273] **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b: p.188.

to be only a couple of texts in this codex which postdate the first few years of the seventeenth century, and, considering the rest of the above evidence, it seems that the *monsha'āt* itself most likely comes from the middle of 'Abbās's reign.

Assuming that it was indeed intended to be used 'by one of the *pādshāh*'s children,' we may go so far as to suggest that 'Abbās had it prepared for his eldest son, the crown-prince Moḥammad Bāqer Mīrzā (d. 1614), whose coming-of-age – that is, his thirteenth and fourteenth birthdays – happened to fall in September of 1600 and 1601 respectively. Thus, supporting the conclusions drawn in Chapter One – that the memory of Ṭahmāsb and his achievements served as a Safavid *mythomoteur* – the last-mentioned note and the associated circumstances might partially account for the inclusion of Ṭahmāsb's composition (along with many of his letters) in the collection. This seems especially likely when considered against what we have established about the memory of Ṭahmāsb among the Safavid generation born and raised in last four decades of sixteenth century, and 'Abbās in particular, as well as the occasion of the reconquest of Khorasan. That 'Abbās would have wished his eldest son and potential successor to learn about the family history and about the wisdom and piety of his own role model, is hardly a farfetched claim. However, judging by the absence of any scholia and/or marginalia accompanying Ṭahmāsb's text in **C1:1** it seems that this particular manuscript was read neither often nor closely, if at all, nor that it belonged to a member of the Safavid family.

[C1:2][274]

The next codex containing the same collection – *MS. Malek: No. 6323* – is particularly important, because without it, the identification of the *monsha''āt* with Tabrīzī would have

[274] I would like to thank Shiva Mihan and Noshad Rokni for their help in obtaining the digital reproduction of the codex.

been difficult, if not impossible. Although closer study is necessary, even a brief review of its provenance marks, contents and of course the colophon, reveal the manuscript's significance. Moreover, while pointing to the tentative conclusion that, directly or indirectly, **C1:1** may be a copy of **C1:2**, the following discussion also lays the foundation for further examination of the remaining manuscripts, illuminating how they are related.

Regarding the physical aspects, just like **C1:1**, **C1:2** appears to be old. It contains a few folios with damaged (and repaired) edges (ff.6, 7, 9, 18, 25, 33, 161, 164, 197), although most are in good condition. The scribe's handwriting is clearly inferior to that found in **C1:1**, **3** and **4**, and is sometimes difficult to read (also due to the less-than-ideal image quality).

The provenance/ownership marks are limited to five partly legible stamps (ff.104v, 105r, 107r, 110r, 112r), supplemented by other notes. All the stamps read – *Yā Emām 'Alī al-Naqī* – that is the tenth Shī'ī Imam (d. 868), who presumably was so dear to one of the codex owners that instead of his own name, he put al-Naqī's name on the seal.

As for the notes, a poorly executed one on the flyleaf, at the beginning, introduces the manuscript in the following manner: *O, He!* [This is] *a book of epistolography and correspondence*; *it has been bought, a good book* ….[275] On the next folio is an additional note, in the form of an ornate calligraphic block, which reads: *He is the Helper!* [This is a] *diverse collection of epistolography – it became mine as it was once someone else's – Ibn Āqa'ī-ye Bēg Borūjerdī – a Sinful Slave*. This is followed by another line: *price, three tūmān*.[276] The latter of the two notes seems older, but, judging by the calligraphy style, most likely comes from the Qajar era.[277] Thus, we can say that the codex, before becoming an item

[275] **C1:2** – MS.Malek: No. 6323, flyleaf 1r – see the appendix.
[276] **C1:2** – MS.Malek: No. 6323, flyleaf 2r – see the appendix.
[277] The search for Ibn Āqā'ī-ye Bēg Borūjerdī has not yielded any results. I would also like to thank Mahroo Moosavi for her help in reading the notes, suggesting that the style of calligraphy most likely comes from the Qajar period, and for her helping decipher the very last line, in *siyāq* style, which turned out to be the manuscript's price.

in the Malek Library, had at least several owners. Yet, given the relative lack of marginalia and scholia, and the generally good physical state, it seems unlikely to have been used excessively, nor to have sustained much damage. Also, it is worth reiterating that **C1:2**, just like all the rest of the **C1** manuscripts, contains a copy of Ṭahmāsb's text, yet the folios lack any notable marginalia, making it impossible to determine how often (if at all) it was read.

Regarding the question of how the different manuscripts discussed here are related, a few points should be made. First, all six appear to contain largely identical texts (while also sharing a significant part with **C2** as well), yet the order in which these are arranged can vary significantly. Thus, one approach to establishing links between different manuscripts adopted here is identifying patterns in which the entries in each are arranged. This is potentially problematic, not least because many of the codices are damaged and the folios scattered. This resulted either in misplacement and/or removal of frail folios, or the addition of others not included in the original collection. Second, a close comparison of the contents may also offer insights as to how individual manuscripts may be related. However, producing full lists of contents for all six (two of which are not even available in full), supplemented by their close examination, cannot be undertaken at this stage. Third, shared features across different codices (e.g., colophons, titles, formulas, and/or physical conditions, etc.) may also indicate association (at least temporally). Considering the above points, it should be noted that **C1:1** and **2** share at least half a dozen entries appearing in the same order at the beginning, as well as often identical arrangements of entries elsewhere, allowing tentative positing of an association between the two. In turn, the same is true for **C1:3** and **6**, which share other features (discussed below), where the latter is almost certainly a copy of the former. In turn, the **C1:4** manuscript, despite only a small segment of it being available to us, can be demonstrated to belong to the early-sixteenth-century group, while **C1:5** is dated and is a

later copy of **C1:1** (further corroborated by the fact that both are kept in the University of Tehran Library) Of course, further research is required.

Thus, in addition to the shared entries arrangement, the *fatḥnāmeh* at the beginning of **C1:1** is heavily damaged, rendering much of the text and most of the title virtually unreadable. **C1:2** preserves this *victory-announcing-letter* in perfect condition. Unable to read the title properly, the **C1:1** *fehrest* compilers have misattributed the *fatḥnāmeh* to Esma'īl, whereas in actuality that letter belongs to *navvāb-e ghafrān-panāh shāh ṭahmāsb* […].[278] Assuming the two manuscripts are near contemporaries, which is likely, it appears that **C1:1** was copied from **C1:2** rather than the other way around.

Perhaps the most important aspect of this codex, however, is the curious colophon:

> … *those who have patiently endured by God's intercession; this Book has been completed with the help of the Most Generous King, on the sixteenth of Sha'bān, 1009* [20 February 1601]; *it has been eternalized, by way of transcription, with the scholarly discernment of Ṣādeqā-ye Tabrīzī*.[279]

This passage is accompanied by a split verse which appears on the two sides of the triangular colophon:

I have written [this] *as a memorial,*
Yet my writing is not worthy of this inscription.…[280]

Here, while the verse expresses the scribe's self-denigrating humility, whose identity the colophon does not reveal, the note itself merits a few words. Besides the date, which places the production of **C1:2** at least half a year after the dates established for the collection a whole **–** *Moḥarram 1009 AH* – the phrase 'with the scholarly discernment of Ṣādeqā-ye Tabrīzī' is interesting. It refers to an act of *moqābeleh*, that is 'control, comparison, or

[278] **C1:2** – MS.Malek: No. 6323, f.1v; **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b, p.1 and the first entry in the *fehrest*.
[279] **C1:2** – MS.Malek: No. 6323, f.212r – see the appendix.
[280] **C1:2** – MS.Malek: No. 6323, f.212r – see the appendix.

examination' in the context of scribal practices. On the one hand, it indicates that Tabrīzī was not the copyist, further corrobated by the less-than-perfect handwriting, but rather supervised the production of **C1:2**, and, on the other, that it was not the original codex from which all the other copies ultimately descend. Next to the colophon are four disjointed letters in red ink – *ṣād*, *alif*, *dāl*, and *qāf* – which together produce *ṣādeq*. These have most likely been added by Tabrīzī himself, and ultimately constitute his mark of validation and approval of the work completed by the anonymous scribe. Though there is always room for scepticim, the above evidence seems sufficient to link the collection firmly to Tabrīzī.

It is, however, noteworthy that the last entry in the **C1:2**, right before the colophon,[281] in **C1:1** is followed by another sixty folios, and thirty-three texts, including several royal letters; attempts to locate the signature and/or date in the latter codex have failed.[282] This may be partially explained by one of the following scenarios: (i) the scribe(s) behind **C1:1** subsequently added more texts to the collection, which is confirmed by the inclusion of two letters to Lahījī's sons; (ii) the additional thirty-three entries are in fact to be located elsewhere in **C1:2**, due to rebinding of either/both of the codices and resultant misplacement of the folios; or (iii) **C1:1** is not in fact a copy of **C1:2**, but instead both may have been copied from a third manuscript, possibly **C1:3**. Unfortunately, only further research will allow for a more conclusive assessment. Be that as it may, the fact that **C1:1** clearly shares important features with **C1:2**, including temporal proximity to the original collection and the arrangement of entries, justifies the placement of the two manuscripts in the same group. How they may be connected to the rest of the manuscripts will be addressed next.

[C1:3]

[281] **C1:2** – MS.Malek: No. 6323, f.212r – see the appendix.
[282] **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b: p.435.

The next manuscript, of the same collection, as yet unidentified and virtually unstudied, also appears old and at first glance contemporary with the two codices discussed above. A closer look, particularly at the section containing Ṭahmāsb's text, not only offers valuable data on its transmission, evolution and readership at the turn of the seventeenth century but also allows us to establish the manuscript's relationship to the rest of the corpus discussed here.

The catalogue entry, without providing any details, states that the manuscript was purchased by the Bodleian Library in 1939, adding that it 'probably dates from about A.D. 1600.'[283] It is described as a 'valuable collection of historical letters, documents, and other inshā'; incomplete at beginning and end …; seems to contain [several] lacunae (ff.53, 59, 117, 141, 167, 173, 176, 187, 188, 198, 204, 211, 219, 232, 253), and a few letters in Turkish.'[284]

Written in neat *Nasta'līq*, overall, and despite the misplacement of folios, **C1:3** appears to be very similar to the **C1:1** and **2** manuscripts. Among the shared features are: (i) older-looking paper; (ii) virtually identical contents and titles; (iii) use of formulas throughout, expressing a wish that 'Abbās's rule be eternal (*khallad allāh ta'ālā mulkahu ābadan*), or emphasising Ṭahmāsb's recently-deceased status (*ghoffrān-panāh*, *reżvān-dastgāh*, *jannat-makān*, *marḥūm*).[285]

[283] Sachau, E. and Ethe, E., *Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindustani and Pashtu Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Part III, Additional Persian Manuscripts by A.F.L. Beeston* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), p.57.

[284] Beeston, *Additional Persian Manuscripts*, p.55. The catalogue entry suggests that this collection's contents 'are very similar to those contained in E*IO 2067* and Rieu i. 388b (*Add. 7688*)'. The latter of the two manuscripts is in fact a copy of Ḥeydar Bēg's Majama' al-Enshā', while the former is yet another unidentified *monsha'āt* incorrectly styled *Ketāb-e Ṭahmāsbnāmeh*. *EIO 2067*, despite sharing many entries with **C1**, not only the letters sent by/to Ṭahmāsb, appears not to be a copy of Tabrīzī's *monsha'āt*. For, like the *Majama' al-Enshā'*, it does not contain what in the catalogue entry for the Bodleian manuscript is listed as 'the Speeches of Shāh Ṭahmāsb to the Turkish Ambassadors 'Alī Pāshā and Ḥasan Āghā Qāpūjībāshī, in five *faṣl*, ff.88r-104r.'

[285] Such formulas are noticeably absent from the **C1:6** manuscript, with 'Abbās described as "*māżī*" instead, suggesting it is a later copy.

Nonetheless, one very important difference with **C1:1** and **2** is the absence of ʻAbd al-Vahhāb's colophon at the end of Ṭahmāsb's text in both **C1:3** and **6**.[286] This shared feature, along with the very similar arrangement of contents, and the fact that **C1:6** was produced some two centuries later – Rajab of 1249 AH [Nov.-Dec. 1833] – seems sufficient to conclude that it is indeed a copy of **C1:3**.[287] That said, the fact that all the manuscripts examined here share the same textual variant of the *Five Stories*, the conspicuous absence of ʻAbd al-Vahhāb's colophon in **C1:3** certainly merits discussion. Though bound to remain less than conclusive without additional research, following are two possible scenarios.

Considering that at least fifteen of its folios, along with a few more at the beginning and the end, have been lost, it is no surprise that Tabrīzī's signature, colophon, and/or preface are missing from **C1:3**. Along with that, we have already suggested the *Kāteb* variant of Ṭahmāsb's composition – older, quite distinct, and more complete than that of *Naqqāsh* – has been a distinguishing feature of Tabrīzī's collection and a shared characteristic across these codices. Consequently, the presence/absence of this colophon across the six manuscripts points to the existence of at least *two different sub-stemmas*: let us call these, for convenience's sake, *sub-stemma one*, consisting of **C1:1**, **2**, **4**, and **5**, and *sub-stemma two* including **C1:3**, **6**, and **C2** (discussed below).

Thus, if we assume that ʻAbd al-Vahhāb was the person who copied the autograph of the Shah's stories, or perhaps one of its earliest copies, in the end signing and dating his work, the most immediate question is: why does his colophon appear in **C1:1**, **2**, **4** and **5** while missing at the end of the corresponding sections in **C1:3** and its later copies, namely **C1:6** and partially **C2**? If **C1:3** is indeed younger, it is possible that it descended from one of the four manuscripts containing ʻAbd al-Vahhāb's colophon, even though here its copyist has

[286] **C1:3** – MS.Bodl.: Pers. D. 84: f.104r; **C1:6 –** MS.Majles: ID: 5022178, Rec. No. 2/606, No. 361: p.481 (folios paginated).
[287] **C1:6** – MS.Majles: ID: 5022178, Rec. No. 2/606, No. 361: p.481 – "*tammat al-maqālāt bi-ʻawn qāżī al-ḥājāt*" – that is, the discourses have been completed with God's help.

entirely omitted the colophon. This would explain the colophon's absence from **C1:3**, and consequently from **C2** and **C1:6**, its early eighteenth- and nineteenth-century copies. Under this scenario, however, it is not immediately obvious why any scribe might want to consciously leave out an entire colophon, including a signature and date placed by a colleague, without, say, replacing these with a different date and/or his own signature.

Accordingly, it may also be the case, and there is some evidence to support this notion, that **C1:3** is in fact the older/oldest manuscript, perhaps even produced by Tabrīzī himself 'for one of the *pādshāh*'s children,' from which all other copies examined here ultimately descend. Under this scenario, Tabrīzī could have personally reproduced the text, along with its oldest known preface (to be discussed below), either from another *majmū'eh*, (presumably now lost) or from unbound folios, eventually including it in his collection. With this, we may even speculate that Tabrīzī, by adding a new preface, was the one to give the composition its distinctive *M-Recension* framing, not disconnected from the rest of the contents, and especially the contemporary Ottoman-Safavid correspondence.

In turn, 'Abd al-Vahhāb was probably either one of those involved in copying Tabrīzī's *monsha'āt* or, if **C1:2** is **C1:3**'s earliest reproduction, perhaps was the very same scribe whose work Tabrīzī had supervised and validated by the four letters making up his name: *ṣād, alif, dāl,* and *qāf*. A possible reconstruction follows of the production chronology of the earliest manuscripts containing the collection and thus the Shah's stories:

(i) *Moḥarram*, 1009 AH [July-Aug. 1600] – the collection compiled.
(ii) *16 Sha'bān*, 1009 AH [20 Feb. 1601] – the **C1:2** colophon.
(iii) *Rabīʿ al-ākhir*, 1010 AH [Sept.-Oct. 1601] – 'Abd al-Vahhāb's colophon.

It does not seem entirely unjustified to accept (i) July-August of 1600 as the approximate date of the production of the collection, in this case **C1:3** itself. Consequently, that the main part of the **C1:2** codex was copied over half a year later, (ii) in February of

1601, likewise seems reasonable. Lastly, (iii) around September-October of 1601, ‘Abd al-Vahhāb’s copy and/or colophon was added to said codex, making it the source of *sub-stemma one* (consisting of at least four manuscripts). It is possible that **C1:1** and **4** were also copied around this time. Moreover, we may recall that ‘Abbās’s royal copy, the ***SPC***, illuminated by another native of the first Safavid capital – Zeyn al-‘Ābedīn-e Tabrīzī – was also produced in the same year, 1010 AH.[288] Thus, while **C1:5** is a late-seventeenth-century copy, **C2** dates to the early eighteenth, and **C1:6** to the early nineteenth, we can speak of *at least five* manuscripts containing Ṭahmāsb’s text produced within just one year, between Moḥarram of 1009 and Rabīʿ al-ākhir of 1010 AH, that is from July 1600 to October 1601. This fact in and of itself points to substantial interest both in the figure of the late Shah and his composition.

It is possible that, along with other aspiring scribes, each assigned a different section, ‘Abd al-Vahhāb could have been tasked *specifically* with transcribing the text of the *Five Stories*. Its importance and typologically distinctive nature vis-à-vis the rest of the contents (not to mention that it is by far the longest composition in the collection), is probably what compelled the scribe to sign/date his copy. Ṭahmāsb no doubt featured prominently in the imagination and memory of the folks whose parents may have been born, lived and died all under his reign. The evidence of (re)production of texts, renovations of structures from his age, and perpetuation of his legacy under ‘Abbās, certainly corroborate this notion.

If he is in fact not the scribe behind **C1:2**, then the folios containing ‘Abd al-Vahhāb’s copy/colophon were subsequently bound into the codex forming the basis of *sub-stemma one* (i.e., **C1:1**, **2**, **4**, and **5**.) Perhaps, the privilege associated with copying Ṭahmāsb’s *res gestae*, or ‘his address to Soleymān’s envoys,’ as it came to be known in the Safavid scribal milieu, may have motivated this scribe-in-training to place his mark on the copy. Be that as it may, this colophon should be considered yet another layer of para-text, removing which brings us a

[288] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.72v.

step closer to the autograph. Overall, given the challenging nature of the materials, only further research will allow a more conclusive result.

Regarding the dating of **C1:3**, perhaps the most interesting features are the marginalia and/or scholia, added by the scribe, identifying several individuals, and a house, mentioned in the text of the stories. These marginalia allow the confident situating of the codex temporally at the very end of the sixteenth century.

The first note appears right at the beginning of the first of the *Five Stories*, where Shah Ṭahmāsb claims that Ebrāhīm Pāshā, having established trust with Olāmeh Tekkelū, informed the latter that he *greatly feared Solṭān Moṣṭafā*. In turn, the scholium, clearly by the same hand as the text, informs the reader that this Moṣṭafā was *the eldest son of Solṭān Soleymān Khondgār*.[289] The inauspicious Shahzadeh, in a plot set up by Rostam Pāshā (d. 1561), was executed on 6 October 1553 upon his father's order.[290]

The second note accompanies the episode which took place, according to the text, on 14 Dhū al-Ḥajjah 940 AH [26 June 1534], during a campaign against the Uzbeks in Khorasan. Here, the Shah narrates how, afflicted with an illness, one night he has a vivid dream in which he converses with 'Alī, seeking guidance from the Imam. The meeting is said to have taken place in Qazvin, at the house of certain Zeynal Khān, which in earlier days, the note explains, was the *doulatkhāneh*, and, continuing in the same hand, this house [was] *at the* [time] *known as the house of Solṭān Ḥeydar Mīrzā*, a favorite son of Shah Ṭahmāsb.[291] At

[289] **C1:3** – MS.Bodl.: Pers. D. 84: f.88v – *"solṭān moṣṭafā pesar-e bozorg solṭān soleymān khondgār-ast*".

[290] Atçıl, Z., "Why Did Süleyman the Magnificent Execute His Son Şehzade Mustafa in 1553?" in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, XLVIII (2016), pp.67-103.

[291] **C1:3** – MS.Bodl.: Pers. D. 84: f.89v – *"keh al-ḥāl ān khāneh be-khāneh-ye solṭān ḥeydar mīrzā mashhūr-ast*". Solṭān Ḥeydar Mīrzā was Ṭahmāsb's third son, from a Georgian woman, one of the Shah's legal wives. Born c. 1554/5, according to Eskander Bēg, the prince was the object of his father's special regard. Towards the end of his life, Ṭahmāsb, unable to attend to all the affairs of state, relied on Ḥeydar Mīrzā. Eskandar Bēg further reports that he was singled out by Ṭahmāsb from among his brothers for special favour, while his standing steadily increased in the eyes of the other princes and the Qezelbāsh. Moreover, he is said to have been a man of integrity, chaste, compassionate, kind, and

the turn of the seventeenth century, when the manuscript and these notes were made, the prince himself had been dead for at least a quarter century, having been executed the day after his father's death. Yet, his persona and association with the house, highlighted by his ominous departure, were apparently well remembered by his contemporaries. Tabrīzī, born in 1562/3, would have been in his teens when the prince was put to death. If Zeynal Khān owned the house at the time of the composition of the stories, circa the early 1560s, Solṭān Ḥeydar Mīrzā probably acquired it soon after, residing in the property over the next decade. According to Eskander Bēg, the prince left one daughter, his only child, who likely inherited the stately building, thus perpetuating its association with her father.[292]

The next note, appearing right underneath the second, relates to Fatḥī Bēg, who is also mentioned in the context of the aforesaid dream, as Esmā'īl's treasurer (*parvānchī*). Alongside two other injunctions – first, *not* [to] *forget the 'Alqamī River*, and second, [to] *make a vow that upon the conquest of Samarqand … a dome* [be built for him], *like the one of His Majesty Imam Reżā* – 'Alī is said to have commanded Ṭahmāsb to *appoint Fatḥī Bēg custodian* (*motavallī*) *of the Holy Threshold in Ahar*. The note goes on to state that *he* [was] *the father of 'Alī Khān, the former prefect of the royal chancellery* (or registry).[293] The short note suggests the likelihood that 'Alī Khān was still alive when this manuscript was copied, or that the scribe personally knew him. Yet what is more important is that since he was once in charge of the royal chancellery, the scribe's attention to his persona may point to his family's consistently influential status even beyond Ṭahmāsb's reign.

The fourth note relates to Qabā Bēg Qajar, a *qūrchī*, who was with Ṭahmāsb during the Ottoman invasion of the early 1530s. In the text, the *qūrchī* is mentioned only once, when

---

just in his dealings with men. He was killed the day after his father's death, on 16 Ṣafar 984 AH [15 May 1576] – Eskandar Bēg, *History*, p.215; for the detailed account of his 'martyrdom', see pp.283-93.

[292] Eskandar Bēg, *History*, p.215.

[293] **C1:3** – MS.Bodl.: Pers. D. 84: f.89v – "*fatḥī bēg pedar-e 'alī khān dārūgheh-ye sābeq-e daftarkhāneh-ye homāyūn-ast*".

Ṭahmāsb tells of dispatching him, along with a certain Shīr Ḥasan and thirty other men, to gather intelligence. The scholium relates that he was the *father of Kolān* (?) *Allāh-qolī Bēg*, *the current qūrchībāshī*.[294] One noteworthy point about the father is that he went on to have a long and successful career under Ṭahmāsb. He was eventually put in charge of the Safavid diplomatic mission to the Qotbshāh ruler of Talangana in 1563/4, and among the gifts the envoy was to deliver was the first royal copy of the Shah's composition – *that noble manuscript*, likewise described as *exquisite* [and] *neat*, now apparently lost.[295] In turn, Allāh-qolī Bēg must have been a late child, born in the 1560s, for him to have reached the rank of *qūrchībāshī* some thirty-to-forty years later, circa the mid-1590s. That this scribe could have been acquainted with him, as the current *qūrchībāshī*, seems likely.

The last note, likewise, revealing the progeny of another person mentioned in the text, relates that Charandāb Solṭān Shāmlū was the father of ʻAbbās ʻAlī Solṭān.[296] The former, as governor of Ij, Neyriz and Fasa, is mentioned among several groups of emirs who joined the royal camp, stationed five *farsakhs* outside Ottoman-occupied Tabriz in 1548, and is reported to have been accompanied by five hundred men. Although the office and/or occupation of his son ʻAbbās ʻAlī are not given, his title ʻSolṭān' suggests he held a fief, probably hereditary, and was thus governor of Ij, Neyriz and Fasa, and presumably also an associate of Tabrīzī. Indeed, all three of the contemporary figures mentioned in the scholia – ʻAlī Khān, Allāh-qolī Bēg and ʻAbbās ʻAlī Solṭān – were not only Turks, as was Tabrīzī, but were children of those who personally knew Ṭahmāsb, as was probably the case with the scribe's own father.

These notes allow for the following inferences. First, the intergenerational succession and continuity, in terms of human resources, largely defines the transition from Ṭahmāsb's

[294] **C1:3** – MS.Bodl.: Pers. D. 84: f.93r – "*qabā bēg pedar-e kolān allāhqolī bēg qūrchībāshī-ye ḥāl-ast*".
[295] Qobād al-Ḥoseynī, *Tārīkh-e Īlchī*, p.115.
[296] **C1:3** – MS.Bodl.: Pers. D. 84: f.96v – "*charandāb solṭān shāmlū pedar-e ʻabbās ʻalī solṭān-ast*".

era to that of ‘Abbās, all the way to the late sixteenth century and beyond. The children of those who had accompanied the first two Shahs and forged the early Safavid polity often continued to serve the same family over generations. Second, some quarter of a century after the Shah’s death, the question of succession and the murder of Solṭān Ḥeydar Mīrzā still evoked powerful memories whereby the house where the heir apparent had lived, for a decade at most, was still associated with him. Third, and as has already been suggested, the notes written in the same hand as the rest of the **C1:3** texts, cannot significantly postdate the manuscript’s production, supporting the notion that this codex comes from the final year of the sixteenth century. Lastly, the fourth point is that the resemblance between the hand which left the ‘validation mark’ at the end of **C1:2** – *ṣād, alif, dāl,* and *qāf* – and that of the marginal notes discussed above suggests that **C1:3** is indeed the original *monsha’āt* of Tabrīzī. It is thus Tabrīzī himself to whom these marginalia belong, while **C1:3** is the manuscript from which all other copies ultimately descend. Moreover, the *Kāteb* variant of Ṭahmāsb’s text in this collection, without the two prefaces (i.e., the last layer of the paratext) to be discussed towards the end of this chapter, is the closet to the autograph/urtext of the stories.[297] Before moving onto comparing the two variants of the *M-Recension* – *Naqqāsh* and *Kāteb* – a few words should be said about the last manuscript produced at the turn of the seventeenth century.

[C1:4][298]

This manuscript consists of only seven folios and a flyleaf. Nevertheless, thanks to its physical condition and *ex libris* stamps, as well as numerous notes throughout, it is possible

[297] While a lot of the urtext is reproduced in *Tārīkh-e Īlchī*, it is both scattered through the volume and heavily mixed with the author’s own text. In addition, there does not seem to be any substantial differences across the *Kāteb* copies.

[298] I would like to thank Mohammad Navid Bazargan for his help in procuring the digital images of the folios containing the Shah’s stories.

to gain some insights into its provenance and relationship with the codices discussed above. First, based solely on the images examined, it should be noted that **C1:4**, written in a very neat *Nasta'līq*, appears old. The original sheets contain multiple marks, stains, discolorations and ink smatterings, as well as samples of less-than-successful calligraphic efforts on the margins. Furthermore, virtually all the original folios, glued onto newer-looking ones, have missing edges and corners, suggesting this manuscript certainly is more than a couple of centuries old.

Secondly, that the codex likely had several owners is attested by its age, the methodically conserved folios, several stamps, and many notes added by at least three different hands. Two of these stamps, barely readable, apparently belong to the Dāʾerat al-Maʻāref Library, in Tehran, where the manuscript is kept.[299] The second set of stamps, three in total, reveals the identity of one of its former owners, and that he eventually gave it away. Thus, the two stamps on f.1r mention the library of Solṭān ʻAlī Solṭānī Shaykh al-Eslāmī (d. 1972) – a well-known author, politician and MP representing Behbahan and Kuhgiluyeh. In addition, the last stamp, on the top left corner of the front-flyleaf, states that the manuscript was *among the items he gifted*, presumably to the aforesaid library.[300]

Thirdly, in addition to the missing edges and corners, the damages have resulted in the loss of multiple folios, including large sections of the text. What is interesting is that Ṭahmāsb's text is in fact the very first entry in **C1:4**, suggesting either that the manuscript's contents were reshuffled and perhaps partly lost, while what has survived was subsequently rebound sometime in the nineteenth-to-twentieth century. Almost half the text, up to the middle of the story of Alqās, has been lost.[301] From here, it continues until about three-quarters into the story of Eskander Pāshā, where again several folios are missing. It resumes

[299] **C1:4** – MS. DM: No.470, front-flyleaf; f.1r.
[300] **C1:4** – MS. DM: No.470, front-flyleaf; f.1r – see the appendix.
[301] **C1:4** – MS. DM: No.470, f.3r.

with the description of Bayezīd's troubles, the fifth story, and ends with 'Abd al-Vahhāb's colophon, here reproduced in full, placing **C1:4** within the *sub-stemma one* of the *Kāteb* stemma.[302] This colophon is followed by a few lines of the letter, found across all manuscripts, that which *Shah Esmā'īl I Wrote to one of the Solṭāns*, confirming that this indeed is derived from the same collection.

The fourth point of interest is that the catalogue/bibliographical leaflet, added by the Dāʾerat al-Ma'āref, describes the codex as a *Collection of Four Books*, which it then goes to list.[303] These, according to the description, are: (i) *Taẕkereh*-ye *shāh tahmāsb az khod-e ū*; (ii), *Monsha'āt-e nā-shenākhteh*; (iii) *al-Tavassol illā al-tarrassol-e bahā'ī*; (iv) *Nozhat al-kitāb va toḥfat al-aḥbāb*. The *unidentified monsha'āt* is probably a reference to the letters, that is, the core of Tabrīzī's collection, while the *M-Recension* of Ṭahmāsb's composition is again mistakenly referred to as his *taẕkereh* (i.e., the title associated with the published *T-Recension*). That is probably because the folios containing the first half of the composition, along with the prefaces, have been lost, making the text difficult to identify without prior knowledge of the corpus and the two recensions. The same leaflet also lists the total number of folios to have survived: *one hundred and fifty-three*. When compared with **C1:1**, **2**, **3**, and **6**, all averaging around two-hundred and thirty folios, it seems that at least a quarter of **C1:4**'s folios have been lost.

The last, fifth, point is regarding the notes on the flyleaves and elsewhere. There are three sets, all apparently added in the twentieth century: two are written in ballpoint, in red and black ink, and one in pencil. All seem to have been executed by hands different from that in the bibliographical/catalogue leaflet, implying these have been added by previous owners, perhaps including Shaykh al-Eslāmī himself. Let us review these.

[302] **C1:4** – MS. DM: No.470, f.13r.
[303] **C1:4** – MS. DM: No.470, front flyleaf – "*majmū'eh-ye chahār ketāb*".

(i) In red ink, on the flyleaf, there is a list of contents (*fehrest-e majmū'eh*), most of which is unfortunately covered by the leaflet. That the person who prepared the *fehrest* also paginated the folios is clear, for page numbers in red, accompanied by *ṣād* for *ṣafḥeh* or *ṣaḥīfeh*, appear on top of both sides of each folio. Only a few titles, all of which also found in the copies examined thus far, are visible. Worth noting is that in the *fehrest* is titled the *Course of the War and Diplomacy between Iran and the Ottomans, by 'Abd al-Vahhāb-e Kāteb, in 1010 AH*.[304] In the absence of the folios containing the first half of the text, including the title/prefaces, it seems that whoever prepared the list was not familiar enough with the Shah's composition to recognize it from a handful of excerpts.

(ii) On the same front-flyleaf are two summaries of some letters, all by the same hand, accompanied by two short memos which are more useful for our purposes. The first memo, in black ink, states that *this collection was transcribed in 1009 AH*.[305] This is clearly derived from the note, found across all **C1** manuscripts, which mentions Bahā'ī's *al-Tavassol* as one of the sources, as well as the date and purpose of compiling the *majmū'eh*, further confirming the association of **C1:4** with the collection (and its copies). The second note, in the top left corner, where the text begins, reads: *the published Berlin* [1927 edition] *is greatly different from this manuscript*.[306] In other words, with barely half of the text available, the author of these notes not only identified the composition but was able to spot the differences between the two recensions.

(iii) Finally, the pencil-written and most extensive of the three sets of notes likewise deserves at least a few paragraphs. These were clearly added later and contain interesting data about the reception of the collection and the text c. mid-twentieth century, as well as its relationship with the rest of the manuscript corpus. For instance, on the right-hand side of the

[304] **C1:4** – MS. DM: No.470, front flyleaf – see the appendix.
[305] **C1:4** – MS. DM: No.470, front flyleaf – see the appendix.
[306] **C1:4** – MS. DM: No.470, f.3r – see the appendix.

front-flyleaf is the following description of the codex: [this is] *a unique, extremely exquisite, and highly valuable book*; *a copy made of* [this manuscript] *is in the Malek National Library,* [the manuscript itself] *is deficient*; *it contains important historical documents of great value; I bought it for five-hundred tūmāns.*[307] Though the notes' author cannot be identified, considering that the Malek National Library and Museum was established only in the late 1930s, as well as the modern *Nasta'līq* in which these notes are written, they may belong to Shaykh al-Eslāmī himself. As for the suggested link to the **C1:2**, this is probably a speculation rather than a result of an actual examination and comparison. As has been demonstrated above, the Malek codex, or **C1:2**, is most likely a copy of **C1:3**. Yet this fact does not preclude the possibility that **C1:4** too was produced in the early years of the seventeenth century and instead, judging by the inclusion of 'Abd al-Vahhāb's colophon, may well be a copy of either **C1:1** or **2**. Either way, said note is taken to confirm the age and rarity of this codex, justifying its inclusion among the manuscripts produced at the turn of the seventeenth century. This brings the total number of manuscripts containing the text c. 1600 to least five: that is **C1:1**, **2**, **3**, and **4**, and certainly the ***SPC***.

In addition, it is worth noting that the person behind these notes studied the text, even comparing it with one published edition. Thus, above the bibliographical leaflet, in the middle of the page, and right next to the text's description in the *fehrest*, we read: *taẕkereh-ye shāh ṭahmāsb bā eżāfāt*, that is *with additions*. This person has noticed that this recension is substantially different from the published *T-Recension*. Right opposite the first folio containing the text is another note informing readers that [it] *is missing* [some] *fifty pages* [when compared against] *the taẕkereh, yet what has remained is better and more complete than the published* [edition].[308] On the next page is another note which reveals which published edition was used for comparison. Here, right above the first line of text, we are told

[307] **C1:4** – MS. DM: No.470, front flyleaf – see the appendix.
[308] **C1:4** – MS. DM: No.470, f.2v – see the appendix.

that the section *corresponds with page fifty-one of the* [published] *taẕkereh* […].[309] A quick check in turn reveals it is page fifty-one of Phillott's 1912 edition that corresponds with the section at the start of the surviving folios. The remaining notes thus either point to differences between the text in **C1:4** and the *Calcutta Edition* (pp.3, 10, 12), add a couple dates for events mentioned in the text on the margins (p.9), or specify the corresponding sections in the published text (p.12).

Though limited, this survey of the **C1** manuscripts contributes substantially to an understanding of the milieu and extent of circulation of the Shah's composition in the early seventeenth century, offering insights into its history. I have tentatively established that **C1:3** is the manuscript closest to the urtext (possibly its earliest copy). Thus, in the years and decades following its compilation by Tabrīzī, a proliferation of copies appear, both as part of multi-text collections and as a single-text codex. The emergence of two different textual variants can be observed, that is, the *Naqqāsh* and *Kāteb* stemmas, of the *M-Recension*. It is hard not to notice the increasing extent of its circulation and readership when we consider that, in addition to the ***SPC*** and the four *monshā'āt* produced at the turn of the century, there is also **C1:5**, dating from the reign of Shah Soleymān, and **C2,** from the early years of Ṭahmāsb II's reign, as well as the ***MC,*** which almost certainly predates the production of the *T-Recension* produced in 1679, and may well be contemporary with the ***SPC***.

Before the remaining three manuscripts can be introduced and the proliferation/circulation of additional copies discussed, it is necessary to ascertain the nature of the relationship between the two textual variants of the *M-Recension*. After outlining the differences between the two variants, I will attempt to account for some of these.

[309] **C1:4** – MS. DM: No.470, f.3r – see the appendix.

Comparing the Naqqāsh and Kāteb Textual Variants

With an understanding of the circulation and readership of the *Kāteb* textual variant at the turn of the seventeenth century, along with what can be deciphered of the dynamics of production and proliferation of the manuscripts belonging to this stemma, we can now turn to investigate the relationship between the *Kāteb* variant and the *Naqqāsh*. This enquiry will shed further light on the transmission of the text at the turn of the seventeenth century, demonstrate that the *Kāteb* variant is substantially more complete and therefore closer to the urtext/autograph, and lastly that Reżā ʻAbbāsī likely made use of a manuscript belonging to this stemma to produce the ***SPC***.

Before proceeding onto the comparison of the two texts, a few words need to be said about the preface which accompanies it. Always written *in red ink*, the following is *the first of the two prefaces* found across all the **C1** manuscripts, yet not in **C2** (!):

> *In the name of God, the Merciful and the Compassionate, may the Lord be pleased with your benevolence, O Generous One! [This is] the speech of the Shah – who has taken refuge in the divine forgiveness, dwelling-in-paradise, the heavenly court, the place of blessings and benedictions, the Father of the Ever-lasting Kingdom, Solṭān Shāh Ṭahmāsb al-Ḥoseynī al-Ṣafavī al-Mūsavī, the spirit of the Almighty is his spirit – which he, having summoned them one night, made before Alī Pāshā and Ḥasan Āghā Qāpūjī-bāshī, the emissaries of His Highness, Solṭān Soleymān Khān, whose sins are forgiven, the ruler of Rūm, and they were to deliver to their lord.*[310]

The above, unlike the corresponding preface of the *Naqqāsh* variant, cuts short the obligatory greetings and praises upon the Prophet and His Family, does not mention ʻAbbās, nor his alleged utterances regarding the composition, nor does it reproduce Ṭahmāsb's alleged opening address to the envoys, to the effect that *for thirty-nine years* [he had] *always wished that one of* [Soleymān's] *men* [would] *come* [his court], *so that* [he could] *recount*

[310] **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b: f.86r. There do not seem to be any substantial differences, besides those already addressed, across the **C1** manuscripts. For this reason, and the fact that of the six copies, I have worked most closely with **C1:1**, we have used the text therein comparing it to that in the ***SPC***.

these stories.[311] Indeed, in this version, there is also no emphasis on the didactic nature of the stories that follow, nor a Quranic verse urging the Prophet to *call the people upon the path of worship and knowledge of* [their] *Creator*; [to] *argue with them by way of truth and certainty*, [and to strive] *along the path of laudable counsel and guidance*. Moreover, while in the *Naqqāsh* preface Ṭahmāsb is implied to have personally followed those Quranic injunctions, here his attributes merely emphasize his piety and descent from the Imams, while implying that these qualities have earned him a place in paradise. Lastly, it seems worth pointing out that the Ottoman ruler's *sins are* [said to have been] *forgiven*, which is not something stated in the *Naqqāsh* preface either, yet can perhaps be construed as Ṭahmāsb's attempt to emphasize his moral superiority over his counterpart.

Overall, despite its shortness and different phrasing vis-à-vis the preface in the ***SPC*** (and later in the two manuscripts of Eskander Bēg's *Tārīkh*), the beginning of all the *Kāteb* texts essentially expresses the same idea: namely that Ṭahmāsb one night, summoned the two Ottoman ambassadors, presumably to his audience hall, expressed a wish to have the contents of his 'speech' communicated to the Ottoman ruler, and then personally narrated the stories. Thus, as already suggested, both Dāneshpazhūh and Bhalloo rightly pointed out that, based on the framing articulated in the prefaces, both the ***SPC*** and the **C1** manuscripts they had examined essentially contained the same recension. Yet while the former scholar did not in fact have access to the *Naqqāsh* text, the latter, having at his disposal both **C1:2**, as well as Tabatadze's edition, did not attempt to compare the two. What follows is thus the first attempt to so.

Strictly speaking, we should be comparing the Bodleian manuscript, that is **C1:3**, with the ***SPC***, since these are the oldest manuscripts of the two stemmas and variants. However, because we had used the text in **C1:1** to produce the composite edition, (see the Appendix)

[311] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – ff.2v–4v.

and thereby to identify the differences between the two texts, quite some time prior to the discovery of **C1:3**, and because **C1:1** and **C1:3** do not seem to have any significant differences, notwithstanding ‘Abd al-Vahhāb’s colophon, it seems reasonable to assume that the findings from comparing **C1:1** and the ***SPC*** are sufficiently representative.

When it comes to differences between the two texts, these can be divided into three categories:

(i) additional words and phrases, often of a qualifying nature, providing extra information, found in the *Kāteb* text and absent in the *Naqqāsh*.
(ii) words and phrases which differ across the two variants, thus occasionally yielding rather distinct meanings.
(iii) several passages from the Quran and several poetic verses, as well as entire sentences and even poems, found in the *Kāteb* variant and entirely omitted in the *Naqqāsh*.

In general, while examples of the first two types appear rather evenly distributed across the *Five Stories*, examples of the third seem to be more numerous, even increasing, from around halfway through the text and particularly towards the end. This, besides suggesting that the *Kāteb* was the source of the *Naqqāsh*, most likely also indicates that Reżā ‘Abbāsī, while transcribing the text, gradually grew less attentive, in most cases unintentionally omitting several important verses and passages.

Although the two variants share at least ninety percent, perhaps more, of the text, with most differences being minor (e.g., stylistic, lexical, or minor-factual, such as numbers and/or names of persons/localities, as well as short sentences), the *Kāteb* text is substantially more detailed and more complete, than the *Naqqāsh*. The most substantial differences are outlined below.[312]

[312] A lot, probably most, of the differences discussed between the two texts, supplemented wherever possible with the corresponding sections from the *Īlchī* variant, are recorded and found in the footnotes of the Persian edition of the stories; see the Appendix.

For example, in the *Naqqāsh* text, only the first part of the well-known Quranic verse from *Āl ʻImrān* [3:26] appears – *O Allah! Lord over all authorities! You give authority to whoever You please* – leaving the sentence incomplete, while in the *Kāteb* it is followed by *and remove it from whoever You please*, thus completing the thought, though not the verse.[313] Likewise, in the latter variant, on the reverse of the same folio, Ṭahmāsb pronounces himself a *bondservant of the Imam*, adding that *Almighty God sent the following verses about him*. Thus, in *Kāteb* we find, squeezed in between verses from *Al-Aḥzāb* [33:33] – *Allah only intends to keep ˹the causes of˺ evil away from you and purify you completely, O members of the ˹Prophet's˺ family*! – and *Al-Insān* [76:21] – *And their Lord quenched their thirst with the purest drink* – a short excerpt from the latter *surah – And give food to the poor, the orphan and the captive* [76:7], which is missing in *Naqqāsh*.[314]

In addition, in the same section, we also have two short poems, which are entirely absent from the *Naqqāsh* text; both are related to ʻAlī in the context of Ṭahmāsb's listing the Imam's various virtues and feats:

> *He stood on the Prophet's shoulders, no one went higher than he did,*
> *The 'House of God' is called Kaʻbah, only 'Alī could be found there*[315]

And the second, very much in the same spirit, reads:

> *Until the Commander of Believers showed up,*
> *the problems of Khaybar's gate were not resolved*[316]

These few examples alone would constitute sufficient evidence to suggest that the *Naqqāsh* text is missing several important passages and was thus likely copied from the *Kāteb*, rather than the other way around. Moreover, regarding the above examples, it seems reasonable to suggest that Reżā ʻAbbāsī likely omitted these, and other bits discussed below,

[313] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.35v and **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b: f.90r.
[314] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.37v and **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b: f.90v.
[315] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.38v and **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b: f.90v.
[316] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.39v and **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b: f.90v.

rather unintentionally as he gradually grew less focused, failing to remain loyal to the text from around the middle of the story of Alqās all the way to the end.

In the same story, which incidentally happens to be the longest (and the most polemical) of the five, Ṭahmāsb includes several verses from Mowlānā Ḥasan Kāshī's *Haft-band*, a poem in praise of the Shī'ī Imams. While the text in the ***SPC*** includes only six verses of the poem, its *Kāteb* counterpart in **C1:1** has an additional *seven* and is obviously more complete.[317] It is hard to imagine that Abbāsī omitted these seven verses intentionally.

Yet another noteworthy difference between the two texts is a long passage at the very end of Bāyezīd's, or the fifth, story. It provides extensive details as to where the fugitive prince and his four sons were kept and the names of the sons and of the people tasked with guarding the five captive Ottomans:

> *These are the names of those five persons of whom we were taking care: Sultan Bāyezīd was imprisoned in the ceremonial hall; Orkhān was with Ḥasan Bēg the lieutenant; Sultan Maḥmūd with Sevindük Afshār the chief of the royal-guards; Sultan Moḥammad with Ma'sūm Bēg Vakīl; and Sultan 'Abdollāh with Mīr Sayyid Sharīf Shīrāzī.* [All] *five of them were from the family of the Ottoman Ruler*.[318]

This passage, once again, was likely omitted by Abbāsī rather unintentionally, yet it clearly adds substantially to the narrative overall, and therefore was worth including in the composite text (in the Appendix). Finally, seemingly the single largest element found in *Kāteb* and absent in *Naqqāsh*, comes at the very end of the former text. It is a *ghazal* by Ḥāfeẓ, with which the Shah closes his *Five Stories*:

On the Day of Judgment, heaven shall deal kindly with you,
Now let us see how grateful you are and what gratitude you bring!
In the abode of love, Kingly splendour is worthless;
[there, you should] profess bondage and show servitude!
The one who fell down, God took his hand;
remember that and sympathize with the downtrodden
O cupbearer, enter my door with the reward of the tidings of joy;

[317] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.50r and **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b: f.92r.
[318] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.72r and **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b: f.94v.

so that, for a moment, you take away the sorrows of the world from my heart,
The highroad of splendour and greatness is beset by many dangers;
it is better to pass this hillock with a light burden.
The Sultan—concerns of the army and obsession with the status and wealth;
the Darvish—peace of mind and hermitage of a qalandar
May I speak like a Sufi for a second? "My son, peace is better than war and strife!"
Ḥāfeẓ, do not wash the dust of poverty and contentment off your face, for it is better than turning metal into gold!

What is particularly interesting about this piece is that it essentially frames the entire conflict between Ṭahmāsb and Soleymān in terms the Sufi-Sultan opposition, whereby the latter is said to seek status, power, and wealth, while the former (i.e., the *darvīsh*) seeks the peace of mind and solitude of a hermit (i.e., the *qalandar*). Thus, Ṭahmāsb, speaking from the position of the archetypal wise old man, or *senex*, concludes his stories by telling his contemporaries and posterity, as well as, metaphorically speaking, the Ottoman ambassadors and Soleymān: *my son, peace is better than war and strife*![319] In other words, much like the entire narrative, this closing poem is included to postulate and emphasize that continuing hostilities can only lead to more destruction, insecurity and suffering and it is therefore deemed expedient to preserve peace, established at Amasya in 1555, at all costs – put differently, *Reconciliation is best*.[320]

It is hard to determine conclusively why this rather fitting *ghazal* was omitted by Reżā ʻAbbāsī. One possible explanation, perhaps less than convincing, may be the economy of space. Another, more plausible, could have something to do with the intent to cut back the mystical undertones of the stories while emphasizing Ṭahmāsb's piety and law-abiding character, both carefully articulated and stressed in the ***SPC*** preface. Be that as it may, a close

[319] See, Potter, Lawrence G. "Sufis and Sultans in Post-Mongol Iran," *Iranian Studies* 27, no. 1/4 (1994), pp.77–102.
[320] Al-Nisā': 4:128. This verse is found in several chronicles linked to the *Five Stories* and in the context of the establishment and renewal of the pact with the Ottomans, but does not appear in in any of the *Naqqāsh* or the *Kāteb* stemma/variants examined. It is however explicitly said to have been pronounced by the Shah upon his decision to make peace with Soleymān and, even if not entirely true, can certainly be taken as a clear indication of how the narrative's central message was received and interpreted – See, for instance, Qobād al-Ḥoseynī, *Tārīkh-e Īlchī*, p.185. The verse is, however, included in the text of the *T-Recension* – MS. GPL: No. 831 – f.40v.

examination and comparison of the two variants and identifying and recording as many differences as possible allows to produce a much more complete text of the *Five Stories* than anything hitherto available.

Lastly, regarding the other differences, although all are clearly indicated in the Persian composite text and partly in its English translation, a few interesting examples may be noted here. For instance, in the first story, describing the itinerary of his return from Khorasan, the Shah tells readers how long he remained in Olang-neshīn: according to *Naqqāsh* it was 'twenty' days, whereas *Kāteb* mentions 'seven-eight' days – a trivial but not entirely insignificant difference.[321] A few paragraphs later, describing the unsuccessful foray of Ṣadr al-Dīn Bēg and Dhū'l-Qadroghlū, *Naqqāsh* merely says *they* – having been overtaken by a numerically superior Ottoman force – *dropped everything and fled,* while *Kāteb*, and thus likely the Shah himself, using a characteristic Turkic word, additionally calls them 'cowards' (*aljah*) for having acted this way.[322] Elsewhere, *Naqqāsh*, referring to a *zāviyeh* of a certain Ḥasan, describes him as 'our master' (*moullānā*), whereas *Kāteb* calls him '*mollā*'.[323] In a similar manner, there is an instance where Olāmeh is reported to have gone to Erzenjan with an Ottoman Pāshā: in *Naqqāsh* the latter is said to have been the 'Pāshā of Bayburt' and in *Kāteb* 'of Pasin'.[324]

Somewhat more interesting are the two different words used to describe children captured by the Qezelbāsh during numerous forays into Ottoman-controlled territories: while *Naqqāsh* calls those children Armenian (*armanī*), in *Kāteb* they are said to have been 'Roman' (*rūmī*), or 'Anatolian', or 'Ottoman' (?).[325] Here, the difference may be attributed to distinctive identities of the scribes behind the two variants, with the ethnonym Armenian,

[321] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.15r and **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b: f.87v.
[322] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.17v and **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b: f.87v.
[323] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.27r and **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b: f.89r.
[324] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.46r and **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b: f.91v.
[325] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.48r and **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b: f.92r.

and/or Christian, being the antithesis of Turkic and/or Muslim, while the toponymic Roman, Anatolian, and/or Sunni Ottoman, was likely used in opposition to Iranian and/or Shi‘i Safavid – this of course is merely speculation. It is also worth mentioning that the *fatva*, discussed in the previous chapter, is described as ‘odd’ (*ṭorfeh*) in *Naqqāsh* and as ‘fine’ or ‘good’ (*khūb*) in *Kāteb*.[326]

Overall, the *Kāteb* variant is more detailed and complete than the *Naqqāsh*, suggesting that Reżā ‘Abbāsī made use of one of the **C1** manuscripts, most likely that of Tabrīzī (**C1:3**).

The next section deals with the text itself and situates it within Tabrīzī’s *monsha’āt* and suggests the possible reason for its inclusion therein, and thus what that inclusion may reveal about the reception of the *Five Stories* at the turn of the seventeenth century.

[326] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.56v and **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b: f.93r.

On the Place of the Five Stories in the Collections

Despite the abundance of *majmū'ehs* from the Safavid era, few (if any) have received comprehensive treatment, nor has the phenomenon itself been the subject of many studies.[327] Until recently, scholars have approached the subject from two angles. They have either simply introduced collections, emphasising that they contain previously unstudied materials,[328] or they have focused on the epistolography and literary (*enshā'*) components – more specifically the form, language and rhetoric of royal correspondence – in isolation from the diverse body of other texts included therein.[329] Recently, however, given that materials in Iranian manuscript libraries have become more accessible, efforts have also been made to reflect on these diverse collections more broadly and to probe different questions.[330] The following discussion seeks to contribute to a more holistic understanding of *majmū'eh*s, reasons for their proliferation, and the text's place in the collections examined.

To approach the *majmū'eh*s introduced and discussed above, to better understand the history of the text, including its reception in different periods, and to account for its inclusion in Tabrīzī's and Aḥmad Gholām's collections, a basic framework of inquiry is necessary. Let

[327] For some generic reflections on the subject, see: Afshar, "Maktūb and Majmū'a," pp.51-62. By the same author, and a lot more comprehensive, though not specifically focused on the Safavid era, is a variorum edited by Mīlād 'Aẓīmī: *Safīneh va Bayāż va Jong: Majmū'eh-ye Maqālāt-e Safīneh-pazhūhī-ye Īraj-e Afshār* (Tehran: Sokhan, 1390). The Safavid period, linguistically situated right in the middle of the New Persian period, also constitutes a key stage in the transmission of texts, often in translation, from the first centuries of the Islamic era into the modern.

[328] M. Sefatgol, "Majmū'a'hā," pp.73-83.

[329] The best-known works, specifically on royal epistolography, which make use of many of these collections, are by Colin Mitchell. See, for instance, his "Safavid Imperial Tarassul and the Persian Inshā' Tradition," in *Studia Iranica 26*, 1997, pp.173-209; "Persian Rhetoric in the Safavid Context: a 16th Century Nurbakhshiyya Treatise on Inshā," in *Literacy in the Persianate World*, eds. Spooner, B., and Hanaway, W.L. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), pp.196-231; and "To Preserve and Protect: Husayn Va'iz-i Kashifi and Perso-Islamic Chancellery Culture," in *Iranian Studies*, vol. 36, No. 4, Dec., 2003, pp.485-507. See also, Thābetīyān, Ẕ., *Asnād va Nāmeh-hā-ye Tārīkhī-ye Daureh-ye Ṣafavī*, with the introduction by Ṣafā, Ẕ. (Tehran: Ibn Sīnā [Press], 1343/1964).

[330] One noteworthy attempt, in English, to engage with these sources more broadly, and thus explore other themes they cover, is Kathryn Babayan's *The City as Anthology: Eroticism and Urbanity in Early Modern Isfahan* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2021).

us posit that such collections are defined by three key aspects – literary, historical-source and didactic – and explore how our text relates to each.

The first one, literary, is especially prominent when it comes to royal correspondence and is largely centered on *enshā'* itself. Indeed, these collections together constitute a repository of countless samples of the tradition fusing prose and poetry in the amorphous genre of epistolography. The subject has received substantial scholarly attention within the Safavid context, most notably from Colin Mitchell. He defined the *enshā'* tradition as 'a creative literature which allowed extensive use of rhetorical and rhyming devises' and suggested that it could 'also connote didactic texts composed for court scribes and stylists on matters of financial and bureaucratic procedure.'[331]

In his works, Mitchell systematically explores these letters' literary and rhetorical dimensions, probing how the Safavid chancellery (*dār al-enshā'*) instrumentalized the art of epistolography in the politics and diplomacy of the age.[332] In his *Practice of Politics*, exploring the language of 'Persian mytho-history and Abrahamic prophesy' adopted by Safavid scribes, he demonstrates how they utilized royal letters and a range of rhetorical tools 'to navigate and chart ideological [and political] currents' during the first century of the dynasty in whose royal chancellery they laboured.[333]

His articles further discuss and introduce several important collections, of which Ḥeydar Bēg's *Jām'eh-ye Morāsalāt-e Olū al-Ālbāb* is the one he uses more extensively than others (albeit without examining the corresponding manuscript corpus, nor its relationship with other such collections).[334] Mitchell's chief interest in this collection can be explained by

[331] Mitchell, "To Preserve and Protect," p.487.
[332] Mitchell, "Safavid Imperial Tarassul," p.173.
[333] Mitchell, *Practice*, pp.15-16.
[334] Some other collections Mitchell has introduced, though not closely studied, include *Shams al-seyāqat*, of Mīr Manṣūr Moḥammad b. 'Alī Monshī Shīrāzī; *Monsha'āt-e Ṭāher Vaḥīd* (d. 1700); and *Monsha'āt al-Ṭūsī*. One exception is the collection known as *Enshā'-ye 'Ālam-ārā*, of Moḥammad al-Ḥoseynī b. Nāṣer al-Ḥaqq Nūrbakhshī, to which Mitchell dedicated an article – see his "Persian Rhetoric in the Safavid Context," pp.199-200.

considering the following factors. First, it contains the Ottoman-Safavid correspondence from the reign of Ṭahmāsb, the central source of his monograph. Second, as already touched upon, Tabrīzī's *monsha'āt,* from which most of the letters in *Jām'eh-ye Morāsalāt* were likely copied, has remained virtually unknown to scholars and/or been repeatedly mistaken for the latter collection.

Yet despite his extensive familiarity with the Timurid and Safavid *majmū'eh*s, Mitchell's focus is overwhelmingly on the *enshā'*, its language, composition, form, and rhetoric. He makes little effort to discuss non-epistolary texts in these collections, beyond indicating that some have been used in training scribes:

> *…there exist some singular didactic treatises which not only educate scribes on the mechanics of epistolography but also pause and deliberate on the intricate relationship between epistemology, rhetoric, poetry, and the art of enshā'.*[335]

Thus, if we consider *enshā'* to be a form of literary-artistic expression, and *monsha'āt* to be depositories of such texts, which is indeed explicitly stated in the preface to Ḥeydar Bēg's collection reproduced above, then it seems reasonable that other, non-epistolary, compositions in such collections too have been included, transmitted, and thus preserved by scribes for their literary worth. What, then, does the inclusion of the Shah's stories in Tabrīzī's *monsha'āt,* along with numerous examples of royal epistolography as well as other specimens of fine Persian prose, mean? In Tabrīzī's collection, for instance, there are at least a dozen specimens of *enshā'* explicitly attributed to different scribes and almost certainly included for their literary qualities. For instance, included is a *Letter of Sultan Sanjar to the Byzantine Emperor,* said to have been composed by Moulānā Mo'īn Aṣam;[336] a *Letter of* [a certain] *Yekān Khān to Khājeh Afżal*, said to be the work of Mīrzā Teymūr 'Alī Monshī;[337]

[335] Mitchell, "Persian Rhetoric," p.198.
[336] **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b: p.211.
[337] **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b: p.214.

and many more such examples by other scribes: e.g., compositions by Shams al-Dīn Sejāsī, al-Fāżel Badr al-Dīn Yahyā, Khājeh ʻAlī, and Khājeh Manṣūr Kajūī, among others.[338]

In addition, Tabrīzī's collection reproduces at prefaces/prolegomenon (*dībājeh*) to Mīr Khwānd's *Roużat al-Ṣafāʼ*, Jalāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd Davānī's *Akhlāq-e Jalālī*, as well as to *Monshaʼāt-e Khājeh ʻAbdāllah b. Moḥammad al-Marvārīd*.[339] Such preambles, generally written in an ornamental style, and adorned with gilding and other decorations, are likewise preserved and transmitted for their artistic and literary worth.

As the above are clearly included for excellence of form and beauty of language, the obvious implication is that Tahmasb's stories, the longest text in Tabrīzī's as well as Aḥmad Gholām's collections, would have been deemed by scribes who transmitted it across generations to possess literary qualities on par with those of other works included alongside it. The caveat here is that it was perhaps not for the composition's ornate and lavish prose, but rather for its simplicity, masterfully combined with didactic rhetoric and punctuated by gems from the Perso-Islamic literary canon. Indeed, there is good evidence to support this notion. For instance, in his chronicle, Neẓāmshāh's envoy, Tahmasb's contemporary and the first author to extensively use and explicitly mention the text, calls it a *delightful narrative* (*taqrīr-e delpaẕīr*).[340] Some forty years later, the preface to the *Naqqāsh* variant, endorsed by ʻAbbās, describes it as *heart-warming speech* (*sokhanān-e delpaẕīr*).[341] Moreover, while the oldest preface (discussed below) refers to the five stories as having been *narrated by* [the Shah's] *pearl-scattering tongue* (*beh zabān-e dor-feshān*), ʻAbd al-Vahhāb's colophon characterizes it as *blessed discourses and beautiful words*.[342] That the work was valued for its

[338] **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b: pp.243, 349, 411, 412, 419-423. Not all these texts are letters; some have been composed jointly, and at least seven are examples/guidelines of how to compose peace treaties (*dar sharāyeṭ- va ʻebārāt-e ʻahdnāmejāt*).
[339] **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adabī. 21b: pp.270, 271, 275.
[340] Qobād al-Ḥoseynī, *Tārīkh-e Īlchī*, p.115
[341] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.3r.
[342] **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b: pp.169, 188.

literary worth, right from the time of its composition, and for generations that followed, is apparent and therefore its inclusion, along with a range of equally fine specimens of epistolography, prose and poetry, is not surprising.

This brings us to the second aspect and function of *majmū'eh*s, that is their historical-source dimension. Although rather obvious, this function has in fact remained virtually unexplored. In the absence of a centralized institution akin to the Ottoman archive, these collections taken together can be said to constitute the idiosyncratic Safavid archive – at the same time movable and decentralized – extensively used by contemporary chroniclers. Among the thousands of documents these collections contain are copies of pious endowments (*vaqfnāmeh*), grants of revenue (*soyurghāl*), legal rulings (*fatvā*), royal decrees (*farmān*), private and interstate correspondence, marriage contracts, letters of manumission, travelogues, and genealogies, among many other economic, social, political and religious materials. With many scattered throughout libraries in and outside Iran, only a fraction having been published, studied, or even identified; these collections certainly deserve a coherent treatment.[343]

Returning to the subject of this study, in addition to its literary worth and the ideological-didactic value (addressed next), the text's inclusion in these collections can and should also be viewed as an attempt to transmit a valuable historical source for the benefit of contemporary and future historiographers. More specifically, when it comes to royal correspondence and documents or various other texts, such *majmū'eh*s are not only repositories of fine prose. They are at the same time expressions of state ideologies, constructing a desired image of the communal past through putting together carefully curated

[343] One noteworthy attempt to bring the published materials together in a digital form, albeit without translations, is www.asnad.org – focusing more on documents, such as decrees and pious endowments, and less on epistolography.

documents, as well as state-sanctioned historical sources to be used by authors, and in fact Ṭahmāsb himself, in their historiographical efforts.

Indeed, from the dawn of writing, 'in Mesopotamia and Egypt, scribes were members of an elite that united cognitive, political, economic, religious, ethical, and legal competencies', selecting and transmitting what was deemed essential.[344] Simultaneously preserving the memory and legacy of past generations, while educating and training the next, in Ancient Israel as much as in Safavid Iran, 'scribes had the task of passing down traditions, the ideology of connective justice, and insight into the connection between action and consequence that was synonymous with justice.'[345] Historiography, from time immemorial, has been the scribes' most powerful tool. Tabrīzī and Aḥmad Gholām, along with numerous others, such Ḥeydar Bēg and Eskander Bēg, through their collections, were instrumental in the production of historical narratives and thus strengthening the ideological underpinnings of the Safavid state over generations.

Indeed, authors of well-known Safavid chronicles, commonly scribes and royal secretaries themselves, by virtue of having access to the *daftarkhāneh*, shrine and palace libraries, were able to use various materials in their historiographical endeavours. Thus, along with copying, compiling and curating diverse texts for the benefit of contemporary readers, they also played a key role in formulating and ensuring the continuity of state ideology.

The inclusion of the stories alongside many (though well short of most) of the letters exchanged between the Ottoman and Safavid rulers is certainly no coincidence, pointing to a close relationship between that corpus and the text itself. I have already suggested that it was one of the Safavid scribes, possibly Tabrīzī, who at the turn of the seventeenth century, through his preface – existing in two versions, the shorter *Naqqāsh* and the longer *Kāteb* –

[344] Assmann, *Cultural Memory*, p.129.
[345] Ibid., p.271.

framed the *Five Stories* as the *Shah's Discourses with Ottoman Envoys*. It is, however, important to reiterate that anyone, certainly any scribe, vaguely familiar with the corpus of correspondence and/or the contemporary chronicles, would not take the title/foreword at face value. Instead, this framing would have been understood as a rhetorical device. It served the purpose of emphasizing that the essential narrative articulated by the Shah, that is, the causes and course of the war and the rationale to preserve the peace, was closely tied to the letters, but obviously did not originate in the form of an hours-long speech to the Ottoman embassy in question. Indeed, both the letters and the text itself have been used by several chroniclers without ever mentioning the alleged 'speech'. Some examples follow of the use of letters by authors of well-known chronicles.

It is generally understood that by far the most widely used sources of historical data among Safavid authors were personally witnessed events, reports by contemporaries and/or their associates/descendants, and earlier chronicles, various letters, and especially royal correspondence. Thus, for instance, Qazvīnī, Bahrām Mīrzā's secretary for more than fourteen years, not only extensively used many royal letters from bygone eras as his sources but also reproduced several of them in his *Javāher*.[346]

The same is true of Qāżī Aḥmad Qomī, a son of Ṭahmāsb's chief scribe, Mīr Monshī. In 1562-63, along with his father, Qāżī Aḥmad was involved in drafting two letters to Sultan Salīm – one expressing condolences (*ta'zīyatnāmeh*) upon the death of his father, Soleymān, another congratulating him upon the ascension to the Ottoman throne (*tahnīyatnāmeh*).[347] Another noteworthy example, referred to in the previous chapter, is his including the letter of

[346] Qazvīnī, *Javāher*, pp.41, 127, 194, 208. In fact, he even reproduced, albeit in part, some of the earliest letters from the reign of Ṭahmāsb (pp.171-172; 197), which do not appear to have been included in any of the known collections, nor in Navā'ī's volume.
[347] Qomī, *Kholāṣat*, pp.11, 19 (of the intro.); both letters are well-known, included in several collections, and published by Navā'ī, p.452. This letter is not included in Tabrīzī's collection, however, two equally long epistles congratulating Salīm's son and successor Murad III (r.1574-95) are: see **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b: pp.86-90, 95-108.

Soleymān to Ṭahmāsb, reportedly written by the Ottoman ruler himself, in his *Kholāṣat*, finished circa the mid-1590s.[348] Overall, Qomī's use of letters is even more extensive than that of Qazvīnī, partly because his work is substantially longer, and certainly also due to the fact that he was essentially employed at the royal chancellery, and thus much closer to the Shah, to which the above examples testify. It is also worth pointing out that Qomī was most likely acquainted with Tabrīzī, their fathers having served Ṭahmāsb, and presumably having access to the same documents. Thus, not only did Tabrīzī include the letter of Soleymān in his collection, but both scribes quite clearly had access to the *same copy* of Ṭahmāsb's stories.[349] We shall come back to Qomī's use of the text shortly.

In turn, Eskander Bēg, too, having worked under the supervision of Qomī at the *dīvān-e enshā'*, extensively relied on and reproduced numerous letters throughout his work.[350] As discussed in the previous chapter, Eskander Bēg did not attempt to engage in historical revisionism. He merely reproduced the narrative and discourse articulated by the late Shah himself and subsequently diffused, between the 1560s and 1590s, by the chroniclers such as Qobād al-Ḥoseynī, Qazvīnī, Shīrāzī, Qomī and Rūmlū.

Utilizing as his main sources the works of the latter two authors, Eskander Bēg refers to only a couple of letters from the period. However, when it comes to chronicling the decades following the death of Ṭahmāsb, the author abundantly quotes from various letters at his disposal – be it correspondence between Qezelbāsh governors regarding domestic affairs, or exchanges between the Qezelbāsh amirs and the Ottoman *pāshā*s during their occupation of Safavid territory in late the sixteenth century, or the polemical exchange between the

[348] Qomī, *Kholāṣat*, p.432.
[349] **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b: pp.169, 471 – see the appendix.
[350] The Majles Library holds a manuscript (No. 3349) of a collection of 'decrees and letters of Shah Ṭahmāsb, Shah Ṣafī, and Shah 'Abbās to Ottoman Rulers and Iranian statesmen, and also [other] correspondence from this period compiled by Eskander Bēg Monshī' of no less than four-hundred and forty-four pages. See, Moṣṭafā Derāyatī, *Fehrestvāreh-ye dastneveshteh-hā-ye Īrān*, vol. 3, p.874. It is likely that Eskander Bēg reproduced the letters contained in Tabrīzī's collection.

Uzbek *'olamā* and the *sayyid*s of Mashhad. Likewise, the letters exchanged between 'Abbās and 'Abd al-Mo'men Khān, one of which is referred to in the previous chapter, are profusely quoted and some are reproduced.[351] Indeed, examples of the use of letters in Safavid historiography could be multiplied, only corroborating the understanding of these collections as segments of the Safavid archive, of which the very same scribes were compilers, curators and primary users.[352]

At this juncture a return to the point made in the introduction to this dissertation is in order, to the effect that the letters exchanged between the Ottoman and the Safavid courts during the reign of Ṭahmāsb constitute a major narrative source, and thus the backbone, of the stories. As suggested in the previous chapter, in adorning his composition, the Shah made extensive use of popular maxims, Persian classical works, some *Isrā'īliyāt*, as well as numerous excerpts from the Quran and Hadiths. In addition, the Shah drew extensively upon his personal memories of events, people and places to add texture to the narrative. Corroborating this notion is a passage from Qazvīnī's work:

> *His memory was such that in the fifty-four years of his reign, year by year, he remembered every winter and summer station, knowing in detail* [and] *by heart every event that had taken place. He knew by face all nobles, chiefs, and notables of every village, town, and province in his domains. Most astonishingly,* [the Shah] *had three thousand qūrchīs, and up to three thousand yassāvols, būkāvols, and other office-holders, such as qeleghchīs, all of whom he knew* [personally], *to the point of being able to tell when each* [of them] *was appointed or promoted, in what campaign they showed courage and valour, and under what circumstances, or which khān or solṭān, they had previously served. He likewise knew the affairs* [and conditions] *of the Ottomans and the Uzbeks, from tribes and clans to their provinces, ways, and*

[351] Eskandar Bēg, *History*, pp.162, 377, 386, 469, 481-82, 502, 506, 508, 509, 655-80, to list a few. The entire corpus of correspondence (a total of eighteen letters!) of 'Abbās and 'Abd al-Mo'men Khān seems to have been reproduced in Tabrīzī's *monsha'āt*.

[352] There are other chronicles to consider, for instance Fażlī Eṣfahānī's *Afżal al-Tavārīkh,* which was not only contemporaneous with Eskander Bēg's work but contains a range of important differences. See Ghereghlou, K. (ed.) with an introduction by K. Ghereghlou and C. Melville, Khuzani Isfahani Fazli Beg, A Chronicle of the Reign of Shah 'Abbas, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Gibb Memorial Trust, 2015). A closer study of chronicles would likely allow the recovery of previously unidentified letters not included in the known collections.

> *manners.* […] *Moreover, he knew so many verses and poems that he could recite them for a month on without every repeating himself.*[353]

The 'third source', from which the narrative itself is largely derived, is the correspondence with the Ottomans. Unfortunately, only some of these letters are available, while most are merely referred to within the text. Indeed, the exchanges of envoys and letters punctuate individual episodes within each story, providing the composition with the chronological structure and thus helping justify and explain the Shah's decision-making and actions. The text is dotted with phrases such as 'they wrote and sent a letter' (*ketābatī neveshteh ferestādand* …) or 'they wrote a letter to the effect' (*ketābat neveshteh, mażmūn-e ān keh* …), each followed by Ṭahmāsb's response, in word and/or in action.[354] The Shah can thus simultaneously be viewed as the chronicler/historian as well as the main protagonist of the narrative, making the composition autobiographical in style, without necessarily making it an autobiography. Moreover, another implication here is that, unlike Bābor, who kept an actual diary throughout his eventful life, Ṭahmāsb, like other Safavid historiographers, in fact produced his narrative largely around the discourse already articulated in the correspondence with the Ottomans.[355]

---

[353] Qazvīnī, *Javāher*, p.146; According to Rūmlū – *Aḥsan*, p. 1529 – … [the Shah] had such personal talents that his speech was entirely (lit. head to toe) delicate and subtle; and if he wished to he could speak in rhymes his entire life (*agar mī-khāst mī-tavānest dar tamām-e 'omr beh kalām mauzūn sokhan gūyad*); The Shah's interest in poetry is further corroborated by Sidi Ali Reis, who reports having "conversed [with Ṭahmāsb] upon poetical and other subjects" during a stay in Qazvin on his return from India. See *The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reis, in India, Afghanistan, Central Asia, and Persia during the Years 1553-1556*, Translated from the Turkish, with Notes, by A. Vambery (London: Luzac, 1899), Chapter XIV. Several poems, explicitly attributed to Ṭahmāsb, are scattered around in different works, that is, excluding his own text; see Qomī – *Kholāṣat*, pp.226-227 – for a poem he apparently sent to 'Obayd Uzbek; Pual Horn (1891; p.290) also drew scholars' attention to the fact that "when looking through Persian poetry collections, one often comes across Tahmāsb's name" – for instance, *Ātashkādeh* of Loṭf-'Alī Bēg is said to contain several verses attributed to the Shah; as does *Nafāyes al-Māther* of Kāmī (see p. 51 of Sprenger's *A Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Hindustany Manuscripts: Of the Libraries of the King of Oudh* (Piscataway, NJ, USA: Gorgias Press, 2010).

[354] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – ff.14r, 14v, 18r, 23v, 24v, 32v, 35r/v, 36r, 45v, 49v, 50v, 53v, 54v, 56r, 60v, 61v, 66r/v, 68v, 70v; and ff.14r, 18r, 56v, 61r, 66v.

[355] Qajar-era scholars and readers who have engaged with the *T-Recension* of the text, discussed in the next chapter, consistently referred to it as his 'diary' (*rūznāmeh*).

While it would be tedious, and perhaps unnecessary, to count every single letter referred to in the text, it can be safely estimated that Ṭahmāsb had at his disposal and utilized at least several dozen letters exchanged with the Ottomans over thirty years, including those by/to Safavid family members, statesmen and ministers.[356] Presumably, at the time, some of them would have already been bound into *monsha'āt*-like volumes, not least for the sake of ease of management.

When it comes to Tabrīzī's collection or the volume by Navā'ī, most of the letters come from the later decades of Ṭahmāsb's reign. In fact, only one letter is known, preserved in Fereydūn Bēg's (d. 1583) *Monsha'āt al-Salāṭīn*, dating to the first Ottoman invasion of the early 1530s – the so-called 'Campaign of Two Iraqs'.[357] In this letter, undated, written in elaborate and hyperbolic Torkī prose, Soleymān – proclaiming that 'chasing the fleeing and killing the wounded is not a custom of [his] noble ancestors' – calls on Ṭahmāsb to submit, or to face him on the battlefield.[358] The Shah, in his composition, summarizes the received message in his characteristically succinct manner – [they sent] 'a written message, to the effect of' –

> *Your father fought with my father; and* [since] *you too are a ruler and make claims to bravery, then come and let us fight! And if you do not fight, then do not claim to be brave!*[359]

Then, he offers his own polemical retort: … 'in response, I wrote…' – that throwing oneself into grave danger against a superior adversary, is itself a sinful act, thus justifying his decision not to engage Soleymān's army in battle. The letter with his response, along with numerous other letters referred to in the text, and particularly the period covered in the first two stories, have either been lost or, perhaps, though less likely, purposefully left out by

[356] A much closer study of the corpus of correspondence is needed, but at this stage the subject can only begin to be approached.
[357] Navā'ī, *Ṭahmāsb*, pp.151-153.
[358] Ibid., pp. 152.
[359] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – ff.18r-19r.

Tabrīzī. This fact in turn renders the Shah's composition particularly valuable as a historical source for the early decades of his reign to anyone intending to chronicle this period.

As for the rest of the letters, specifically those included in Tabrīzī's collection, the earliest two, both pertaining to the story of Alqās, come from 1547 and 1549. While the former, a petition (*'arīżeh*), is said to have been penned by Alqās and addressed to Soleymān, seeking his patronage, the latter is Ṭahmāsb's own letter to Malek Kayūmarth, ruler of Rostamdār, announcing the victory (*fatḥnāmeh*) over the Ottomans and his rebellious brother.[360]

The *fatḥnāmeh*, predating the composition of the stories by more than a decade, goes far beyond merely announcing a victory over an adversary. In fact, it is a dozen-page long narrative offering a comprehensive account of the course of the second Ottoman invasion as well as the campaign itinerary of the Shah. Thus, even a brief look at the third story alongside that letter reveals that Ṭahmāsb, though using much simpler language and often paraphrasing longer passages, extensively used this letter in his composition.[361] The almost universal use of the first-person plural 'we' throughout the letter, and likewise throughout much of the text, indicates Ṭahmāsb's direct involvement in drafting these epistles, making their subsequent use in the text rather logical. The degree of the Shah's involvement in the composition of the letters is further indicated by the extensive use of the first-person voice, as well as phrases such 'my father' (*ḥażrat-e shāh bābā-ām*) in the next letter.[362]

This 'next' letter, in addition to being the third oldest belonging to Ṭahmāsb's correspondence with the Ottomans, happens to be the second longest text in Tabrīzī's collection, surpassed only by the Shah's composition. Taking up some thirty-five pages of

[360] Navā'ī, *Ṭahmāsb*, pp.170-172, 175-187; **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b: pp. 164-165, 368-74.
[361] Navā'ī, *Ṭahmāsb* – see the appendix – pp.177, 179, 181, 182, 183. 184, 186 / MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – ff. 41v-49v.
[362] Ibid., p.209.

Navā'ī's volume, and some twelve large folios in the **C1:1** manuscript, it is a fascinating example not only of epistolography, masterfully combining prose and poetry with a range of Islamic and pre-Islamic metaphors, similes, and allusions, but also of polemics and historiography. Dated January-February of 1554 and titled by Tabrīzī as *Ṭahmāsb's Letter to Soleymān when He Came to Vicinity of Tabriz and Nakhchevan*, the epistle and its relationship to the text deserve a few words of explanation.[363] First, while the letter was written following the *fatvā* issued by the Ottoman *'olamā* (discussed in Chapter One) and the failed peace negotiations initiated by Qara Aḥmad Pāshā (d.1555), the grand vizier from 1553 to 1555, it covers a whole range of themes and indeed merits a separate study.[364] Second, two aspects bear particular significance for the current study: (a) the epistle's composition, wording, and messages, which were closely supervised by Ṭahmāsb; (b) its consequent relationship to the text as a whole, and the fourth story in particular.

As mentioned earlier, the first-person voice and the royal 'we' are used extensively, along with references to Shah Esma'īl as 'my father'. Likewise, as mentioned with the reference to the stories, in the letter under discussion there is also no lack of implicit and explicit allusions to *iustitia connectiva* (i.e., 'binding justice') as the Safavid Shah, richer, more influential, and commanding larger and more powerful forces than any of his ancestors, essentially attributes his success to the direct outcome of his piety and adherence to the Law. More importantly, the letter, setting aside the extensive polemics, offers a detailed account of the key episodes of Ṭahmāsb's reign, including: the Battle of Jām, the sedition of Olāmeh and the associated troubles, the conquests in Gharchistan and Ghor, the rebellion of Alqās, the campaigns in Georgia, and, lastly, the story of Eskander Pāshā, the Ottoman governor of Erzurum and the source of some trouble for the Safavids in the early 1550s.[365] Thus, not

[363] **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b: pp.146-164.
[364] See the English translation of the letter in the appendix.
[365] Tabrīzī's collection in fact contains two more epistles sent to/by Eskander Pāshā to Ṭahmāsb and his ministers, yet these are mentioned only in passing in the fourth story: **C1:1** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b: pp.216-28; 111-12.

unlike the letter discussed above, prior to any Safavid chronicler producing an account of the wars with the Ottomans, in many ways such an account had already been in the making through the composition of these long epistles. The Shah thus went a step further, gathering dozens of letters, as well as several other books, and, both as chief scribe and historiographer, endeavoured to produce his own *res gestae*.

Specifically with the reference to Eskander Pāshā, the polemics and accusations said to have been exchanged between the *pāshā* and the Qezelbāsh, according to the story, are variously echoed in the letter.[366] For instance, while in one letter Eskander Pāshā is said to have called the Safavids 'false *sayyids*' (*seyydāt-ektesāb*), both the text and the letter discussed here expressly accuse the Ottoman governor and the dynasty of having intermixed with 'infidel Anatolians and Franks' (*gholām-e rūmī va farangī*):

> *It is apparent to all renowned kings, auspicious sultans, and all inhabitants of the world, that your forefathers and ancestors are* [labeled with] *attributes of impurity* [in their] *nature and ignorance;* [in their] *lineage they have associated with Anatolian and Frankish slaves for years and* [even] *considered it a great joy.*[367]

The letter further refers to the expedition of Esmā'īl Mīrzā against Eskander Pāshā, also mentioned in the text, while emphasizing that 'most of the adversaries of religion and the opponents of the Most Holy have been crushed and humiliated' – this theme is correspondingly emphasized in the fourth story.[368] Overall, it is possible to suggest confidently that circa the mid-1550s Ṭahmāsb already had a corpus of letters, and thus a pool of historical data, supplemented by details from personal memories, and adorned with excerpts from Persian and Arabic/Islamic texts, as well as Torkī proverbs, not to mention the

[366] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – ff.53r-54v – "*You are the son of an infidel: who are you to disrespect the children of the Commander of the Believers—Peace be Upon Him?*; [in another letter,] *he took disrespect to a new level: he denied my* sayyidhood *…*." Many of the same poems, Quranic verses, and Hadiths are also used and reused throughout the letters and the text.
[367] Navā'ī, *Ṭahmāsb*, p.207.
[368] Ibid., p. 208; MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.55v – "I dispatched Esma'īl Mīrzā …"; MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.54v

clear narrative, which he felt he could use to produce a shorter, more personal, and much more readable narrative for contemporaries and successors' benefit.

To the above, however, are still to be added the subsection of the corpus, which could be titled *the Bāyezīd Letters*. These epistles, in Persian and Torkī, at least twenty of which have been identified, pertain to the series of events which followed Bāyezīd's rebellion, including the negotiations over his release and subsequent exchange of embassies, thus forming the basis of the discourse in the fifth story.[369] As previously suggested, the episode requires a micro-historical approach and a close study of relevant sources, first and foremost the letters, which cannot be undertaken at this stage.

To sum up, the state and royal letters constituted a major source not only for chroniclers but even for the Shah, rendering such collections an idiosyncratic archive and an indispensable tool for any Safavid and post-Safavid author trying to chronicle the period. At the same time, as has been indicated, Ṭahmāsb's composition itself was also extensively used by Safavid historiographers, from the 1560s onwards, suggesting another possible reason for its inclusion in Tabrīzī's collection, that is, as a source of historical data otherwise unavailable to those seeking to produce an account of the early years of his reign, or merely to learn of the events from their chief protagonist's first-person account.

While it is not possible, given the inherent limitations of this study, to explore in depth the text's reuse by Safavid authors, a few examples are indicative of readership, circulation, and reception of the stories in the decades following its completion. The earliest, already referred to instance of the text's reuse is *Tārīkh-e Īlchī*. The author, as will be obvious from a brief look at the composite Persian text in the Appendix, has reproduced it almost entirety, occasionally embellishing the prose with more metaphors and hyperboles, not

[369] Ibid., pp. 356-456. At least half of the twenty letters in Tabrīzī's collection, and others, mostly in Ottoman Turkish, come from that of Fereydūn Bēg.

uncommon within the genre. Therefore, the manuscripts containing this *tārīkh* (at least five have been identified) can likewise be considered examples of the text's proliferation and, consequently, of the narrative's circulation.[370] In addition to being the first to use it, Qobād al-Ḥoseynī is also the only author to openly refer to the text as belonging to the Shah, yet without ever suggesting that it was originally a speech he had made to Ottoman envoys.

The second and unambiguously demonstrable instance of the text's reuse by a contemporary author is that of Shīrāzī in his *Takmelat*. He is said to have 'descended from notables of Shiraz' and been 'educated along with other students of Shaykh 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Ālā.'[371] Subsequently, he worked in the royal chancellery as an auditor and registrar (*mostaufī va avārejeh-nevīs*), described by Sām Mīrzā as 'trustworthy, pious, and a peerless [and] upright clerk and accountant'.[372] For years he served the Safavids, and he is also known for his poetic work – *Jannat-e 'Adan* – dedicated to Ṭahmāsb's new palace complex in Qazvin, as well as for compiling the inventory of the Safavid dynastic shrine's possessions and property – *Ṣarīḥ al-Molk*.[373] In other words, he was indisputably very much an insider, having access to various public and royal offices, chancelleries, libraries and shrines, and thus to a whole range of documents, letters and manucripts. Moreover, Shīrāzī had direct access to the Shah himself and therefore was one of the first to read his text when it was completed in the early 1560s. His extensive use of the text in his *Takmelat*, completed less than a decade following the Bāyezīd episode, circa 1571-72, certainly corroborates this notion. Indeed, given that Shīrāzī composed and dedicated his work to Parīkhān Khānom, Ṭahmāsb's second daughter, known for her education in theology, jurisprudence and literature, as well as the fact

[370] See Qobād al-Ḥoseynī, *Tārīkh-e Īlchī*, pp.27-8 (of the introduction)
[371] Shīrāzī, *Takmelat*, pp.15, 17 (of the intro.)
[372] Ibid., p.14 (of the intro.)
[373] Losensky, P., "The Palace of Praise and the Melons of Time: Descriptive Patterns in 'Abdi Bayk Shirazi's Garden of Eden," in *Eurasian Studies*, (2003), pp.1-29; and Morton, A.H., "The Ardabil Shrine in the Reign of Shah Tahmasp I," *IRAN*, 12 (1974) pp. 31-64, "The Ardabil Shrine in the Reign of Shah Tahmasp I," *IRAN*, 13 (1975) pp.39-58.

that the Shah himself was still alive at the time of the *Takmelat*'s composition, its author may well have been expected, if not obligated, to reuse the text in his own composition.[374]

Surprisingly, it seems that Navā'ī, who prepared the edition of Shīrāzī's *Takmelat* , was not at all familiar with Ṭahmāsb's text and thus did not notice the entire paragraphs from it reproduced in Shīrāzī's text.[375] Examples of text reuse are abundant and not limited to several segments. Indeed, Shīrāzī usually reproduces entire passages and/or sections almost verbatim. Thus, much of the story of Olāmeh (as narrated by Ṭahmāsb) is reproduced by Shīrāzī, albeit not without his own additions, mainly stylistic, while occasionally providing extra details.[376] Here, the key premise, derived directly from the Shah's narrative, and likewise reproduced by other chroniclers, is that despite having the opportunity and multiple proposals (by the Qezelbāsh) to attack the Ottomans while Soleymān was on campaign in Europe (*farang*), Ṭahmāsb chose not to do so, thus acting within the confines of the Law.[377] Likewise, the same narrative structure with only slightly different phrasing appears in the story of Alqās, the Shah's half-brother and governor of Shirvan. In this narrative, Alqās, in the presence of a group of Safavid dignitaries and his own mother, all sent to negotiate with him following the initial tensions, 'made an oath not to step outside the bounds of obedience [again].'[378] Then, according to the narrative, he broke that oath and went to Istanbul, where he made various false claims, to the effect that 'all the Qezelbāsh favoured him.'[379] Examples can be multiplied.[380]

---

[374] Gholsorkhi, Sh., "Pari Khan Khanum: A Masterful Safavid Princess," *Iranian Studies*, 28 (3/4), 1995, pp.143-156.
[375] Instead, Navā'ī tries to argue for a relationship between the works of Shīrāzī, Rūmlū, and Qāżī Aḥmad Ghaffārī Kāshānī – see Shīrāzī, *Takmelat*, pp.10-13 (of the intro.).
[376] Shīrāzī, *Takmelat*, pp.71-73 / MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.4r/v – see the appendix.
[377] Ibid., p.74. Shīrāzī somewhat paraphrases the original passage, in turn reproduced by Qomī, yet the message is clear – "*ḥażrat-e navvāb-e a'lā qabūl nafarmūdand keh chūn ū be ghazā rafteh va bā koffār da jedāl-ast*" / MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.8v.
[378] Ibid., p.95 / MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.32v – see the appendix.
[379] Ibid., p.97 / MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.34r – see the appendix.
[380] For instance, taken word-for-word from Ṭahmāsb's text, Shīrāzī reproduces a detailed list of Qezelbāsh commanders and governors who joined the Shah when Tabriz was occupied by the Ottomans – see, *Takmelat*, p.98 / MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.42r.

Shīrāzī even reproduces several dreams and visions mentioned in the stories, the very first of which is particularly noteworthy, as one of several instances where the corresponding section of the text in the *T-Recension* has been revised. Thus, in the *T-Recension* the narrator claims as his own the dream in which the Prophet instructed him 'to repent and give up what is forbidden.'[381] In the original text, Ṭahmāsb attributes the dream to Amīr Sayyid Moḥammad, the prayer leader (*pīshnamāz*), that is, Moḥammad Jabal 'Āmelī, clearly indicating that Shīrāzī had at his disposal the older variant of the text.[382] A close investigation of the reuse of the Shah's text by Shīrāzī is likely to yield some interesting insights and merits further study.

The third, equally noteworthy, instance of the text's reuse by a chronicler is that of Qomī in his *Kholāṣat*. In the introduction to his edition of the *Kholāṣat*, Eḥsan Eshrāqī, alongside his discussion of the author's background, not entirely inaccurately suggests that Ṭahmāsb's '*taẕkereh* ought to be considered among Qomī's sources.' However, he neither provides examples, nor specifies which edition he is referring to, merely stating that the '[it] covers the events from the beginning of Ṭahmāsb's reign to the episode of Bāyezīd's refuge in Iran.' This last bit suggests that the scholar had the longer *T-Recension* in mind and was not, it seems, aware of the *M-Recension*, let alone its two stemmas and variants.[383]

In turn, Qomī, when working on his *Kholāṣat*, circa the mid-1590s, most likely used the same manuscript of the text Tabrīzī used a few years later, in 1600. Considering just how much of the text is reproduced in Qomī's chronicle, especially from the first two stories, a

[381] In MS. GPL: No. 831, the oldest of the *T-Recension* manuscripts, the corresponding section is missing due a lacuna of several folios. Fortunately, it survives in MS. BL: Or. 5880, on – f.32v – "*man dar vaqtī keh az herāt kūch kardeh beh zīyārat-e mashhad-e moqaddas malā'yek-āshyān ḥażrat-e emām-e żāmen emām reżā mī-raftam … resālat-panāh moḥammad rā dīdam …*". On the margins, next to "*resālat-panāh moḥammad rā*", are the words "*emām reżā*".

[382] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – ff.19r/v – "I performed a pilgrimage to Holy Mashhad and proceeded to Bastam, where Amīr Sayyid Moḥammad, the *pīshnamāz*, saw the Prophet—Peace be Upon Him—in a dream, ordering me: 'Give up what is forbidden, so that you conquer countries'"; Shīrāzī, *Takmilat*, p.76 – see the appendix.

[383] Qomī, *Kholāṣat*, p.23 (of the intro.).

couple of examples should suffice. Take for instance the very beginning of the first story. Qomī not only uses the identical narrative structure, but reproduces even more sentences and passages from the text than Shīrāzī:

i) Olāmeh was an *aide-de-camp* during Esma'īl's reign, then went on to become the commander-in-chief of Azerbaijan.
ii) While Ṭahmāsb was in Khorasan, he came to Tabriz with seven thousand men, seized the royal horses and took possession of the royal maidservants.
iii) Then, he fled to Van and eventually, through Ebrāhīm Pāshā, prompted the Ottomans to launch a campaign against Sharaf Khān-e Bidlīsī;
iv) Upon returning from Khorasan, despite the Qezelbāsh suggestion to attack Ottoman territory, the Shah decided against it, for the Sultan was on campaign against infidels, etc.[384]

Such examples can be easily multiplied, and in fact include not only passages, sentences, and/or phrases, taken directly from the text (albeit without ever acknowledging it), but even entire poems, Quranic verses, and Hadith excerpts are reproduced virtually verbatim.[385] We may thus go so far as to suggest confidently that the author had used the text as his main source for the events of the 1530s.[386]

Lastly, two additional noteworthy points pertain to the use of certain words corroborating the suggestion that both Qomī and Tabrīzī had utilized the same manuscript. First, in the context of consultation, where the Shah proclaims his unwillingness to attack the Ottomans, 'for they are at war with infidels,' the following is reported to have taken place:

> *Menteshā Solṭān had an apple in his hand; he threw it into the air, and said: 'Before it hits the ground, there are a thousand things we can imagine...'*[387]

---

[384] Ibid., pp.215, 217, 218, 228 – see the appendix – corresponding with MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – ff.4v-8v.
[385] Ibid., pp.234, 242.
[386] In the sections pertaining to the episodes involving Alqās, Eskander Pāshā, and Bāyezīd, the author also relied on and reproduced sections of the Shah's text, but wherever possible supplemented these data with additional sources. Take, for instance, the very end of the section on Alqās in *Kholāṣat* (pp.338–340): it ends with two poems by Sa'dī, reproduced from the text, and the Shah's alleged address to his half-brother Alqās: "When you were friends with me, you did not used to drink wine and did not engage in debauchery; but [since] you rebelled, you have become a source of vice! It seems that you have also rebelled against Almighty God [himself]" – likewise found in MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – ff.52r/v
[387] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.8v.

While in the *Kāteb* variant and in Qomī's *Kholāṣat* the expression here translated as 'a thousand things we can imagine...' is '*hezār farj-ast,*'; in the *Naqqāsh* variant it is '*hezār ṣūrat motaṣavvar-ast,*' clearly suggesting that Qomī's manuscript belonged to the former stemma.[388] In addition, both Qomī, and virtually all manuscripts of the text, mention a certain 'Fīj-oghlī' (*fā-yā-jīm*), which is quite obviously a corruption of either 'Fatḥ-oghlī' (*fā-tā-ḥā*) or Qēlej (*qāf-yā-lām-jīm*) – i.e., in both cases the dots have been misplaced and/or the *lām* shortened – indicating that the error was introduced very early on, by the copyist of the older manuscript. The same spelling appears in Tabrīzī's manuscript from which, as I have argued, all later manuscripts descend.[389] All in all, given Shīrāzī and Qomī's family background, scribal profession, and the period they lived through, it would have been suprising to find no traces of Ṭahmāsb's composition in their chronicles. Since no fewer than five manuscripts of the *Kholāṣat* survive, we may go as far as to add these copies to the total count of manuscripts containing the text, a few missing sections notwithstanding.[390]

As important as it may be to identify Safavid chroniclers reusing the text, it is equally worth pointing out that authors such as Rūmlū almost certainly did not have access to the composition. Similarly, Qazvīnī, even though there are indications of his adherence to the state-sanctioned narrative, also does not seem to have used the text (at least not to the same degree as the three authors). Further research will certainly shed light on details of the reuse, circulation and readership of the text in the first four decades following its composition, but it was clearly well-known, read and copied by Safavid scribes and family members before Tabrīzī included it in his collection. What is also important to reiterate is that neither al-Ḥoseynī (*Īlchī*), nor Shīrāzī, nor Qomī ever refer to the text as the Shah's address to ambassadors, nor do they mention Ṭahmāsb's having delivered such an oration. At the same

[388] **C1:1** – MS. DT: No. Adab. 21b: f.86v.
[389] Qomī, *Kholāṣat*, p.235; MS.Bodl.: Pers. D.84: f.102r; MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.22r.
[390] Qomī, *Kholāṣat*, p.28 (of the intro.).

time, the close relationship between the letters and the text, as well as its use as a historical source, are reasons why it was included in the *monsha'āt*.

The last aspect of *majmū'eh*s, and more specifically of collections such as those of Tabrīzī and Aḥmad Gholām, to be briefly discussed here is their didacticism. The previous chapter explored how and why the *Five Stories* can be considered 'advice and wisdom literature'.[391] The notion *iustitia connectiva* figures into this genre, specifically how the Shah understood the relationship between personal piety, manifested primarily through strictly following the Law, and political success. Just as the preface to the ***SPC***, reflecting 'Abbās's views on his ancestor's wisdom and piety, the passage in Tabrīzī's collection, discussed above and quite likely also linked to 'Abbās, suggests that the collection was put together for the benefit of 'one of [the current ruler's] children.'[392] These points seem to suggest that such collections were part and parcel of princely education in Safavid Iran.

Supporting this argument is a whole range of texts belonging to this genre included in Tabrīzī's collection, alongside the Shah's composition. While letters, prefaces, and historical documents certainly were used to educate administrators, rulers, and scribes, be it in teaching correct practice for producing a state-sanctioned narrative of history or official ideology, and/ or scribal practices of composing fine prose and epistolography, the collections under study (Aḥmad Gholām's to be discussed shortly) include many texts of explicitly didactic nature. Several dozen such treatises, pertaining to a range of themes, are included in Tabrīzī's collection. Among these, we find, for example: i) samples of letters written to family members and ii) celebratory notes/letters (*dar tahniyyat-e* …) sent on occasions of *nourūz*, *ramażān*, *qorbān*.[393] In addition to these, the theme of filial piety is recurrent throughout the collection, as indicated by the inclusion of the following: iii) the treatise on *Observing the*

[391] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302, f.3v.
[392] **C1:1** – MS. DT: No. Adab. 21b, p. 119.
[393] **C1:1** – MS. DT: No. Adab. 21b, pp.345, 348, 392-93 – see the appendix

Rights of Brothers, Families, Relatives, or another one *Regarding the Duties towards Parents*.[394]

Alongside these is a treatise *On Acquiring Money and Spending it*, another one *On Betrayal, Loyalty, and Breaking of Covenant*, or *On Asceticism and Piety*.[395] These examples clearly support the notion of the collection having been intended as instruction, almost a textbook, for one of ‘Abbās’s children. In turn, the composition of his grandfather fits well alongside these treatises, constituting the third reason why Tabrīzī deemed it worth preserving and transmitting for the use of Safavid scribes, statesmen, and family members alike. This subject is revisited in the next section, with discussion of Aḥmad Gholām’s collection, in the context of the circulation and reception of the text in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Now, we turn to examination of the remaining manuscripts and prefaces.

Later Copies, the Other Prefaces and the Mashhad Codex

[394] **C1:1** – MS. DT: No. Adab. 21b, p.430 – see the appendix.
[395] **C1:1** – MS. DT: No. Adab. 21b, pp.450, 457-58 – see the appendix.

[C1:5][396]

As already mentioned, with the **C1:4** and **5** manuscripts only the sections containing the text, along with a few folios from the beginning and the end have been available to me. Both belong to the *Kāteb sub-stemma one*; **C1:5** is a late seventeenth-century copy, most likely of **C1:1**. This fact warrants its examination alongside other later copies, namely **C2** and **C1:6**, which is undertaken in this section . When it comes to the later manuscripts, discussion will be limited to questions of provenance, transmission and readership, and will also probe genealogical links between these codices and those introduced and discussed above. In addition, the oldest preface to the Shah's stories, which accompanies all *Kāteb* variant copies, will be examined and discussed, following which we shall finally look at the second single-text manuscript of the *M-Recension – the **MC***. Finally, it will be argued that it was this unstudied manuscript that formed the basis of the *T-Recension* (discussed in the next chapter).

The manuscript, **C1:5,** is held at the Tehran University Library, and I have been able to obtain only twenty-three digital images. Of these, thirteen are images of the folios containing the stories (ff.72r–84r), three folios following the text (ff.84v-87r), three preceding it (ff.68v–71v), the first two pages of the collection (ff.1v – 2r), and two of the flyleaves.[397] Although it was not possible to examine the entire codex, the notes and scholia throughout, make it possible to identify the manuscript, date it, and gain some insight into its provenance and even its readership.

The **C1:5** codex has sustained substantial damage at the beginning and the end: the first two folios, and both flyleaves, have been trimmed on the edges and glued onto newer paper. A major restoration done during the Pahlavi period is attested by several stamps throughout. These stamps bear the royal crest of *the Lion and the Sun* and the text which

[396] **C1:5** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 44j.
[397] I would like to thank Mrs. Ḥorrī, of the Tehran University Library, for kindly sending me the images of the flyleaves.

reads: *University of Tehran, the Library of the Faculty of Literature*.[398] The core of the codex however appears to be in relatively good shape, that is, despite the marks of exposure to moisture, visible primarily across the folios which contain the text of the *Five Stories*, and virtually disappearing towards the end of the section.[399]

The flyleaf notes offer clues to the dating and provenance of the manuscript. For instance, on the end-flyleaf, we find a passage suggesting when at least some of the manuscript's sections were copied:

> *These words were written in the nineteenth year of the reign of Shah Soleymān* (r. 1666-1694) *corresponding with the year of the Ox, and year 1096 AH* [1684/85].[400]

It is worth noting that Dāneshpazhūh gives 1087 AH [1676-77] as the date for this manuscript.[401] Nevertheless, since he provides no reference for this statement, and since it is not possible to examine the codex in its entirety, placing its production somewhere halfway through the reign of Soleymān, that is late 1670s – early 1680s, seems reasonable.

Another note, on the front-flyleaf, surrounded by several verses and other passages in *shekasteh nasta'līq*, partly erased and illegible, reveals the name of a late Safavid-era bibliophile and scribe who once owned the codex:

> *This book contains correspondence of kings as well as best excerpts and stories from Jāme' al-Ḥekāyāt of Moḥammad 'Aufī Bokhārā'ī; its owner and scribe is Moḥammad Qāsem … and he wishes … may this* [book] *and the rest of the books, which are around one hundred and fifty volumes, belonging to this wretched one, be afflicted by God's curse and the Prophet's loathing.*[402]

It seems significant that Moḥammad Qāsem had personally copied this rather long collection, almost a century following its production, to add it to the one hundred and fifty volumes already in his possession. This fact may indicate the persistent relevance and currency of its

---

[398] **C1:5** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 44j: end/beginning flyleaves, ff.1v, 77v-78r.
[399] **C1:5** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 44j: ff. 68v-87r.
[400] **C1:5 –** MS.DT: No. Adab. 44j: end-flyleaf – see the appendix. The text throughout the folios available to me, including the colophon, seems to be by the same hand.
[401] Dāneshpazhūh, "Yek Pardeh," pp.961.
[402] **C1:5** – MS. DT: No. Adab. 44j: front-flyleaf – see the appendix.

contents, both individually and collectively, and certainly so among Safavid scribes. Moreover, he also reveals another source – ʻAufī Bokhārāʾīʼs (d. 1242) *Jāmeʻ al-Ḥekāyāt* – from which at least some texts in the collection presumably derive;[403] that is, in addition to *al-Tavassol illā al-Tarassol*, and possibly Ḥātem Bēg's *monshaʾāt*, both already mentioned.

Despite the limited number of folios available for examination, it is almost certain that the **C1:5** codex reproduces much of Tabrīzīʼs collection and thus must be related to one of the manuscripts discussed above. This proposition is confirmed by the fact that, while the text is included in both collections, in **C1:1** it is preceded by a *Letter of Mīrzā Abū al-Qāsem Bābor to Kārkeyā Solṭān Moḥammad* and followed by three others: [one] *which Shah Esmāʻīl I wrote to one of the Solṭāns*, another of *Shaybak Khān Ūzbak to Shah Esmāʻīl I*, and the third of *Shah ʻAbbās to ʻAbd al-Moʻmen Khān*.[404] In **C1:5**, on the other hand, while the text is followed by the same three letters (ff.84r–87r), it is preceded by the *Petition of Alqās Mīrzā to the Ruler of Rūm* (ff.71r-72r). That petition, though included in **C1:1**, is separated from Ṭahmāsbʼs text by five other (relatively short) letters (pp.165-169). Whether these letters were reproduced elsewhere in **C1:5** or simply discarded by its copyist cannot be established at this point, but the other commonalities seem sufficient to confirm that at least this part (and likely the rest) of **C1:5** was copied from Tabrīzīʼs *monshaʾāt*.

Furthermore, the first entry in **C1:5** is a *Congratulatory Letter of Akbar I to Shah ʻAbbās* (ff.1v–2r), which appears second in the **C1:1** and is preceded by the misattributed *fatḥnāmeh* mentioned above. While reproduced in full in **C1:2**, in **C1:1** almost half of the text is missing due to large lacunae.[405] Therefore, its complete exclusion from **C1:5** may well suggest that the scribe had used **C1:1** as his source manuscript and preferred not to reproduce

[403] It is not immediately obvious which parts of the collection come from Bokhārāʻīʼs work and further research is needed.
[404] **C1:1 –** MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b: pp.167-169; 188-203.
[405] **C1:1 –** MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b: pp.1-2; **C1:5 –** MS.DT: No. Adab. 44j: ff.1v–2r.

the incomplete text of the *fatḥnāmeh* at the very beginning. That both manuscripts ended up in the Tehran University Library is hardly coincidental.

There are also other marginal notes associated with the text and specifically with Ṭahmāsb's brothers. These, though limited, provide a clue as to how familiar Moḥammad Qāsem was with the history and personalities of the period, preceding his own time by over a century. On one occasion, for instance, he notes on the margin that 'Bahrām Mīrzā and Sām Mīrzā [were] Ṭahmāsb's brothers,' indicating that, towards the end of the second Safavid century, this was neither widely known nor immediately understood from the context. Another note reminds readers that Alqās, in pursuit of power, went to the Ottoman lands.[406] Both the reproduction of the collection and these two notes point to the fact that for those who copied and/or read the text, the historical episodes and their protagonists were distant and obscure. While the key personalities – the Shah, his brothers, the Ottomans, and the Qezelbāsh – had long been dead, their lives and deeds were preserved within such collections and in different chronicles. Through copying, reading, and commenting on these texts, succeeding generations learnt about their past, while bringing these people into their progressive present. The scribes who preserved these records essentially kept them alive as members of the community.

As cultural memory is not biologically transmitted, it has to be kept alive through the sequence of generations by means of mnemotechnics, namely storage, retrieval and communication of meaning.[407] What is particularly remarkable about the second half of the seventeenth century – the reigns of 'Abbās II and Soleymān I – is that it saw an apparent rise in interest in the early Safavid dynastic period in general, and the reign of Ṭahmāsb in particular. Although in the following chapter this point is treated more comprehensively, it is worth pointing out that in addition to the *monsha'āt* discussed here, or the works of popular

[406] **C1:5 –** MS.DT: No. Adab. 44j: f. 73v, f.70r.
[407] Assmann, *Cultural Memory*, p.72.

historiography, such as *ʻĀlam-ārā-ye Shāh Esmāʻīl* and *ʻĀlam-ārā-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb*, the production of the *T-Recension* also took place in this period. In that regard, it is necessary to reiterate that, not counting manuscripts of chronicles such as those of Qomī, Qobād al-Ḥoseynī, and Shīrāzī, by 1679, when the *T-Recension* was produced, there were no fewer than nine manuscripts containing the *M-Recension* of the *Five Stories* in circulation.

Finally, it is worth noting that only the first part of ʻAbd al-Vahhāb's colophon is reproduced in **C1:5**, possibly to save space, as the scribe has extensively used the margins throughout the codex, writing sideways bottom-up, to copy the contents of the collection and generally filled more space on each folio than in the other manuscripts. Thus, what we are left with is the first part of this colophon: 'these blessed discourses and beautiful words have been transcribed.'[408] While the name ʻAbd al-Vahhāb and the date have been left out, that this codex belongs to *sub-stemma one* is beyond doubt. It seems that Moḥammad Qāsem deemed reproducing the composition as sufficient, preferring to leave out the name of ʻAbd al-Vahhāb and, understandably, the date the latter had copied the text.

C2[409] – *Jong-e Aḥmad-e Gholām*

The last of the multi-text manuscripts surveyed here, and the only known copy of this particular collection, is the better known, yet still understudied, *Jong-e Aḥmad Gholām*. Put together in Esfahan during the final years of Safavid rule and reproducing much of Tabrīzī's *monsha'āt*, this collection is thematically and typologically more diverse. It consists of some two hundred and fifteen large folios and, with some exceptions, is well preserved. Multiple notes and stamps are found throughout, while the texts included appear in several different

[408] **C1:5 –** MS.DT: No. Adab. 44j: f.84r.
[409] **C2** – MS.Majles: ID:5022178, Rec. No.3455/272.

hands, indicating that the librarian of Shah Solṭān-Ḥoseyn had others assisting him in producing the volume.

While the collection itself is a trove of valuable data for the study of the period and of the transmission/readership of a diverse body of texts, unfortunately the limitations of time the circumstances necessitate postponing its comprehensive examination.[410] Instead, its key contents and features as described in earlier scholarship are briefly outlined here, focusing on the segment relevant to the Shah's text and its history.

There are two studies in Persian – one by V. Abedinpour and M. Samaei, another by A.A. Kajbaj – exploring structural, physical and contextual aspects of the codex and the collection,[411] and a chapter by Sefatgol, in N. Kondo's volume, previously mentioned. Echoing Afshar's justification for writing his own entry for Newman's volume (see above), to the effect that '… most published studies about the Safavids are based on Persian historical text and European travelogues,' Sefatgol rightly points out that the three collections introduced in his piece have not received the attention they deserve.[412]

He then briefly discusses the contents of *Majmū'eh-ye Findiriskī*, *Majmū'eh-ye Mīrzā Mo'īnā*, and eventually those of *Majmū'eh-ye Aḥmad Gholām* – all three produced in the final decades of the Safavid state.[413] The latter, or **C2**, is of interest here, for it contains, as Sefatgol puts it, 'a copy of *Taẕkirah-i Shāh Ṭahmāsb* [sic], which has some differences from

[410] Although the entire collection (in 433 digital images) has been available, examining these has been challenging. The texts appear in at least three different scripts – *nasta'līq*, *shekasteh nasta'līq*, *sīyāq* – some requiring great effort to read/transcribe. Though the folios are numbered, the images are not in order, some are upside down, others apparently missing, and the pagination seems less than consistent, making it difficult to navigate the collection. Thus, instead of examining the codex myself, I have relied on Darāyatī's long entry in *Fehrestvāreh*, p.961.
[411] Abedinpour, V., Masoomeh, S., "Structural Exploration (Physical Dimensions) of the Manuscript of Ahmad Gholam's Jung," in *Journal of Safavid Studies*, vol. 1, no. 2022, pp. 1-12 (in English); Abedinpour, V., Kajbaf, A.K., and Masoomeh, S., "The Importance of Colophon in Recognizing the Historical Values of Manuscript of Jong-e Ahmad Gholam," in *Historical Perspective & Historiography*, vol. 30, no. 23, 2020, pp.147-178.
[412] Sefatgol, "Majmū'a'hā," p.74. See also Afshar's "Maktūb and Majmū'a," in *Society and Culture*, pp.51-62.
[413] Sefatgol, "Majmū'a'hā," p.75.

the published version.'[414] It is worth restating that **C2** is the very same manuscript Dāneshpazhūh introduced some three decades earlier, specifically in relation to our text, yet both the collection and the textual variant therein have remained unstudied.

Sefatgol points out that content-wise the collections 'contains important information,' for its compiler 'lived and worked during […] a crucial period [witnessing] the fall of Esfahan' to the Afghans, as well as 'their expulsion from the city by Ṭahmāsb II and his army-chief Ṭahmāsb-qūlī.'[415] He then goes on to outline the contents of **C2**, listing some categories of texts (with number of examples in brackets): *royal, administrative and private letters* (83), *vaqfnāmeh* (3), *royal decrees* (2), *economic reports* (10), *safarnāmeh* (1), *historical chronicles* (3), *reports about the situation in Isfahan* (3), *fatḥnāmeh* (4), *selected poems* (13), *marriage contracts* (1), *peace agreements* (2), and *toyūlnāmcheh* (4).[416] These, it should be noted, constitute only a fraction of all texts in the collection.

Among several notes mentioned by Sefatgol, indicating most of the collection was produced circa the mid-1720s, as Esfahan was in turmoil following the Afghan siege and the collapse of Safavid rule in the city, one (apparently by Aḥmad Gholām) seems particularly remarkable. It appears to capture not only the pitiful condition of the city and its inhabitants, but apparently also reflects the sentiment of the populace vis-à-vis the causes of the calamity which had befallen them:

> *Alas, Esfahan, the city is like a dead sea and all the fish are between death and life. The enemy of religion has captured it because there was no strong ruler*.[417]

Precisely to what extent such sentiment informed the decisions and choices of the compiler(s) is hard to determine. It does, however, seem evident that at least some of the

[414] Sefatgol, "Majmūʻaʼhā," p.76. By the published version the author means the reprint, by Ṣafarī (1363/1985), of Phillott's edition. He does not seem to be aware of the existence of the *M-Recension*, nor of its two variants.
[415] Sefatgol, "Majmūʻaʼhā," pp.75-76.
[416] Ibid.
[417] Ibid.

contents, namely those belonging to the genre of 'advice literature', were included for the benefit of current and/or future Safavid ruler(s). What is particularly striking, and clearly not coincidental, is that Solṭān-Ḥoseyn's third son, during whose reign the collection was compiled, barely eighteen upon ascending the throne, bore the name of the venerable ancestor. Ṭahmāsb II's (r. 1722-32) name clearly points to the poignancy of the memory of his eponymous ancestor and his age. Facing a plethora of challenges not seen for generations, yet certainly lacking skill and experience, there is a good chance that the young Shah was the intended audience of the stories of/by wise kings, prophets and imams in the collection. Among those was the composition of the young ruler's ancestor and namesake, which his father probably read in the *T-Recension*, and which his librarian, similarly purposefully, had included in the *jong*. That is not unlike what 'Abbās I had done some hundred and twenty years earlier with Tabrīzī's collection. The text provides ample evidence supporting this notion, as outlined below.

The number of texts in **C2** is more than three hundred, and it is difficult to say why Sefatgol lists just a third. In addition, tens of letters from Tabrīzī's *monsha'āt*, as well as from other collections, are reproduced in Aḥmad Gholām's *Jong*. Along with the letters, and other types of documents Sefatgol has listed, there are texts which cannot be placed in any category other than 'advice literature'.[418] The following list should give a good idea of the contents and scope of this segment of the collection: *a Few Short Discourses from Socrates*; *Aristotle's Will and Testament* – said to be rendered from Greek into Arabic, by the translator of *Sirr al-Asrār*, upon the order of the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Ma'mūn; *a Section from the History of Greek Sages; Speech of Some Mystics*; a *Few Brief Words, Testimonials, and Advice from the Prophets, the Immacualte Imams, Philosophers and* [other] *Great Men*; *Advice on Wisdom and Conduct from some Scholars and Sages, such as 'Amr b. Qays, Ma'n b. Za'ydah,*

[418] Darāyatī, *Fehrestvāreh*, pp.961-67. The collection also reproduces twelve different stamps belonging to Ṭahmāsb (*saj'-e mohrhā-ye gūnāgūn*).

Loqmān, and Ptolemy; *Instructions and Good Conduct for Government*; *Instruction for Ministers*; *a Letter of Khājeh Rashīd, Minister of Sultan Ghāzān, to his Eldest Son*, consisting of nineteen advices; and the *Testament of Plato*, among many others, in Persian and Arabic. Indeed, the advice segment of the collection merits a separate study, and it is not immediately clear why Sefatgol, given such an abundance of didactic texts, does not say a word about it. More importantly, it is precisely among these texts that Ṭahmāsb's stories ultimately belong, as suggested above.

This evidence would lead one to conclude that the text indeed had been viewed as advice literature, from the final decades of the sixteenth and at least up to early decades of the eighteenth century. This corroborates the notion that the Shah's stories, alongside the collections in which they came to be included, constituted an essential element of Safavid princely and scribal education and training. Moreover, it is also worth considering that in the context of the multiple threats to the Safavid regime circa the first decades of the eighteenth century, Ṭahmāsb's narrative of his own struggles against the Uzbeks and the Ottomans also served as an inspiration for overcoming these adversaries, with God's help, and hope for the preservation of Iran's territorial integrity. That Ṭahmāsb II may have drawn his courage to mount the resistance to the invading foreign armies from his eponymous ancestor does not seem unrealistic.

Besides allowing for speculation about the reception of Ṭahmāsb's composition in this period, its copy in **C2** is of particular interest; for it inadvertently provides important insights into the text's transmission and evolution, most curiously and counterintuitively, from its earliest form to the *M-Recension*. More specifically, despite containing the same *Kāteb* textual variant, not unlike the other *M-Recension* manuscripts, the text in the **C2** is not accompanied by the preface (found across the **C1** codices) framing the composition as discourses with the ambassadors, nor does it contain 'Abd al-Vahhāb's colophon discussed

above. Instead, the text is preceded by what likely is its oldest preface, likewise found in the **C1** manuscripts but hitherto misunderstood or simply ignored. Before moving onto discussion of this preface, let us first have a look at the colophon at the end of Ṭahmāsb's text in **C2**:

> [I] *have taken this from the collection of the deceased Ḥeydar Bēg, I do not know what I have written. For should I be robbed again, perhaps the manuscript will remain in my possession, that is if I am alive. Transcribed on 21 Jomādā al-Thānī 1138 AH* [24 February 1726], *and on that day the edifice's façade was renewed.*[419]

The most immediate issue to address is the mention of Ḥeydar Bēg and his collection, which the colophon says is the source from which he had copied the text. This is inaccurate. First, his *monsha'āt* does not in fact contain Ṭahmāsb's text. Secondly, the absence of 'Abd al-Vahhāb's colophon may be taken to suggest that the text in **C2** belongs to *stemma-two* of the *Kāteb* variant, alongside **C1:6**, and was thus copied from the Bodleian manuscript, **C1:3**. Thirdly, here we are helped by several marginal notes in **C2** supporting that notion. Namely, it is the very same note, reproduced verbatim and corresponding to the same section of the text, that appears on the margin of f.88v of **C1:3**: 'Solṭān Moṣṭafā is the eldest son of Solṭān Soleymān Khondgār.'[420] Another note, only the beginning of which has survived, corresponds to the marginal note on f.93r of **C1:3**, telling the reader that 'Qabā Bēg Qajar [was] the father of Kolān Allāhqolī Bēg.'[421] Others, unfortunately, have been difficult to trace, partly due to the fact that the digital images of the codex are not in order, and partly because their edges have been trimmed by conservationists, resulting in a loss of several marginalia.

Returning to the misattribution of Tabrīzī's collection to Ḥeydar Bēg, the explanation seems rather straightforward. Remaining in the Safavid royal library for generations, the

[419] **C2** – MS.Majles: ID:5022178, Rec. No.3455/272, f.116r – see the appendix.
[420] **C2** – MS.Majles: ID:5022178, Rec. No.3455/272: f.120v – "*solṭān moṣṭafā pesar-e bozorg solṭān soleymān khondgār-ast*".
[421] **C2** – MS.Majles: ID:5022178, Rec. No.3455/272: f.123r – "*qabā bēg pedar …*"

C1:3 manuscript sustained some damage and lost several folios, at the beginning and the end, probably decades prior to the production of Aḥmad Gholām's *jong*. As a result, given the substantial contents/typology overlap with Ḥeydar Bēg's *monsha'āt*, as well as the relative temporal closeness to the 1720s of the two manuscripts, identifying the older and lesser known collection of Tabrīzī, without studying the corresponding manuscript corpus, would have been virtually impossible.

Much more consequential for our purposes here is the question of the prefaces. In **C2**, following the *basmalah*, the scribe left a blank space, separated from the rest of text by a short red line at the bottom, where he likely considered including the *M-Recension* preface. Yet, for reasons we can only speculate, he left it blank, proceeding to reproduce the following:

> *These five chapters are stories and narratives concerning the course of events, the coming to pass of significant developments and occurrences, and particularities, based upon the miracles of his Majesty of angelic temper, who has taken refuge in divine forgiveness,* [and] *dwells in a heavenly court.* [In this, he] *has been careful not to appear shallow in his descriptions, praising the heavenly nature of his signs* [and wonders] *in the following manner: the dust in the threshold of His Majesty the Best of Humankind—may God Bless Him and His Family—the propagator of the true religion of the Twelve Imams—Blessings be upon Them from God, the Greatest King —a sincere servant of His Majesty, the Commander of Believers, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib—God's Blessings and Peace be upon Him—Abū al-Baqā', Shah Ṭahmāsb al-Ḥoseynī al-Mūsavī al-Ṣafavī—may God place him among those who are nearest* [to God] *and resurrect him with the Immaculate Ones*—[these are the things] *that His Lofty Majesty of Paradisiacal Station has narrated through his pearl-scattering tongue,* [which] *have been written down, in the same style and manner.*[422]

The above passage is written across all **C1** in black ink, that is unlike the shorter *M-Recension* preface, consistently transcribed in red, across the relevant manuscripts. This has somehow remained unnoticed yet is clearly significant. For, if the *M-Recension* preface, merely a layer of paratext, is removed, there is virtually nothing in the stories indicating that it was ever delivered as a speech to the Ottoman envoys. Instead, we are left with the text,

[422] **C2** – MS.Majles: ID:5022178, Rec. No.3455/272: f.229r.

and the oldest preface, which the scribes, perhaps Tabrīzī and his students, decided to frame in a way which aligned with the state's current politico-ideological imperatives. It is of course noteworthy that the Shah is still said to have 'narrated the stories' and subsequently 'had them written down,' yet this seems more of rhetorical device rather than an indication of how the text was produced. Taken together with all the evidence presented above, this alternate preface in **C2** only further supports the argument that for almost forty years, from its composition to the turn of the seventeenth century, Ṭahmāsb's account was likely known as the *Five Stories* (*panj faṣl-e ḥekayāt*). Given the different social and political circumstances of the 1720s, it is not impossible to grasp how/why the *M-Recension* preface might have become obsolete and largely irrelevant, compelling Aḥmad Gholām to leave it out entirely, and to retain only the older, less ambiguous framing which also more accurately reflects the text's contents. It was also around this time that the second oldest manuscript of the *T-Recension* was produced (see Chapter Four), merely a few decades following the production of the first manuscript of that recension (discussed in Chapter Three). As proposed above, it was the ***MC –*** the second single-text manuscript of the *M-Recension* – that was used as the basis of the *T-Recension*. Let us now examine this previously unstudied codex and attempt to illuminate the role it played in the history of the text.

The Mashhad Codex – MS. AQRL: No. 7886 – *and its Relationship to the T-Recension*

The eleventh, and final, manuscript of the *M-Recension* is the so-called the ***MC***.[423] Kept since 1950 at the Astān-e Qods-e Raẓavī Library, in Mashhad, it has thus far remained virtually unstudied. Nonetheless, as much as the *majmū'eh*s discussed above, this manuscript represents another missing element in the history of the text. Its close study not only allows for further insights into the extent of the circulation of the *M-Recension,* it also makes it possible to trace the text's transmission and evolution into the *T-Recension,* circa 1679.

As will be demonstrated below, the overlap between the texts of the ***MC*** with those of the ***GPL*** and ***BL*** manuscripts (both discussed in the following two chapters) is so great that it is apparent that the former was used as the basis for the latter two. However, before undertaking a textual comparison, and proffering evidence to substantiate this claim, it is necessary to introduce the codex, discuss its provenance, marginalia, colophon and preface, as well as to ascertain its relationship with the ***SPC***.

The bibliographical slip, added on the flyleaf by the library currently holding the ***MC***, is a good starting point. It notes that the codex, expectedly, has been catalogued as *taẕkereh-ye shāh ṭahmāsb*,[424] and contains ninety-four folios, with ten lines in *nasta'līq* on each side, and was purchased by the institution in late 1950 [*kharīdārī, 1329 mehr*]. Finally, on the same page, are two stamps: one informing the reader that the codex 'was reviewed in 1974/5' (*bāzbīn shodeh, 1353-ye khūrshīdī*), another that a 'microfilm [of it] was produced' (*mīkrūfīlm tahyeh shod*).[425]

[423] I would like to thank Moluk Daneshmand for help, during the pandemic, in obtaining the digital reproduction of the codex from the AQRL.
[424] Bhalloo, "From Oral to Written Discourse," p.22, first pointed out that the codex in fact contained the shorter (*M-*) rather than the longer (*T-*) recension.
[425] MS.AQRL: No. 7886: f.0v. Many such stamps appear throughout the codex. For instance, at the beginning and the end of the manuscript and elsewhere too, the 1974/75 stamp (ff.1r, 2r, 94v) appears, as well as an earlier one from 1970/71 (*sāl-e 1348 khūrshīdī bāzbīnī shodeh*) (ff.1r, 2r, 94v). On f.94r is another such stamp from 1992/92 (*bāzbīnī shod, 1371, shamsī*).

At the top of the first folio, somewhat different from the title in the bibliographical sheet, we find: *taẕkereh-ye navvāb-e aqdas shāh ṭahmāsb-e māżī keh khod taṣnīf farmūdeh* … – i.e., the '*taẕkereh* which [he] has personally composed.' The last couple of words are unfortunately illegible, yet the qualifier *māżī*, that is *late* or *deceased*, is a good indication that the designation was added either in the late Safavid period, or perhaps even later.[426]

The ***MC*** is not dated and is devoid of major provenance marks. One clue could have been the numerous square/rectangular stamps throughout the codex, yet all are illegible.[427] Another clue is found on the end-flyleaf, constituting two Torkī verses:

Bende mejnūn'dan füzūn 'āşıqlıq isti'dādı var,
'Āşıq-ı ṣādıq benim mejnūn'un ānjaq ādı var

That is: *I have a greater disposition to love* [the Divine] *than Majnun, I am the true lover, Majnun merely has a name*. Above these verses, in another hand, we find a name – *'Abd al-Bāqī* – likely a reference to the Ottoman poet Maḥmūd 'Abd al-Bāqī (d. 1600). This is a misattribution. The verses in fact belong to Fożūlī al-Baghdādī (d. 1556) which, considering that poet's own background, association with the Safavid household, and the place in Ṣūfī-Qezelbāsh lore, makes more sense in the given context. In turn, the language of the verses and the degree of familiarity with Torkī poetry of the person behind the misattribution can be taken as evidence that at least two of the owner/readers of the codex were Turkophone.

In addition, atop five folios, are pleas for help: *Yā 'Alī Medad*![428] Within the scope of the present study and the associated manuscript corpus, this feature is unique, yet it is hard to tell exactly how it should be interpreted, beyond the obvious speculative impulses: is this an appeal to the Imam to protect the manuscript, or to assist its owner/reader(s), or perhaps an indication of their strong Shī'ī piety and identity, thus possibly pointing to the Ṣūfī-Qezelbāsh

[426] MS.AQRL: No. 7886: f.1r.
[427] MS.AQRL: No. 7886: ff.13v, 17v, 29v, 45v, 46r, 51v, 71v, 77v, 86v, 91v, 92r, 93v.
[428] MS.AQRL: No. 7886: ff. 2v, 9r, 17r, 23r, 31r.

link? What is apparent is that these five passages invoking the Imam's help were added by the same hand that had copied the text, followed by drawing the frames around them. Thus, the text is surrounded by a three-line frame on four sides (occasionally cut by '*Yā 'Alī Medad*!', or other instances of omitted passages added onto the margins): two thin lines, blue outside and red in the middle, and a thicker gilded one on the inside. Folios have been numbered, apparently by the AQRL staff, in pencil, and throughout the codex are occasional thin elongated purple lines reading *vaqf*.[429]

The *nasta'līq* throughout the codex is rather neat, and even though, the scribe accidentally omitted a few words/phrases, subsequently adding them on the margins; and notwithstanding the lack illustrations/illumination, the quality of the calligraphy is hardly inferior to that of Reżā 'Abbāsī in the ***SPC***. The ***MC*** is the only other single-text manuscript of the *M-Recension*, yet, unlike the ***SPC***, it is both anonymous and undated, prompting one to wonder how the two may be related.

Although a very brief comparison between the ***SPC*** and ***MC*** reveals certain phraseological and lexicographical differences, with the latter appearing somewhat closer to the *Kāteb* variant, the two texts are largely identical, and were most likely produced around the same time.[430] Indeed, despite certain lexical overlaps with the *Kāteb* variant, the ***MC*** text is essentially the same as that in the ***SPC***, for both are missing the same sections/passages/verses that appear in the *Kāteb* text.[431] Thus, although **the *SPC*** has a somewhat elaborate colophon and the ***MC*** does not, the text of the stories is incomplete in both (i.e., missing the *ghazal* by Ḥāfez). Indeed, the same is true for the *T-Recension*, where

[429] MS.AQRL: No. 7886: ff.73r, 69v, 47v, 45v, 33v, 27v, 14v, 11v, 2v. Further research, not feasible at present, will likely reveal more about the provenance of the codex.
[430] For instance, as indicated above, the *fatva* which Ṭahmāsb mentions in the fourth story – described as 'odd' (*ṭorfeh*) in the *Naqqāsh* variant – in the ***MC***, the *Kāteb* variant, as well as in the text of the *T-Recension*, is called 'fine' or 'good' (i.e., *khūb*) – MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.56v; **C1:1** – MS. DT: No. Adab. 21b: f.93r; MS.AQRL: No. 7886: f.70v; MS.GPL: No. 831: f.75r.
[431] See the *Naqqāsh-Kāteb* comparison above.

the text similarly ends abruptly with – *I request a worthy gift from His Majesty and Selīm Khān—a gift that is worthy of their station!* – thus completely omitting the list of the Ottoman captives as well as the *ghazal* consistently found in the *Kāteb* copies, not to mention a whole range of other elements.[432] The ***MC*** follows the gift request with a short formula – *This Noble Manuscript has been Completed* (*tammat haẕaḥ al-nuskhah al-sharīfah*) – which can hardly be described as a colophon.

The relationship between the ***MC*** and ***SPC*** is most likely akin to the relationship between the ***GPL*** and ***BL*** manuscripts of the *T-Recension* (discussed in detail in Chapter Four), that is, both pairs of manuscripts were likely produced at the same time, yet for different audiences: ***SPC*** and ***GPL***, for ‘Abbās and Soleymān and their immediate families, and ***MC*** and ***BL*** – on slightly cheaper paper, with limited illuminations, devoid of illustrations, executed in less elaborate calligraphy, and similarly undated and anonymous – for audiences outside (though obviously not independent of) the royal precincts.

At the same time, given that both the ***SPC*** and ***MC*** texts are much closer to one another, minor variations notwithstanding, than to the *Kāteb* textual variant (i.e., both missing a whole series of passages, poems, verses, etc., found in the *Kāteb*), suggests that they were both copied from a draft copy, which has not survived, again, not unlike the ***GPL*** and ***BL*** manuscripts. Such a scenario would account for the differences between the two texts, introduced by their respective/different copyists. Alternatively, it is possible that the ***SPC*** was copied from the ***MC***, or vice versa, which, though a possibility, considering the lack of additional data and/or context, is of little consequence at this point.

[432] MS.AQRL: No. 7886: f.94r; MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302: f.73r. The text, regardless of the differing colophons, ends with the very same sentence across all *T-Recension* manuscripts, indicating that they all descend from one of the two single-text *M-Recension* codices, rather than from one belonging to the *Kāteb*.

Lastly, the preface to the ***MC*** text is also very close to that of the ***SPC***. Thus, at the beginning of the ***MC***, we find a pious formula: *He is God, Glory be To Him* – followed by: *The Stories which His Noble Majesty Related to the Emissaries of Khondgār*; both executed in red ink.[433] Then, following the *basmalah*, we have the preface:

> *On several occasions, I dispatched envoys* [and sent messages] *to His Sovereign Majesty* (khondgār)*;* [however,] *His Sovereign Majesty's grandeur and awesomeness cast such terror in their hearts that the envoys would forget* [even] *themselves, let alone my word*[s]. *During the past twenty-nine years, I wished someone from the people of His Majesty would come* [here], *so that I could relate these stories to them. Now, praise be to God, you two esteemed gentlemen, along with two hundred servants of His Majesty, and three hundred of your people, are present and are now hearing these stories. Now,* [even] *if you wouldn't recount* [these stories] *to His Majesty, one of those folks will. And even if they couldn't tell them to His Majesty, they would narrate them to the pāshās and their kinsmen, so that they may somehow reach His Majesty; for if they should write all these stories down, it would amount to a* [massive] *volume.*[434]

Though partly identical to the ***SPC*** (*Naqqāsh*) preface, that of the ***MC*** is shorter and also frames the composition slightly differently. Firstly, it contains no introductory praises of God or the Prophet's Family. Secondly, no mention is made of the Quranic verses commanding Moḥammad to 'invite all upon the way of the Lord,' nor is there a suggestion that Ṭahmāsb explicitly, or otherwise, followed these injunctions, nor that his stories were viewed as some guidance-affecting discourses. Thirdly, 'Abbās is not mentioned either, nor is there mention of under what circumstances this codex was produced. Most curiously, the ***MC*** preface (unlike that of the ***SPC***) does not even mention the purpose of the embassy – i.e., to retrieve Bāyezīd, and his sons.

Yet another difference between the ***SPC*** and the ***MC*** prefaces is in the years the Shah claims to have spent waiting for Soleymān to send a diplomatic mission to his court – in the former the stated number is (i) *thirty-nine* years, in the latter it is (ii) *twenty-nine* – loosely

[433] MS. AQRL: No. 7886: f.1v – see the appendix. It is worth pointing out that the title in this codex is indeed 'stories' (i.e., *ḥekāyāt*) rather than discourses (i.e. *maqālāt*, or *mokālemeh*).
[434] MS.AQRL: No. 7886: ff.1v-2r.

corresponding with (i) the total length of Ṭahmāsb's rule, from the ascent to the throne up to the arrival of the envoys, or with (ii) the years elapsed since the first Ottoman invasion. The key point in the ***MC*** preface is still the emphasis on the need to spread the Shah's narrative as widely as possible, ultimately having its key messages reach even the Ottoman audience, even if in name only.

All in all, it is apparent that the shorter ***MC*** preface is entirely contained within that of the ***SPC***, whereas the extras in the latter can be argued to reflect its royal character. The Safavid monarch being both the intended audience, as well as the person who had commissioned it, goes some way to explain the extra formulaic 'pomp' manifested through additional praise of God, the Prophet and His Family, and not least, given his grandson's reverence for him, upon the 'honourable ancestor' and the author of the stories, emphasizing intergenerational succession and continuity. In the ***MC***, on the other hand, the message in the preface is essentially reduced to three points: i) emphasizing the importance of the Ottoman embassy and the need to spread the Safavid side's narrative; ii) alleging that the Shah personally narrated the stories; iii) pointing out, another element shared with ***SPC***, that were 'all these stories to be written down, it would amount to a volume.' This last bit is particularly curious if we consider that for the first one-hundred and twenty years of the composition's history, there were in circulation only two single-text manuscripts, against more than a dozen multi-text codices and chronicles, reproducing the stories. It was only from the end of the final decades of the seventeenth century onwards, marking an important juncture in the text's history, that there is a gradual proliferation of additional single-text manuscripts of the composition.

Ultimately, the last sentence in both the ***MC*** and the ***SPC*** prefaces, to the effect that the stories would fill a volume, was taken seriously, and the revised and expanded version of the text was produced, acquiring a historical introduction, undergoing several narrative

adjustments, and thus constituting the *T-Recension* and the third royal manuscript. Nonetheless, amidst the collapse of the Safavid state and the turmoil that followed, the eighteenth century saw production of only a small number of single-text manuscripts, while most of the *T-Recension* copies were in fact produced in nineteenth-century Qajar Iran and late Mughal, and subsequently British, India. These manuscripts are examined and discussed in the following two chapters. Before that, however, let us consider the evidence that the ***MC*** was used as the basis of the first *T-Recension* manuscript.

While a comprehensive comparison of the ***MC*** and ***SPC*** might be useful, likely to offer additional insights into the relationship between the two codices and their respective histories, here efforts are limited to demonstrating that the former was used to produce the *T-Recension*, the oldest manuscript of which is ***GPL***. In support of this claim is a systematic and consistent use of a whole range of identical words and phrases across the ***MC*** and the ***GPL*** texts, yet differing in each case from the corresponding sections in the ***SPC***.

In addition to the elements found in the *Kāteb* text, but missing in the ***SPC***, ***MC***, and the *T-Recension* texts in general, the (re)use of the ***MC*** text in the production of the *T-Recension* becomes apparent from the very first lines of the first story. The text begins right away with Olāmeh's background, that he 'used to be a petty *aide-de-camp* (*yasāvol-e zabūnī*) during Esmā'īl's reign' – across all three texts, the ***SPC***, ***MC***, and ***GPL*** – and 'later become chief-usher' (*īshīk-āghāsī*). In between these two clauses, is inserted a short phrase: 'he made progress' (*taraqqī nemūdeh*) – entirely absent from the ***SPC***, yet found in both the ***MC*** and ***GPL*** texts, thus linking not only the two parts of the sentence: 'he used to be …, [then] made progress, [and] later became …' – but also the two manuscripts.[435]

Similarly, in the next two lines of the first story, still pertaining to the career of the same personage, the word *rotbeh* is used in ***SPC***, to indicate his promotion to the rank of

[435] MS.AQRL: No. 7886: f.2v; MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302: f.4v; MS.GPL: No. 831: f.14v.

commander (*rotbeh-ye emārat*), whereas in both ***MC*** and ***GPL*** the word used is *martabeh*. Likewise, a few lines below, in the ***SPC*** text, 'Sabzevar' is said to have been the location where Sām Mīrzā and Ḥoseyn Khān found themselves during Olāmeh's insurrection, whereas in the ***MC*** and the ***GPL*** it is 'Shiraz'.[436] Although the two names are highly susceptible to scribal error, it seems likely that the ***GPL*** copyist correctly reproduced what he found in the ***MC***, supplying further evidence that the two manuscripts are closely related. The *T-Recension* text contains a whole range of changes/differences when compared against the *M-Recension*, some minor, some quite remarkable, the most important of which to be discussed in the next chapter. Nevertheless, on virtually every page, there are numerous textual parallels between the ***MC*** and the ***GPL*** texts. On the next folios of the first story is another sentence which appears in both the ***MC*** and ***GPL***, yet is absent from the ***SPC***: '[Olāmeh] escaped from Van as well, and went into the Ottoman territory' (*az vān/īshān nīz farār nemūdeh beh rūm raft*).[437] Such examples can be multiplied, for they are abundant indeed. Consider these examples:

i) A group of Hebrews among the followers of Moses is said to have been 'awake at night and fasting during the day' – which appears as *qā'em al-leyl va ṣā'em al-nahār* in the ***SPC***, and as *qā'em al-leyl va ṣā'em al-dahr* in ***MC*** and ***GPL***.[438]

ii) A group of Qezelbāsh commanders, following a consultation, conclude that: 'It would be unwise to leave Sām Mīrzā, along with Aghzīvār Khān, in Herat.' – in the ***SPC***, the word rendered in English as 'unwise' appears as *maṣlaḥat nīst*, while in both ***MC*** and ***GPL*** we find *ṣalāḥ nīst*.[439]

iii) When describing the siege of Van, we find *moḥāṣereh kardīm* in ***SPC***, and *ḥeṣār kardīm* in both ***MC*** and ***GPL***.[440]

Such examples are endless, including instances where entire paragraphs vary in placement by a folio or two, thus appearing in the same place in both the ***MC*** and ***GPL*** texts and elsewhere in the ***SPC***.[441] Even though a closer look at the two codices and the texts therein might offer

[436] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302: f.5r; MS.AQRL: No. 7886: f.3r; MS.GPL: No. 831: f.14v.
[437] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302: f.5r; MS.AQRL: No. 7886: f.3v; MS.GPL: No. 831: f.16r.
[438] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302: f.12r; MS.AQRL: No. 7886: f.12r; MS.GPL: No. 831: f.25r.
[439] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302: f.13v; MS.AQRL: No. 7886: f.13v; MS.GPL: No. 831: f.26r.
[440] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302: f.23r; MS.AQRL: No. 7886: f.26v; MS.GPL: No. 831: f.62v.
[441] MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302: f.18v; MS.AQRL: No. 7886: f.20v; MS.GPL: No. 831: f.32r.

further insights, for the purpose of demonstrating a close relationship between ***MC*** and ***GPL*** this evidence seems sufficient. It leads to the conclusion that the former indeed was used to produce the latter, that is, the royal copy of Shah Soleymān I, circa 1679, ultimately connecting the *M*- and the *T*-recension.

Conclusion

This lengthy chapter has accomplished several objectives. First, the survey of the less studied manuscripts of the *Kāteb* stemma and textual variant of the *M-Recension* yields a range of important facts pertaining to their provenance, production, and circulation, as well as the relationships to one another. Secondly, new insights have been gained into the transmission, evolution and readership of the text under study, from the late sixteenth to the early eighteenth century, the role of scribes in these processes, and the training and education of Safavid princes. Thirdly, by focusing on the literary, source-historical and didactic dimensions of this text and probing its relation to other contents, it can be situated within the *monsha'āt*s surveyed. Finally, an examination of the previously unstudied ***MC***, despite the limited provenance data, points to the conclusion that it was used to produce the *T-Recension*.

Overall, complementing Chapter One, Chapter Two presents further evidence to support the notion that the *M-Recension* belongs to what I have termed *scribal historiography,* and that the image of the Shah therein was intended for the widest audience possible, the point corroborated by its reuse in several chronicles as well as the proliferation of its copies.

The findings of this chapter offer additional evidence that Ṭahmāsb's stories were for generations valued both for their literary form and didactic contents – their heart-warming prose and worthy advice for princes. It is the appreciation of the composition alongside the waning living memory of the man and his era that towards the end of the second Safavid century that led some individuals to produce a new recension of the text then known as his

taẕkereh, so often wrongly rendered in English as his *memoirs*. In the next two chapters this matter is considered in more detail.

PART TWO: *The T-Recension*
Chapter Three: The GPL Stemma

MS. Golestān Palace Library: No. 831[442]
The Manuscript of Shāh Soleymān I: Text and Context

A man lives when his name is spoken[443]

Approaching the T-Recension

The first part of this dissertation presents an examination and discussion of thirteen manuscripts of the *M-Recension*, as well as its two stemmas and variants: *Naqqāsh* and *Kāteb*, providing insights into the transmission and circulation of the text, and shedding light on its reception and readership, from the time it was composed to the early eighteenth century. Most importantly, however, the close contextual study of these thirteen manuscripts has made it possible to trace and account for the paratextual evolution of the original *Five Stories* into what is commonly known as *Ṭahmāsb's Discourses with the Ottoman Ambassadors* (i.e., the *M-Recension*). Following the same approach, the second part of the dissertation, likewise in two chapters, is a close study of the text and context of twelve manuscripts, likewise in two stemmas, of the *T-Recension*. This approach promises further insights into the transmission, evolution and readership of the text and takes us one step

[442] It has not been possible to physically examine the manuscript; instead, I have had to rely on its microfilm images. Nevertheless, the high quality of the codex is evidenced not just by the scribe's exquisite *nasta'līq*, but also by the presence of an elaborate *shamseh* as well as what appears to be a colourfully illuminated segment at the top of f.1v. On the same page, right underneath the *basmalah*, we find: "*kalām al-molūk molūk al-kalām*".
[443] An Egyptian proverb, cited in Assmann's *Writing, Memory, Political Imagination,* p.47.

closer towards understanding its history from the late seventeenth to the early twentieth century.

Given that only two of the thirteen *M-Recension* manuscripts are single-text, while the other eleven are multi-text (*monsha'āt, jong, tārīkh*), it has been argued that until the late-seventeenth century readers were primarily acquainted with the composition through either of the following media: i) the collection of Ṣādeqā-ye Tabrīzī; ii) or, more specifically *with the contents* of the stories, through works of several Safavid authors who used them, and thus reproduced multiple sections of the text, in part or in full, in their own chronicles. The ***MC*** and the ***SPC*** – the two single-text manuscripts of the *M-Recension* – were certainly available and read, but since no single-text copies of these two codices appear to have been produced (unlike in the case of the *T-Recension*), their circulation was limited and most people probably accessed the text through copies of Tabrīzī's collection, or via texts such as Eskander Bēg's *History*, which reproduced the text of the ***SPC*** (see Chapter One).

Consequently, three Safavid generations of readers were unlikely to have thought of Ṭahmāsb's stories as a stand-alone book. Moreover, from the discussion in the previous two chapters, it should be clear that for the first hundred and twenty years of its history the text was never referred to as *taẕkereh* (or *rūznāmeh*), nor viewed as the Shah's memoirs, diary, or autobiography. Instead, early on, as has been argued, it was known as the *Five Stories*, and only some forty years later had it acquired the 'title' *Ṭahmāsb's Discourses* (*maqālāt, mokallāmeh*). Thus, it was not until the production of the *T-Recension*, with the text having undergone another round of paratextual evolution, acquiring a new preface and a historical introduction, not to mention certain narrative changes, that it was for the first time referred to as *taẕkereh*.[444] At the same time, it was not until the late-Qajar era that the title *rūznāmeh*,

[444] MS.GPL: No. 831: f.3r. Though generally less than obscure, the word *taẕkereh* in reference to the *T-Recension*, outside of the historical context, has been repeatedly misunderstood and taken to mean *memoirs* and/or *diary*.

that is, the Shah's *diary*, came to be attributed to the composition and gained currency, as will be demonstrated in the next section.

Thus, although the first royal manuscript containing the *Five Stories*, commissioned by Ṭahmāsb, appears to have been lost, the second and third royal copies, associated with the *M-* and the *T-Recension* respectively, have survived. Studying the second royal manuscript contextually, alongside the associated corpus and the two stemmas, made it possible to demonstrate the *M-Recension*'s relationship with the 'scribal historiography' as well as the memory of Ṭahmāsb and his era during the reign of his grandson 'Abbās I. Similarly, neither the third royal manuscript, the oldest one of the *T-Recension*, in fact produced on Soleymān I's order, nor the associated corpus with two stemmas, have thus far been studied in context. This has led to conclusions either to the effect that the text had been personally prepared by Ṭahmāsb by revising and expanding [His] *Discourses with the Envoys*, or that the *T-Recension* was somehow the Shah's diary, autobiography and/or memoir. Challenging the established consensus and offering a more informed interpretation of how the *T-Recension* and the associated manuscript corpus developed [or evolved] is the central goal of Chapters Three and Four.

Close examination of some dozen manuscripts of the *T-Recension* reveals first and most immediately that the oldest codex, that is the third royal copy, containing the recension postdates the composition of the stories by almost one hundred and twenty years, Tahmasb's own death by more than a century, and the production of the *M-Recension* by almost eighty years. Indeed, most of the manuscripts of the *T-Recension* come from the nineteenth century and are traceable to just two codices – the ***GPL*** and the ***BL*** – each constituting a stemma of that recension.[445] The second key finding, following a close study of the paratext, is the

[445] The two are *MS.GPL: No. 831* and the *MS.BL: Or. 5880*. While the two texts have a range of differences, most of which are of limited significance, those are discussed in the next chapter.

abundant evidence refuting the consensus attributing the revisions which make up the *T-Recension* to Ṭahmāsb himself.

Just like the *Naqqāsh* and *Kāteb* stemmas, the copies (and copies of copies) of the ***GPL*** and the ***BL*** codices can be divided into two distinct stemmas with different trajectories and dynamics of transmission, evolution and readership. While the former codex, along with most of its six copies, remained in Iran, the latter ended up first in India (where all its copies were produced) and subsequently in Britain. This chapter focuses on the third royal manuscript, that is, the ***GPL*** codex, and the next chapter examines the ***BL*** codex, with a particular focus on the transmission and further paratextual evolution resulting in what may be described as the *Fourth Edition*.

First, the ***GPL*** codex itself will be examined in detail, followed by a survey of the associated corpus and discussion of these in the context of the Qajar-era reception and readership of the text. Secondly, the marginalia and scholia of the ***GPL*** codex and its copies will help illuminate the paratext of the *T-Recension*. An understanding of the preface and the colophon allows for a contextualization of the text's production in the last decades of the second Safavid century and may provide insight into use of the term/title *taẕkereh*. I argue that rather than taking it to mean 'memoirs' and/or 'diary', given the late seventeenth-century context and the temporal distance from its author and the events narrated, it should instead be understood as a *reminder* and/or *aide-memoir*, both *by* and *of* Ṭahmāsb. Thirdly, having outlined the basic context of this recension's production, I will briefly discuss its relationship to works of popular historiography (commonly known as *Anonymous Histories*) – especially the so-called *Tārīkh-e 'Ālam-ārā-ye Shāh Esmā'īl* and *Tārīkh-e 'Ālam-ārā-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb* – and argue for the same authorship of the two histories as well as of the paratext that defines the *T-Recension*. Fourth, I undertake a comparison between the text of the *Five Stories* (the urtext) and the core text of the *T-Recension*, and thus elucidate what the differences between

the two may reveal about how Ṭahmāsb came to be remembered several generations after his death. Finally, with the insights offered by the context and augmented by the textual comparison, I argue for the existence of a historiographical and memory tradition parallel to that associated with the scribal circles: one that emphasizes his role as *morshed-e kāmel* to the *ṣūfī-qezelbāsh* milieu, to which the *T-Recension* ultimately belongs.

Surveying the Manuscripts: the GPL Stemma and Qajar Readership and Scholarship

Whereas the two manuscripts from the Safavid dynastic shrine library in Ardabil – the ***SPC*** and the ***BL –*** ultimately ended up abroad, the ***GPL*** royal copy never left Iran. As mentioned in the introduction, the ***GPL*** became the basis of the very first printed edition of the text, and this makes tracing its journey, to the extent possible, the most appropriate point to start – from Esfahan to Tehran, and on to the production and circulation of its copies, and finally to print.

The aforesaid royal manuscript, the ***GPL,*** the oldest of the *T-Recension*, was transcribed in beautiful *nasta'līq* by Moḥammad Ḥoseyn Damāvandī, also known by his moniker Noures, in late Sha'bān 1090 AH [Sept.-Oct. 1679], most probably in Esfahan.[446] From here on the details of its journey are scanty but one partly illegible note at the beginning of the codex seems to suggest that within the first forty years of its production the codex changed hands at least once, said to have 'entered the library of […] on 16 Dhū al-Qa'deh, 1127 AH' [Oct.-Nov. 1715].[447] Ṭahmāsb II (b. 4 Dec. 1705 ~ d. 11 Feb. 1740) would have been ten (almost eleven) years of age, suggesting that the codex may indeed have belonged to him. Moreover, his father, Shah Solṭān-Ḥoseyn (b. Oct. 1678 ~ 9 Sept. 1726), himself eleven years old at the time of the production of the ***GPL*** codex and the likely intended recipient of

[446] MS.GPL: No. 831 – f.87r. The preface and the colophon will be examined more closely below.
[447] MS.GPL: No. 831 – f.1r – see the appendix.

this royal copy, named his son after their eponymous ancestor, probably not a coincidence. That he wished the young prince to become acquainted with the family history seems likely.

Judging by the fact that about sixteen folios (14r-19r, 46r-53r, and 88v-92v) in the ***GPL*** codex are missing, one might also assume that, although the manuscript never left Iran, its journey from Safavid Esfahan to Qajar Tehran was not uneventful. Although it is at present not possible to tell exactly how, we know that by late summer 1872, it had become an item in another private library, whose owner's seal, as well as abundant notes throughout the manuscript, reveal his identity as Farhād Mīrzā Mo'tamad al-Douleh (d. 1888) – a Qajar prince-governor, author, and bibliophile.[448] Before this manuscript ended up in the Golestān Palace, in the library of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, Farhād Mīrzā appears to have read it cover-to-cover and compared at least some sections of the text against several Safavid chronicles. This is evidenced by his somewhat extensive scholia throughout the manuscript. We also know that he had a copy made for himself.[449]

In the 'historical introduction' added to this recension, Farhād Mīrzā noted on the margins that the date of Ṭahmāsb's birth given in the text – '26 Dhū al-Hajjah, 920' AH [11 Feb. 1515] – 'differed by a year from the one [found] in Aḥsan al-tavārīkh of Ḥasan Rūmlū, 'Ālam-ārā, Ḥabīb al-siyar, and Jahān-ārā' – adding that [the Shah] 'was born in the village of Shāhābād, in the region of Esfahan, on 26 Dhū al-Hajjah, 919 AH [22 Feb. 1514].'[450] Here, he also included two chronograms (*māddeh-ye tārīkh*), taken from the aforementioned chronicles, for Ṭahmāsb's ascent to the Safavid throne, purportedly corresponding to 930 AH [1524].[451]

---

[448] MS.GPL: No. 831 – f.1v. This manuscript, not unlike several of its copies, contains multiple marks where writings, possibly indicating provenance and ownership, have been erased. This may suggest that there was real interest in the text during the Qajar era, for these manuscripts clearly changed hands several times; see ff.1r, 2r, 92v.
[449] MS.Majles: Sorūd 76 – f.1r.
[450] MS.GPL: No. 831 – f.3v.
[451] MS.GPL: No. 831 – f.3v – Of the two chronograms only the first – "*jā-ye pedar gereftī*" – yields 930 while the second, "*bandeh-ye shāh-e velāyat ṭahmāsb*", seems to add up to 931. See https://www.abjadcalc.com/.

In the third and longest of the *Five Stories*, that of Alqāṣ and his attempt to challenge Ṭahmāsb's authority, there appears another note by the same hand. Possibly added for himself, or perhaps for the benefit of other readers, Farhād Mīrzā's note relates that Sorkhab Solṭān, with whom the Shah's rebellious half-brother had taken refuge before eventually turning himself in, 'was at the time the ruler of the Ardalān Kordestān.'[452] Finally, at the end of the fifth story, that of Bāyezīd – which too had undergone some revisions in the *T-Recension* – following the Safavid ruler's uneasy decision to deliver the fugitive prince to the Ottoman emissaries, Farhād Mīrzā added another curious comment:

> *I have seen in the History of the Circassian Sultans of Egypt that Shāh Ṭahmāsb took one-year's-worth of kharāj* [tax collected in] *Egypt* [thus] *committing the murder of Solṭān Bāyezīd, along with four of his sons*.

This note is followed by yet another chronogram, found across several Safavid chronicles – *panj kam az zomreh-ye 'othmānīyān*, that is, 'five fewer out of the multitude of Ottomans,' or, quite literally, 'five subtracted from [nine hundred a seventy-four]' (the *abjad* value of *zomreh-ye 'othmānīyān*), which yields the *hijrī* year of the tragic event, 969 AH.[453]

Overall, Farhād's serious engagement with the text suggests that he is possibly the first person to call it a *diary* (*rūznāmeh*), and it is most likely his perusal of the manuscript and subsequent conversations with friends and associates that triggered the proliferation of copies from 1872 onwards. This in turn facilitated the text's circulation in late nineteenth-century Tehran, the city whose walls and gates built during the reign Ṭahmāsb were still standing. These dynamics helped firmly establish the conception of the text as his *rūznāmeh* among late Qajar-era readers, many of whom, as is well known, were at the time busy writing their own multi-volume *diaries*.

---

[452] MS.GPL: No. 831 – f.69v. In 1868, following decades-long attempts to undermine their power and influence, the Ardalan family's semi-autonomous status as governors of Kordestan was eventually terminated by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, who named his uncle Farhād Mīrzā new *ḥākem* of what was now merely a province; see https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/bani-ardalan-a-kurdish-tribe-of-northwestern-iran-now-dispersed-in-sanandaj-senna-and-surrounding-villages.

[453] MS.GPL. No. 831 – f.92v.

At least six copies of the ***GPL*** codex from the Qajar period exist, though unfortunately it has not been possible to examine all of them properly – four are currently kept in Iranian libraries, while the other two are traceable only up to a point, beyond which they seem to vanish. Three of the six appear to have been made within a year of Farhād Mīrzā's acquisition of the ***GPL*** manuscript, in late summer of 1872.

[1] One copy ended up in London where, for some time, it was an item in the private collection of A.G. Ellis (d. 1942), eventually auctioned off after his death for £1,10 [approx. £56 today]. A.J. Arberry's entry (M375) in the sales catalogue of the Ellis's Collection describes the manuscript as a 'rare and clean copy, [in] clear Persian nasta'līq, 8¼ x 4¾ inches [approx. 21x12 cm], nine lines per page … [with] some lacunae, [in] limp Persian morocco binding.'[454] Furthermore, the same description records that this copy is 'dated Sha'bān 1289 AH' [Oct.-Nov. 1872], which, along with the lacunae, strongly suggests descent from the ***GPL*** manuscript.

[2] Another manuscript, likewise copied in 1289 AH and discovered in Iraq in the mid-1960s, was catalogued as part of the Ya'qub Sarkis Collection at al-Hikma University Library, in Baghdad. The catalogue entry (No.309) mentions no lacunae, yet the manuscript is titled *rūznāmeh-ye shāh ṭahmāsb al-avval*, described as a 'fine copy written in *ta'līq*' (*nuskhah ḥasanah bi-khaṭṭ ta'līqī*), and said to consist of 'seventy-nine folios, [with] nine lines per page, 21x12 cm.'[455] The university operated privately for around thirteen years, between 1956 and 1969, until it was nationalized and subsumed into the University of

[454] Arberry, A.J., *Bibliotheca Orientalis XLV: A Catalogue of the Library of the Late A. G. Ellis, M.A.* (Part III), *Comprising a Fine Collection of Manuscripts: Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, and Books on the Near East: Mainly Arabic, Persian, and Turkish Texts and Translations, Etc*. (London, W.C.1 46 Great Russell Street: Luzac & Co. Oriental Booksellers and Publishers, 1945), p.30. Between 1883 to 1930, Ellis worked at the British Museum and the India Office, under Charles Rieu, and personally prepared several important descriptive lists and catalogues of Oriental manuscripts. See also Melville, C., "A.G. Ellis," in *A Short History of the Gibb Memorial Trust and Its Trustees*, ed. C. Melville (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023), pp. 50–54.

[455] Awad, G., *Catalogue of the Arabic, Turkish, Persian, and Syriac Manuscripts in the Ya'qub Sarkis Collection of the Library of Al-Hikma University* (Baghdad: Al-Ani Press, 1966), p.179.

Baghdad. Subsequently, the manuscripts from the aforesaid collection ended up either in private libraries of Iraqi government officials or in the United States, taken there by members of the New England Society of Jesus.[456] Although it has not been possible to examine copy 1 or copy 2, their close relationship (note the physical dimensions, the descriptions in both catalogues as *fine*, and the dates of production) suggests the likelihood that both descend from the ***GPL***. Indeed, it is possible that one of them is in fact the very copy Farhād Mīrzā had made for himself.

[3] Of the manuscripts in Iranian libraries, there is another early copy dated to the beginning of Moḥarram 1290 AH [March 1873]. It formerly belonged to ʿAlī Asghar Mahdavī (d. 2004) and was inherited by his family; Tehran University Library holds a microfilm copy (No.209).[457] This microfilm contains the entirety of the text, but unfortunately does not include any images of the manuscript's flyleaves, making it impossible to determine anything about its former owners and/or readers. Overall, it is a rather unremarkable copy, written in mediocre *nasta'līq*, seemingly devoid of any ownership marks, stamps, scholia or marginalia. It has several lacunae throughout. Its colophon is virtually identical to the one found in the ***GPL*** manuscript, which unambiguously places it within the ***GPL*** stemma and among the copies in circulation in nineteenth-century Tehran.

[4] Another unremarkable copy, though in decent *nasta'līq*, on what appears to be low-quality paper, is kept at the Malek Library (No.3727) in Tehran and is dated 1297 AH

---

[456] I would like to thank Shawqi Talia, a native of Baghdad and a professor of Arabic in the Semitics Department of the Catholic University of America, for personally communicating this information to me.

[457] Afshar, I., and M.-T. Dāneshpazhūh, eds. *Nashrīyyeh-ye Ketābkhāneh-ye Markazī-ye Dāneshgāh-e Tehrān*, vol.2 (Tehran: Tehran University Press, 1381), p.67. The catalogue entry explicitly states that this copy was made from the *GPL* manuscript, while suggesting that [the scribe] *had written* [the latter] *for* [a certain] *Navvāb Khān* (*barā-ye navvāb khān neveshteh būd*). Though the former statement is correct, the latter is in fact a misunderstanding of the phrase *ḥasab al-amr-e navvāb-e mosṭatāb-e khānī ... taṣvīr-e taḥrīr va tanẓīm-e takmīl paẕīrofteh ...* which could be translated as 'written upon the order of His Gracious Royal Highness ...,' that is, Shah Soleymān, rather than someone called Navvāb Khān. I would like to thank Gudarz Rashtiyani for his help in obtaining the digital images of the microfilm.

[1879/80].[458] It is also titled *rūznāmeh-ye shāh ṭahmāsb-e avval pesar-e shāh esmā'īl ṣafavī ṭāb tharāhu* (that is: *May His Grave Remain Pure and Immaculate*); it contains two unfortunately illegible stamps (ff.8v, 47r, 48v), as well as traces of writing that have been washed off (f.48v). Finally, not unlike Mahdavī's manuscript, this one too has several lacunae throughout as well as the colophon largely identical to that of the ***GPL*** manuscript.

[5] A somewhat more interesting manuscript, also belonging to this stemma, is at first glance an unimpressive copy on inexpensive-looking paper. Written in clear *nasta'līq*, judging by the images in a good state of preservation, and seemingly dating beyond the early Qajar period, this copy is preserved in the Majles Library.[459] It is titled *rūznāmeh-ye shāh ṭahmāsb-e ṣafavī* (f.1v) and is largely devoid of scholia and marginalia, yet contains a few noteworthy elements. For instance, several doodles (ff.5r, 25v, 26r, 33v, 76r) are found throughout, which can be grouped with the drawings of heads of two men in pointy hats, accompanied by an odd-looking bird (f.62v), all possibly suggesting that a child may have had access to the manuscript. In addition, a few washed spots look like they may have previously had seals (f.69r) and/or notes (ff.73r, 88r, 88v), possibly indicating ownership. One clue regarding the manuscript's provenance is the name *Ḥeydar* written four times at the bottom of f.36v, a seal on f.37r, which reads *Ḥeydar al-Ḥoseynī*, and a short sentence at the bottom of f.56r stating that 'this [manuscript is] an artefact of Ḥeydar Khān' (*īn yādgārī-ye ḥeydar khān*).[460]

---

[458] MS.Malek: No. 3727 – f.58v – "*īn ketāb-e shāh ṭahmāsb-e ṣafavī dar shahr-e ṭehrān pāytakht-e qājārīyeh dar saneh-ye 1297 be-etmām resīd*."

[459] MS.Majles: ID: 1216700, Rec. No. 13213, Doc. No. IR10-53230. I would like to thank Rasul Jafarian for helping me get hold of this manuscript.

[460] A few other seals are found in the manuscript, one on f.67v, and seven (excluding the erased ones) on f.88v, the colophon page; two at the very bottom of the last page also seem to belong to the aforesaid *ḥeydar khān*; three are not at all legible, while the remaining two read *moḥammad va maḥmūd min aṣl-e 'alī* (?), whereas the seal on f.67v, though differently shaped, likewise seems to read *ḥeydar khān* (?). Exactly who he was is difficult to established with any degree of certainty, but it is likely that further research can shed some light on this issue.

The colophon of the manuscript is another point worthy of brief discussion. Although largely identical to the one found across the ***GPL*** stemma, it includes neither the scribe's name – Moḥammad Ḥoseyn Damāvandī – nor the date he completed his work, that is, in late Sha'bān of 1090 AH. Instead, it is dated 11 Dhū al-Qa'deh 982 AH [22 Feb. 1575] (*dar yāzdahom-e shahr-e ẕey al-qa'deh-ye saneh-ye 982*), which would ostensibly place this manuscript in the last year of the Shah's life. Unlike the first four copies, this one has no lacunae and thus contains the entire *T-Recension*. Given the very close resemblance of its colophon to that of the ***GPL*** manuscript, however, it is clearly not a copy of the ***BL*** manuscript, which, though undated, likewise contains the entire text of the recension. Instead, the most plausible explanation is that this copy was made of the ***GPL*** manuscript prior to the loss of several of its folios, possibly in the early Qajar period, and certainly before Farhād Mīrzā obtained his manuscript. For the reasons outlined above, it is difficult to accept that this copy was produced during Ṭahmāsb's reign or that it descended from one that had been. Thus, the early date was most likely purposefully selected to fall within his lifetime to add to this manuscript's worth and authenticity, a phenomenon hardly unheard of.

[6] The last manuscript of the stemma is the sixth copy of the ***GPL*** codex, also from the Qajar period. Although at first glance quite unremarkable, it comes from the private library of E'temād al-Saltaneh, whom we have already mentioned in reference to the **C1:1** manuscript and the *M-Recension*. This copy is important, for it not only sheds light on the Qajar-era readership of the text but, most significantly, also tells how its very first lithograph edition came to be. Furthermore, it reveals that within a decade following its acquisition by Farhād Mīrzā, and quite probably right after he had had his own copy made, the ***GPL*** manuscript ended up in the library of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. All these details come from E'temād al-Saltaneh's note at the beginning of his manuscript:

Date: Sunday night, 13th of Sha'bān, 1301 [8th of June 1884].

I am in my private garden in Ḥasanābād [which is] *located in Shamīrān. It is the middle of Gemini* (jouzā). *There still are red roses of Shamīrān* [around]. *I have come to Shamīrān to make preparations for the grand procession of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh to Ḥasanābād on Wednesday the 16th* [of Sha'bān].

They recently brought this book from the city. The original copy is in the royal palace. Mo'tamad al-Douleh Farhād Mīrzā also has a copy, from which I had [mine] *made. I shall take it home, translate it into French, and* [then] *have it published.*

The sinful slave, Moḥammad Ḥasan b. 'Alī Marāgheh'ī, known as Ṣanī' al-Douleh.[461]

In the end, E'temād al-Saltaneh, Nāṣir al-Dīn's minister of press and publications, and the director of the Qajar Translation Bureau (*dār al-tarjomeh*), never managed to have the text translated into French, a language he is said to have known reasonably well, nor did he leave any scholia on the margins of his copy. He did however clearly deem the work important enough to have it published the following year, in 1885, as part of the second volume of the lithographed three-volume work, on the history and various cities of Khorasan, titled *Maṭla' al-Shams*, thus making the text accessible to the widest audience it ever had.[462]

It is worth dwelling for a moment on the fact that one of the *monsha'āt* (**C1:1**) containing the *M-Recension* also once belonged to E'temād al-Salṭaneh, as a sticker bearing his title at the beginning of the codex clearly indicates.[463] Yet, despite having both recensions, side by side, judging by the note above, he appears to have been unaware of the existence of the *M-Recension* (*maqālāt bā īlchīyān*). Consequently, he could not have known of the relationship between what by this point had become widely known in literate circles of Qajar society as *Rūznāmeh-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsp* and the older *M-Recension*.[464] Probably he had never closely examined that *monsha'āt*, instead categorizing it as *miscellaneous books* (*kotob-e*

[461] MS.Majles: Sorūd 76, f.1r. Before ending up in the Majles Library in 1983/4, the manuscript for a while belonged to Gholāmḥoseyn Sorūd, a twentieth-century Iranian author, poet, and lexicographer.
[462] Ḥasan Khān. *Maṭla' al-Shams*, vol. 2, pp.165-213. It has not been possible to ascertain the number of copies printed.
[463] MS.GPL: f.1r. Note: the same sticker also appears on the flyleaf of MS.Majles: Sorūd 76, f.1r.
[464] **C1:3** – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b – pp.169-187. See Chapter Two.

motafarreqeh). This fact is perhaps what made him describe the *T-Recension* as an ‘extremely rare treatise’ (*ketāb-e rūznāmeh-ye ṭahmāsb az rasā’el-e nehāyat-kamyāb ast*) in the preface.[465]

This short characterization by E‘temād al-Salṭaneh allows us to go a step further. As already mentioned, the ***GPL*** is the oldest manuscript of the *T-Recension* to have remained in Iran following the demise of the Safavid state, which might be inferred from its description as ‘extremely rare’ by the minister of press and publishing. This may even be taken to mean that the inclusion of the *M-Recension* in the collections discussed thus far was generally less than well known in the Qajar period. Indeed, there seems to be only one manuscript (**C1:6**) from those collections produced in the nineteenth century, copied from the Bodleian codex (**C1:3**), in addition to the copies of Eskander Bēg’s *Tārīkh* in Tehran and Tbilisi. Furthermore, the notion that the ***GPL*** codex may indeed have been the only manuscript of the *T-Recension* in late nineteenth-century Iran is further corroborated by general interest in this work, almost all of its copies having been produced during the late Qajar period (with the possible exception of the oddly-dated Majles manuscript), and the fact that Farhād Mīrzā deemed it a worthy royal gift to his nephew Nāṣir al-Dīn.[466]

It is also clear that the Qajar elites’ preoccupation with writing diaries (*rūznāmeh*) – of which those of E‘temād al-Salṭaneh, Farhād Mīrzā, and of course Nāṣir al-Dīn Shah are just some examples – is what fundamentally informed and determined their reception and perception of the text. Finally, the question of to what extent Ṭahmāsb’s composition inspired

[465] Ḥasan Khān. *Maṭla‘ al-Shams*, p.166.

[466] The Shah’s manuscript also contains two other stamps (f.1r): one of E‘temād-e Ḥożūr and another of ‘Alī b. al-Ḥoseyn al-Ḥoseynī. While the latter name is difficult to identify, the former is Mīrzā Sayyed ‘Alī, son of ‘Alī Akbar Mostoufī. He served as the principal officer (*mostoufī-ye makhṣūs*) of the royal museum and the gold atelier, as well as the personal accountant of Nāṣir al-Dīn, until his death. Subsequently, his eldest son, Sayyed ‘Alī, succeeded him, continuing to serve the Shah in all these capacities. He is said to have been named E‘temād-e Ḥożūr in 1309 AH [1891/92] (which marks the earliest possible date for the stamp bearing the title), produced several well-known watercolour and oil paintings, including those of Imam ‘Alī, Āmīn al-Solṭān and Atābak, and set up a school on the premises of a government building. Whether Sayyed ‘Alī read the text, or had his students read it, is unfortunately not possible to tell.

and informed the Qajar statesmen's diary writing efforts, be it in form or style, and, just as importantly, whether the Shah's narrative had any impact on the Qajar historiography of the Safavid period lies beyond the scope of this thesis.[467] Instead, the next section begins to probe the paratext, beyond the scholia found on the margins of the manuscripts described.

What Does the T-Recension Para-text Reveal?

Unlike the *M-Recension*, with its two stemmas, whose paratext across all the manuscripts is basically limited to several prefaces and colophons, and whose textual differences across the two variants (though not insignificant) are also limited to some dozen passages and verses, the *T-Recension* is defined by a much larger body of paratext over the urtext of the *Five Stories*. First, it has a very different preface (explicitly describing the following text as a *taẕkereh*, *yādgār* and *dastūr al-'amal*) and a colophon placing its production in the context of the late seventeenth-century Safavid court. Secondly, it contains what can best be described as a historical introduction – covering the period preceding the first Ottoman invasion and the events narrated in the story of Olāmeh – that was clearly added for the benefit of readers temporally removed from those events by several generations. Incidentally, it also provides clues as to the authorship of the *T-Recension*, or more specifically its paratext. Thirdly, throughout the stories, there are numerous paratextual elements, along with narrative and

[467] For a survey of Qajar-era historiography, including memoirs, see Abbas Amanat, "Legend, Legitimacy, and Making a National Narrative in the Historiography of Qajar Iran (1785-1925)," in *Persian Historiography*, ed. Charles Melville (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2012), pp.292-366.

style differences, when compared against the urtext, which not only help better contextualize the production of the *T-Recension* but also offer insights into the way the memory of the Shah and his reign persisted in the *ṣūfī-qezelbāsh* milieu into the late seventeenth century. These three points are explored further in the next sections.

(a) *Making Sense of the Preface*

The preface to the *M-Recension* provides the context in which the stories were purportedly narrated (and in the case of the ***SPC*** also revealing 'Abbās's attitude towards his grandfather and the rationale for producing the royal manuscript). On the other hand, the *T-Recension* preface, that is, the section preceding the 'historical introduction' (discussed next), has a different tone and a distinct framing for the narrative that follows. It begins with a customary *basmala – In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate* – followed by a phrase presumably characterizing the composition: *Discourses of Kings, Kings of Discourse*.[468] The next passage consists of praise of the Almighty and emphasis upon the role of kings – the class God is said to favour over all others – in ordering the affairs of the world and keeping its inhabitants away from what is forbidden by Divine Law:

> *His Royal Majesty is worthy of infinite praise, for the glory of the triumphant, conquering monarchs are validated by his divine favour, while the elevated dignity of the rulers of the age is due to his clemency and compassion. Out of all the people, he has particularly favoured and distinguished this class with utmost care, exalting them among their equals and peers with abundant splendour and magnificence, as well as ample prosperity and sublime glory, so as to devise the means and prerequisites of the foundational order of the world—in which lies the welfare and safety of all—and to keep human souls and dispositions away from impurities* [that result from] *a desire to dominate and take advantage of this kind.*
>
> *Without the fountains of victorious sovereigns' blades,*
> *Do not expect the gardens of the divine law to bloom,*
> *Without the protection of discord-crushing kings' rule,*
> *Do not expect to find peace in the abode of security…*

[468] MS.GPL: No. 831 – ff.1v-2r.

Thus, according to this preface, kings are indispensable to maintaining Divine Law, eliminating discord, and ensuring the peace, security, and welfare of the common folk. These qualities, it may be inferred, the author of the preface ultimately attributes Ṭahmāsb.

Next comes another set of praises upon Moḥammad, as well as upon His Family, emphasizing his status as the Seal of Prophecy, and his mission to perfect the moral character [of the believers]:

Greetings and infinite blessing be upon His Highness Moḥammad, the Seal of the Prophets—Peace be Upon Him and His Family—who rendered complete the introduction, "I was a prophet [while] *Adam* [was still something] *between the water and the clay,"* [concluding it with,] *"but he is the Apostle of God and the Seal of the Prophets." He has proven beyond any doubt the argument, "I have only been sent to perfect moral character; there is no prophet after me."*

As befits any Shī'ī text, the preface further speaks of Moḥammad's rightful, immediate, and categorical successor – 'Alī. Here, alongside conventional praise, are excerpts from several traditions associated with the Imam:

[Peace and blessing also be] *upon* [Moḥammad's] *rightful executor of will and his immediate, categorical successor, His Majesty the Commander of the Faithful, the Imam of the Pious, the Leader of the Religion* [i.e. 'Alī], *the Victorious Lion of God, the Wellspring of Miracles and the Manifestation of Wonders, who has been honoured and graciously addressed* [in the verse], *"Your guardian is God and His Messenger." He is that crowned one in the sūrah of al-Insān* [lit. "human"] *and the warrior* [mentioned] *in* [the Hadith,] *"There is 'no hero' like 'Alī, no sword like Ẕūlfiqār." One Hadith that the Prophet—Peace be Upon Him and His Family—has uttered specifically about him is, "Had all people unanimously loved 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, God would not have created hell." He is the one Imam whose qualities and attributes, even the tiniest fraction thereof, the human tongue cannot even begin to describe –* [indeed], *even if the oceans turned into ink, and all the trees into pens, the seven heavens turned into sheets* [of paper], *and humans and jinns wrote incessantly until the end of days, they would not be able to write even one-thousandth of his qualities.* [He is] *the gate of the city of knowledge of the Messenger of God—Peace be Upon Him and His Family—the Father of* [Ḥasan and Ḥoseyn], *'Alī bin Abī Ṭālib, and Their Highnesses, the Immaculate Imams – God's Blessings be upon Them All.*

Finally, towards the end of the preface, is a section which outlines reasons behind the text's production. Despite the personal voice of the narrator, seemingly the Shah himself (not

unlike the historical introduction), these are not in fact the words of Ṭahmāsb. Even though it is not inconceivable that he may have had very similar considerations when deciding to compose his stories, the framing of the *T-Recension* in the preface should be understood not as factually true but as reflecting the transmitters/editors' perception of the urtext in the late seventeenth century. Furthermore, it also reflects their wish to present the text to the third generation of readers as a complete account of the Shah's life and exploits, which would in turn serve as an idiosyncratic mirror-for-princes:

> *Now, it has come to the weak mind of the feeble slave of His Majesty, the Supreme Creator—Exalted be His power—the wretched follower of the Seal of the Prophets—may God bless Him and His Household and give Them peace—the most sincere slave of the Lord of the trustees and his progeny—may God's blessings be upon them all—that I, Ṭahmāsb b. Esmā'īl b. Ḥeydar al-Ṣafavī al-Ḥoseynī, should recount how my affairs and exploits transpired, from the beginning of my reign until today, and pen an 'aide-memoire' (*taẕkereh) *so that it remains as a memorial* [of my life] *in the world and be used as an instruction* (dastūr al-'amal) [to] *the worthy and beloved decedents, and so that every time it is seen by friends, they would recall me with a blessing. Since it has been composed unpretentiously, readers would not be so quick to criticize and should thus consider it beyond suspicions of lies and hypocrisy. Indeed, it is who God assists and renders one prosperous, he is the all-merciful and all-knowing.*

The last passage of the preface essentially makes two points. The first is that the Shah, for the benefit of 'the worthy and beloved decedents and friends, decided to pen an account of how [his] affairs and exploits transpired, from the beginning of [his] reign until [the affair of Bāyezīd].' The second, perhaps in anticipation of criticism, is that given its unpretentious and yet tendentious prose, the preface also emphasizes the modest character and the sincerity of the effort. Readers are thus told that in order to reach the goal of narrating his version of events, the Shah composed what he calls a *taẕkereh*, which would 'remain as a memorial (*yādgār*) of the bygone age, be used as instruction (*dastūr al-'amal*)' by posterity, and ultimately make others 'recall [its author] with a blessing' every time they read it. That, of course, is on some level accurate, yet it is highly significant that no mention is made of the Ottoman envoys and their audience with Ṭahmāsb, indicating a parallel tradition of reading

and understanding the Shah's stories. Also, the historical introduction can and will be demonstrated not to have been composed by Ṭahmāsb and but was instead copied, often verbatim, from a sixteenth-century Safavid chronicle, probably Shīrāzī's *Takmīlat* (specifically the sections covering up to the first story; to be discussed below).

The emphasis on leaving something for posterity, in this case, a written memorial (*az man bar sabīl-e yādgār dar rūzgār bemānad*), to serve as a remembrance of the Shah, is unmistakable, while the characterization of the text that follows as *instruction* is very much in line with the discussions in the previous two chapters. The late Shah's retrospective was once again deemed a worthy source of advice and wisdom for yet another generation of Safavid princes. As is evident from the fact that those behind the *T-Recension* explicitly termed it an instruction, they realized the composition's fundamentally didactic nature, reinforcing their own view of Ṭahmāsb as *morshed-e kāmel* (i.e, the 'Perfect Guide' in the mystical sense) to the disciples of the House of Ṣāfī al-Dīn (discussed further below).

As for remembrance, the use of terms such as *yādgār* and/or *taẕkereh* strongly suggests the mnemonic nature and function of the royal manuscript and the *T-Recension* more generally. The immediate implication of the emphasis on remembrance, several generations following the events the text narrates and its composition, is that the intended audience may have forgotten who Ṭahmāsb was and why he was important. Indeed, in the aftermath of the final settlement with the Ottomans, with the Treaty of Zuhab in 1639, the century-long conflict and its key milestones and figures would have seemed increasingly distant to the late Safavids, including Shah Soleymān I, who was born in 1648 and ascended the throne in 1666.[469] In other words, while he was growing up, those around him who may have seen, met

[469] The Treaty of Zuhab was essentially a confirmation of the terms established at Amasya in 1555.

and known Ṭahmāsb would have been extremely old, making him a distant and even unfamiliar figure to Shah Soleymān's generation.[470]

It is worth recalling that a typical example of *communicative memory*, according to Jan Assmann, is *generational memory*—that is, memory that forms within a group, originating and disappearing with its carriers.[471] Indeed, the urge to record a personal version of events that shaped preceding decades, especially as one's companions grow old or pass away, seems to be a universal human condition—Ṭahmāsb's historiographical efforts serving as a poignant example. Beyond the composition of narratives, the forty-year mark thus represents a critical threshold—a turning point. This is exemplified by the onset of mythmaking surrounding Ṭahmāsb at the turn of the seventeenth century, marked by the production of the *M-Recension*. The subsequent eighty years, loosely aligned with the generation of Soleymān, produced individuals who had no direct memory of Ṭahmāsb's era yet sought to 'revive' that memory—an impulse manifest in the production of the *T-Recension* and other related texts.

With respect to the temporal background of the production of the *T-Recension*, an understanding of the term *taẕkereh* is essential. So far, scholars who have worked with the text, even with its two recensions, most recently A. Peacock and Ph. Bockholt, have taken the term generally to mean *memoirs* and have thus rendered it thus in English.[472] However, the semantics of the word, in the context of the late seventeenth century, allow for a more nuanced interpretation. It is well known that the Arabic word *tadhkirah* – from the root *dha-ka-ra*, "to mention, to remember, to recall" – is the verbal noun form of the Arabic causative verb stem. Thus, yields a causative *dha-kka-ra* – "to remind, to make remember, or to

[470] For more on Soleymān, see Matthee, *Persia in Crisis*, Chapter Three.
[471] Assmann, *Writing, Memory, Political Imagination*, p.35.
[472] Ṭahmāsp I, *The Memoirs*, trans. Peacock; Bockholt, "Shah Ṭahmāsp,". Both scholars had access to only a few manuscripts of the text and were thus unable to develop a comprehensive view of the corpus and/or the evolution of the text over several generations.

instruct". From this, its second verbal noun form *taẕkereh* (Pers. transcription) is derived. The latter then quite literally indicates an action 'causing one to mention, remember, and/or recall something,' typically also associated with a degree of intensity of the given action, and even having a connotation of instruction, learning, and/or memorizing (or even causing one to memorize). Although memoirs certainly can serve as a 'reminder' (and therefore on some level this translation is not completely inappropriate), a more literal translation works better. It not only fits the context of the *T-Recension* but also captures the nuance of the effort to remind this current generation of their ancestor and to educate them about his achievements. Thus, *taẕkereh* is best translated as *reminder* or *aide-memoir*, that is, both *by* and *of* Ṭahmāsb. To be even more literal, *taẕkere-ye shāh ṭahmāsb* could then be taken to mean *making one mention* the late Shah, by saying his name, thus bringing the man and his experiences into the progressive present.

The duality of meaning here is quite possibly not coincidental, for most of the composition is still the work of Ṭahmāsb, who evidently had both his contemporaries and his descendants in mind when deciding to compose the stories. In the absence of the original manuscripts, from the period before the production of the *M-Recension*, as well as the no-longer-relevant framing of the stories afforded by the preface of that recension, the later context and understanding of the text marked a new milestone in its paratextual evolution. Calling it *taẕkereh*, that is a reminder *by* and *of* Ṭahmāsb, essentially allowed the Shah, a century after his death, to speak directly with the then-current Safavid generation, reminding and educating them of himself and his legacy. Moreover, by including the account of his early life, this new framing also allowed the intended readership to become better acquainted with the figure of Ṭahmāsb, while discarding the rather awkward (certainly from the late-seventeenth-century perspective) framing of the stories as his discourses with the Ottoman ambassadors. On the one hand, it contained the exemplary vita of the honourable ancestor,

which ultimately served as an instruction, and on the other, it served as an *aide-memoir* for Ṭahmāsb and his reign, with its events already a distant memory. A brief look at the colophon allows further substantiation of these arguments.

(b) *What Does the Colophon Reveal?*

We have already referred to the production date, as well as the scribe's name as indicated in the colophon, yet it is worth reproducing it in whole here:

The making and production of the firm structure of the royal book of mysteries, along with the arrangement and sorting of [his] *precious pearls and weighty gems, that is the royal composition, were accomplished upon the order of His Excellency the Khān – may God grant him success in Both Worlds – at the end of the month of Shaʻbān al-Moʿaẓẓam, of the year 1090. This has been transcribed by the pen of obedience and the quill of compliance of Moḥammad Ḥosayn Damāvandī, known by the penname al-Noures, May God have mercy on him!*[473]

Here, again, the reception of the text and how it was perceived is reflected in the use of phrases such as 'the royal book of mysteries,' and the description of Ṭahmāsb's composition as 'pearls' and 'gems'. At the same time, the Safavid ruler (*khān*), that is Soleymān I, who evidently treasured the composition, commissioned the production of the new royal codex c. September-October of 1679. What is particularly intriguing regarding the colophon, over and above its form and content, is that a virtually identical colophon, albeit by another scribe, is found at the end of the manuscript of *Shah Esmāʻīl's Dīvān*. This manuscript, also preserved at the Golestān Palace Library, was apparently produced only a couple of years earlier – in 1088 AH [1677-78] – suggesting its close association to the ***GPL*** codex.[474]

[473] MS.GPL: No. 831 – f.87r.

[474] See Ferenc Csirkes, "A Messiah Untamed: Notes on the Philology of Shah Ismāʻīl's *Dīvān,*" in *Iranian Studies*, 52:3-4, p.350. Said manuscript also contains the formula: 'upon the order of His Excellency the Khān, may God grant him success in Both Worlds' – clearly indicating it was likewise commissioned by the same ruler.

This connection serves to further confirm the interest of late Safavid courtly society in the early dynastic period and in the figures of the first two Shahs. Indeed, alongside the *Dīvān* and the *Five Stories*, and certainly fitting the trend, we know of the existence of the so-called 'anonymous histories' of both Shah Esmā'īl and Shah Ṭahmāsb, produced in the second half of the seventeenth century.[475] Such trends, of course, are hardly exclusive to the Safavids and are in fact universal across time and space; in Assmann's words: 'life only assumes the form of the past on which a memory culture can be built through its end, through its irremediable discontinuity.'[476] In other words, the evolution and eventual discontinuity of the Safavid-Ottoman wars no doubt shaped the way the later Safavids viewed Ṭahmāsb and understood his legacy.

Both Csirkes and Wood, who studied the *Dīvān* and the *Tārīkh-e 'Alām-ārā-ye Shāh Esmā'īl*, respectively, have also pointed out this interest in the first Safavid ruler.[477] Csirkes, for instance, concludes that 'in the late seventeenth century there seems to be a reinvigorated interest in Shah Esmā'il, which can be interpreted both as a nostalgic looking back on the beginnings of the dynasty and a possible interest in its original messianic message'.[478] Wood, likewise, in his article on how the Battle of Chālderān was remembered, points to the resurgence of 'popular memory' in the second half of the seventeenth century.[479] Similarly, Wood also echoes this view in his translation of the 'Anonymous History' of Shah

[475] See Wood, B., trans., *The Adventures of Shah Esmā'il: A Seventeenth Century Persian Popular Romance* (Leiden: Brill, 2018); see also his "The Tārikh-i Jahānārā in the Chester Beatty Library: An Illustrated Manuscript of the 'Anonymous Histories of Shah Isma'il.'" *Iranian Studies* 37, no. 1 (March 2004), pp.89–107; *Tārīkh-i 'Alām-ārā-yi Shāh Ṭahmāsb*, ed. Afshar, I., (Tehran: Dunyā-yi Kitāb, 1991); *'Alām-ārā-yi Shāh Ismā'īl*, ed. Aṣghar Muntaẓar Ṣahib (Tehran, 1384/2005); *'Alām-ārā-yi Ṣafavī*, ed. Yad-allah Shukrī (Tehran: Instishārāt-i Iṭilā'āt, 1363/1984). The latter two are editions, containing some variations in content, of different manuscripts of the same work.
[476] Assmann, *Writing, Memory, Political Imagination,* p. 19.
[477] Csirkes, "A Messiah Untamed," p. 390.
[478] Ibid.
[479] Wood, B., "The Battle of Chālderān: Official History and Popular Memory," in *Iranian Studies* 50: No. 1 (July 2017): pp.79-105.

Esmā‘īl.[480] Yet, it is worth noting that the two scholars say nothing of the remembering of Ṭahmāsb around that same period, or about his ‘anonymous history’.

Broadly speaking, this area of Safavid cultural and intellectual history remains virtually uncharted. The following sections of this chapter explore what the *T-Recension* and *Tārīkh-e ‘Alām-ārā-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb* may reveal about a memory tradition centred around Ṭahmāsb – clearly discernible from later decades of the seventeenth century and thus reflected in these texts – and also how the two texts are related. To the question of whether Safavid society underwent periods of soul-searching, either under ‘Abbās or in the aftermath of the conflict with the Ottomans, despite the very different contexts, in both cases the answer is a resounding ‘yes’. That the figure of Ṭahmāsb (and to a lesser extent that of Esmā‘īl) was central to that dynamic is likewise evident. Specifically with reference to the two texts in question (further discussed below), it is also the relative decline in prominence of the *ṣūfī-qezelbāsh* faction in Safavid politics and society throughout the seventeenth century that no doubt prompted the production of the *T-Recension* and *Tārīkh-e ‘Alām-ārā-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb*. The next section discusses the ‘historical introduction’ and argues that it should not be attributed to Ṭahmāsb, in contradistinction to the view virtually every scholar who has studied the *T-Recension* has accepted; the section also argues for the shared authorship of the *T-Recension* and the *Tārīkh* and suggests who might have been behind that latest layer of paratext to the Shah’s stories.

(c) *A Closer Look at the Historical Introduction*

The introduction spans some eleven folios of the ***GPL*** codex, covering a period of around nine years. Starting (f.3v) with mention of Ṭahmāsb’s coronation in 1524 – at the age of ten – on Monday 23 May [19 Rajab 930], the Year of the Monkey (*pīchīn-yīl*) – and ending (f.14v) with Olāmeh’s revolt, that is, the beginning of the first story – in 1532 [939], the Year of the

[480] Wood, *Adventures*, introduction.

Dragon (*lūy-yīl*).[481] This introduction, regardless of whoever may have added it to the core stories, rather than shedding light on the Shah's early years, seems clearly intended to provide historical background and context to the revolt and the subsequent Ottoman invasion. This in turn suggests the likelihood that to the intended audience the historical period and the associated events and people were less than familiar. Furthermore, although this section, like the preface and the rest of the *T-Recension*, is narrated in the first-person, one feature that immediately stands out is the extensive inclusion of dates, given in both the Chinese and Islamic calendars, specifically providing a chronicle-like year-by-year account of events and developments This is in sharp contrast to the urtext – i.e., the core five stories, as presented in the *M-* and the *T-Recensions* – which contain very few dates, and those exclusively for important events, never mentioning the Chinese animal calendar, and not annalist in style. This aspect of the historical introduction, having a parallel in the well-known sixteenth-century Safavid chronicles, constitutes the first clue as to the origin of this paratext. It also undermines the notion of the Shah's authorship of this section. Thus, although neither the Īlchī nor Qazvīnī seem to make any reference to the Animal Calendar, instead providing exclusively Islamic dates, Qomī, Rūmlū and Shīrāzī consistently use both calendars in their histories, pointing to a possible link between the *T-Recension* introduction and one (or more) of the chronicles.

The narrative provides the dates for Ṭahmāsb's ascent to the throne and his birth – in this very order (!) – and then shifts at once towards listing various state functionaries, briefly detailing their appointments, backgrounds, skills, dismissals, and executions.[482] It is obviously suspicious that – right at the very beginning of the first-person narrative, which so many have referred to as 'memoirs' – not a word is said about Ṭahmāsb's childhood or his education in Mashhad, or his teachers, friends or associates, let alone his father, mother, or

[481] MS.GPL: No. 831 – ff.3v/4r.
[482] MS. GPL: No. 831 – ff.4r/v.

any of his siblings. It is even more peculiar that, having mentioned his coronation and birth, and listing several state functionaries from the time of his youth, in the very first paragraph the purported author jumps right into claiming direct involvement in managing state finances.[483] Next, in the same paragraph, he goes on to assert that since offices such as that of Mīr Qavvām al-Dīn Ḥoseyn Esfahānī were lofty, and thus costly, it was essential to ensure the allocation of substantial funds to those most deserving. Finally, the author of this introduction argues for the need to attend daily and personally to these matters – to prevent any shortcomings – by ensuring that those guilty of wrongdoing be punished.[484]

These passages are highly suspect, given that the Shah was only ten years old at the time of these events he is purportedly recounting.[485] Rather than the Shah's own words, these claims probably reflect either a perception of Ṭahmāsb by the author(s) of these passages, or perhaps a wish to represent him to the intended audience as a remarkably precocious ruler. Nevertheless, the narrative goes on to provide an example – the execution of Khwājeh Jalāl al-Dīn Moḥammad, due to some of his ugly actions – he is said to have been burned alive while reciting verses of poetry.[486]

Although the execution episode is found across several chronicles, it is the text of Shīrāzī's *Takmilat* that appears virtually identical (very minor paraphrasing notwithstanding) to the corresponding sections in the *T-Recension* introduction.[487] It thus constitutes solid evidence that whoever added the historical introduction borrowed extensively from another source, and that it was done sometime in the early 1560s by someone other than the author of the stories.[488] The data bear closer inspection.

---

[483] MS. GPL: No. 831 – f.4v.
[484] MS. GPL: No. 831 – f.4v.
[485] The Īlchī explicitly contradicts the statement in the introduction, suggesting instead that '*since* [Ṭahmāsb] *ascended the throne at a young age, his involvement in the government and fiscal matters was limited, while Dīv Solṭān acted as regent on his behalf*'; Qobād al-Ḥoseynī, *Tārīkh-e Īlchī*, p.87.
[486] MS.GPL: No. 831 – f.4v.
[487] Qomī, *Kholāṣat*, p.157; Rūmlū, *Aḥsan*, p.1136; Qazvīnī, *Javāher*, p.147, Shīrāzī, *Takmilat*, p.41.
[488] *Takmilat* itself postdates the death of Ṭahmāsb.

First, while the date of Ṭahmāsb's enthronement – 19 Rajab 930, the Year of the Monkey (*pīchīn-yīl*) – found in Rūmlū's *Aḥsan* and Shīrāzī's *Takmilat* matches that given in the *T-Recension* introduction, the associated passages in *Aḥsan* are totally different, whereas the corresponding sections of the *Takmilat* and the *T-Recension* are virtually identical.[489] Secondly, the next few lines narrating the appointments of Dīv Solṭān as his tutor, of Kopak Solṭān, in place of his brother Chāyān Solṭān, as co-commander-in-chief (*dar amīr al-'omarā'yī-ye sharīk*), as well as of Qāżī Jahān, to replace Mīrzā Shāh Ḥoseyn as chief minister, not only appear in the same order but are even accompanied by identical lexicon and phraseology.[490] Thirdly, even the reason for the execution of Jalāl al-Dīn Moḥammad provided by Shīrāzī – that is, 'some ugly deeds' – while differing from what appears in the other chronicles in Rūmlū, Qomī and Qazvīnī – is reproduced almost verbatim in the *T-Recension* introduction.[491] Indeed, the parallels do not end here and are not limited to just several passages; the borrowings from the *Takmilat* are in fact discernible throughout the *T-Recension* introduction.

The following folios (ff.5r-14r) cover the next seven-to-eight years up to 1532 [939 AH], dwelling on several important narrative junctions of the young Shah's career and the challenges he faced, as well as a range of appointments, dismissals and executions of state functionaries and Qezelbāsh, all likewise mentioned in the chronicles. For instance, in the Year of the Rooster (*takhāqūy-yīl*), that is 1525 [931 AH], the Shah is said to have been at the summer pasture of Sahand when he received the news of the coming of the Uzbeks to

[489] Shīrāzī, *Takmilat*, p.20 – "*bar sarīr salṭanant va jahānbānī jolūs farmūd*" vs. MS.GPL: No. 831 – ff.3v-4r – "*jolūs bar sarīr-e jahānbānī vāqe' shod.*"

[490] Take, for instance, the attributes of Qāżī Jahān listed by Shīrāzī, *Takmilat*, p.20 – "*az sādāt-e sayfīyeh-ye ān-jā būd [va] beh sharaf 'elm va fażl va ḥosn-e khaṭṭ va enshā' va ādāb va rosūm ... 'adīl nedāsht*" vs. MS. GPL: No. 831 – f.4r – "*az sādāt-e sayfī-ast va beh sharaf 'elm va fażl va ḥosn-khaṭṭ va enshā' va ādāb va rosūm 'adīl nedāsht*." Such examples can be almost endlessly multiplied.

[491] Shīrāzī, *Takmilat*, p.20 and MS. GPL: No. 831 – f.4r – "*gereftam khāneh-ye dar kūy-e balā bar man gereft ātash, kasī ke-ū khāneh dar kūy-e balā gīrad chanīn gīrad.*" The text of *Kholāṣat* (p.156) essentially reproduces that of *Aḥsan* (p.1136); both quote the same verses, but only Shīrāzī (p.40) attributes these verses to Ḥeyrānī Hamadānī. In turn, Qazvīnī (p.147), while producing different verses in relation to the execution, describes Jalāl al-Dīn Moḥammad as a 'man of good disposition'.

Khorasan (f.5r). This is followed by a brief account of the council (*jāneqī*) to determine the best course of action, of another of the Qezelbāsh power struggles and the imprisonment of Qāżī Jahān (f.6r). As befits a Persian chronicle, dates of death of important figures are mentioned, among them Amīr Jamāl al-Dīn Ṣadr and Mīr Moḥsen Rażavī; in the case of the latter, even a chronogram – *adkhulū-hā bi-salāmin āminayna* – is provided.[492] These events, again, while found across the major chronicles, given the verbatim correspondence with the *Takmilat*, appear almost certainly to have been borrowed directly from Shīrāzī's work.[493] Indeed, even the aforementioned chronogram for the two deaths – while apparently missing from the other chronicles – is found in *Takmilat*.[494]

The rest of the year, as well much of the next – the year of the Dog (*īt-yīl*), that is, 1526 [932 AH] – recounts further Qezelbāsh infighting, likewise appearing in the chronicles, and virtually identical in the *Takmilat* (pp.42-44 ~ ff.6v-8r). In this regard, it is interesting to note yet another passage of questionable provenance, whereby the first-person narrator claims to 'have tolerated such acts [of disobedience by the Qezelbāsh], to see what the Almighty had planned for them.'[495] Despite the de facto lack of agency of the twelve-year-old monarch, undoubtedly understood by anyone reading the account preceding this passage, its author still felt compelled to try to show that he was in control.

Of much greater concern is another (isolated) episode – said to have taken place in the same year, the year of the Dog, yet having little to no relation to the overall narrative, nor to the text of Shīrāzī's *Takmilat*, nor in fact to any of the chronicles consulted. In the introduction to the *T-Recension* almost four sides, or two folios of the ***GPL*** codex, are dedicated to the Mara'shī Sayyids of Mazandaran (ff.8r-10r); some of it immediately relevant

[492] MS.GPL: No. 831 – f.6r – the chronogram corresponds to 931 AH [1525].
[493] Practically the entire section following mention of the execution of Jalāl al-Dīn Moḥammad appears to have been transcribed by the author of the *T-Recension* introduction from the *Takmilat*, merely changing the third- to first-person whenever it seemed necessary; see the appendix.
[494] MS.GPL: No. 831 – f.6r; Shīrāzī, *Takmilat*, p. 42 – "*tārīkh-e vafāt-e īshān-ast*".
[495] MS.GPL: No. 831 – f.6v.

to the current discussion of the text's authorship (yet not to the overall narrative). It should have already become apparent that a close reading of the introduction, even without comparing its text with any Safavid chronicles, provides several reasons to seriously question the widely held view of the Shah's authorship of the *T-Recension*. However, in case the above discussion has left readers less than convinced, a glance at the Mara'shī segment – so far completely ignored – presents perhaps the strongest evidence against the attribution of the text/paratext under study to Ṭahmāsb. Moreover, it also offers a clue as to who may have been behind the production of the *T-Recension*, which is further discussed below.

The segment opens with the claim that, in the same year that yet another round of Qezelbāsh squabbling – between the Rūmlū and the Tekkelū on one side and the Ostājlū on the other – and around the time of the victory of the former two factions over the latter:

> *Mīrshāhī b. Mir 'Abdolkarīm b. Mīr 'Abdallāh,* […] *with abundant gifts presented himself before* [Ṭahmāsb] *in Qazvin* …[496]

Importantly, the man's name is separated from the clause informing the reader of his arrival with copious offerings at the Safavid court by a long passage laying out his pedigree. The reader thus learns that the visitor was:

> […] *of the Mar'ashī Sayyids, who for generations had been rulers of Mazandaran.* [He was also] *a grandchild of Amīr Qavvām al-Dīn, known as Mīr-e Bozorg al-Mar'ashī, who passed away in the month of Moḥarram of 731 AH* [1330/31], *and* [was] *buried in Āmol.*[497]

This is followed by further emphasis on the family's 'pure descent [and] legitimate sayyidhood,' for 'Mīr Qavvām al-Dīn is a son of a sayyid,' followed by their fully-fledged genealogy, extending to Zeyn al-'Ābedīn.[498] The passage continues by listing Mīrshāhī's four sons, indicating which areas of Mazandaran they ruled over in various capacities (*vālī*, *sardar*, *ḥākem*). The visitor is then said to have brought complaints about Āghā Moḥammad Rūzafzūn and his paternal cousins (*banī o'mām*), which Ṭahmāsb went on to address. Finally,

[496] MS. GPL: No. 831 – ff.8r/v.
[497] MS. GPL: No. 831 – ff.8v-9r.
[498] MS. GPL: No. 831 – f.9r.

the text continues, he was made tax-farmer for the entirety of Mazandaran on Ṭahmāsb's behalf; this along with several other details more relevant to other questions and discussions.[499]

Indeed, the details of intrafamilial Mara'shī politics, conflict over succession and so on in the introduction of the *T-Recension* should be studied in the proper context and examined against other relevant sources. Nevertheless, given that this segment of the introduction is ostensibly missing from the chronicles consulted and that it has virtually no relation to the overall narrative flow, its inclusion cannot be merely coincidental. It points to the author's familiarity through affiliation with the Mara'shī family and suggests his having access to the Safavid court.

The inclusion of the family's genealogy – in the absence of any other, particularly that of the House of Ṣafī al-Dīn – is likewise significant for the current study, providing tangible evidence of a link between the production of the *T-Recension* and Mara'shī circles, constituting something of a signature. In turn, this finding, combined with further discoveries from the brief examination of another understudied text and two of its manuscripts (discussed next), allows us to go a step further. In addition to the temporal connection, these findings reveal another way in which the *T-Recension* and the 'anonymous histories' (referred to in the colophon discussion above) are related. Thus, before we can move to comparing the urtext of the stories with the corresponding sections of the latest recension, a few words should be said about the 'anonymous histories', and in particular '*Alām-ārā-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb*.

While I have made extensive use of several well-known Safavid chronicles, of equal interest and relevance to the subject of this study are the so-called 'anonymous histories', also known as '*Alām-ārā-ye Shāh Esmā'īl* and '*Alām-ārā-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb*. Limited work has been done on these texts, and Sholeh Quinn admits that relatively little is known about 'the

[499] MS. GPL: No. 831 – f.9r

reasons they were written,' while also calling them 'an alternative tradition of Safavid history.'[500] Worth pointing out is the fact that these two *'Alām-ārā* histories, although clearly belonging to the same tradition, have not in fact been studied together. Even though the *'Alām-ārā-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb* begins right where that of *Esmā'īl* ends, nobody has attempted to study the two jointly.

Considering these, and to further develop the argument regarding the Mara'shī connection, it is essential to introduce the two little-known manuscripts of the *'Alām-ārā-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb*, preserved in the Majles Library – catalogue nos. 13739 and 8952. The former, and longer, of the two was first introduced by Aḥmad Gulchīn Ma'ānī in his 1964 article.[501] This manuscript (no. 13739) though seemingly a later copy, appears to be a complete version of the composition only partly reproduced in the better known of the two manuscripts (no. 8952). Apparently unaware of Ma'ānī's article, Afshār, in his 1991 edition of *Tārīkh-e 'Alām-ārā-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb*, based on the *MS. Majles no. 8952*, described that manuscript as 'unique' (*az rūy-e yegāneh noskheh-khaṭṭī*).[502] Afshār's edition thus covers the first thirty-three years of Ṭahmāsb's reign, while the codex contains one hundred and eighty folios. Despite Afshār's efforts, both the text and the manuscripts have remained unnoticed by scholars.

For instance, Wood's recently published English translation of Yaduallah Shukrī's edition of *'Alām-ārā-ye Ṣafavī* (another title for *'Alām-ārā-ye Shāh Esmā'īl*) lists the twelve manuscripts of the composition – in different libraries worldwide: primarily in Iran but also in India, Ireland and Britain – but does not mention the existence of a kindred, to use his own terminology, 'Persian popular romance', that is *Tārīkh-e 'Alām-ārā-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb*.[503]

---

[500] http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/historiography-vi.
[501] Aḥmad Gulchīn-e Ma'ānī, "Tarīkh-i Shāh Ṭahmāsb," in *Yaghmā*, Ābān 1343, No. 196, pp.354-358. Dāneshpazhūh mentioned another copy of this work belonging to Ṭāherī Shahāb and 'bound together with 'Alām-ārā-ye Shāh Esmā'īl' but provided no further information; see his "Yak Pardah az Zindagānī-yi Shāh Tahmāsb-i Ṣafavī," pp.987-88.
[502] See Āfshār, ed., *'Alām-ārā-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb*.
[503] See Wood, *Adventures* and "The Tārikh-i Jahānārā," pp. 89–107.

Alexander Morton, in his article on the date and attribution of the *Ross Anonymous*, hypothesizes that Bījan's history titled *Jahān-goshā-ye Khāqān* may have been intended for the *gholāms*.[504] Pointing out that 'the *'Alām-ārā-ye Shāh Esmā'īl Ṣafavī* essentially belonged to a different tradition,' Morton writes that '[this] and similar works, if essentially worthless as a historical narrative, contain here and there material which accurately reflects early *qezelbāsh* practices.'[505] Though his skepticism towards these texts 'as purely factual sources' may be justifiable, he similarly does not mention *'Alām-ārā-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb* and, possibly, misses a bigger point. It is that, along with reflecting practices such as *chūb-e ṭarīq*, the contents of these seemingly wide-spread histories, not significantly less unbiased or objective than the scribal chronicles, are i) likely to have had a more extensive circulation (even if non-textual, oral) within certain strata of Safavid society than, say, *Kholāṣat*, *'Alām-ārā-yī 'Abbāsī*, *Takmīlāt,*, *Ẓayl-i ḥabīb as-siyār*; and ii) possibly constitute the popular memory and historiographical tradition of the *qezelbāsh-ṣūfī* milieu, and therefore merit a comprehensive study now that so many manuscripts have been identified.

Returning to the *MS. Majles: No. 13739*, with almost four hundred folios, it is twice the length of *MS. Majles: No. 8952*. Thanks to the article by Maryam Ḥaydarī and Salīm Moḥammad Nabī introducing the codex, it might now be possible to examine the composition in its entirety for the first time and jointly study these popular histories of Esmā'īl and Ṭahmāsb.[506]

Of more immediate consequence and relevance to the current study, specifically pertaining to the alleged 'anonymity' of these texts, it is worth pointing out that *MS. Majles:*

---

[504] Morton, A.H.,"The Date and Attribution of the *Ross Anonymous*. Notes on a Persian History of Shāh Ismā'īl I," in *Pembroke Papers 1*. Persian and Islamic Studies in Honour of P.W. Avery, ed. Charles Melville (Linton Cambridge, England: Published by University of Cambridge Centre of Middle Eastern Studies, 1990), p.202. See Allāh-Detā Możṭar, facs. ed., Jahāngushā-ye Khāqān (Islamabad, 1984).
[505] Morton, "The Date," p. 203.
[506] Maryam Ḥaydarī, Salīm Moḥammad Nabī, "Noskheh-yi Nau-yāfteh az 'Ālam-ārā-yi Shāh Ṭahmāsb," in *Pazūheshnameh-ye Tārīkh*, Spring 1389, No. 18, pp.97–118.

No. 13739, examined by and referred to as a 'newly found history of Ṭahmāsb' by Ḥaydarī and Nabī, contains the author's name. Esmā'īl al-Ḥoseynī al-Mara'shī Tabrīzī, said to have been employed by certain Mīr Molāyem Bēg, goldsmith (*zargar*) at the court of 'Abbās II (d.1666), is explicitly mentioned as the author of the composition.[507] This has at least a couple of implications. First, given that both *tārīkh*s share a range of stylistic and linguistic features, not to mention having been written for the same audience, and that the *MS. Malek: No. 4075* also bears his signature, it is highly probable that Esmā'īl al-Ḥoseynī al-Mara'shī Tabrīzī is also the author of *Alām-ārā-ye Shāh Esmā'īl*. Second, in addition to the Tabrīzī *nisbah*, Esmā'īl al- Ḥoseynī is also said to have been a member of the Mara'shī family, and possibly even the person behind the *T-Recension*. While closer study of these histories and the associated manuscript corpus is needed, this newly established Mara'shī connection certainly lends further credence to the notion of association between the *tārīkh*s and the *T-Recension*, a point explored below.

Quinn has suggested that Rūmlū's *Aḥsan* appears to be one of the main sources used by the author(s) of these *tārīkh*s.[508] In the edited volume on Persian historiography, Quinn and Melville point to the resurgence of historical writing under Shah Soleymān I, none of which narrate his own reign, giving as examples the 'anonymous *Shāhnāmeh*', 'a *mathnavi* about Safavid history,' as well as 'several historical romances', of which they mention *'Alām-ārā-ye Shāh Esmā'īl*.[509] While these claims may be accurate, the more important point about these texts is to recognize and evaluate their character. For instance, the language of the two *'Alām-ārā* histories is decisively different from that of the chronicles of the Safavid scribes,

[507] Ḥaydarī and Nabī, "Noskheh-yi Nauyāfteh," p.111. He is also said to have been the author of another text described by Dāneshpazhūh as being 'in the style of stories and tales' (*beh ravesh-e revāyet va naql*) – the so-called *Tarīkh-e Ṣafaviyeh* – MS. Malek Library, No. 4075. This is in fact one of the manuscripts mentioned (but apparently not studied) by Wood; see "Yak Pardah," p.987.
[508] https://iranicaonline.org/articles/historiography-vi.
[509] *A History of Persian Literature, Vol. X: Persian Literature*, ed., C. Melville, general ed., Ehsan Yarshater, p. 218.

clearly intended to be understood outside the scribal milieu.[510] The chief protagonists, along with the two Shahs, are several Qezelbāsh, *ṣūfi*s, and *khalīfeh*s, as well as their tribes and families (including women). The text contains several folksy profanities (*ḥarām-zādeh*), and episodes involving games of chess, music and dancing, as well as miracles attributed to their *morshed-e kāmel*.[511] All these point to their connection to the *qezelbāsh-ṣūfī* milieu, whose popular memory and cultural landscape they reflect. As already suggested at the beginning of this chapter, and as will be further demonstrated below, the *T-Recension*, along with the popular histories, for all the reasons listed above, as well as several aspects of the core paratext, quite clearly belong to the same tradition.[512]

In many ways these (and other) texts constitute 'a communally sanctioned version of the past,' as viewed by the members of the *qezelbāsh-ṣūfī* faction around the mid- to late-seventeenth century, and are thus 'the expression of an acceptable memory of events, which continued to be meaningful.'[513] Given the mystical language and popular character of the the *qezelbāsh-ṣūfī* milieu, it is not surprising that their communally-sanctioned version of history assumed a quasi-historiographıcal and quasi-hagiographic textual form. Moreover, the community-focused language of the *'Alām-ārā-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb* – characterized by the extensive use of terms such as *ūjāq*, *ūjāq-e shāh ṣafī*, *ṣūfīgarī-ye ūjāq-e shāh ṣafī al-dīn esḥāq* – with clearly deliniated boundaries – *khā'en-e īn ūjāq*, *ūjāq az dast bīrūn rafteh*, or, *ūjāq-e ṣafavīyeh* as opposed to *ūjāq-e 'othmānīyeh* (not less than one hundred and sixty-three instances) – reveals a lot about the loyalties and affiliations of both the author and the intended audience. So does the no-less-extensive use of terms such as *morshed-e kāmel* (at

[510] That quite often a new paragraph starts with '[and so] the storyteller says' (*rāvī gūyad*) indicates that these stories were likely passed down orally prior to textualization.
[511] MS. Majles: No. 13739 – *'shaṭranj'* (pp.457, 504 …); *'raqṣ'* (pp.337, 651, 652, 655); etc. A complete, fully paginated, and pdf-searchable transcription of the manuscript is available upon request.
[512] McChesney hypothesizes that this and related histories in this genre have their origins in popular and oral traditions – see https://iranicaonline.org/articles/alamara-ye-sah-esmail-an-anonymous-narrative-of-the-life-of-shah-esmail-r.
[513] *Persian Historiography*, ed. Melville and Yarshater, p. liv.

least one hundred and twenty-two instances), *shaykh-olghlī* (twenty four instances), *ṣūfīyān* (one hundred and twenty one), *ṣūfīgarī* (fifteen), *karāmāt* (six), *touḥīdkhāneh* (once), and so on.[514] Indeed, however many fantastic accounts there may be in these texts, denying that they contain at least a kernel of the perspectives or reflect the collective memory of the disciples and partisans of the Safavid *ūjāq* or the Safavid *qezelbāsh-ṣūfī* community in the broadest sense, without actually studying them, is not productive.[515]

As for the rest of the *T-Recension* introduction, it is hardly worth adding more examples to what already constitutes solid evidence to the effect that most of its contents, with events listed year-by-year, have been borrowed from the *Takmilat*, merely changing the third- for the first-person in several verbs. The historical introduction thus ends some five or six folios after the Mara'shī segment. These folios include at least one admonition against over-relying on one's own efforts (f.11r); claim that Ṭahmāsb appointed only the truly qualified to positions of government (f.11v); relate a journey to Khorasan and the Battle of Jām, and the young Shah's 'vision of Imam 'Alī' (*dar vāq'eh dīdam*) (ff.12v/13r); and mention the debate between the Mojtahed az-Zamān Shaykh 'Alī 'Abd al-'Ālā and Mīr Gheyāth al-Dīn Manṣūr on scholastic matters (*mobāḥethāt-e 'elmī*), in which the former prevailed (f.15v). Finally, towards the end, the introduction briefly mentions the outcome of Sām Mīrzā's rebellion and his seeking pardon from his half-brother; and then closes with the account of the '*Tekkelū Calamity*' (*āft-e tekkelū* ¬ a chronogram for 937 AH ~ 1530/31) – yet another abortive rebellion, this one resulting in a massacre of many members of the tribe, with survivors fleeing to Baghdad.[516]

[514] MS.Majles: No. 13739 – the term *'ūjāq'* is mentioned at least 162 times, in various contexts (pp.345, 352, 353, 404, 482, ...).
[515] For a more elaborate discussion of the notion, function, and analytical framework of the *ūjāq* institution see Ayfer Karakaya's *Kizilbash-Alevis in Ottoman Anatolia: Sufism, Politics and Community* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020).
[516] MS.BL: Or. 5880 – f.14r.

This introduction thus provides a substantially detailed historical background, against which the first, and the rest, of the stories would make much more sense to a late seventeenth-century Safavid prince or his contemporaries who might get their hands on the ***GPL*** manuscript. Besides establishing that the *T-Recension* introduction was not the work of Ṭahmāsb, and that it should be understood against the proper temporal and sociopolitical contexts, in this section I have also demonstrated another way in which the *T-Recension* is connected to texts such as *ʻAlām-ārā-ye Shāh Esmāʻīl* and *ʻAlām-ārā-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb*, and by extension to the *qezelbāsh-ṣūfī* milieu and their memory tradition. I have likewise posited that there is more textual evidence in the *T-Recension* that further substantiates this link and indicates efforts to emphasize Ṭahmāsb's position as *morshed-e kāmel* by means of paratext. This paratext, the last layer of what constitutes the *T-Recension*, is the subject of following sections.

(d) *Comparing the Core T-Recension Paratext with the Urtext*

The term 'core paratext' here refers to the section following the historical introduction, starting with the story of Olāmeh and extending to that of Bāyezīd, in the ***GPL*** and ***BL*** codices, to be compared with the urtext – that is, the *M-Recension* minus the preface. While the entire *T-Recension* is just over ten percent longer than the *M-Recension*, its core text is about ten percent shorter than the reconstructed urtext. This variance can be explained by the fact that the preface and the historical introduction to the *T-Recension* are quite substantial, whereas the core text itself is based on the shorter *Naqqāsh* variant in the ***Mashhad Codex***, while the 'reconstruction' additionally includes all that is found in the longer *Kāteb* variant. Thus, since the *Naqqāsh* variant omits not only many verses (of poetry, the Quran, and Hadiths) but at times also excludes entire passages found in the *Kāteb* variant, the core text of the *T-Recension* based on the former is by default shorter than the complete urtext.

Some of the differences have already been mentioned, others are discussed below. It should be noted, however, that the following comparison is not intended to be comprehensive. The goal here is to: (i) point out several representative patterns and noteworthy differences across the two texts; (ii) provide examples of paratext from the *T-Recension* that have some bearing on the narrative as a whole; (iii) identify evidence of the emphasis on the narrator-protagonist's high spiritual station, his position as *morshed-e kāmel* to the *qezelbāsh-ṣūfī* community, and by extension argue for the *T-Recension*'s connection to *'Ālam-ārā-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb* overall. Instead of going through the stories one by one, the findings are presented in loose thematic groups, which, taken together, provide sufficient evidence for the argument of a *qezelbāsh-ṣūfī* connection.

One such idiosyncrasy of this text, already mentioned, is the several profanities, which are absent from the urtext (and the *M-Recension*). For instance, the narrator on at least two occasions calls his adversaries 'bastards' (*ḥarām-zādeh*), while referring to Olāmeh as an 'ingrate' (*namak-beh-ḥarām*).[517] Elsewhere, the term 'impure' (*īn-nāpāk*) is used in reference to Ebrāhīm Pāshā, along with occasional curses on him (*la'natu allāh 'alayhi*).[518] While a curse can hardly be taken as indicative of much, the other three examples are difficult to attribute to the Safavid Shah and thus accept the notion that he personally revised the original stories and intentionally added these profanities. Indeed, such vulgar language points to a lower social class of the author; the same can be said of the extensive use of these very same expressions across the *'Ālam-ārā-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb*.[519]

Another set of differences between the two texts includes various verses of poetry and excerpts from the Quran and Hadiths. Generally, it is often difficult to tell why certain verses

[517] MS.GPL: No. 831 – ff.15v, 30v / 24v, 41v, 59v.
[518] MS.GPL: No. 831 – ff.41r / 21v.
[519] MS.Majles: No. 13739 – *'ḥarām-zādeh'* is mentioned at least seventy-two times (pp.137, 158, 160, 161, 167, ...); *'namak-beh-ḥarām'* occurs at least sixty-one times (pp.107, 147, 157, 168), primarily with reference to Olameh, and *'īn-napāk'* no less than one-hundred and forty-two times (pp.117, 313, 361, 480, 483, ...)

and passages were reproduced in the *T-Recension* while others have been omitted. It is equally difficult to tell why certain other verses and passages have been added in places where the corresponding urtext has nothing. Some of it clearly has to do with the ***MC,*** which itself omits a whole range of passages and verses found in the *Kāteb* variant, yet there are many examples of the *T-Recension* paratext which cannot be explained this way. Those include, for instance, the verses in the urtext (f.20v) which differ from the *T-Recension* (f.34v); the *T-Recension* (ff.35v, 61r/v) quotes Ḥāfeẓ twice, verses the urtext omits; on another occasion, the urtext (f.32r) contains two full verses, while the *T-Recension* (f.43r) reproduces only half of the first verse; similarly, the verse found in the urtext (f.35r) is omitted in the *T-Recension* (f.46r); and another case where the urtext (ff.37r/v) and the *T-Recension* (ff.55r/v) contain entirely different verses. Similarly, at least five verses are missing from the *T-Recension* (ff.51v-52r) that appear in the corresponding section of the urtext (ff.70r/v); three verses are omitted in the *T-Recension* (f.72r); five Torkī verses are omitted in the *T-Recension* (ff.74r/v).

The reasons why many of these have been included or removed in both texts require a much closer study of the relevant sections and are beyond the scope of this chapter. Readers are welcome to consult the two Persian editions in the Appendix. Lastly, it seems important to mention that the Alqāṣ story contains a plethora of excerpts from the Quran and the Hadith, primarily listing various attributes and qualities of ʻAlī. However, in the *T-Recension* these are incomparably more numerous (and often different too) than what appears in the urtext. Besides emphasising the narrator’s devotion to the Imam, these may also shed further light on the beliefs and mode of piety of those behind the revision; this however will need to be studied separately.

The third grouping of differences between the two recensions consists of paratexual examples from the *T-Recension*, whereby additional information about a given subject is

provided, or a state or condition is further emphasized. The reader is thus informed that Ḥoseyn Khān was a '*shāmlū*', and that Shah Esmā'īl was the narrator's 'father' (*pedar*), and that the sayyid executed by the Uzbek ruis described as*oth worlds'*.[520] Similarly, while the narrator in the urtext describes his condition as 'distressed' (*parīshān*), in the *T-Recension* he is said to have been 'distressed and disturbed'.[521] Possibly of little consequence, yet noteworthy, is an example whereby in the urtext (f.15v) the '*people of Qazvin'* (*mardom-e qazvīn*) are said to have prepared food for the Shah and in the *T-Recension* it was '*Qazvin's leaders/elders*' preparing the food.[522] An interesting example of specific details, missing in the urtext (f.27r) is found in the *T-Recension* (f.42v), whereby the narrator specifically adds that while fishing he was standing 'unclad in the water'.[523] The final example from this grouping is the characterization of Bāyezīd, who in the urtext (f.65v) is called 'this low fellow' and 'a fool and a half-wit' (*īn mardak besyār safīh va ablah*), in the *T-Recension* is described as being 'dumber than Alqāṣ'.[524]

Also noticeable is the order in which sub-episodes are narrated. In general, such examples are abundant and diverse but are generally of limited consequence. For instance, although the order of arrangement of several passages in the Alqāṣ story (the longest of the five) do not perfectly correspond across the two texts, the contents are extremely close, and these differences are difficult to interpret; it may well be due unintended scribal errors. Therefore, overanalysing these differences might not be very productive.

[520] MS.GPL: No. 831 – ff.17r, 31r, 21v.
[521] MS.GPL: No. 831 – ff.11v, 23r.
[522] MS.GPL: No. 831 – f.15v. – ''*kadkhodāyān-e qazvīn*."
[523] MS.GPL: No. 831 – f.42v – ''*barehneh dar ab*." Relying exclusively on the *T-Recension*, Babayan dedicated an entire paragraph to the discussion of Ṭahmāsb's 'masculinity', based on the image of him 'naked', as well as his 'urbanity', for his alleged preference for fishing over hunting, which she claims his father favoured. While the former image is a paratext and should be understood in its proper late-seventeenth-century context, her latter suggestion is likewise problematic, for the sources contain numerous accounts of Ṭahmāsb hunting (e.g., with Homāyūn).
[524] MS.GPL: No. 831 – f.84r – '*kam-'aqltar az alqāṣ būdeh*'.

Alongside the above listed examples, several more consequential differences have been identified. One such example from the *T-Recension* is mention of the Sārlū as Olāmeh's allies, taken word-for-word from the *Takmilat*, followed by claims of their heresy as well as that they shared wives.[525] In contrast, throughout the urtext the Sārlū Qezelbāsh tribe is loyal to Ṭahmāsb, often participating in campaigns. Therefore, the later variant seems to point to a shift in loyalties and alliances circa the late seventeenth century, rather than something grounded in the historical reality of the first half of the sixteenth.

The urtext (f.15v) also contains mention of Ṭahmāsb's visit to a *ḥamām* (bath) in Qazvin, which in the *T-Recension* he is additionally said to have built himself, in the neighbourhood of Ja'farābād.[526] This might indicate that that bathhouse had become a site of memory associated with Ṭahmāsb and his redevelopment of the city. His visit, though, would have occurred less than a decade into his reign, prior to his making Qazvin his residence, and thus any claims of his having built anything there seem rather suspect or at least anachronistic.

Having a direct bearing on the narrative is another example at the end of the Ghāzī Khān story. The two texts contain different accounts: in the urtext (ff.30v-31r) Ebrāhīm Pāshā departs without engaging the Safavid forces in battle, whereas in the *T-Recension* the spies deliver intelligence, which allows the Safavid side to set a trap and ambush the Ottomans, killing many and capturing more than one hundred, while the Pāshā is said to have fled to Deyārbekr.[527] He is eventually executed on Soleymān's order, according to both versions. These alterations most probably stem from the desire to attribute to Ṭahmāsb some successes on the battlefield, of which there was a clear shortage.

[525] MS.BL: Or. 5880 – f.15v v. Shīrāzī, *Takmilat*, p.72.
[526] MS.GPL: No. 831 – f.28.
[527] MS.BL: Or. 5880 – ff.41r/v.

Other noteworthy examples of the *T-Recension* paratext generally tend to add a layer of piety to the narrator-protagonist and further emphasize his concern for the well-being of the commonfolk. For instance, in the urtext (f.36v), responding to Alqās, the narrator speaks of the 'treasure in [his] heart', that is, his love for 'Alī ('*ān naqd moḥabbat-e āqā-ye man-ast*'), while in the *T-Recension*, apparently seeking to amplify his piety, the narrator suggests that said treasure additionally subsumes '[his] love for the believers'.[528] Several similar examples, adding an extra layer of religious devotion to the narrator's voice, or emphasizing his concern for the populace, are found throughout the text. Thus, in the *T-Recension* the narrator, having mentioned his anxiety over the Ottoman threat, also expresses deep concern for the condition of the commonfolk.[529] Towards the end of the *T-Recension*, the paratext yet further stresses the need for 'alleviation of distress upon the people' as the main motivation to make peace with the Ottomans.[530]

Another noteworthy passage follows the last war council (*jāneqī*), during which a strategy to engage with the Ottomans is discussed. In the urtext (f.64r), after the council is concluded, Ṭahmāsb merely says: 'We shall make peace!' (*ṣolḥ mī-konīm*). In the corresponding section of the *T-Recension*, the narrator, in deciding on the best course of action, claims to have resorted to augury and divination, which yield 'peace'.[531] This seemingly minor detail may point to the widespread use of divination in late Safavid society, which at least in the context of this council and the decision to make peace, contrasts sharply with Ṭahmāsb's approach.

The Bāyezīd story in the *T-Recension* also contains several passages which differ from the urtext. Towards the end, the former text omits a few details, including a *ghazal* by Ḥāfeẓ –these are also absent from the ***MC*** – yet the only truly consequential difference

[528] MS.GPL: No. 831 – f.54v.
[529] MS.GPL: No. 831 – f.61.
[530] MS.GPL: No. 831 – f.74v.
[531] MS.GPL: No. 831 – f.82v.

between the urtext and the *T-Recension* is the alleged plot to poison the Shah included in the latter. Thus, while in both texts (ff.70v-71r) Moḥammad-e ‘Arab informs Ṭahmāsb of Bāyezīd’s escape plans, in the *T-Recension* he adds that the ‘sweetmeats’ (*ḥelvā*) to be served during the upcoming festivities have been poisoned.[532] The plot is then foiled as the alleged perpetrators are arrested, some killed, and others are forced to consume the poisoned *ḥelvā*.[533] What is interesting about this bit of the *T-Recension* paratext is that it is not taken from the *Takmelat*, which does not mention the ‘poisoned *ḥelvā* plot’, but from another text, possibly from Rūmlū’s *Aḥsan*, which is the only contemporary chronicle to mention it, or perhaps from the Eskander Bēg’s *Tārīkh*, which reproduces much of Rūmlū’s text.[534] The reason for including these narrative-altering passages might be related to the controversial decision to deliver the fugitive prince to the Ottoman envoys, resulting in his being executed along with his four sons. It is thus apparent that, alongside Ṭahmāsb’s own troubled conscience, compelling him to produce his *res gestae* in five stories, following his death Safavid historians felt that Bāyezīd’s alleged escape plan, as depicted in the Shah’s own historiographical effort, did not justify the decision to deliver the fugitive prince (along with his children) to the Ottoman envoys.

All in all, while these differences between the two texts offer insights as to the nature of the *T-Recension*, arguably the most important cluster of paratext (and relevenat to the argument of the present chapter) consists of a range of instances of explicit emphasis on the narrator-protagonist’s high spiritual station, as befits the Shah’s role as the ‘perfect guide’ (*morshed-e kāmel*), the theme explored next.

Dreams, abundantly mentioned throughout the narrative, are central to the effort to present the Shah as the ‘perfect guide’. It seems significant that the phrase that appears in the

[532] MS. GPL: No. 831 – ff.83r/v.
[533] MS. GPL: No. 831 – f.85r.
[534] Shīrāzī, *Takmilat*, p.116; Rūmlū, *Aḥsan*, p. 1416.

urtext (f.11r) – ‘my belief is that whoever sees prophets and imaculate imams in a dream ...’ – is changed in the *T-Recension* (f.23r) to ‘the belief of this wretched slave, Ṭahmāsb al-Ḥoseynī, is that whoever sees His Majesty the Commander of the Faithful in a dream ...’. This change in wording, it may be argued, elevates ‘Alī above all other prophets and imams, making him the patron saint of the narrator-protagonist. Furthermore, while in the urtext the narrator sees ‘*dreams’* (*dar khwāb dīdam*), in the *T-Recension* he has ‘*visions’* (*dar vāqi‘eh dīdam*), which is obviously an attempt to accentuate his mystical prowess.[535]

Of even greater interest is the attribution in the urtext (f.19v) of the dream of Amīr Sayyid Moḥammad Pīshnamāz, in which he is said to have seen the Prophet (*dar khwāb dīd*), a dream which is attributed to the Shah himself in the *T-Recension* (*dar vāqi‘eh dīdam*).[536] Thus, alongside mentioning Mīr Sayyid Moḥammad, the *T-Recension* text tells the reader that it was the Shah who had had a vision of the Prophet.[537] The mention of the *pīshnamāz* is thus redundant, for the verb ending has been altered to attribute the ‘vision’ to Ṭahmāsb. Here, the *T-Recension* also reproduces some Hadiths to verify the claim of the Shah’s having seen the Prophet in a dream and then goes on to reiterate that it was indeed himself who had had the ‘vision’.[538]

A few folios later, we find a very similar example, whereby another person’s dream is again attributed to the narrator. Thus, the urtext (f.26r) has ‘a person saw Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn in a dream,’ and received a message for the Shah, whereas in the *T-Recension* not only has the

[535] MS.GPL: No. 831 – ff.10v, 23r... *Vāqi‘eh* signifies a thought which appears in the mind and remains there, unlike *khāter*; all minds are subject to *khāṭer* (passing thought) but *vāqi‘eh* is possible only in a mind that is entirely filled with the notion of God. See R.A. Nicholson’s translation of *Kashf al-Maḥjūb: The Oldest Persian Treatise on Sufism, by ‘Alī b. ‘Uthmān al-Jullābī al-Hujwīrī* (Lahore: Islamic Book Service, 2005) p.388. I would like to thank Julian Faultless for the suggestion to consult this work.
[536] MS.GPL: No. 831 – f.32v.
[537] MS.GPL: No. 831 – f.32v.
[538] MS. GPL: No. 831 – f.33r.

narrator personally having ‘a vision one night’,[539] moreover, it was ‘Alī, not Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn, who addressed Ṭahmāsb as ‘[my] child’ (*ey farzand*).[540]

Likewise, not included in the urtext, the *T-Recension* (f.41v) mentions that, following the pilgrimage, which included *naẕr* and lighting twelve candles at the dynastic shrine in Ardabil, the Shah prayed on the shrine premises and subsequently ‘slept in the house of Solṭān Ḥeydar’ specifically.[541] The urtext says merely ‘we slept there that night’. In this section, the urtext (f.26v) relates the Shah’s having seen Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn in a dream, importantly without ever mentioning his spending a night in the house of Shaykh Ḥeydar, while the *T-Recension* (ff.41v-42r) says that it was Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn who appeared to Ṭahmāsb in the dream (*khwāb*).[542] While unlikely, ‘Ṣafī’ may have resulted from a scribal error when copying ‘Ṣadr’, but the mention of Solṭān Ḥeydar is significant yet difficult to interpret. Considering that Ḥeydar is believed to have introduced the Qezelbāsh *tāj*, Ṭahmāsb’s spending a night in his house may well be imbued with a certain symbolism, and therefore his mention is hardly coincidental. The dream-centred examples do not end here.

In the urtext (f.43r) the narrator, following the prayer at the Shrine of Shehāb al-Dīn Aharī, says simply: ‘God has accepted my prayer’. In contrast, in the *T-Recension* (f.61r) the narrator claims to have ‘cried a lot, then had a vision, in which Aharī told him that all the shaykhs were with him in the prayer today, and that it has most certainly been accepted.’[543] This is yet another example of emphasis on the Shah’s high mystical and spiritual station.

Yet again, the series of dreams in the Eskader Pāshā story in the urtext (ff.56v-57r) are described in the *T-Recension* as ‘visions’ (*vāqi‘eh*).[544] In addition to this, the first among them, in the urtext (f.56v), is said to have been interpreted for the Shah by unidentified

[539] MS. GPL: No. 831 – ff.41r/v.
[540] MS. GPL: No. 831 – f.41v.
[541] MS. GPL: No. 831 – f.41v.
[542] MS. GPL: No. 831 – ff.41v-42r.
[543] MS.GPL: No. 831 – f.61r.
[544] MS.GPL: No. 831 – f.75r.

individuals (*beh man mī-gūyand keh māh-e mashreq az dīn moḥammad Ozbek-ast va māh-e maghreb az khondgār*). However, in the *T-Recension*, a certain 'radiant figure' (*shakhṣī nūrānī*) is said to have clarified the meaning of the vision, additionally substituting '*Dīn Moḥammad Ozbek*' for '*Obayd Ozbek*'.[545] We may speculate that the latter may have been the most remembered antagonist, circa the late seventeenth century; the 'radiant figure' however is clearly mentioned for the purpose of reiterating to his community the Shah's ability, as a spiritual leader, to access the 'world of the unseen'. The narrator then is said to have attempted to make sense of the vision, concluding, exclusively in the *T-Recension* (f.78r), that his experience is akin to 'those of Moses whom God's light accompanied in the desert' – the urtext makes no mention of Moses.[546]

The last set of examples of paratext in the *T-Recension* which point to the author's attempt to highlight Ṭahmāsb's role as *morshed* comes from the story of Alqāṣ. Largely the same passages, in the urtext (f.34r) and the *T-Recension* (f.44v), outline the claims Alqāṣ is alleged to have made at the Ottoman court, such as having secured the Qezelbāsh support, etc. This is followed by Ṭahmāsb's refutation of these claims which, in the *T-Recension*, are additionally accompanied by the emphatic '[for] those upon path of Sufism recognize only one *morshed*'.[547] It is essential to mention that, in the *T-Recension* (ff.70v), upon the eventual capture of Alqāṣ, he is said to have come before Ṭahmāsb while the latter was in the *touḥīdkhāneh*.[548] This passage is missing in the urtext and represents yet another piece of evidence in support of this argument.

---

[545] MS.GPL: No. 831 – f.75v.
[546] MS. GPL: No. 831 – '*nūr-e tajallā bā ḥażrat-e mūsā kalīm-allāh 'alā nabiynā wa 'aleyhi al-salām dar ṭūr-e sīnā' ān būd keh dar qeṣaṣ va akhbār masṭūr-ast*'.
[547] MS. GPL: No. 831 – f.44v – '*dar rah-e ṣūfīgarī morshed-e yekī-rā mī-dānand*'. The term '*morshed*' is mentioned at least one-hundred and twenty-two times in the *'AAST* manuscript, including this very formula. At the same time, in Qomī's *Kholāṣat* it is not mentioned even once.
[548] MS. GPL: No. 831 – f.70r – '*rūzī dar touḥīdkhāneh būdam ān-jā āmad*'.

The findings outlined above support the conclusion that the *T-Recension* differs significantly from the urtext, most importantly in its emphasis on Ṭahmāsb's high spiritual station and his role as *morshed* to the *qezelbāsh-ṣūfī* community. In addition, the intertextual relationship with the *'Alām-ārā-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb* corroborates the existence (alongside the scribal historiography discussed in the first part of this thesis) of the *qezelbāsh-ṣūfī* historiographical and memory tradition pertaining to Ṭahmāsb. More importantly, despite the Shah's own efforts, as well as those of a few Safavid scribes and their successors, to 'dam the flow of tradition' by means of historiography emphasizing his law-abiding conduct, it has not only survived but has effectively 'trickled' through the 'discursive dam' to assume a textual form. Nonetheless, this alternative tradition of Safavid historiography remains virtually unstudied. This in turn explains the relatively myopic view of the figure of Ṭahmāsb as overly pious and even bigoted, a function of modern scholars' overreliance on scribal historiography. A comprehensive study of texts such as the *'Alām-ārā-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb* is likely in the long-run to yield a more nuanced and balanced understanding of the Shah's persona and legacy. The final section of this chapter outlines some of the immediately available evidence allowing for further exploration of the figure of Ṭahmāsb as *morshed*.

Ṭahmāsp as Morshed

Sandwiched between his celebrated father Esmā‘īl and his no less eminent grandson ‘Abbās, both of whom have received substantial scholarly attention, Ṭahmāsb, despite being the longest reigning monarch in Iran’s history, has neither been the subject of any full-scale biography nor has his reign been a subject of many monographs.[549] Within the scope of this dissertation, in addition to examining the manuscript stemmas and analysing the text and its transmission, evolution and readership, I have sought to address two key questions. The first: to what extent are our views of Ṭahmāsb a function of the public image that he himself

[549] Some noteworthy exceptions include Martin B. Dickson, “Sháh Tahmásb and the Úzbeks: The Duel for Khurásán with ‘Ubayd Khán (930-946/1524-1540).” (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1958); Manuchehr Pārsādust is author of the closest thing we have to a biography of the monarch, *Shāh Tahmāsb-e Avval* (Tehran: Sherkat-e Sahāmī Enteshār, 1377/1988); Walter Posch, *Osmanische-Safavidische Bezeihung (1545-1550): Der Fall Alkas Mirza*, 2 vols. Veröffentlichungen Zur Iranistik Herausgegeben von Bert G. Fragner und Florian Schwarz, Nr. 71 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2013); Hani Khafipour, “Foundation of the Safavid State: Fealty, Patronage, and Ideals of Authority (1501-1576).” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2013); Gregory Aldous, “Qizilbash Tribalism and Royal Authority in Early Safavid Iran, 1524-1534.” (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2013).

constructed through the *Five Stories*; and second: what can the parallel memory and historiography tradition, current among his disciples, the *ṣūfī*s and the Qezelbāsh, and subsequently preserved and passed on by their descendants, add to our understanding of the Shah and his legacy? The former question has been addressed in the first two chapters, whereas the current chapter and the next seek to begin to address the latter.

The well-established characterization of Ṭahmāsb has been that of a legalistically minded, deeply devout, and even bigoted, figure. Scholars have essentially internalized and sought to propagate the narrative whereby soon after reasserting his royal authority, and following the so-called 'sincere repentance', the Shah is said to have gravitated towards orthodox *mojtahed*-sanctioned Twelver Shī'ī piety. However, his role and position as *morshed-e kāmel* has remained virtually unexplored, for it has been residually assumed that his public acts and expressions of piety implied incompatibility with *ṣūfī-qezelbāsh* beliefs and practices.

That said, this image of Ṭahmāsb in the historiography, it may be recalled, is largely based to on his two 'sincere repentances' (the second presumably more sincere than the first), only a couple of royal decrees banning drinking, prostitution and gambling, his self-representation in the *Five Stories*, and, by extension, the chronicles composed by Safavid scribes (e.g., *Kholāṣat*, *'Alām-ārā-yī 'Abbāsī*). Thus, we are often reminded of Ṭahmāsb's alleged suppression of the *ṣūfī* groups who proclaimed him *mahdī*.[550] It is, however, important to recognize that all these cases are presented with an implicit assumption that several public acts ostensibly proving his normative Twelver piety necessarily meant that the Shah in fact relinquished his duties as *morshed* of the Safavid *ūjāq* or, more importantly, that

[550] Newman, A., "The Myth of the Clerical Migration to Safawid Iran: Arab Shiite Opposition to ʿAlī al-Karakī and Safawid Shiism," *Die Welt des Islams*, New Series, vol. 33, Issue 1 (April 1993), p.94. The only chronicle to include this episode is Eskander Bēg's *Tārīkh*, where it seems to be more of an afterthought, with the aim of further emphasizing the law-abiding character of the Shah, rather than something grounded in historical reality.

he was no longer seen as such by the *ṣūfī*s and the Qezelbāsh. Certainly not coincidentally, in most of the works of the 'scribal historiography' Ṭahmāsb is almost never referred to as *morshed-e kāmel*, admittedly the title of greater significance for the Qezelbāsh and *ṣūfī*s than for the *monshī*s.

While Esmā'īl has been explicitly and almost customarily referred to as *morshed-e kāmel*, or viewed as a charismatic leader by modern scholars, his son and succesor is typically portrayed as having broken with the 'extremism of his messiah father', instead emphasising justice ('*adl*) as the central charateristic of his rule.[551] Khafipour, for instance, contends that Esmā'īl's legitimacy, based on 'a militant chiliastic message with strong mahdistic trappings', came to be replaced by Ṭahmāsb's emphasis upon justice in the public sphere, reinforced by the gradual advancement by the 'Amilī *'olamā* of the notions of just Shī'ī rule, along with stressing the religio-political fealty (*taqarrob*) to the Shah as the head of the Safavid House for the *qezelbāsh* military elite.'[552]

Notwithstanding the questionable premise of the expiry of his father's 'militant chiliastic message' and the resultant necesity to replace it with an emphasis on the abstract notion of *taqarrob* – arguably a concocted crisis of authority – it is far from clear that the majority of the Qezelbāsh and the *ṣūfī*s' views of their *morshed* (i.e., their sense of religio-political fealty to him) changed in any meaningful manner from the accession of Ṭahmāsb to the end of his reign. Indeed, both Weberian and Durkheimian sociologies suggest that leaders' charisma is primarily dervied from collective desires of the group supporting them rather than individuals' efforts to affect and bedazzle everyone around.[553] Esmā'īl was neither the first

[551] Khafipour, "Foundation," p.36; Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs*, p.334.
[552] Khafipour, "Foundation," p.36. The notion of *taqarrob*, despite Khafipour's seemingly intentional avoidance to point this out, is equally often used with reference to Esmā'īl.
[553] Cited in A. Azfar Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign: Sacred Kingship and Sainthood in Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), pp. 246-247. See Max Weber, *On Charisma and Institution Building*, trans. S.N. Eisenstadt (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968); Mary Douglas, *How Institutions Think* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1986); Raymond Aron, *Main Currents in Sociological Thought*, 2 vols. (New York: Basic Books, 1967).

nor the last person in his family to make claims to both spiritual and wordly authority at the same time; and yet Sheykh Ḥeydar is never said to have had to renegotiate the relationship with his *ṣūfī* followers once Joneyd was killed by the Shervānshāh.

Similarly, though not widely known, is evidence that even during the reign of Shah Ṣafī I (r.1629-42) certain Qezelbāsh groups in Anatolia continued to deify him and view him as the manifestation of ‘Alī, while the Safavids continued to appoint and dispatch *khalīfehs* to Anatolia and Azerbaijan all the way into the eighteenth century, indicating that the ties between the followers and their spiritual leaders remained strong.[554] Indeed, even the last of the Safavid Shahs, and the central figure of the following chapter, who was never crowned and instead moved to India, was accompanied on his journey (and for the rest of his life) by a large number of loyal *ṣūfī* disciples. Clearly, in effect he not only retained but actively cultivated his status as *morshed-e kāmel* to his community. The evidence is in fact so abudant, and considering that the Safavid Shahs constituted not only a pillar of the state but also the largest segment of their miliary force, it is virtually incontestible that they never completely abandoned their role of spiritual guide to the *ṣūfī-qezelbāsh* community.[555] The inconsistency between the established narrative and the evidence in the sources appears to stem from the residual confusion among modern scholars when it comes to *ṣūfī-qezelbāsh* beliefs and practices, on the one hand, and messianic expectations associated with the group more generally. While the latter came and went, subject to social, economic and political realities, the former remained virtually constant and was most prominently manifested in the community’s beliefs in the transmigration of souls (*tanāsukh*), divine in-dwelling (*ḥolūl*), and

[554] Trowbridge, S.v.R., “The Alevis, or Deifiers of Ali,” *Harvard Theological Review* 2, no. 3 (1909), p.342; Two *khilafetnāmehs* from the reign of Shah Solṭān Ḥoseyn, c. 1714-15, are reproduced in Musavi, T.M., *Orta Asr Azarbaijan Tarikhina dair Farsdilli Sanadlar (XVI-XVIII)* (Baky: Elm nashriiiaty, 1977), pp.182-85.

[555] Vladimir Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-Molūk: A Manual of Safavid Administration (circa 1137 A.H./1725 A.D.)*. Persian text edited by Bahman Karīmī. (London: Luzac & Co., for the Royal Asiatic Society, 1943), pp.159-161.

the higher spiritual station and even divinity of their 'perfect guide', explaining their strong and persistent sense of fealty towards him.

On the role Ṭahmāsb as *morshed-e kāmel*, Iranian scholar Manūchihr Pārsādūst has written that the Shah, not unlike his father, 'did not pass through the stages of spiritual training of the Safavid *tarīqah* to attain the station of the *perfect guide*', adding that 'he did not wear a *darvīsh* cloak, nor attempt to suppress his ego (*chelleh neshastan*), nor dwell in the *khānaqāh* but instead, from an early age, had to put on the battle raiments.' Ṭahmāsb is said to have simply inherited the title of *morshed* from his father and while 'not having a particular interest in *ṣūfīgarī*,' he stuck to it as a pillar of power, albeit growing more distant as his powerbase expanded over years.[556] Thus, even if we accept that in the later years, presumably following the Treaty of Amasya (1555), Ṭahmāsb eventually grew disengaged from his *ṣūfī* disciples and responsibilities as *morshed* (a notion which has not been properly investigated or documented beyond some questionable references), one would expect this specific dimention of his authority to be reflected in the sources, explicitly or otherwise, and indeed it is.

For instance, Ṭahmāsb's participation in *ṣūfī* ceremonies, people's reverence towards him, and even public recitals of poetry attributed to him in the *meydān* of Tabriz are documented both in the Anatolian Qezelbāsh sources and in the account of Membré.[557] Moreover, the compilation and dissimination among the Anatolian Qezelbāsh of the *Buyruk of Shaykh Ṣafī*, alternatively titled *Shah Ṭahmāsb's Vulgate* by Yıldırım, that is, the text outlining the key religious precepts and ritual practices of the community, also occurred

[556] Pārsādūst, *Shāh Tahmāsb-e Avval*, p. 846.
[557] Membré, M., *Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia (1539-``1542)*, trans. Morton, A.H. (London: Gibb Memorial Trust, 1993), pp.30-33. The account in fact contains whole range of relevant examples. See also, Ayfer Karakaya-Stump's dissertation, reproducing a passage from the *Buyruk* found in Erzincan, which describes Ṭahmāsb's – 'Şāh Dehmān ibni Şāh İsmā'īl' – involvement in a '*cem*' ceremony, and mentions panegyrics addressed to him (*medḥ-i Şāh Dehmān*) – "Subjects of the Sultan, Disciple of the Shah: Formation and Transformation of the Kizilbash/Alevi Communities in Ottoman Anatolia" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2008), pp.199-200, 202.

during his long reign.[558] Likewise, the Safavid dynastic shrine in Ardabil underwent its greatest expansion, while the *Ṣafvat al-Ṣafā* and the Safavid genealogy were also reworked and translated into Turkish in this period.[559] The widespread reverence for and even deification of Ṭahmāsb is further attested by a Venetian traveller as late as the 1570s, and we know that it was the *tabarr'īyyān* who guarded the Shah's corpse when he died.[560] Considering the above evidence, it seems rather counterintuitive to suggest that the most consequential *morshed* of the Safavid *ūjāq*, at the height of its power and influence, whose memory persisted among his followers' descendants for more than a century beyond his death, can be characterized as having abandoned his duties and responsibilities before the community of loyal disciples.

Moreover, there are endless references to Ṭahmāsb as *morshed* in various contexts in the so-called 'anonymous histories', some of which have already been mentioned, although most await a comprehensive study. To those mentioned may be added the description of his birth, in the *'Alām-ārā-ye Shāh Esmā'īl*, which can only be described as a nativity scene; in both histories he is referred to as *shāhzādeh-ye ṣūfī*.[561] In fact, instances of framing various episodes using *ṣūfī* terminology and language are abundant. For instance, the episode of the 'rising' (*khorūj*) and the eventual execution of Qavvām al-Dīn Nūrbakhshī is framed as a feud between a master and his disciple, i.e., the latter attempting to challenge the authority of the former. Thus, the heart of Qavvām al-Dīn is said to have become 'filled with fear of the

[558] Yıldırım, R. "The Safavid-Qizilbash Ecumene and the Formation of the Qizilbash-Alevi Community in the Ottoman Empire, c. 1500 – c. 1700," in *Iranian Studies* 52 (3-4), 2019, p.465 and Morton, A.H., "The *Chūb-i Ṭarīq* and *Qizilbāsh* Ritual," in *Etudes Safavides*, Jean Calmard (ed.), (Paris, Tehran: Institut Français de Recherche en Iran, 1993), p.228

[559] Kishwar Rizvi's *The Safavid Dynastic*, Chapter Two.

[560] Vincentio d' Alessandri, *A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia, in the Fifteenth and Sixteen Centuries* (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1873), pp.212-213. See also, Stanfield-Johnson, Rosemary, "The Tabarra'iyan and the Early Safavids." *Iranian Studies* 37 (1), 2004, p.66.

[561] *'Alām-ārā-ye Shāh Esmā'īl*, pp.82-86, or *'Alām-ārā-ye Ṣafavī*, pp.168-170. The latter version contains an additional noteworthy detail where the villager, who eventually welcomes Tājlū Beygum and her retinue to his house, describes himself as the 'servant of His Sanctity the Commander of the Faithful and one of the *ṣūfīs* of the *ūjāq* of Shaykh Ṣafī'.

morshed' once he learnt of the approach of the 'army of heavenly glory.'[562] Another example from the *'Alām-ārā-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb*, describing Olāmeh's rebellion, reports that 'some thirty-forty thousand [Qezelbāsh] have turned away from the Safavid *ūjāq* and, for gold and jewels, attached themselves to the Ottoman *ūjāq'*.[563]

Additionally, as befits a *ṣūfī* shaykh and a sayyid, Ṭahmāsb is on several occasions in the *'Alām-ārā-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb* said to have performed miracles. One such instance pertains to the blizzard which decimated the Ottoman force during their first invasion, and which in the *Five Stories* is said to have been a result of the Shah's repentance. Thus, according to the *Alām-ārā-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb*, when spies delivered intelligence of the 'eighty-thousand-strong Ottoman army on the march against Shah Ṭahmāsb', the Qezelbāsh are said to have grown increasingly 'apprehensive and fearful' and ultimately unwilling to engage them in battle. In response, the Shah is said to have ordered a tent, that is a 'house of worship', to be set up. Then, we are told, 'he put on white raiment, head to toe, fasted during the day and prayed during the night', following which his plea with the Almighty was answered. 'Responding to the prayer of this sayyid', the Almighty made a 'dark cloud appear in the firmament', bringing 'thunder and lightning', and causing the Ottomans to disperse in all directions. Then, a 'hailstorm began' and 'from the heat, the soil turned into water' causing 'landslides in the radius of six *farsakhs*;' the hail is said to have hit the Ottomans so powerfully that 'their brains and horses have been destroyed.[564]

The affair of Alqās is yet another example explicitly presented in the *'Alām-ārā-yi Shāh Ṭahmāsb* as an attempt by the Shah's brother to challenge the rightful *morshed*'s authority. Thus, when Shāhvīrdī Solṭān objects to having to 'draw a sword against an *ūjāq*'

[562] *'Alām-ārā-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb*, p.83.
[563] MS.Majles: No. 13739 – p.194 – '*sī-chehel hezār nafar az ūjāq-e ṣafavīyyeh gardānīdeh az barā-ye zar va zoyūr beh ūjāq-e othmānīyyeh pesvasteh*'.
[564] MS.Majles: No. 13739 – pp.196-7 – see the appendix. The description continues, listing numbers of the soldiers and animals killed, the trouble the Ottoman ruler had in getting out of his tent due the great amount of snow, and so on.

(i.e., a descendant of the Prophet, that is, Alqās), who also happens to be ‘a son of Shāh Esmā‘īl and the brother of the Shah’, Ṭahmāsb is quick to respond: ‘You have just one *morshed*!’ (*morshed-e shomā yekī-st*). Following this, the Qezelbāsh commander concedes, acknowledging his *morshed*’s authority.[565]

Another interesting case of framıng a well-known episode, apparently only found in the *‘Alām-ārā-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb*, and framed in this particular way, is the address to Serkhāb Khān Ardalān, who had given refuge to Alqās, by the Shah’s emissary sent to retrieve the rebellious prince: ‘Your father never acted in a way unbecoming of a *ṣūfī* towards [the Safavid] House (*pedar-e to beh īn dūdmān nāṣūfīgarī nakardeh-ast*).[566] This can only be taken to mean that Ma’mūn Bēg Ardalān, and presumably every semi-autonomous governor in the Safavid realm, from Georgia to ‘Arabestān, was understood to have been a disciple of the Safavid *morshed*, that is, according to the *qezelbāsh-ṣūfī* tradition, likely the intended readership of the text. According to the text, Ṭahmāsb, by appealing to this notion of his being the *morshed*, was able to make Sarkhāb deliver Alqās to his envoys, or at the very least this is how the incident came to be remembered and subsequently written down more than a century later. When Alqās is eventually brought before his brother, their encounter takes place in a *touḥīdkhāneh* (that is, *cemevi* or *jemkhāneh*), whereupon Ṭahmāsp recites a poem by Sa‘dī containing imagery and iconography that strongly reverberates with Alevi-Bektashi, Shabak, and Ahl-i Haqq lore even today, namely ‘a *ṣūfī* figure riding a lion’.[567]

These details, along with other clues, are clearly intended to show the Shah as a *morshed*, even generations following his reign.[568] Indeed, these are just a few of many stories

[565] *‘Alām-ārā-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb*, p. 90
[566] *‘Alām-ārā-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb*, p.115.
[567] Bruinessen, M.v., "Haji Bektash, Sultan Sahak, Shah Mina Sahib and Various Avatars of a Running Wall," in *Mullas, Sufis, and Heretics: The Role of Religion in Kurdish Society: Collected Articles* (Piscataway, NJ, USA: Gorgias Press, 2011), pp.271-294.
[568] A manuscript in the National Library of Iran, no. 2121/2, apparently unstudied, contains a very interesting description. It is said to be a *resāleh*, of one-hundred and sixty-three folios, pertaining to mystical (*‘erfānī*) matters and composed at the end of the ‘tenth century *hejri*’. In it, by means of the Socratic method of instruction (*beh ṣūrat-e*

in which Ṭahmāsb is represented from the perspective of his devout followers in '*Alām-ārā-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb*, and a further exploration of the theme is likely to yield much more detail. Here we also find instances where he laughs, cracks jokes, and dances with the Qezelbāsh *amīr*s to defuse tensions and avoid conflict, not to mention more examples of clairvoyance and miracle-working; even his relationship with Homāyūn is once again framed as that of master-disciple.

All in all, his personal charisma is a prominent feature in '*Alām-ārā-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb*, which certainly allows a historian to paint a very different picture than that of a grim bigot, commonly the view of the Shah in modern scholarship. Indeed, a more synthetic evaluation of Ṭahmāsb is long overdue. Revising our understanding of his persona through inverting his image as an overly pious figure and investigating to what extent he continued in his role as *morshed* and was represented as charismatic leader also allows for placing him at the centre of what can be called the history of the Safavid *ūjāq* and the collective biography of the Qezelbāsh in the sixteenth century.

Finally, it is important to reflect on what the *Five Stories* composed by Ṭahmāsb reveal about his mindset, as well as to consider what being a *morshed* may have meant beyond the formal status and/or involvement in *qezelbāsh-ṣūfī* rituals. Regarding the former point, the didactic nature of the text is clearly in line with the notion of the Shah as teacher and guide, both to his contemporaries and descendants. At the same time, some reflections on the meaning of the term *ershād* – the main job of a *morshed* – and its root *rā-shā-dā*, and how these relate to Ṭahmāsb, allow further exploration of his personality and legacy. Semantically, the root is associated with 'following the right path' as well as 'reaching adulthood,' while its verbal noun in the fourth (causative) form – *ershād* – according to Steingass, means

so'āl va javāb), questions of prayer, its various aspects, other virtues and ethical issues, as well as 'the *ṣūfī* thought of the period,' are said to be addressed to and answered by the '*morshed* of the time', whom the author identifies as 'Shah Ṭahmāsb the First'. Derāyatī, *Fehrestvāreh*, vol. 22, p.566.

‘directing, showing the right way’; in the same dictionary, *ershād-angīz* is translated as ‘producing safety’, that is, presumably allowing individuals to grow both physically and otherwise.[569] It is therefore possible to render *ershād* in English as ‘making one reach adulthood’ while ‘following the right path’, which in practice means the moulding of one’s character and worldview through training and education. When it comes to Ṭahmāsb, even without the mystical dimension and outside the *qezelbāsh-ṣūfī* context, there is plenty of evidence to make an argument that his greatest legacy is rearing (for the lack of better term) the Shī‘ī nation, still in its infancy, by means of instruction and guidance, not only through his stories, clearly aimed at teaching future generations, but also through his personal involvement in educating youths of all classes and backgrounds.

For example, Shāh Ṭāher of Deccan is said to have asked (*darkhwāst kard*) Ṭahmāsb to allow his son Shāh Ḥeydar to come to his court to be educated.[570] At the same time, Ṭahmāsb is said to have been involved personally in the education of Aḥmad Khān Gīlānī, Sharaf Khān Rūzhākī, and even an artist named Seyāvosh Bēg – ‘[whose elegant pen] attracted the attention of the Shah, who personally took a hand in teaching him.’[571] Bitlisi’s *Sharafnāmeh* provides further details describing Ṭahmāsb’s custom of bringing the sons of his *amir*s and provincial rulers to court, and his personal involvement in their education, which included teaching ‘the Quran, Sharī‘ah, piety, cleanliness, keeping the company of devout men, and shunning immoral ones;’ and once they reached ‘maturity’, presumably at ten or eleven years of age, he is said also to have taught them ‘military sciences, archery, playing polo, horseback riding, swordsmanship, as well as courtesy, charity, and humility’.

---

[569] Steingass, F.J., *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary: Including the Arabic Words and Phrases to be Met with in Persian Literature.* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1892), p.37.
[570] Qobād al-Ḥoseynī, *Tārīkh-e Īlchī*, p.18 – ‘*taklīf-e īshān beh taḥṣīl kamālat-e 'elm*’.
[571] Eskandar Bēg, *History*, pp.183, 226, 272-73; Sharaf-Khān b. Shamsaddīn Bidlīsī, *Sharafnāmeh*, trans., intro. and comment., by Vasil'eva, E.I. (Moscow: Nauka, 1984), p.484.

Additionally, it is reported that the Shah 'used to say [to his pupils]: 'One day you should also take up painting, for it improves one's taste.''[572]

Another interesting aspect of Ṭahmasb's mindset, and very much in line with the notion of moulding youths' character through education, are his decrees instructing state functionaries to make arrangement for 'the teaching of orphaned children, including forty boys and forty girls, in the cities of Mashhad, Sabzavar, Astarabad, Qomm, Kashan, Yazd, and Tabriz.'[573] These orphans are said to have been 'provided with clothes and other necessities … male and female Shī'ī teachers were appointed to instruct them, and servants to attend to them, until they reached the age of puberty;' then, 'they were married off to one another and their places were taken by younger children.'[574] In the *Five Stories*, we find further references to children (*eṭfāl-e rūmī*, *armanī*) whom the Qezelāsh captured during their campaigns in Anatolia, not to mention tens of thousands of Georgian captives brought into the Safavid domains, starting under Ṭahmāsb, all of whom no doubt were likewise 'guided upon the right path', in line with state ideology, and thus raised as Twelver Shī'ī Muslims.

Furthermore, alongside importing Arab professors and translating Arabic Shī'ī texts into Persian, *maktabkhāneh*s (orphan schools) and *madrasa*s were established in major cities. The *Āyīn-e Shāh Ṭahmāsb* clearly articulates the official policy of *ershād*: 'to spread knowledge, art and education, so that talent from all classes of people is not wasted'; 'to make an effort to educate the old families'; 'to befriend well-wishers from every class'; 'support the poor, the abject and the needy'; '[to] investigate in every town and village of the protected reals [and] whenever they find an orphan without relatives, they should raise him or her … and after [they] reach the age of discernment, they should appoint a qualified teacher

[572] *Sharafnāmeh*, p.484.
[573] Zahra Talaee's "The Political Structure and Patronage of the Āstān-i Quds-i Raẓavī during the Reign of Shah Ṭahmāsp," in *IRAN: Journal of the BIPS*, vol. LII, 2014, p.215. Akihiko Yamaguchi, "Shāh Ṭahmāsp's Kurdish Policy," in *Studia Iranica* 41, 2012, p.122.
[574] Eskandar Bēg, *History*, p.204.

for the male and a chaste widow for the female, and entrust the orphans to them for education'; 'for marrying the orphans, all the necessities should be provided from the funds of the exalted state …,' and so on.[575] In order to win hearts and minds of the underclass, who were probably the only urban dwellers willing to embrace the new religio-political order, this seems to have been a wise approach. Yet, the more important implication of this agenda and associated policies is for the question of 'conversion to Shī'ism' which, one could argue, was more likely a result of a demographic shift in Iranian urban centres brought about through the emigration of Sunnīs, the immigration of Shī'īs, and the upbringing and education (*ershād*) of large masses of orphaned and captured youth, whose loyalty would be solely with the Safavid Shah and the community to which they now belonged.

It is also noteworthy that the Qezelbāsh, wherever city or locality they may be stationed, are commonly said to have been accompanied by their families, women, children (*ahl, 'ayāl, zanān, eṭfāl*). This fact points to their similarity to European settlers in various parts of the world. The Spanish, for example, also worked very closely with orphaned or abducted native American children, as did the Russians in the newly conquered lands in Asia, as did virtually all settler-colonial powers. This was clearly effective, allowing them to make initial progress in getting large masses of natives, in just a few decades, to become acculturated to new creeds, customs, and languages. In the case of Iran, not unlike the Jewish presence in nineteenth-century Palestine, plenty of Shī'īs were already there, so it was simply a matter of shifting the demographic balance in their favour as well as having enough teachers (and teaching materials) to educate new generations, and some old families, in new rites, dogmas, beliefs and ideology. It is surely not coincidental that there does not seem to be a single account of 'conversion' of a Sunnī (or a group of Sunnīs) to the Safavid state religion, for few if any Sunnīs converted, preferring instead to emigrate. There are also some

[575] Arjomand, "Three Decrees …," pp.260-61.

interesting parallels with one of the projects of Felix Dzerzhinsky (d. 1926), which saw millions of homeless and orphaned children throughout the newly established Soviet Union given access to education and all sorts of other support. Many of them went on to form the backbone of the new regime, either in the military, science, the academy, bureaucracy, manual labour, or other fields. Indeed, Ṭahmāsb's greatest legacy is arguably his success in securing a few decades of peace, producing the necessary safety, security and welfare, for a new Shī'ī generation to mature. Therefore, his *morshed*-hood goes far beyond the formal status of *perfect guide* to his *qezelbāsh-ṣūfī* disciples.

Some Concluding Remarks

The focus of this chapter has been the ***GPL*** codex, along with the associated stemma and the text and context of the *T-Recension*. A close reading of the paratext reveals that contrary to the established consensus, the recension was not in fact prepared by the Shah himself but was instead produced during the reign of Shah Soleymān I, most likely by a member of the Mara'shī family. This finding suggests the recension's close relationship to the so-called 'anonymous histories,' quite possibly having a shared authorship. In turn, comparing the *T-Recension* with the urtext, along with a modest examination of the *Alām-ārā-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb*, supports the argument that the recension represents an effort by members of the Safavid *ūjāq* to emphasize Ṭahmāsb's higher spiritual station and his status as *morshed* to his *qezelbāsh-ṣūfī* disciples. This, as well as other findings, ultimately point to the persistent memory tradition which has 'trickled' through the discursive 'dam' constructed by the Shah himself and reinforced by Safavid scribes over the decades following his reign. Thus, in

addition to the Shah's representation in 'scribal historiography' as overly pious, this parallel tradition allowed an exploration of his charismatic side and his status as *morshed-e kāmel* to his community. Going a step further, it becomes clear that the notion of *ershād* – that is, education and upbringing – even if taken outside the *ṣūfī* context, was considered to be, well into the late seventeenth century, central to the Shah's mindset and political vision, most notably manifesting itself in his efforts to educate not only princes but also the poor, including thousands of orphans. This, alongside his success in securing peace with the Ottomans, is what allowed for a Shī'ī generation to grow, ultimately shifting the demographic balance in their favour. The next and final chapter examines the second of the two manuscript stemmas containing the *T-Recension*, traces the transmission and evolution of the ***BL*** manuscript, and thus presents insights into its reception and readership.

Chapter Four: The BL Stemma

MS. British Library: Or. 5880
Abū al-Fatḥ Mīrzā Ṣafavī in India, the Anglo-German Orientalists, and the Fourth Edition

Introduction: The BL Stemma and the Stories it Tells

The fourth, and last, stemma to be studied as part of this dissertation derives from the already much referred to *MS. BL: Or. 5880*. Certain differences notwithstanding, like *MS. GPL: No. 831*, discussed in Chapter Three, it contains the *T-Recension*. However, this manuscript constitutes the origin of an independent branch of the stemmatological tree, while its abundant marginalia and scholia not only provide clues as to its history, they also shed light on the last round of the text's transmission, evolution and readership. Moreover, several manuscripts of this stemma (though not the ***BL*** manuscript itself), are central to the development of the Anglo-German branch of scholarship on the subject and are also the basis

of three of the text's printed and widely available editions.[576] Thus, a close examination of the contexts and ways in which these manuscripts were produced, transmitted and received will help account for the crystallization of the widespread conception of the text as 'Ṭahmāsb's memoirs' in Anglo-German orientalist scholarship, a view which has persisted until the present. By studying the text and paratext of the ***BL*** codex, tracing its journey from Ardabil to India, and then to London and Berlin, tracking down its copies, and discussing all these in context, the chapter seeks to account for the emergence of what I have termed the *Fourth Edition*.

Partly through a series of historical events and circumstances, whereby a Safavid prince fleeing Iran brought the manuscript to India, and partly through the agency of Persian scribes and Anglo-German orientalists, by the middle of the nineteenth century the text had undergone yet another round of paratextual evolution. Subsequently, the manuscripts containing the latest revisions were used to prepare the three editions printed outside Iran. In turn, aided by pertinent Anglo-German scholarship, the publications of these three editions (a) facilitated the attainment of dominant status by the *T-Recension*, to the exclusion of the *M-Recension*; (b) firmly established the conception of the text among students of Safavid history as the 'Shah's Memoirs'; and (c) marked the end of the text's evolution, which had continued for more than three centuries.

The central argument of the chapter can thus be summed up as follows: the text found in the Strasburg, Calcutta and Berlin editions, and widely known as the *Memoirs of Shah Ṭahmāsb*, is a textual chimera almost three hundred years removed from the original and therefore ought to be understood within its proper context. Subject to the ideologies and/or goals of different readers, having undergone no less than four rounds of paratextual evolution,

[576] Virtually no scholar has worked on the ***BL*** codex, except for the recent work of Peacock. Bhalloo, in his dissertation, is the only other scholar to have briefly examined the manuscript: see his "From Oral to Written Discourse," p. 21. His engagement with the manuscript, however, is limited to reading several notes on the flyleaf, whereas his overall conclusions, not unlike Peacock's, are just a restatement of the consensus established a century ago.

it attained its final form only towards the end of the nineteenth century. The last round of this evolution and its context are discussed in this chapter.

Dating MS. BL: Or. 5880 and its Relation to MS. GPL: No. 831

When it comes to the *T-Recension*, all the known copies containing it descend either from the ***GPL*** or the ***BL*** manuscript. This fact ultimately begs a rather obvious question: what is the relationship between the two? While this is a challenging question to answer conclusively, examining both manuscripts and their texts offers clues as to how the two may be related. Establishing the relationship between the two should also allow establishing a date for the ***BL*** codex; the colophon and the notes on the flyleaf of the ***BL*** codex seem an appropriate starting point.

Its colophon, with neither the production date nor the scribe's name, is limited to a single sentence – 'The book was completed with the help of God, the Munificent King.'[577]

[577] MS.BL: Or. 5880 – f.88r – "*tammat al-kitāb bi'ūn allāh al-malik al-wahhāb*". The very last leaf (f.88v) bears two stamps. The smaller oval one, although quite faint, contains the British royal arms, flanked by a lion and a unicorn, with the words 'British Museum' at the top. This particular design was used between 1837 and 1929; see https://blogs.bl.uk/collectioncare/2013/09/a-guide-to-british-library-book-stamps.html. The larger one, an Islamic/Persian stamp, at the bottom is unfortunately not legible, except for the last two-

However, although copied at an unknown date, by an unidentified scribe, a short note on the top left corner of the flyleaf states that the manuscript '… [was] purchased in 1132 AH [1719/20].'[578] This note places the manuscripts temporally close to its ***GPL*** relative, immediately prompting speculation that this copy of that codex may have been made under the direction of the person (possibly Ṭahmāsb II) whose library had received the ***GPL*** codex some five years earlier 'on 16 Ẕū al-Qa'dah 1127 AH [Oct.-Nov. 1715]'.[579] The evidence to support this notion is however inconclusive.

Given the absence of earlier manuscripts containing this recension, coupled with the exquisite and royal character of the ***GPL*** codex, as well as the fine quality of the ***BL*** manuscript, not to mention their largely identical texts, the two are likely related in one of the following ways:

a) the latter is a copy of the former — ***GPL*** → ***BL***
b) or the former is a copy of the latter — ***BL*** → ***GPL***
c) or both were copied from another manuscript, which either has not survived, or has not yet been discovered — ***GPL*** ← [a *T-Recension* draft] → ***BL***

A close comparison of the texts, while turning a blind eye to the marginalia added only later by different hands, offers clues as to the relationship between the two (see the composite edition in the appendix). The differences can thus be divided into four categories as follows:[580]

(i) use of different words
(ii) words and phrases, usually providing additional information, found in the ***BL*** text while absent from that of the ***GPL***
(iii) passages found in the ***GPL*** text, absent in the main body of the ***BL***, and subsequently added on the margins
(iv) phrases and sentences found in the ***GPL*** and entirely missing from the ***BL*** text.

---

three letters of the word which appears to be "…*al-solṭān*".
[578] MS.BL: Or. 5880 – f.1r – "*… kharīdārī shod dar saneh-ye 1132*".
[579] MS.GPL: No. 831 – f.1r – "*shānzdahom-e shahr-e ẕey al-qa'deh al-ḥarām saneh-ye 1127 dākhel-e* […] *'arż shod*."
[580] See the Appendix, at the end of this chapter, for examples from each of the following four groups. While it is possible to speculate as to what these differences show, without additional context, say, other texts produced by these scribes, any suggestions would be speculative, largely inconsequential and irrelevant to the argument at the core of this chapter.

From the above comparisons, several conclusions can be drawn. On the first point, neither Damāvandī (the scribe of the ***GPL*** manuscript) nor the anonymous scribe behind the ***BL*** manuscript seem to have felt any obligation to follow the original closely, as evidenced by a whole range of different yet synonymous words used throughout the two texts. Indeed, when compared against the corresponding sections in the urtext in ***MC***, upon which the text of the *T-Recension* was probably based, it is difficult to say whether the ***GPL*** or the ***BL*** text is closer to it.[581]

Secondly, with only a few exceptions, the elements found in the ***BL*** and missing from the ***GPL*** text are of a descriptive nature, merely providing additional information, which could be interpreted as the scribe's personal initiative aimed at making the account somewhat easier to follow, for the benefit of the contemporary readership removed by several generations from the events and participants narrated therein.

As for the third category of differences, these phrases and sentences have been added onto the margins of the ***BL*** manuscript by the same hand (unlike the other scholia and marginalia discussed below) that copied the main body of the text, suggesting that the scribe, having completed his work, perhaps in a hurry, subsequently reviewed it and, realizing he had missed many passages, added some of them on the margins. Thus, even if we assume that the ***GPL*** manuscript was a copy of the ***BL***, which itself had been copied from another manuscript, with Damāvandī simply integrating those marginalia into the main body of his text, the details emerging from the fourth set of differences between the two texts provide the strongest evidence that this scenario is highly unlikely.

[581] The text of the ***MC***, containing the *M-Recension*, and the only other single-text codex, besides the ***SPC,*** to which it is related, apparently in the same way the ***BL*** manuscript is related to the ***GPL***, was used for comparison. As discussed in Chapter Two, the ***MC*** was most probably used as the basis for the preparation of the *T-Recension*; therefore, its text can be expected to be the closest to those of the ***GPL*** and the ***BL*** manuscripts.

Most significantly, several rather long passages missing in the ***BL*** text but found in the ***GPL*** (see the appendix) clearly disqualify the former from being the source of the latter and thus indicate that Damāvandī had utilized a different copy. At the same time, several other details emerging from this close comparison suggest that the reverse is not the case either, that is, the ***BL*** text is not a copy of the ***GPL*** text. For instance, the phrase likening 'seven heavens' (*haft āsemān*) to 'sheets of paper' (f.48v) found in the ***BL*** text, has clearly been accidentally omitted by Damāvandī (f.55r) when he copied it from another manuscript, while the anonymous scribe behind the ***BL*** text on this occasion was a bit more attentive.

Furthermore, the ***GPL*** text contains incomparably more instances (ff.2v, 11v, 51r, 64v, …) when 'greetings and peace' (*ṣalavāt va salām*) formulas follow the names of the Prophet, and His posterity, than in the corresponding sections of the ***BL*** manuscript. Considering how unlikely it is that its scribe would so consistently exclude those formulas, while closely following so many others and doing his best to include the passages he had initially failed to copy onto the margins, the possibility of the latter text having been copied from the former seems even less plausible.

Finally, the two texts differ in the Quranic verses they quote, with the ***BL*** text (f.46v) faithfully reproducing yet shortening the verse found in the ***MC***,[582] while Damāvandī (f.53r) quotes a different verse, but one with roughly the same message. This would likewise seem to indicate that the scribes are highly likely to have relied on different manuscripts as their source.[583] We can thus, tentatively, conclude that in addition to the oldest two manuscripts of the *T-Recension* – the ***GPL*** and the ***BL*** – there was, and possibly still is, another, older, manuscript of this recension. Quite possibly it was a draft on unbound folios that may have

[582] MS.AQRL: No. 7886 – f.42r.
[583] The ***BL*** text (f.46v) adduces [Quran 3:26] – *You give authority to whoever You please and remove it from who You please*! – whereas the ***GPL*** text (f.53r) quotes [Quran 40:16] – *Who does all authority belong to this Day? To Allah—the One, the Supreme*!

eventually ended up in one of those multi-text collections (*majmū'eh, jong*), still waiting to be discovered by researchers, or perhaps it did not survive.

The notion that the leaves containing the earliest text of the *T-Recension* may never have been bound into a standalone codex is partly corroborated by yet another note, on the same flyleaf of the ***BL*** manuscript. The note suggests that the manuscript is not much older than the stated date of its acquisition, that is 1132 AH [1719/20]. The note clearly details when, where and how it became a book. Having first described the text as a 'treatise composed by [Ṭahmāsb],' it goes on to describe how the codex was made. Specifically, from the note, though not fully legible, we learn how in *Shavvāl* of 1136 AH [June-July 1724], at the shrine library in Ardabil, the final stage of this manuscript's production was completed: 'the sheets of *īzmīrī* (?) paper' – along with the text bearing elegant floral patterns, of petals and buds, all executed in light, barely visible, gold – '… [had been] cut, the lines drawn, the margins gilded, [and] all were bound [to produce a book].'[584] This copy – both a literary and an art-historical monument – was thus created (i.e., the loose folios were bound into a codex) merely two years following the fall of Esfahan to the Hotaki-led Afghans, whereas its long journey, from the Safavid dynastic shrine library to the British Museum, can be said to have begun amidst the political turmoil which plagued Iran for much of the eighteenth century.

[584] MS.BL: Or. 5880 – f.1r – see the appendix. The word following *"kāghaẕ"* (paper) looks a lot more like "*īklsīrī*" – however, the editor of the inventory of the Safavid shrine collections, compiled in 1759, read it as *īzmīrī*; see *Gonjīneh*, p.43. This type of paper, along with Indian (*hendī*) and Chinese / Central Asian (*kheṭā'ī*), was used in the production of most manuscripts in the Safavid shrine library. Several attempts to establish what this 'Izmiri paper' may have been, including internet searches and conversations with colleagues in Turkey and Iran, have yielded no useful results.

The First Leg of the Journey, from Ardabil to India

In addition to the loss of territory to the Hotaki Afghans in the east, swathes of the Safavid domains were occupied by the Romanovs and the Ottomans, in the north and the west of the country respectively. Ṭahmāsb II's (d.1740) efforts, as well as those of his heirs, to rally support for the Safavid cause had some limited success as rival factions – most notably those led by Nāder Shāh Afshār (d.1747), Karīm Khān Zand (d.1779), Āghā Moḥammad Khāh Qājār (d.1797), and their successors – vied for power, seeking to capitalize on the temporal and spiritual authority the Safavid family members still possessed. The story of the 'last Safavids' and the role they played in this decades-long struggle for power in Iran has been the subject of several scholarly works and thus hardly requires repetition.[585] Instead, what is of

[585] For a succinct discussion of the events and actors which shaped the period, see, for instance: John R. Perry's "The Last Safavids, 1722-1773," *Iran* 9 (1971), pp. 59-69 and *Karim Khan Zand* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979); Ernest Tucker's *Nadir*

interest here is tracing the journey of the manuscript in question. We know that from 1724, when its folios were bound into a codex, and at least until 1759, when the already-mentioned inventory was prepared, it had remained in the shrine library in Ardabil. Its next owner, revealed by another flyleaf note, turns out to be a grandson of Ṭahmāsb II and, for all practical purposes, the last Safavid prince – Abū al-Fatḥ Moḥammad Mīrzā (d.1816).

The edge of the leaf containing the note appears damaged, and partly trimmed, possibly during conservation works at the British Museum at the turn of the twentieth century. Although it is clearly stated that 'the manuscript [at some point] entered the auspicious library of the king,' whose full list of titles and honorifics is inversely proportional to the political power he wielded, unfortunately no date for this event is given.[586] It was among the numerous family treasures, from books to jewellery, packed up for the long journey beyond his ancestral realm, that this manuscript found its way from Ardabil to India.[587] Fortunately, scholarly attention has provided details of his life and exploits. This context provides insight into the history of the manuscript's transmission, the production of copies and its readership, as well as the evolution of the text itself during this period.[588] Accordingly, the two essential questions are: (i) how and when did the prince get his hands on the manuscript, for decades kept in the library in Ardabil; and (ii) what did he

Shah's Quest for Legitimacy in Post-Safavid Iran (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2006); and Assef Ashraf's "From Khan to Shah: State, Society, and Forming the Ties that Made Qajar Iran," (PhD diss., Yale University, 2016)

[586] MS.BL: Or. 5880 – f.1r – see the appendix.

[587] Although titles such as "Sāsānī" and "Keyānī" should have raised suspicions, neither of the titles having been in common use among the Safavid Shahs in the sixteenth century, several scholars – admittedly myself among them – upon seeing this note for the first time, reproduced in later copies, assumed that Abū al-Fatḥ Solṭān Moḥammad Mīrzā was none other than Ṭahmāsb's eldest surviving son, Moḥammad Khodābandeh (d.1595), thus placing the manuscript in the sixteenth century – see Rəhimov, *Şah Təhmasibin Təzkirəsi*, p.11; Beveridge, "The Memoirs," p.472; Meredith-Owens, *Handlist*, p.22; Dāneshpazhūh, "Yek Pardeh," pp.961-63; and Bhalloo, "From Oral to Written Discourse," p.21.

[588] See Giorgio Rota's article about the prince, his life and exploits: "The Man Who Would Not Be King: Abu'l-Fath Sultan Muhammad Mirza Safavi in India," *Iranian Studies*, 32 (4), Autumn 1999, pp.513-535.

subsequently do with it? Before these can be addressed, a few words should be said about the source from which the answers to these questions are derived.

The main source for Abū al-Fatḥ Mīrzā's *vita* is a work composed by Abū al-Ḥasan b. Ebrāhīm Qazvīnī titled *Favāyed al-Ṣafavīyeh*, that is, the *Merits of the Safavids*. This relatively well-known text, edited and published by Maryam Mīr-Aḥmadī and extensively used by, among others, Rota and Perry, in addition to biographical data on the prince, also contains valuable information on the ***BL*** stemma manuscripts and on those who read or copied them. Accordingly, a brief introduction to the work and its intended audience is necessary.[589]

The author, a self-described 'loyal disciple of the House [of the Safavids] (*az morīdān-e khāṣ*),'[590] dedicated the book to his 'Most Perfect Guide' (*morshed-e akmal*) – Abū al-Fatḥ Mīrzā – whose life, exploits, and miracle-working take up about one half of the text, with the other half covering the reigns of his ancestors, all the way up to his father, Shāh Solṭān-Ḥoseyn II (d.1775). The main part of the work was completed in India in 1211 AH [1796/97], with the stated goal of relating to the local audience the events and conditions (*vāqe'āt va ḥālāt*) pertaining to Safavid rule and that of their successors (*molūk al-ṭavāyef*), since most of the 'reliable books and histories' containing these accounts 'had not reached India until the present time.'[591]

More importantly, we know that ten manuscript copies of *Favāyed al-Ṣafavīyeh* were made. Of these, five were given to various individuals associated with the Mughal court (including the crown-prince), and the rest to five persons in service to the East India Company.[592] Thus, the work appears to be a public relations effort aimed at introducing the

[589] Mīr-Aḥmadī (ed.), *Favāyed al-Ṣafavīyeh*.
[590] Mīr-Aḥmadī (ed.), *Favāyed*, p.135.
[591] Mīr-Aḥmadī (ed.), *Favāyed*, p.105 – see the appendix.
[592] Rota, "The Man," p.516, describes the *Favāyed* as "a sort of fictional work written to delight the Safavid *émigrés* … and to sweeten their exile with the memories of past glories." There are several problems with this characterization, namely: virtually every work of Persian historiography is to a degree fictional and written to delight a target readership; Qazvīnī has in fact relied on and closely followed a broad range of Safavid

Safavid prince to the old and outgoing rulers of India, as well as to the up-and-coming soon-to-be new rulers – something akin to a one-volume résumé, cover letter and references for Abū al-Fatḥ Mīrzā, his lineage and followers. The narrative, while praising Safavid rulers and disparaging their enemies, oscillates between emphasizing the age-old friendship with the Mughals (along with addressing some ostensibly widespread scepticism) and variously flattering the English, in both cases accompanied by examples of earlier collaboration with the Safavid family and state. These two points will be revisited shortly.

On to the prince and his adventures: Abū al-Fatḥ Mīrzā was born around 1762 in Karbala – a date calculated from the statement that he 'was about thirty years old in 1207 [1792/93]'[593] – and was educated there too.[594] He performed a pilgrimage to Mashhad and, during his further travels in Khorasan and Fars, he received offers of alliance from both the Afshar and Qajar factions, but declined both. Thus, unlike his father, who had been blinded on the order of Karīm Khān Zand (d.1779), following an unsuccessful bid for power, Abū al-Fatḥ Mīrzā is said to have decided not to seek temporal authority – and, 'upon the advice of his disciples, … made peace (*ṣolḥ-e koll*) with all the people of the world.'[595]

It is clear from the narrative that these disciples, including the elders (*rīsh sefīdān-e kohan-sāl*), came to play a prominent role in the decision-making of the prince. Thus, in 1205 AH [1790/91], they counselled him to leave Iran for India, more specifically for Sindh.[596] From there, initially intending to go north to Peshawar, to seek protection at the Durrani court, he was again 'advised by some disciples' to take refuge with the Mughals and the EIC instead. Qazvīnī sums up the reasoning behind this decision as follows:

---

chronicles (for the list see Mīr-Aḥmadī's edition, *page ten of the introduction*) and often explicitly referenced his sources, most of which form the very basis of the modern historiography on the Safavids and their age; and lastly, the fact that no copies of the *Favāyed* were given to the so-called "Iranian/Safavid *émigrés*" is perhaps the strongest evidence that they were not the target audience.

[593] Mīr-Aḥmadī (ed.), *Favāyed*, p.135.

[594] Ibid., p.96.

[595] Ibid., p.99.

[596] Ibid., p.99 – "… *beh ṣalāḥ-e baʿżī az morīdān khod-rā beh molk-e send rasānīd*."

the Bāborī-Teymūrī pādshāh [had] a perfect relationship with the lofty family of His Majesty, while the English commanders [were] among the old and sincere friends, and unmistakable well-wishers, of His Highness and [all] the brave youths of the age.[597]

The prince at no point is said to have personally visited Ardabil. Thus, it seems likely that, given the prominent role of his loyal followers, it was most likely the 'Qezelbāsh elders' (*rīsh sefīdān-e kohan-sāl-e qezelbāshīyeh*) who towards the late 1780s retrieved the ***BL*** manuscript, along with other valuable items, from the dynastic shrine complex and eventually made it an item in the library of their Qezelbāsh king (*shāhanshāh-e qezelbāsh*).[598]

From the shores of the Indian Ocean, he set off for Delhi. While passing through Rajasthan he learnt of the blinding (in August of 1788) of Shah 'Ālam II (d.1806) and subsequently decided to head to Lucknow instead. Travelling through the area known as Mīnā (*deyār-e mashhūr beh mīnā*), somewhere between Jodhpur and Jaipur, he was robbed of various valuable possessions and regalia (*ṣandūq-khāneh*), including ancestral treasures – 'the tiara of Shah Soleymān, the emerald-encrusted armband of Shah Solṭān-Ḥoseyn II, and the ruby-bearing dagger of Shah Ṭahmāsb II.'[599] Having reached Jaipur, he 'summoned more disciples from Iran and Sindh,' presumably in hopes of replenishing his funds.[600] No mention is made of books lost to the robbers (*dozdān*); it seems reasonable to assume that the ***BL*** manuscript was already in the prince's possession when he departed for India, but it seems

---

[597] Ibid., p.102 – "*... beh ṣalāḥ-e baʿżī az morīdān raftan beh molk-e afghān ṣalāḥ nadānestand.*" Note the repeated references to 'expedient' (*beh ṣalāḥ*) decision-making, echoing Ṭahmāsb's repeated appeals to the notion throughout his composition.

[598] The reason the ***BL*** manuscript was preferred over the ***SPC*** one, both of which were kept in the Ardabil shrine library, is partly that the latter had been damaged and several of its folios had been misplaced – "*do-seh varaq moshavvash shodeh* ...". More importantly, however, is that it was explicitly prohibited to take the ***SPC*** manuscript out of the shrine library – "*az āstāneh bīrūn nabarad va har keh bīrūn barad sharīk-e khūn-e emām ḥoseyn būdeh bāshad*" – while the *T-Recension* in the ***GPL/BL*** manuscripts had been explicitly prepared for 'private consumption' and the audience of 'worthy and beloved decedents' (*aulād-e amjād va aḥbāb*). See *Ganjīneh*, p.43; *MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302* – f.2r; MS.BL: Or. 5880 – f.3r. Moreover, unlike the *M-*, the *T-Recension*, as discussed in the preceding chapter, was produced in the *ṣūfī-qezelbāsh* milieu and thus belonged to their popular historiographical and memory tradition, which further explains the efforts of the Qezelbāsh elders and other Safavid family disciples' efforts to preserve this codex.

[599] Mīr-Aḥmadī (ed.), *Favāyed*, p.103.

[600] Ibid., p.103 – "*morīdān-e khod-rā az sarḥad-e īrān va send ṭalab dāshteh*."

more likely that the disciples summoned from Sindh and Iran ultimately brought the codex along with them. In any case, by the time he settled in Lucknow the manuscript was in his possession.[601]

Abū al-Fatḥ Mīrzā in Lucknow and the Origins of the Fourth Edition

His travels came to an end in the early months of autumn of 1208 AH [1793] as he reached Lucknow. There he lived for the remainder of his life, under the protection of the EIC, from whom he eventually obtained a monthly allowance. Having established himself in the city, staying in the building owned by the Company, he dedicated himself to his disciples. In addition to attending to various duties of spiritual and temporal leadership, charity and supporting the local Iranian-Shīʻī community,[602] he also engaged in various literary pursuits –

[601] Rota, "The Man," p.530, footnote 106, mentions that a manuscript of the *tārīkh-e īlchī-ye neẓāmshāhī* (BL: Or. Ms. 153) entered the library of Abū al-Fatḥ Mīrzā in the year AH 1200 [1785/6], which may well temporally coincide with his acquisition of the ***BL*** manuscript, though it is worth noting that no manuscript of the *tārīkh* in question is included in the aforesaid Safavid shrine inventory.

[602] Mīr-Aḥmadī (ed.), *Favāyed*, p.132. – "… *pīshkesh va nozūr keh az morīdān-e khod mī-rasad beh foqarā va moḥtājān va yatīmān qesmat va eḥsān mī-nemāyand*."

‘the Safavid court of Lucknow, however small, boasted a lively literary life [and] [Abū al-Fatḥ Mīrzā] himself is credited with several literary works.’[603]

These literary activities, along with gift-giving, not the least of manuscripts, allowed him to cultivate his relations actively in both Mughal and EIC circles. With the former he endeavoured to secure a marital alliance, while from the latter he sought political and financial patronage. In this respect, too, Qazvīnī’s narrative is significant, for it reveals certain sentiments about the Safavids prevalent in India. Many of these sentiments in fact pertained to Shah Ṭahmāsb himself, which seems to have prompted Abū al-Fatḥ Mīrzā and his associates to attempt to counter at least some of them. This goal they tried to realize through, among other things, the composition of *Favāyed al-Ṣafavīyeh*, as well as by making their manuscripts of Ṭahmāsb’s first-person narrative available to readers in India. Incidentally – yet highly significant – the sections of the *Favāyed* that reflect sentiments the Safavid court-in-exile seems to have found problematic at least partially help explain both several marginalia in the ***BL*** manuscript and the production and circulation of its copies.

Mughal courtly memory was very much informed by its historiography, by Homāyūn’s (d.1556) year-long stay in Safavid Iran, 1544–45, and the related question of the sovereignty over Qandahar. Qazvīnī tries hard to demonstrate how well the Mughal refugee was received and treated by Ṭahmāsb, all the while emphasizing the financial and military support the Safavid Shah subsequently provided to Homāyūn.[604] He even goes so far as to suggest that Ṭahmāsb had given Qandahar to Homāyūn as a tax-farm to support the reconquest of his ancestral domains, following which the region was to be returned to the Safavids. He then points out that Homāyūn failed to live up to his promise – ‘the effect of the Indian climate made him forget the age-old law and custom of rulers’ – and therefore Shah

[603] Rota, “The Man,” pp. 527-28.
[604] Mīr-Aḥmadī (ed.), *Favāyed*, p.23.

‘Abbās had every right to take Qandahar back.[605] This argument, of course, long predates the *Favāyed*.

Qazvīnī likewise touches upon Homāyūn’s gift of precious stones – rubies, emeralds and a particularly valuable cut diamond – to Ṭahmāsb, and then claims that these were eventually sent to the ruler of Deccan, Borhān al-Dīn Neẓāmshāh, and therefore, once the Mughals conquered the region, ‘the diamond [too] re-entered their possession.’[606] This fact, Qazvīnī does not fail to emphasize, ‘is recorded in the *Taẕkereh al-Vāqe‘āt-e Homāyūnī*.’ He thus reveals not only his acquaintance with the work but also that he was systematically responding to criticisms therein levelled against the Safavids, and particularly Ṭahmāsb, both points to be discussed next.[607]

A reproach of much greater consequence is the alleged plot, whereby Ṭahmāsb and his brother Bahrām Mīrzā are said to have deliberated murdering Homāyūn. The episode is, as expected, absent from Qazvīnī’s narrative but recorded in the above-mentioned ‘Memoirs of Homāyūn’ (*taẕkereh al-vāqe‘āt*), composed by Jawhar Āftābchī, and translated into English by Charles Stewart, whom we have previously mentioned in connection with his translation of *Malfūẓāt-e Teymūrī*. Stewart’s preface explains that he:

> … *received from* [his] *friend Major William Yule, with a recommendation* [to] *translate it, a Persian manuscript, purchased in Lucknow* [and] *containing Private Memoirs of the Emperor Humāyūn, son of the celebrated Baber* (sic)*, and father of the no less famous Akbar, sixth in decent from Timūr, and co*[n]*temporary with our King Henry VIII.*[608]

Furthermore, a footnote in the same translation goes on to say that Yule had earlier lent the aforesaid manuscript to Abū al-Fatḥ Mīrzā, who, having personally examined it, left an insightful note on the margin of the folio where the alleged though never realized plot is purportedly discussed by the Shah and his brother; Abū al-Fatḥ’s note follows:

---

[605] Ibid., pp.26, 44.
[606] Ibid., p.25.
[607] Ibid.
[608] Stewart, trans., *Tezkereh al-Vakiat*, p. v.

> *The author* [of *Taẕkereh al-Vāqe'āt*] *has been guilty of falsehood, or he must have been deranged, as this circumstance has never been mentioned by any other historian.*[609]

Considering this evidence, several points are worth highlighting. First, it is hardly far-fetched to suggest that Abū al-Fatḥ Mīrzā's acquaintance with the Mughal auto/biographical literature, of which *Taẕkereh al-Vāqe'āt-e Homāyūnī* and *Malfūẓāt-e Teymūrī* are just two examples, and their representation of his ancestors prompted him to address the widespread 'falsehoods' by, among other things, having Qazvīnī compose the *Favāyed* and having no fewer than ten copies of it distributed in Mughal and EIC circles. Secondly, this background provides insight into the scholia and marginalia within the ***BL*** manuscript, the production of its earliest copies, and readership of the text at this juncture. And thirdly, Abū al-Fatḥ Mīrzā's association with William Yule, along with other Persian-speaking Scots (in the case of Yule) and Englishmen, likewise attested throughout the *Favāyed*, points to a firm connection with Calcutta's scholarly and orientalist circles, and Fort William College in particular. This connection apparently served as a conduit between the Safavid court-in-exile and EIC authorities.[610] As some of the 'falsehoods' levelled against Ṭahmāsb, as well as Qazvīnī's responses to them, have already been touched upon, the other two points should also be addressed, starting with the Safavid prince's association with the EIC, the English orientalists and Fort William College in Calcutta.

The *Favāyed* is replete with praise for the English and emphasizes their 'age-old friendship' with Abū al-Fatḥ Mīrzā's ancestors; quite understandably, Ṭahmāsb's treatment of Anthony Jenkins (d.1611) is not mentioned. For example, the English *pādshāh* George III (r.1760 – 1820) is described as 'sun-crowned' (*khorshīd-kolāh*), while EIC officials are called

[609] Ibid., p.70. The manuscript in question is currently in the British Library: Add. MS. No. 16,711.
[610] The establishment of the College in 1800, following that of the Calcutta Madrassa in 1781, and of the Asiatic Society in 1785, completed the first phase of the city's emergence as an intellectual centre; see Sukanta Chaudhuri, ed. *Calcutta, the Living City*, *Volume I: The Past* (Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp.107-09.

'kings of merchants' (*molūk al-tojjār*).[611] Additionally, the 'English race' is said to be 'noble' (*qoum-e jalīleyeh-ye īnglīzīyeh*) while also being hailed for their 'fine efforts in uprooting the Portuguese and [their help in] the conquest of Hormoz' during the reign of Shah 'Abbās. Furthermore, most curiously, 'the people of England are [said to be] of Iranian stock,' that is unlike the Russians and the Germans 'who are originally from Turan.'[612]

In addition to the exchange of messengers and letters (*rosol va resāyel*), Qazvīnī relates numerous cordial 'conversations and meetings' Abū al-Fatḥ Mīrzā had with representatives of the Company, all the while emphasizing that 'indeed not everybody received such treatment.'[613] Though the work claims that 'due to the lack of space it is not possible to mention all individuals' whom the Safavid prince had met during his stay in Lucknow, he does list many of his direct and indirect acquaintances. A few are worth mentioning, not just for the praise they received from Qazvīnī, but also for their association with Calcutta's orientalist circles, and finally for the purpose of tracing the transmission of the ***BL*** manuscript.[614]

Among these connections were John Baillie (d. 1833), the first professor of Arabic and Persian at the College (appointed 1800), described as the 'Sultan of the scholars and the proof of the doctors [of law]' (*soltān al-ʿolamā, borhān al-ḥokamā*) and lauded for his knowledge of Twelver Shī'ī jurisprudence (*feqh-e emāmī*);[615] the already-mentioned William Yule – 'the pride of the scholars of the age, the one of the era, the compiler of the excogitated and transmitted knowledge';[616] Neil. B. Edmonstone (d.1841) – the founder of Fort William College in Calcutta; Matthew Lumsden (d.1835) – an assistant professor of Arabic at the College (from 1808 onwards) and the person in charge of the Company's printing house

[611] Mīr-Aḥmadī (ed.), *Favāyed*, p.104.
[612] Ibid., pp.45, 126 – "… *khalq-e ingland keh aṣleshān az mamālek-e īrān ast*."
[613] Ibid., p.116.
[614] Ibid., p. 118 – "… *chūn noskheh mokhtaṣar ast beh negāresh-e ān napardākht*." Rota lists many of them – see "The Man," pp. 524-25.
[615] Mīr-Aḥmadī (ed.), *Favāyed*, p.104.
[616] Ibid., p.118.

(from 1814 to 1817); and James A. Kirkpatrick (d.1805), an EIC officer and diplomat well-known, among other things, for his fluency in Hindustani and Persian. These individuals are not only said to have exchanged letters and held multiple meetings with Abū al-Fatḥ Mīrzā, at different points during his stay in Lucknow, but also, all five, are reported to have received copies of the *Favāyed*, clearly indicating that they were one part of the target audience of this historiographical, diplomatic and public relations effort articulated by Qazvīnī.

The *Favāyed* also notes that two copies of *Vāqe'āt-e Shāh Ṭahmāsb-e Māżī*, that is, the text under study, (re)titled in the fashion of Mughal auto/biographies, were given to representatives of the EIC. One went to the aforesaid Lumsden and another to Lt-General William Palmer (d.1814).[617] While it is difficult to say what became of Palmer's copy, Lumsden's, copied from the ***BL*** manuscript, is currently housed in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in Calcutta, catalogued as MS. D. 101. Although it has not been possible to examine the codex, its provenance is known. The 1924 catalogue entry by W. Ivanow states that 'the present copy was transcribed for Dr. Lumsden by 'Abdāllah in 1212 AH [1796/97],' that is, less than a year from the completion of Qazvīnī's work.[618] Furthermore, a copy of Lumsden's manuscript, currently in der Staatsbibliotek zu Berlin (MS. Sprenger 205), appears to contain the entirety of the original colophon, which corroborates the information in Ivanow's catalogue as well as in the *Favāyed*:

> [it is] *upon the guidance of* [Abū al-Fatḥ Mīrzā] *that this* [manuscript] *has been copied for the study of their highness, the epitome of the officers* [of the dynasty], *the brave* [Matthew Lumsden], *by the musk-scattering pen of the most helpless of servants, 'Abdollah.*[619]

---

[617] Ibid., p.143. Palmer, residing in Lucknow, 1794-98, personally escorted the prince to Delhi, in 1212 AH [1795/96], to meet Shah 'Ālam II, following which Abū al-Fatḥ Mīrzā received an allowance and settled in a building owned by the EIC; Rota, "The Man," p.522. Qazvīnī in fact lists a whole range of historiographical and literary works, quite clearly not widely available in India, which the prince shared with EIC representatives, as well as Mughal circles, many of which ended up in the British Library.

[618] See Wladimir Ivanow, *Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1924), pp.27-28.

[619] MS. SzB: Sprenger 205 – f.71v –see the appendix. The name "Matthew" – spelled "مثیو" in the *Favāyed* – appears in the manuscript as "دبیی", that is "*dāl-bā-ī-ye*" – clearly a scribal error. One possible but unlikely reading of the word could be "dabīr", but this

Underneath the original colophon appear two more lines, *in red ink*, further informing readers that 'this treatise was completed in eight hours, on the twenty-second of the month of January, Saturday, 1817 of the Christian [era].'[620]

The second of the two manuscripts (MS. D 53) in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, catalogued by Ivanow under the title *Tārīkh-e Ṭahmāsp* and said to '[be] difficult to pronounce definitively as to whether [these Memoirs] are genuine or otherwise, [was] probably transcribed from the preceeding one [i.e., MS. D. 101] in 1868.' Not insignificantly, it contains 'a note by [the German orientalist Heinrich] Blochmann, on the flyleaf.'[621] This brings the total count of known manuscripts belonging the ***BL*** stemma to four, that is, excluding the original, and including Palmer's copy, which still remains to be discovered.

As for the ***BL*** manuscript itself, Qazvīnī mentions another instance when the *Ketāb-e Majmū'eh-ye Akhlāq va Vāqe'āt-e Shāh Ṭahmāsb-e Māżī*, along with a copy of the *Favāyed* and several other books, was sent to Delhi for the perusal of the crown-prince, Akbar Mīrzā

---

seems too far-fetched.

[620] MS. SzB: Sprenger 205 – f.71v –see the appendix. The manuscript used to belong to Aloys Sprenger (d.1893), whose collection of no fewer than 1,972 Arabic, Persian, and Hindustani manuscripts was, in 1857, acquired by the Preussische Staatsbibliothek *zu Berlin*. Austrian by birth and educated at the University of Vienna, he spent some seven years in London, working on the 'History of Military Science among the Muslim Peoples' with George Augustus Frederick FitzClarence, 1st Earl of Munster. He moved to Calcutta in 1843, went on to become a principal of Delhi College, in 1848 was sent to Lucknow to prepare a catalogue of the library of the Nawabs of Awadh (its first volume was published in Calcutta in 1854), and from 1850 he also served as examiner, official government interpreter, and secretary of the Asiatic Society; see Sprenger, A., and Preussische Staatsbibliothek. *A Catalogue of the Bibliotheca Orientalis Sprengeriana* (Giessen: W. Keller, Printer, Jan. 1857), especially the introduction (pp. iii-vii). I would like to thank Dr. Thoralf Hanstein, of the Staatsbibliothek, for this information and the reference.

[621] Ivanow, *Concise Descriptive Catalogue*, pp.27-28. Heinrich Blochmann (d.1878) was another German orientalist, a scholar of Persian language and literature, who spent most of his career India, worked as a professor of Arabic and Persian, and then as a principal, at the Calcutta Madrasa, and finally served as a philological secretary for the Asiatic Society, from 1868 until his death, overseeing its routine administration, the library, the collections, and the publications; see https://iranicaonline.org/articles/blochmann-heinrich-henry. He is the translator of the first volume (in two books) of a multi-volume work detailing the state and government administration under Akbar (d. 1605); see Abū al-Fażl b. Mobārak, and H. Blochmann, trans. *The Ayīn-e Akbarī,* vol. 1 (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1867). On Blochmann's work as librarian, see also p.xii in Ivanow's catalogue.

(d.1837).[622] It certainly seems more likely that this, and not the one given to Palmer, was the ***BL*** manuscript, an exquisite and intricately decorated book and a worthy royal gift.[623]

In fact, right before sending the manuscript of *Vāqe'āt-e Shāh Ṭahmāsb* to the Mughal crown-prince, Abū al-Fatḥ Mīrzā is said to have requested, apparently from Yule, and examined 'books [such as] *Shāhnāmeh-ye Shāhjahānī*, *Mahābhārat[a]*, *Vāqe'āt-e Bāborī*, and *Taẕkereh al-Vāqe'āt-e Homāyūnī*.' He subsequently dispatched '*Tārīkh-e Shāh 'Ālam-e Māżī-ye Gorgānī* [and] *Teymūrnāmeh-ye Mollā 'Abdollah Hātefī* for the perusal of Shah 'Ālam II.' More importantly, Abū al-Fatḥ Mīrzā is explicitly said to have personally composed the preface (*dībācheh*) for *Vāqe'āt-e Bāborī* which, our source claims, 'had not had one, for three hundred and seventeen years, since its composition by Bābor (d.1530) until the present.'[624] These examples clearly show Abū al-Fatḥ Mīrzā to have taken a hands-on approach to refuting whatever 'falsehoods' he encountered pertaining to his family and ancestors.

In turn, these literary and historiographical efforts, hardly incomprehensible against the background discussed, help make sense of the already much-referred-to scholia and

---

[622] Mīr-Aḥmadī (ed.), *Favāyed*, p.127 – "*barā-ye moṭāle'eh-ye valī'ahd bahādor nīz ravāneh-ye dār al-khelāfah gardīd va rasīd*." It is not clear whether he is referring to one or two separate books when using the 'title' *ketāb-e majmū'eh-ye akhlāq va vāqe'āt-e shāh ṭahmāsb*. Should the former be the case, this title can be taken to reflect the reception of the text in question by Qazvīnī and his milieu (i.e., the disciples of Abū al-Fatḥ Mīrzā).

[623] Unlike, for instance, the SzB, the ***BL*** manuscript contains no evidence of ever having belonged to the Asiatic Society. The former, on the other hand, on f.1r, contains two lines in English, appearing twice, handwritten, and typed on a piece of paper glued onto the flyleaf, which read "The Autobiography of Shah Tahmasp, who came to the throne in 930." At the same time, two seals indicating its belonging to *die Königliche Bibliothek zu Berlin, in Latin – Ex Biblioth. Regia. Berolinensi* – appear on the first and last pages of the codex (ff.1r, 71v). In turn, the ***BL*** manuscript has several seals, which allow us to speculate over a possibility of transmission via Mughal courtly circles. For example, on the flyleaf, f.1r, there are two stamps; only half of the smaller is not legible, except the name "… *moḥammad*", while the larger, containing intricate floral patterns, reads: "[AH] 1261 [1845] … *jenāb al-ḥoseynī al-mūsavī seyyed ʿalī moḥammad khān bahādor enteẓām moʿtamad al-daulah al-sharīf*." Its style is unmistakably Indian/Mughal, suggesting that one of the owners of the codex, even though his identity is not yet possible to establish, surely belonged to local nobility. Finally, we have already mentioned the last illegible stamp, f.86v, with "…*al-solṭān*" being the only decipherable word.

[624] Mīr-Aḥmadī (ed.), *Favāyed*, p.127.

marginalia in the ***BL*** manuscript, while the proliferation and circulation of its copies were clearly part of the strategy of achieving this goal. Furthermore, these paratextual layers and production of more single-text copies containing the *T-Recension* can in turn be understood as an important stage in the history of the text and the key element in the production of what I have termed the *Fourth Edition*.

The Paratext in the BL Manuscript and its Reproduction in the Later Copies

Already discussed are some of the *marginalia* in the ***BL*** manuscript and words and phrases omitted upon the initial copying but subsequently added by the scribe who copied the text (see the Appendix). To these should be added several more passages by two distinct hands, all

entirely absent from the ***GPL*** text.[625] The only scholium (i.e., a comment) by the first hand appears in the section of the historical introduction, where a brief account of the involvement of the Mar'ashī sayyids in Safavid courtly politics is given. It reads: 'the mention of the genealogy of the Mar'ashī sayyids of Mazandaran.'[626] Though seemingly trivial at first glance, the note is a clear indication of surprise, if not perplexity, over the appearance of this genealogy, particularly given the absence of any other, most surprisingly that of the Safavids, in the entire text.[627] Needless to say, while the person behind this note is highly unlikely to have belonged to the group, the passage itself (as has already been discussed) only confirms the involvement of the Mar'ashī faction in the production of the *T-Recension*, as discussed in Chapter Three.

As for the marginalia by another hand, there are a few examples. One particularly noteworthy instance, often proffered by contemporary scholars as evidence of Ṭahmāsb's piety and/or proof his so-called 'sincere repentance' (*taubeh*), is in fact a whole quatrain (*robā'ī*), accompanied by an opening passage – 'At the age of twenty, this felicity happened to [me], I composed this quatrain:'

For some time, we chased crushed emeralds,
For a while, we tainted ourselves with liquid rubies,
Whatever shade, or colour, these impurities were,
We bathed in the river of repentance and became serene[628]

---

[625] Not insignificantly, a comparison against Abū al-Fatḥ Mīrzā's note in the manuscript of *Taẕkereh al-Vāqe'āt-e Homāyūnī* (BL: Add. Ms. 16,711 – f.76r) establishes that neither of the two handwritings can be said to belong to the prince.

[626] MS.BL: Or. 5880 – f.6v – "*ẕekr-e nasab-e sādāt-e mar'ashīyeh-ye māzandarān*."

[627] The Mar'ashīs were a powerful faction throughout the Safavid period, perhaps even more so during the second century. Many members of this family intermarried with the Safavids, while many others served the dynasty in various capacities, from goldsmiths and historians to regional governors and prime ministers. Notably, Shah 'Abbās I's mother, Khayr al-Nisā' Bēgūm (d.1579), was a Mar'ashī, while Sayyid 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥoseyn al-Ḥoseynī Mar'ashī Āmolī (d. 1654), also known as Khalīfeh Solṭān, or Khalīfeh Solṭān al-'Olamā', served as grand vizier under two Safavid Shahs – 'Abbās I and 'Abbās II (d.1666) – for about two decades in total. Their genealogy, therefore, is nothing less than a signature of the person/group behind the *T-Recension*, the matter addressed in the ***GPL*** chapter. For more on this, see Mīr Teymūr Mar'ashī and Manūchehr Sotūdeh, eds., *Tārīkh-e Khāndān-e Mar'ashī-ye Māzandarān* (Tehran: Enteshārāt-e Eṭelā'āt, 1364).

[628] MS.BL: Or. 5880 – f.29v – see the appendix. This quatrain's attribution to Ṭahmāsb is questionable, for the only place it is recorded and said to have been composed by the Shah is in the work of Ṣādeqī Bēg Afshār, *Majma' al-Khāṣṣ*, ed. and trans. from

In the ***BL*** manuscript this *robā'ī* appears in the top left corner, on the margin of the leaf, whereas in MS. SzB: Sprenger 205 (f.27r), it has been integrated into the main body of the text by 'Abdallāh 'the scribe, the most helpless of servants,' who had copied it for the benefit of Lumsden. This is also true for both the remaining marginalia in the ***BL*** manuscript, as well as all the copies belonging to this stemma. As for the question of why this quatrain, along with the opening passage, was added to the text, the answer is once again found in Qazvīnī's narrative and is rather straightforward. Having read the text, clearly after it had been redacted, he faithfully reproduces the above passage, and the *robā'ī*, in the section pertaining to Homāyūn's stay at the Safavid court. This was done to counter another 'false' claim by Jawhar Āftābchī to the effect that 'various kinds of wine and liquors' were consumed during festive gatherings organized by Ṭahmāsb for the entertainment of his guest.[629] At the same time, the inclusion of this paratext may well be associated with Bābor's own renunciation of 'the sin of alcohol,' on 25 February 1527, on the eve of the Battle of Khanwa, which resulted in the Mughal victory and the establishment of their power in India on 16 March 1527.[630] It seems highly likely that whoever added the quatrain on the margin of

---

Chaghatay by 'Abd al-Rasūl Khayyāmpūr (Tabriz: Chāpkhāneh-ye Akhtar-e Shomāl, Kheyābān-e Tarbiyyat, 1327), pp.8-9. At the same time, neither the ***GPL*** text, none of the *M-Recension* manuscripts, nor any of the Safavid chronicles, and not even the famous *anthology – Āteshkadeh-e Āẕar-e Bīgdelī* – seem to have any trace of the *robā'ī*. That said, Abū al-Fatḥ Mīrzā is known to have composed several works, among which was a *taẕkereh*, titled *Toḥfat al-sho'arā*, said to be 'even better than [the aforesaid] Āteshkadeh' – Rota, "The Man," p. 529). So, it is possible that this quatrain may have been drawn from one of the similar works at his disposal. In fact, there are several quatrains closely resembling this one; for instance, attributed to Bīdel-e Dehlavī: *yek chand pey-e zeynat va zīvvar gashtīm, yek chand pey-e dānesh va daftar gashtīm, chūn vāqef az īn jahān-e abtar gashtīm, dast az hameh shostīm va samandar shodīm*. I would like to thank Dominic Brookshaw for pointing this out.

[629] Mīr-Aḥmadī (ed.), *Favāyed*, pp.21, 27 – "*az vāqe'āt-e ḥālāt keh ān ḥażrat khod beh zabān-e ebhām bayān-e tā'līf va taṣnīf farmūdeh-and*." Stewart, *Private Memoirs*, p.74. This claim is in fact corroborated by the famous mural in the Chehel Sotūn Palace in Isfahan, depicting both Ṭahmāsb and Homāyūm at a party with musicians, dancers, and numerous wine bottles.

[630] Stephen F. Dale, *Babur: Timurid Prince and Mughal Emperor, 1483-1530* (Kundli, Haryana: Printed in India by Rajkamal Electric Press, 2018) p.50. This explanation seems equally likely, considering that Abū al-Fatḥ Mīrzā would have recently read *Vāqe'āt-e bāborī*.

the ***BL*** codex would have been familiar with the text of *Bābornāmeh*, and ultimately sought to augment the degree of Ṭahmāsb's ostensible piety in the eyes of not only Bābor's descendants but also the EIC representatives.

As for the last set of marginalia in the ***BL*** manuscript, these were likewise subsequently integrated into the main body of the text of the manuscript given to Lumsden and thus of all its later copies. These appear towards the very end of the story of Bāyezīd. While two of them are relatively trivial, the two others clearly further reflect the desire to present Ṭahmāsb in a more positive light and thus counter some 'falsehoods', both vis-à-vis the renegade *shāhzādeh* as well as the refugee *pādshāh*, all at the same time.[631] The first one, ironically addressed to Bāyezīd, following his alleged failed attempt to assassinate Ṭahmāsb (in itself a paratextual layer, found only in the *T-Recension*, and discussed in Chapter Three), reads: '… and I have treated you in the same way that I had treated Homāyūn.'[632] The second passage, no less preposterously, implores the Ottoman envoys not to hurt the *shāhzādeh* along with his four sons, and reads: '… in [good faith] I expect of Sovereign Majesty that no harm come upon either Bāyezīd or [any of] his sons.'[633] The extent to which this extra passage could have absolved the Shah of responsibility for his actions seems rather limited.

All in all, the efforts to cast the Shah in a more positive light are obvious, both from the relevant sections of Qazvīnī's work, as well as in the revisions to Ṭahmāsb's narrative, and most importantly by means of the production and distribution of copies of both texts. To the extent that the sources permit, the readership and transmission of the ***BL*** stemma

---

[631] MS.BL: Or. 5880 – f.85v – "*man goftam* …" and "*ba'd keh ferestādegān-e khondkār āmadand farmūdam* …" – both passages are clearly stylistic, aimed at improving the narrative flow, and therefore of little consequence. One other piece of paratext is the addition of two *nisbas* "*al-ṣafavī al-mūsavī*" after the austere original "Ṭahmāsb al-Ḥoseynī" (f.20r); these two are consistently included in Qazvīnī's text whenever Abū al-Fatḥ Mīrzā is mentioned.

[632] MS.BL: Or. 5880 – f.85r – "… *va beh ṭarīqī keh bā homāyūn pādshāh solūk kardam bā shomā kardam*."

[633] MS.BL: Or. 5880 – f.86r – "… *va dar 'ālam-e dūstī az khondkār tavaqqo' dāram keh aẕeyat beh solṭān bayezīd va farzandān-e ū narasad.*" The phrase "*dar 'ālam-e dūstī*" is rather awkward when translated literally but the meaning, contextually, seems to be something approximating 'sincerely' or 'in good faith'.

manuscripts as discussed shed light on the context and background against which modern scholarship should be understood, and in particular the way this segment of the corpus was received by Anglo-German orientalists.

The Second Leg of the Journey, from India to Berlin and London: The Anglo-German Orientalist Discourse and the Emergence of the Fourth Edition

As for the ***BL*** manuscript, although the Mughal/Indian-style seals indicate its ownership around the mid-nineteenth century, little is known about its history for another fifty years. The only lead is the fact that at an unknown date it became an item in the personal collection

of Henry Beveridge (d.1929), another English orientalist. He appears to have eventually sold the manuscript to the British Museum, as a note at the very beginning of the codex indicates – 'Bought from H. Beveridge Esq., November 13, 1900' – where it remained for more than seventy years until 1973, when it was transferred to the British Library, which became a separate institution that year.[634]

Beveridge eventually published a short piece on the text, in 1914. For this, however, he had used the SzB manuscript, once belonging to A. Sprenger, that some thirty years earlier, in 1883, became the basis of the first article-length scholarly study on the 'Memoirs of Shah Ṭahmāsb', by Teufel.[635] While Qajar readers came to describe the text as *Ṭahmāsb's Diary* (*rūznāmeh-ye shāh ṭahmāsb*), as discussed in the preceding chapter, outside Iran, Anglo-German scholars, like the Safavid court-in-exile in India, somewhat expectedly conceived of it through the prism of Mughal auto/biographical literature, with which they were quite familiar.[636] This epistemological framework, reinforced by the limited number of manuscripts available to scholars, is what ultimately shaped the modern discourse around the *T-Recension* of Ṭahmāsb's text for generations to come.

Teufel himself writes that he learnt of the text from Blochmann's translation of *Āyīn-e Akbarī*, where it is mentioned in passing, in two footnotes, referring to it as *Memoirs*, and making Blochmann the first person to introduce it to the wider scholarly audience outside Iran and India.[637] In turn, Teuful does not attempt to challenge Blochmann's choice of title, calling it 'seine Denkwürdigkeiten', and merely endorses the existing discourse on the autobiographical narratives, or shortage thereof, emanating from the Orient.

---

[634] Despite its centrality to the emergence of Anglo-German scholarship on the ***BL*** stemma, it seems that the ***BL*** manuscript itself was never properly studied, not even by Beveridge, probably because it was not catalogued until 1968, and then, somewhat curiously, under the title *Tūzok-e ṭahmāsebī*; see Meredith-Owens, *Handlist*, p.22.

[635] Teufel, " Denkwürdigkeiten".

[636] At the time these texts were commonly understood and described as *memoirs* or *autobiographies*.

[637] Blochmann, trans. *the Ayīn*, p.176, footnote 1, and p.426, footnote 1. Here the old record number – Pers. MS. 782, As. Soc. Bengal – is mentioned but it is most certainly the manuscript Ivanow's catalogue lists as MS. D 53.

He begins by echoing other scholars' suggestion that 'to further the vibrancy and depth of the research in oriental history the study of autobiographical records and *die Memoirenlitteratur* was important.'[638] Influenced by the ideas of his own time, Teuful claims that 'due to the lack of vigorous development of the individual, rooted in the basic conditions of oriental life, this branch of Oriental literature never achieved the levels it did in the Occident' and therefore 'texts such as *Bābor's Vāqe'āt'*, Mīrzā Ḥeydar's *Tārīkh-e Rashīdī*, or *Ṭahmāsb's Taẕkereh* should be regarded as fortunate coincidences.'[639]

Following an introduction and brief discussion of Bābor and Mīrzā Ḥeydar and their works, Teufel moves on to the figure of Ṭahmāsb. 'The first two [works],' he writes, 'are quite similar in structure and execution and their authors are alike' whereas that of Ṭahmāsb is 'completely different' and 'it is not easy to recognize and depict the essence of this prince based on his representation in the chronicles alone.'[640] For this reason, he argues, 'the Shah's personal record makes a considerable contribution to the correct appraisal of his abilities and personality.'[641] Though admitting that 'little was known about [his] *taẕkereh*,' Teufel was nonetheless already aware of several authors who had made use of the text, or rather its various recensions, namely Khūrshāh b. Qobād, Moḥammad Mehdī Shīrāzī, and Abū al-

[638] Ibid., p.113.
[639] This Orientalist trope has been much critiqued by, among others, Cemal Kafadar, "Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth Century Istanbul and First-Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature," *Studia Islamica* 69 (1989), p.146; and Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs*, p.344. Both have drawn upon examples from their respective fields, of Ottoman and Safavid history, to make their arguments; Babayan, in fact, used Ṭahmāsb's text to support her line of criticism. The truth, however, is that autobiographical writings are as old as writing itself, for plenty of such texts have survived from antiquity, from Egypt, Assyria, Iran, and elsewhere; see, for example, "The Autobiography of Weni" and "The Autobiography of Harkhuf" in Lichtheim, M. *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, pp. 50-60; and Tadmor, H. and Weinfeld, M. "Autobiographical Apology in the Royal Assyrian Literature," in *History, Historiography and Interpretation*: *Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Literatures* 1983, pp.36-57; not to mention the royal Achaemenid and Sassanian inscriptions, which, though not exactly autobiographies, are certainly autobiographical in nature, ultimately reflecting the retrospective views of those who had them made. Moreover, these inscriptions are also generally in accord with what Ph. Lejeune calls the 'autobiographical pact,' that is when the writer, the narrator, and the protagonist are the same person – see Philippe Lejeune, *On Autobiography*, trans. Katherine Leary (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), pp.177-84.
[640] Teufel, "Denkwürdigkeiten," p.114.
[641] Teufel, "Denkwürdigkeiten," p.117.

Ḥasan b. Ebrāhīm Qazvīnī. He further speculates that 'just a few copies appear to have been made,' adding that he had managed to learn of the existence of only two – one in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and another in the Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin.[642]

Teufel then goes on to summarize and discuss the contents of the work. Having closely read the text, he notices immediately the somewhat distinct styles of what he describes as its 'two parts.'[643] The first part – that is, the preface and the historical introduction of the *T-Recension* – briefly covering the key events up to the revolt of Olāmeh Tekkalu and the subsequent Ottoman invasion, deals with various government measures taken by young Ṭahmāsb, the strife among the Qezelbāsh, the fighting with the Uzbeks, the loss of Baghdad and its eventual reconquest – 'these are narrated in a strict chronological order, with careful indication of dates in the years of the Hijra and the Tatar [Chinese] animal calendar.'[644] Despite recognizing the distinctiveness of styles between the two parts and pointing out that in the introduction the 'person of the monarch was still [not very] prominent,' Teufel does not seem to suspect that, although written in the first-person, this part may have been added by someone other than the narrator himself. Likewise, probably because very few Safavid chronicles, even in manuscript, were available at the time to compare with the text of the *taẕkereh*, it did not occur to Teufel that the dates and the strict chronology, something almost entirely absent from the core text, had been taken, often verbatim, from other contemporary works covering the period preceding that narrated in the original stories (discussed in Chapter Three).

Moving onto the second part, that is, the variously modified *Five Stories*, Teufel points out its disproportionately large size compared with the first, as well as to the fact that 'the character of [this part] is essentially different, the narrative [is] more detailed, livelier, the person of the Shah is more at the centre of the events.' Understandably surprised by the

[642] Ibid.
[643] Teufel, "Denkwürdigkeiten," p.119.
[644] Ibid.

absence of the episode of Homāyūn's visit and the fact that the text suddenly ends with the Bāyezīd affair, Teufel goes so far as to suggest that it might be 'more appropriate to describe the book as *eine Apologie*' for the unfortunate episode involving the Ottoman prince 'to which the preceding historical introduction was added to serve as merely a supplement.' And yet, he neither pursues this line of inquiry nor expresses further scepticism of any kind as to the authenticity of the text in its entirety, instead saying that 'Ṭahmāsb of course speaks of the purpose of his work,' which is 'to write an account of his life and deeds.'

Unaware of the existence of a whole corpus of related manuscripts, the other recension, or the several generations of paratextual evolution, and echoing the entry on *Tārīkh-e Īlchī* in Rieu's catalogue, Teufel concludes that 'the author originally intended only to cover the period from the Turkish wars [up to the present]' – *az ebtedā-ye jang-e rūmiyeh tā tārīkh-e maẕkūr* – and thus wraps up the discussion.[645] This conclusion by Teufel, the idea that the text he had examined, that is the *T-Recension*, was written and revised by Ṭahmāsb himself has remained unchallenged up until today. Indeed, the entire text is still widely believed to be the Shah's own work.[646] Needless to say, while Teufel's description of the text may read as unduly critical, it is worth emphasizing that the German scholar made a good start on what he had available and therefore deserves credit for essentially sensing that there was more to this text than could be glimpsed from a single manuscript.

Following the publication of Teufel's article and E'temād al-Salṭaneh's *Maṭla' al-Shams*, Paul Horn, another German scholar, took one more step towards bringing Ṭahmāsb's so-called memoirs to the attention of students of Safavid history.[647] In 1890, Horn obtained a

[645] Teufel, "Denkwürdigkeiten," p.119; Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts*, p.107; *Tārīkh-e Īlchī*, p.115.
[646] This is attested by the extensive use of the text by K. Babayan in one of the chapters of her well-known monograph, where she consistently describes the composition as the Shah's memoirs, see: *Mystics, Monarch, and Messiahs*, pp.295-348; likewise, in his recently published work, Peacock contends that the 'longer recension' (i.e., the *T-Rec.*) was compiled 'shortly after' and/or 'more or less simultaneously' see *The Memoirs*, p.32. Peacock completely omits the multi-text manuscripts containing the *Kāteb* variant of the *M-Recension,* resulting in a myopic view of the corpus and the history of the composition.
[647] Horn, "Die Denkwurdigkeiten," (1890).

transcription of E'temād al-Salṭaneh's lithographed edition from a certain Dr. Frank, the dragoman at the German legation in Tehran, along with the two BL copies from Calcutta, which he obtained through Rudolf Hoernlé (d. 1918), another German orientalist and president of the Asiatic Society in 1897. In response to Teuful's suggestion that 'an edition [was] very desirable' and with these texts in hand, Horn went on to prepare both a 'critical text' and its German translation.

Horn's 'critical text,' which turned out to be something of a chimera, accompanied by a few sections from Moḥammad Mehdī Shīrāzī's *Tārīkh-e Ṭahmāsiyeh*, appeared in 1890 and 1891 as two long articles in the *ZDMG*,[648] and his German translation was published in 1891 in Strasbourg by Karl J. Trübner.[649] Once again, despite his limited knowledge of the manuscript corpus, Horn had access to and thus consulted Shīrāzī's work in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek, which had in turn relied extensively on *Tārīkh-e Īlchī*, that is, the closest version to the urtext/autograph. Having examined Shīrāzī's work, Horn did not fail to notice that although '[he] often cited passages from *Ṭahmāsb's Memoirs* verbatim, the wording always differ[ed] from [the critical text].' Nonetheless, the German scholar eventually came to essentially the same conclusion as Teufel, that is: 'we must presume that [Ṭahmāsb] made various edits to his memoirs.'[650]

In 1892, almost immediately after Horn's two articles and his German translation of the *taẕkereh* were published, Russian orientalist Valentin Zhukosvky (d.1918) wrote a review severely criticizing the two publications. Having access to the manuscript containing the *M-Recension* – the royal copy of Shah 'Abbās I – and kept at what was then the Saint Petersburg Public Library, he for the first time questioned the notion that the text was either a *memoir* (*taẕkereh*), or *Denkwürdigkeiten* – as the two German orientalists had described it – or a *diary*

[648] Horn, "Die Denkwurdigkeiten," (1891).
[649] Horn, ed. and trans., *Die Denkwürdigkeiten*.
[650] Horn, "Die Denkwurdigkeiten," pp.567, 572.

(*rūznāmeh*) of Ṭahmāsb – as it had come to be known among the Qajar readers and scholars.[651]

Zhukovsky began by criticizing Horn's approach in preparing his critical text. Because Horn had not been able to obtain either an actual copy of *Maṭla‘ al-Shams* (written in large, clear *naskh)* or the original manuscript, he instead had had to rely on the transcription (in *shekasteh ta‘līq*) of the lithograph made for him upon request by Dr. Frank.

The Russian scholar's main reproach was that 'what Horn had presented as the text of the Tehran edition [was], in fact, far from being so.' He further pondered as to who could have been responsible – 'the Persian scribe, who did not know how to read large *naskh*, or Horn, who did not know how to read *shekasteh ta‘līq*?' Thus, offering a long and detailed list described as 'only some examples of [Horn's] mis-transcriptions and mis-readings [as well as] the resultant, at times rather bizarre, translations,' Zhukovsky concluded: 'the [text] variations and critical comments by Horn [had] little to do with the Tehran edition but [were] rather pertinent to the copy made for him.'[652] Of greater consequence than Zhukovsky's critique of the earlier interpretations, and his earnest yet still problematic conclusion that the text was originally the *Record of Ṭahmāsb's Conversation of Ottoman Ambassadors* (*mokālameh-ye shāh ṭahmāsp bā īlchīyān*), is the fact that he was the first scholar to point to the existence of the *M-Recension*. Nonetheless, it was another forty years before the manuscript used by Zhukovsky was introduced to scholarly circles outside Russia, by Hinz, thus allowing the discourse around the *T-Recension* – to the effect that is *Ṭahmāsb's Memoirs* – to spread further and subsequently crystallize.

The next wave of interest in the subject came from English scholars, namely D.C. Phillott (d.1930) – who published the text based on the two aforementioned manuscripts in

[651] Zhukovsky, "159. *Die Denkwürdigkeiten*," and "160. *Die Denkwurdigkeiten*" pp.377-383.
[652] Zhukovsky, "159. *Die Denkwürdigkeiten*," and "160. *Die Denkwurdigkeiten*", pp.378-380.

the library of the Asiatic Society in 1912[653] – and Henry Beveridge – who followed up with a short article two years later, thus further promoting this recension of the text.[654] In his half-page introduction to the Persian text, Phillott expressed his disappointment about 'these memoirs' adding that 'they [were], however, not devoid of philological interest.' In addition to that, he attempted, with some success, to identify various localities as well as individuals mentioned throughout the text, recording them in the footnotes. Although he misread several, mostly Turkish, names and words, probably due to scribal errors and defective copying, his edition was not an insignificant contribution to the study of the subject, for it made the text available to an even greater number of readers.[655]

In his turn, Henry Beveridge, who by 1914 had already translated several Mughal-era Persian texts, including *Tūzok-e Jahāngīrī* and *Akbarnāmeh*, offered something of a summary of Ṭahmāsb's text. It is worth reiterating that there is no indication that he used the manuscript which he had sold to the British Museum some fourteen years earlier. Right at the start of his article, he praises Phillott for publishing 'these Memoirs in a separate form,' but adds that 'none of the three editions' – that is, including those by E'temād al-Salṭaneh and Paul Horn – published thus far '[was] cheap or readily available.' Clearly viewing the composition of Ṭahmāsb through the prism of the Mughal auto/biographical literature, he described it as 'somewhat dull and jejune' and explicitly endorsed Phillott's earlier assessment.

Beveridge deemed Ṭahmāsb 'a far smaller man than Emperor Bābor,' but, not unlike Teufel some thirty years earlier, praised 'the simplicity of his style' adding that 'in this respect he [was] not inferior to Bābor.'[656] That said, the comparison with *Bāburnāmeh*, which

[653] Phillott, *Memoirs*.
[654] Beveridge, "The Memoirs".
[655] Phillott, alongside his military career, was a prolific scholar, producing numerous translations of historical and literary works, in addition to grammatical manuals and a dictionary; the translation of the third volume of *Āyīn-e Akbarī*, published in Calcutta by the Asiatic Society, in 1927, is among his most notable accomplishments.
[656] Beveridge, "The Memoirs", p.461.

his wife, Annette Susannah Beveridge (née Akroyd), went on to translate into English,[657] was obviously ill considered. For although both works are autobiographical, containing a range of didactic elements, Bābor's is unambiguously a diary, meticulously recorded and chronologically presented, whereas Ṭahmāsb's – without the paratext of either of the two prefaces and/or the historical introduction – is just five stories.

Perhaps the single most important development which seems to have sealed the perception of the *T-Recension* as the actual work of Ṭahmāsb was the publication of the last of its modern editions, in 1924. Mentioning neither E'temād al-Salṭaneh's nor Horn's works, 'Abd al-Shakur, the director of the Berlin-based Kaviani Press, essentially produced a composite text based on the SzB manuscript and Phillott's 1912 publication. The justification provided for this effort was the claim that the 'Calcutta edition was not widely available' and given that 'the most important goal of the press was the promotion of rare books' (*tarvīj-e kotob-e kam-yāb*), as well as the fact that the text 'contained a number of historical facts and shed light on the Iranian psyche of that period, [the editor] hoped it would be considered a service to [his country]' (*khedmatī beh īrān shomardeh bāshad*).[658] Quite significantly, it is also thanks to 'Abd al- Shakur that the work came to be widely known as *Taẕkereh-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb*, for previously (outside Iran) it had been variously referred to as his *memoirs*, *autobiography*, *rūznāmeh*, or *Denkwürdigkeiten*.

Thus, although the number of copies printed does not seem to have been indicated anywhere in the volume, it appears that it became by far the most widely available edition around the world, for libraries from Los Angeles to Tabriz and Hyderabad possess copies of the Kaviani edition.[659] Most significantly, given the integration of the above-discussed

[657] Babur, *The Bābur-nāma in English (Memoirs of Bābur),* trans., Beveridge, A.S. (London: Luzac, 1921).
[658] 'Abd al-Shakūr, ed., *Taẕkereh-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb*, p.6. The Kaviani edition is essentially a collation of Phillott's 1912 work, and the Berlin manuscript (Sprenger 205) previously used by Teufel and Horn, and all copies of the ***BL*** manuscript.
[659] E.G. Browne described the Charlottenburg-based Kaviani Press in the following words: "The Press, financed and managed by Persians desirous of producing good and cheap Persian books, both classics and modern educational works, offering correct and well-

marginalia from the ***BL*** manuscript into its later copies – upon which all the printed editions, bar the one published in Tehran, are based – coupled with the now well-established perception of the text as something between the Shah's *diary* and *memoirs*,[660] with the publication of the Berlin-Kaviani edition it is possible to speak of the end of the two-centuries-long process of the creation of the augmented *T-Recension*, or the *Fourth Edition*, and the culmination of the paratextual evolution of the *Five Stories*.

Conclusion

The last article on the subject to appear before the Second World War was a brief note by Walther Hinz (d.1992), which introduced the *M-Recension* to readers of the *ZDMG*.[661] As previously mentioned, although Zhukovsky had already discussed the ***SPC*** more than forty years earlier, this review remained virtually unknown outside Russian-speaking circles. In turn, Hinz, after briefly listing the earlier works on the subject, though not Zhukovsky's, sought to address the question of the inconsistency of scholarly views on the text – from

printed texts, provided, where necessary, with the requisite indices and *apparatus criticus*, has in the last year or two published some dozen volumes..." – see, "Some Recent Persian Books Publications of the 'Kaviani' Press, Berlin," in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland* 56.2 (1924), p.279. This rather favourable assessment of their work to some extent explains the widespread circulation of the edition in question. In fact, even several entries for the *Taẕkereh-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb* in Monzavī's *Fehrestvāreh* are in fact copies of the Kaviani edition; see Monzavī, Aḥmad. *Fihristvāreh-ye Ketābhā-ye Fārsī*. Vol. 2, Chāp-i 1. ed. (Tehran: Anjoman-i Āṯār va Mafākhir-i Farhangī, 1995), pp.924-25.

[660] Any title, something the text did not explicitly possess for most of its history, in and of itself should be conceived of as a layer of paratext framing what follows in a desired manner or reflecting the editor's own perception of the composition.

[661] Hinz, "Zur Frage".

Teufel's overall favourable impression to Beveridge's assessment of the work as 'dull and jejune.'[662]

'The inconsistency of the views,' Hinz argued, 'is only an inevitable outcome of the contradiction that arises between the Memoirs in their entirety, on the one hand, which focus exclusively on the Persian-Turkish entanglements, and on the other hand, the Shah's introductory remarks that he wanted to write an account of his reign'[663] – again, something that scholars before Hinz had realized but did not properly address.

Having completed his doctoral thesis on the cultural history of Russia under Peter the Great, at the University of Leipzig in 1930, Hinz had no doubt made some acquaintances at the Leningrad State Public Library, which would explain how he managed to get the library to lend him the precious manuscript, which up to this point only Zhukovsky had discussed.[664] It was also around this time that he was increasingly drawn to Persia, motivating him to change his field and thus making the 1934 article on Ṭahmāsb's text one of his earliest works (if not the earliest) in Persian studies. Unfortunately, his conclusions were virtually identical to those of Zhukovsky – 'the *Taẕkereh* is neither a *diary* nor a *memoir*, but essentially the verbatim transcription of [the Shah's] statesman-like speech to the envoys of the [Ottoman Sultan] […] to which [he], while revising it, added a historical introduction …'[665]

Although Hinz attempted to compare the two versions, he limited himself to only a couple of passages. Most interestingly, he went so far as to suggest that 'had 'Abbās not had the minutes (das *Protokoll*) rewritten, it would probably never have been proven that it was a speech, and [instead] simply been [viewed as] a justification (eine Rechtfertigung) of [his

[662] Ibid., pp.46-47.
[663] Ibid., p.47.
[664] See https://iranicaonline.org/articles/hinz-a-walther; Hinz, "Zur Frage," p.48. In a footnote on page 54, Hinz wrote that he learnt of Zhukovsky's review, and his virtually identical conclusions, from Minorsky, only after his article had been sent to the printers, and he claimed that the Russian scholar's 1892 publication was otherwise unknown in Europe. This statement is somewhat odd and difficult to believe, for it is hardly possible that those who had lent the manuscript to Hinz could have forgotten to attach a copy of Zhukovsky's review of another German scholar's works on the same subject.
[665] Hinz, "Zur Frage," p. 48.

grandfather's] Turkish policy and above all his behaviour in the extradition of the Ottoman prince.'[666] It is truly peculiar how Hinz, while uncritically accepting the statements in the preface, at the same time explicitly undermines his own argument by suggesting that without it one could not even have conceived that the *Five Stories* were in fact a speech of Ṭahmāsb to the Ottoman envoys. That is because there is little in the text itself that would make one suspect it could have ever been delivered as an oration. With this conclusion, Hinz can hardly be said to have moved the Anglo-German discourse on the subject forward, but instead, one could argue, he basically brought it to something of a dead end, where it has remained ever since.

After the Second War World the interest in the Shah's retrospective continued to grow gradually as more scholars, especially in Soviet Georgia, Azerbaijan, Iran, Turkey and the West, studied, published, translated, and variously used the work in their research on Safavid history. Besides the fact that the Russo-Soviet and the Anglo-German scholarly discourses essentially developed in isolation, with minimal exchange and communication, on either side no one has seriously attempted to challenge the conclusions collectively reached by the first generation of scholars (be they Iranian, Anglo-German, or Russo-Soviet) who had engaged with this textual tradition. These conclusions were subsequently sealed by Hinz, while virtually no progress has been made on that front ever since. Indeed, even the recent publications of A. Peacock and Ph. Bockholt merely echo the century-old discourse and consensus to the effect that the Shah had personally revised the original.[667] Both have opted to call the composition *Ṭahmāsb's Memoirs,* while their works are based on just a few versions (that is against twenty-four closely examined in the present study), significantly limiting their purview of the history of the text.

[666] Ibid., p.52.
[667] Bockholt, "Shah Ṭahmāsp and the Taẕkira".

Conclusion

The central goal of this work has been to reconstruct the history of the text (to the extent it is possible, given the materials available) composed by Ṭahmāsb, and thus to challenge the scholarly consensus established almost a century ago, regarding what it was and how its two recensions came to be. Hitherto, those who have studied the text suggested repeatedly that it essentially constitutes the Shah's *memoirs* and/or *diary*, while accounting for the existence of

the two recensions – i.e., the *M*- and the *T*-, or the *mokālemeh* and the *taẕkereh* – by arguing that he had personally revised the former (shorter) to produce the latter (longer).

My research, based on the study of more than twenty manuscripts of the text, along with a close reading of the text and paratexts contained therein, has revealed rather that the two recensions instead reflect two parallel traditions of reading and understanding the composition, subject to their respective contexts. The two parts of this dissertation, each consisting of two chapters, primary and auxiliary, by means of tracing the transmission, evolution and readership of the text, offer a nuanced reading and interpretation of how each recension came be, as well as the ways in which the core text was understood and adapted to different audiences. In Chapter One, discussing the oldest surviving royal manuscript belonging to ʻAbbās I, alongside associated stemma, it is argued that the text, with the new preface forming the *M-Recension*, at the turn of the seventeenth century was viewed as both an idiosyncratic mirror-for-princes and *mythomoteur* giving the then-current Safavid generation a sense of guidance and direction. Chapter Two examines the previously virtually unstudied subsection of the corpus, as well as the more complete textual variant of the *M-Recension*. Close reading of several prefaces and other paratexts reveals that during the first forty years the text was not framed as the Shah's conversation to the Ottoman envoys, but was instead merely his *Five Stories*, providing an argument that this may be the most suitable title for the autograph. Further probing of the text's relationship with the corpus of contemporary correspondence and with several contemporary Safavid chronicles in turn allowed not only insights into how it was composed but also a better understanding of the extent of its readership, circulation and influence on other works from the time of its composition into the seventeenth century. Overall, I have argued that the *M-Recension* essentially belongs to what I have described as *scribal historiography*, essentially presenting

the Shah as a wise, pious and law-abiding monarch, subsequently echoed throughout several well-known Safavid chronicles.

The second part, that is, Chapters Three and Four, focus on the *T-Recension* and the two associated stemmas. Chapter Three presents the ***GPL*** stemma manuscripts in context, with a close reading and discussion of the paratext which forms that recension. Besides demonstrating that it could not have been produced by Ṭahmāsb and should instead be understood in the context of the reign of Shah Soleymān I, especially as an attempt to 'remind' contemporaries of their ancestor and his legacy (as part of a much larger wave of nostalgia for the early Safavid period), I have argued that, based on a range of paratextual elements, this recension belongs to the *ṣūfī-qezelbāsh* historiographical tradition. Several linkages between the *T-Recension* and the works of popular historiography (*'Ālam-ārā-ye Shāh Esmā'īl* / *Ṭahmāsb*) and several other sources provide the basis to begin to outline the contours of the *ṣūfī-qezelbāsh* memory tradition pertaining to the Shah and, most importantly, his role as their *morshed-e kāmel*.

Lastly, Chapter Four seeks to accomplish several objectives. First, it traces the transmission of the ***BL*** manuscript, and the emergence of the eponymous stemma. Secondly, it demonstrates that the *T-Recension* indeed had a circulation within the *ṣūfī-qezelbāsh* milieu, who made sure this manuscript was included among the items the last Safavid prince brought to India. Thirdly, it details what happened once the manuscript was in India, when several Anglo-German orientalists came to acquire copies of the text and undertook the pioneering research on the subject. Corollary to that, a study of the paratexts (scholia, marginalia) in the ***BL*** manuscript, alongside the *Favāyed-e Ṣafaviyeh*, on the one hand allowed for an accounting for yet another round of paratextual evolution, and, on the other, by means of the integration of these additions into the manuscript's copies and the subsequent publication of three modern editions, resulted in the emergence of what I have termed the

Fourth Edition; that is the point at which the *Five Stories* finally became the text known to scholars as the Shah's *taẕkereh*.

In closing, the textual history of *The Five Stories of Shah Ṭahmāsb* reveals not merely the layered development of a single composition, but a dynamic interplay of memory, authority and historiography over three centuries. From its inception as a timely reflection on diplomacy and kingship, through its reconfigurations under Safavid patronage, to its eventual canonization as a "memoir" in Qajar and modern scholarship, the work has been continually reshaped by the needs, anxieties, and imaginations of its readers. As this study has shown, the text's shifting titles, forms, and framings—from *mokālemeh* to *taẕkereh*, from court discourse to mystical instruction—underscore the extent to which it has functioned not only as a historical record but also as a site of contested meaning and cultural memory. Tracing its recensions, paratexts, and readerships across time and space reveals how a single Safavid voice—whether real or reconstructed—echoed in different registers across generations, speaking now as monarch, now as mystic, and always as a remembered ancestor. The text's evolving form, no less than its enduring message, offers a compelling lens through which to reconsider the role of writing in the shaping of Safavid identity and the memory of kingship itself.

APPENDIX

[f.4v] Chapter One: *The Story of [the Rebellion of] Olāmeh [Tekkalū]*[668]

During the reign of His Royal Highness (*ḥażrat-e khāqānī*), he [i.e. Olāmeh Tekkalū] used to be a petty *aide-de-camp* (*yasāvol-e zabūnī*). It was only later [during the tutorship of Chūheh Solṭān],[669] that he attained the rank of *amir* (commander) and went on to become the usher (*īshīk-āghāsī*), achieved the status of [governor of Tabriz],[670] and became the chief of the commander-in-chief (*amīr al-omarā'*) of Azerbaijan. At the time when we set off for Khorasan, it was decided that Olāmeh would send three hundred of his own men to join the campaign [f.5r], while himself remaining in Azerbaijan.

When we reached Esfahan, and while Sām Mīrzā and Ḥoseyn Khān were in Sabzevar, [something got into his [i.e. Olāmeh Tekkalū's] feeble mind, causing him to rebel].[671] [From Van][672] he came to Tabriz, with the intention of capturing the city's prefect (*dārūgheh*). He seized the royal horses which were in the city; took possession of the royal maidservants who had been assigned to work for the gold-embroiderers, giving them to his retainers; [he] pitched the embroidered royal tent for himself; and plundered (*ṣaunak kard*) the property of the people [of the royal camp (*ordū*)][673] stationed in Tabriz. When he did these things, and the news came of him reaching the royal camp, we rushed back at the gallop to capture him, but he fled and went in the direction of Van. [f.5v] Some commanders went after him, failed to catch up with him, and returned. He fled from Van as well and went into Ottoman (*rūm*) territory.

Olāmeh was a deceitful, seditious man (*mard-e mozavver-e mofatten*) and used to trick and fool virtually everyone, except for the Prophets and the Immaculate Imams—May God Bless Them All. In the Ottoman territories, they used to say, he had become a close companion of Ebrāhīm Pāshā, [the chief minister to the Ottoman Ruler],[674] so much so that the Pāshā would open up his heart to him, saying: "I greatly fear Sultan Mosṭafā!" Olāmeh told [Ebrāhīm Pāshā]: "The lands to the East are unguarded (*khālī*) and most of the Qezelbāsh chiefs are allied with me. If the Pāshā marches [East], I will commit myself (*mota'ahhed shavam*) to conquering that land—the Pāshā would rule over Azerbaijan, Iraq and Fars, [f.6r] and every year pay tribute (*pīshkesh*) to His Majesty (*khwāndgār*). Give Bitlis to me now, so that I can go ahead and speak with the folks who are in alliance with me; you just follow me!"

Since His Sovereign Majesty never did anything contrary to Ebrāhīm Pāshā's words, even if he disbelieved one of his claims, he certainly accepted the next. Ebrāhīm Pāshā, having been taken in by Olāmeh, granted him Bitlis, and dispatched him, with an army, against Sharaf Bēg [the Kurd, who was the governor of Bitlis].[675] Sharaf Bēg fled and came to us.

Even though Hābīl Bēg, our *mehmandar* (i.e. master of ceremonies, host to guests, or foreign minister) and ambassador (*īlchī*), was [then] in attendance on His Sovereign Majesty, the latter still gave an army to Olāmeh and dispatched him against us. After he had travelled three stages[676] [f.6v] into Europe (*farang*), he gave Hābīl Bēg leave to depart and return to this land, and he wrote [i.e. to Tahmāsb]: "Arrest Sharaf Bēg and send him [to me]!" [Our]

[668] Kāteb, C1: [f.86r].
[669] Kāteb, C1: [f.86r].
[670] Kāteb, C1: [f.86r].
[671] Kāteb, C1: [f.86r].
[672] Īlchī [p.112].
[673] Kāteb, C1: [f.86r].
[674] Īlchī [p.112].
[675] Īlchī [p.112].

commanders said: “Had His Sovereign Majesty been well-disposed and sympathetic towards us, he would have granted Olāmeh a district on the other side of the river instead of sending him against us to Bitlis; for treating our vassal (*noukar*) with kindness and supporting him against us [surely] reeks of enmity.”

[The commanders] deemed it prudent (*ṣalāḥ dar ān dīdand*) to dispatch another emissary to ascertain whether His Sovereign Majesty might still show goodwill. They sent Ḥoseyn Khān, Menteshā Solṭān, ʻAbdollah Khān Īlaldī Āghā Ḥājjīlū, who was formerly the deputy (*vakīl*) of Dūrūk Solṭān [Tekkalū] and later became the tutor (*laleh*) of [f.7r] Esmāʻīl Mīrzā, and wrote [to *Khwāndgār*]: “Olāmeh has fled and gone over to your side, whereas Sharaf Bēg has gone the other way. Send Olāmeh to us and we shall give Sharaf Bēg to you. Why should a dispute arise between two Muslim Sovereigns (*pādshāhān-e eslām*) for the sake of Olāmeh and Sharaf Bēg?”

His Majesty did not accept [the offer] and wrote in response, “Olāmeh took refuge with us—we cannot give him up. Give Sharaf Bēg to us and, from this day on, should a person come to us from your side, we shall extradite him!” It became evident that His Sovereign Majesty had no good will [towards us] and that, in the end, he would either come upon us himself or send an army. Menteshā Solṭān said: “There is no need for us to fight the Ottomans (*rūmīyān*): as soon as we reach [f7v] the vicinity of Arjish, they will turn back.” We acted upon his judgment and set off for Arjish.

When we reached the vicinity of Qarānqū Valley, in the district of Khoy, the son of Yādgār Rūzhakī came from the citadel of Bitlis, bringing the news that “Fīl Pāshā has abandoned his cannons and fled.” Following this, we deliberated the matter (*jāneqī*) with the commanders, royal-guards (*qūrchīs*), officers (*yūzbāshī*), and the rest of the people. Some said: “His Sovereign Majesty has gone to Europe: we should [attack] his country! Fīl Pāshā has fled and will go to Diyārbakr. We should go to Sivas, so that most of the people will rally to us for the sake of plunder and booty; and after plundering the place and we should stop in the province of Marʻash [and gather an army]. [f8r] [So,] by the time *Khwāndgār* comes to Istanbul, we will have burned and desolated the entirety of this frontier [area]. Whoever joins us, we shall spare and bring along, and whoever does not, we shall plunder and kill. We will stay in Diyārbakr until *Khwāndgār* comes to Chorum and Amasya, and then we will burn and pillage Diyārbakr too and move on to Baghdad. We will cross the river at Mosul and pass the winter (*qeshlāq*) in the vicinity of Baghdad. If His Sovereign Majesty advances against us in the spring, we will go to Tabriz via Shahrizor, and if he moves towards Tabriz, we will go to Sivas by way of Diyārbakr.” [To this] I replied: “If His Sovereign Majesty is on [f8v] campaign against infidels (*ghazāt*), it is not proper/right (*monāseb*) for us to attack his country. [Even] if he had killed my brother and child, because he is engaged in ‘holy war’ (*ghazāt*), I would not attack his country and would not sell religion for the world.” Some said: “What if he attacks us? What shall we do then?” Menteshā Solṭān had an apple in his hand; he threw it into the air, and said: “Before it hits the ground, there are a thousand things we can imagine. It would be wise (*maṣlaḥat ān-ast*) to return to our own country and pass the winter there. Perhaps *Khwāndgār* will not come back in the spring, [so] we shall return from there to Tabriz via Chokhūr Saʻd.”

In the meantime, the news came that ʻObayd the Uzbek had laid siege to Herat. He was an utterly cruel man [f.9r] to whom a Muslim and an unbeliever were one and the same. Once, a *sayyid* was brought before him to be judged. One group interceded on his behalf, saying that he was a descendent of the Prophet. In response, he said: “I shall kill him *because* he is a *sayyid*!” On another occasion, it was said in his presence, “Whoever does not have [at least] a grain of hatred towards the Commander of the Believers [ʻAlī]—Peace be Upon Him

[676] *Manzel* is a stage, or a day’s journey. Its length varies with the terrain and state of the road but is approximately equal to twenty-four kilometers.

—in his heart, is not a Muslim!" That accursed one, holding an orange (*nāranjī*) in his hand, replied: "Praise be to God! In my heart I have hatred the size of this orange towards [ʻAlī]."

At the time [of the siege,] Bahrām Mīrzā was in Herat. Someone came from him with an appeal (*ʻarzeh-dāsht*), relating that "the people of Herat reached a point [f.9v] of eating the meat of cats and dogs." We immediately set off for Khorasan and as the accursed ʻObayd learnt of our approach he fled.

That year, we wintered in Herat. I sent the commanders and the army in all directions to find a place to pass the winter. Then, the news came that Olāmeh had attacked Sharaf Bēg, Mīr Aḥmad Solṭān, and other commanders who were with them. A battle took place between them, in which Sharaf Khān (Bēg) was killed. We paid no attention to these reports and remained in Herat for the winter, saying: "If Olāmeh is the one who has done this, *Khwāndgār* will not come after us. Now that we have gone into winter quarters in Herat, let us stay put and see what plans God has for us."

In spring, we sent Alqās [Mīrzā], [f10r] along with several commanders, to Marv. Alqās went to Marv. We sent Menteshā Solṭān, Ḥoseyn Jān Soltān, and Amīr Beg Rūmlū, along with some of the royal guards, to Gharchistan, while I myself went on a pilgrimage (*ṭavāf*) to Holy Mashhad—a thousand blessings and peace be upon it, and thousands upon thousands of praises. They conquered Gharchistān [and Marv],[677] and came [back] to Herat, And I, too, returned to Herat after performing the pilgrimage. We stayed in Herat for one month and on the 11th of *Dhū al-Ḥijjah,* left the city for the pastures of Alang-neshīn where, for a period of forty days, we were [planning] to raise an army and eventually advance against Balkh.

One day following our departure from Herat, I developed a fever and remained sick for several days. Perchance, on the night of the 14th of [f10v] *Dhu al-Ḥijjah*, I slept in the audience chamber (*dīvānkhāneh*) and saw the Commander of the Believers—Peace be Upon Him—in a dream. He was sitting in the house of Zeynal Khān in Qazvin, which was the royal mansion (*doulatkhāneh)* at the time. Two black-bearded youths, about twenty-five years of age, were standing behind His Majesty. I kissed the ground before him and kneeled respectfully. I then asked him: "Should I cross the river – and will there be a battle between myself and the Uzbeks?" His Majesty proclaimed: "Which important matter have you resolved through war, to make you think that this one should be resolved in the same way?" "O, Commander of Believers, what will happen to us on this side of the river?"—I enquired again—[f.11r] to which he answered: "There is nothing on the other side of the river, everything there is is on this side." I asked the same question two or three times, and His Majesty gave me the same answer. He then said these three things: "Firstly, do not forget the ʻAlqamī River! Secondly, make a vow that upon the conquest of Samarqand, you will build a dome for me, like the one of His Majesty Imam Reżā—Peace be Upon Him!" Finally, he ordered me to appoint Fatḥī Bēg, the private secretary (*parvānchī*) of His Highness Shah [Esmāʻīl], which had recently been made the custodian (*motavallī*) of the Holy Threshold in Ahar. I then woke up from my dream.

As our belief is that whoever sees the Prophets or the Immaculate Imams—Peace be Upon Them All—in their dreams, it is as if they had seen them [f.11v] in wakefulness (*dar bīdarī*), and there is no doubt that whatever they have to say will come to pass. I became extremely hopeful because of the dream and, in the morning, related it to my companions (*yārān*). [Everyone gave their own interpretations.][678] Some said: "The battle with the Uzbeks will take place on this side of the river!"

Twenty days passed. One day, Aḥmad Bēg [the vizier][679] entered my presence, looking deeply distressed. I asked him: "You do not drink wine so this cannot be drunkenness; why is

[677] Kāteb, C1: [f.86v].
[678] Īlchī [p.116].
[679] Īlchī [p.116]: "Nūrī Kemāl Eṣfahānī".

it then that you look so troubled?" He replied: "I wish I had died and did not see this day! Olāmeh came to Tabriz and captured all the wives and families (*ahl va ʻayāl*) of the Qezelbāsh!" I asked him [Aḥmad Bēg] whether Ebrāhīm Pāshā was with him [Olāmeh] or not, to which he answered in the negative. I further enquired about His Majesty [f.12r] to which [Aḥmad Bēg] replied that he was in Istanbul. I said: "God Almighty will punish Olāmeh and Ebrāhīm Pāshā, for they have brought curses upon their ruler!" I then told the following story as an example (*beh methal āvordam*). Among the Sons of Israel, there were thirty thousand people who were awake, praying at night and fasting during the day. Only three among them committed fornication. When the divine punishment came upon them, all thirty thousand of them perished. His Majesty Moses—Peace be Upon Him—asked God: "O Lord! Three among the thirty thousand engaged in immoral behaviour. What was the sin of the rest of the people?" The response came: [f.12v] "They were able to, and did not, prevent these three from engaging in such acts!"

Now because Ebrāhīm Pāshā did not pay attention to God and allowed Olāmeh to cause this amount of unwarranted bloodshed, destruction, and looting of the property of Muslims, as well as taking prisoners, committing fornication, and various other vices, divine zeal (*gheyrat*)—May His Station Be Glorious—caused His Sovereign Majesty to become angry with [Ebrāhīm Pāshā], and made him the object of the royal wrath, and eventually consigned him to hell. The following verses are appropriate for his condition:

Fereydoun had an esteemed vizier, who had an enlightened mind—a man of foresight
Having first ensured God's contentment, he then acted upon the King's orders **[f.13r]**
A scoundrel causes the people suffering, for prudence is possession and abundance of wealth
If he [the vizier] does not take the side of righteousness, he will harm all, including the king[680]

Then, I turned to Bahrām Mīrzā and Ghāzī Khān and asked: "Are you staying in Herat or not?" Ghāzī Khān replied: "Our people have suffered a lot and have been eating cow skins for some time; they have no strength to defend the citadel." Aghzīvār Khān agreed and said: "Give me Sām Mīrzā and I shall look after Herat!" [Since in those days Hoseyn Khān was in charge, and because he was from the tribe of Shāmlu as well, the government of Khorasan was bestowed upon him. In the meantime, some commanders of the Ustājlu tribe, such as][681] Menteshā Solṭān, Amīr Bēg Rūmlū, Ghāzī Khān Dhu'l-Qadr, the governor of Shiraz, and Soleymān Rūmlū, spoke to me in private saying: [f.13v] "It would be unwise to leave Sām Mīrzā, along with Aghzīvār Khān, in Herat." To this, I replied: "For as long as there is a worm inside a tree, it will harm it; but when the worm is outside, the tree will remain unharmed. So, the best thing is to leave whoever may cause us trouble in Herat!" Then, as an example, I related the story of Darius [III] who perished, under the blows of two of his officers, during the battle with Alexander. [The commanders fell silent and did not say anything else.][682] Thus, everyone who was not fully trusted remained in Herat, except for Ḥoseyn Khān, who accompanied us. About Dhu'l-Qadr Oghlū and Ghāzī Khān, we were quite confident.

After that, [f14r] I sent ahead Khalīfeh Moḥammad, the head of the royal-guards (*qūrchībāshī*), along with some of his men (*qūrchīyān*), as well as Menteshā Solṭān, [to scout out the route],[683] while we followed them. When we reached Esfarayen, Teymūr the Kurd—who was the chief of Khalīfeh Moḥammad's stables at the time, and was sent from Rey by Khalīfeh Moḥammad, Menteshā Solṭān, [and the commanders],[684] who had reached [the area]

[680] *Būstān-e Saʻdī* : *Concerning Education*.
[681] Īlchī [p.117].
[682] Īlchī [p.117].
[683] Īlchī [p.117].
[684] Īlchī [p.118].

—arrived with the news that Ebrāhīm Pāshā had [also] come to carry out reconnaissance (*taḥqīq*); he had written a letter (*ketābatī*) to Begüm (i.e. Ṭahmāsb's sister?), and given it to one of the retainers of Shams al-Dīn Khān, the son of Sharaf Khān. In the letter, he demanded: "Send me whatever has remained of the arms and ornamented weapons of His Majesty Shah Esmā'īl, so that I may send them [as a gift][685] to *Khwāndgār*, and appeal to him for peace [f.14v], and dissuade him from coming to this land, and ensure that this country may be undisputedly yours once again [based on certain fixed conditions],[686] and I will return [home] as well." Olāmeh, too, wrote and sent a plea (*'arżeh-dāshtī*), to the same effect, to Begüm. After hearing this news, Qanbaroghlū said: "What are we coming to? Why don't you send someone to get some reliable information about Ebrāhīm Pāshā and Olāmeh?" Enraged, I said: "You go!"

With two retainers, Qanbaroghlū left Esfarayen for Maragheh, where he fought a battle with the Ottomans. They captured one of his retainers—Valī Khān Tekkalū—and struck him on the head with a lance; took [Valī Khān], and [Qanbaroghlū's] cow's tail turban crest, along with his turban—which had fallen from his head during the battle—before Ebrāhīm Pāshā. [f15r]; and so, he left the battlefield bareheaded.

After receiving the news of Olāmeh, we remained in Alang-neshīn for [twenty][687] more days and then decamped and departed. In short, from the region of Herat, we reached Kabūdgonbad of Rey in twenty-one stages (*kūch*). By the time we arrived all the donkeys, [horses, and camels][688] had grown scrawny and weak, while most of the camels were exhausted. From there, despite all the hardships, we pushed on further and finally reached Qazvin, where Qanbaroghlū joined us.

When we became fully aware of the real state of things, we sent Shāhqūlī Khalīfeh, [the royal seal-keeper (*mohrdār*)][689], with Shāhqūlī Solṭān Afshār to gather from the tribal folks (*mardom-e ulūsāt va oymāqāt*) in Iraq, [in the vicinity of Soltanieh and Hamadan,][690] all those able to ride [a horse][691]. We [also] dispatched Sevindük Bēg [Afshār][692] to bring the nomads (*khāneh-kūch*) who were in and around Qom; for, since His Sovereign Majesty had not come with him, it would be possible to deal with Ebrāhīm Pāshā [f15v].

Later, while in Qazvin, I went to the baths. After that, while sitting in the garden of Zeynal Bēg's house, the people of the city had prepared food and brought it to me. As I was eating the food, the news came from Alqās Mīrzā and Bahrām Mīrzā, Ḥoseyn Khān, Soleymān Solṭān, and Amīr Solṭān Rūmlū—whom I had sent ahead beyond the district of Karahrūd—that Ebrāhīm Pāshā had decamped and departed from Ujān. Once again, I dispatched Qanbaroghlū to join Alqās Mīrzā and Bahrām Mīrzā—who were [now] at the Zanjān River—and see whether Ebrāhīm Pāshā had indeed withdrawn; and if so, Menteshā Solṭān, along with the other commanders by his side, would muster people at [f.16r] Chorkhehband and go after Ebrāhīm Pāshā, while I would catch up with them [later][693].

As Qanbaroghlū caught up with Alqās and Bahrām Mīrzā at the Nīkpey Caravanserai, a group of Ottomans was fast approaching from the other side. Qanbaroghlū went ahead and fought a battle with them. During the battle, he received a blow on the head with a sword, in turn hitting someone else with a lance. Eventually, he left the battlefield and came to me. He brought with him Gündüzoghlū and his nephew, both of whom had fled and gone to Dhu'l-

[685] Īlchī [p.118].
[686] Īlchī [p.118].
[687] Kāteb, C1: [f.87v]: "seven-eight"
[688] Īlchī [p.118].
[689] Īlchī [p.119].
[690] Īlchī [p.119].
[691] Īlchī [p.119].
[692] Kāteb, C1: [f.87v].
[693] Īlchī [p.119].

Qadroghlū, along with the news of the approach of His Sovereign Majesty. The commanders who were further ahead [had also received the news of his approach][694] and sent someone to ascertain the veracity of the reports.

His Sovereign Majesty had reached Zanjan. At the time, I was in Abhar [f.16v] [having detached the royal camp and sent it to Esfahan][695] to [confront and fight against Ebrāhīm Pāshā].[696] I dispatched a messenger to let the commanders know that "I shall be coming from behind Āq Dāgh [Mountain] of Soltaniyeh. Join me there!"

Then, I sent Amīr Bēg, Cherāgh Solṭān, and Dhu'l-Qadroghlū out as scouts (*qarāvolī*) [and gathering information].[697] I [also] sent Khalīl Āghā Kangarlū to summon Ḥoseyn Khān, Menteshā Solṭān, and [Ghāzi Khān Dhu'l-Qadr, the governor of Shiraz,][698] each of them with ten other people, to discuss what was to be done. After Khalīl Āghā brought them, Ḥoseyn Khān [reported]: "Our horses are scrawny, [for they have travelled a long distance],[699] and we cannot engage [them][700] in battle!" [To this,] I replied: "We shall not fight them face-to-face, for the condition of the horses [and the distress of the soldiery][701] [are] a major concern indeed."

We then detached the camp and sent it off to Isfahan [f.17r] and ourselves moved on from Abhar to a place called [Qarābolāgh] where we stopped.[702] With a group of thirty royal guards, I climbed to the top of a hill to see whether His Sovereign Majesty's camp had departed from Zanjan or not. From the top of the hill, I observed the area for about an hour and noticed that all our commanders' tents had been taken down, as they had withdrawn from Soltaniyeh towards the mountain. I realized that the Ottomans had come [too] close to them. From there, I returned to the camp and once again sent Qanbaroghlū to bring Alqās Mīrzā and Bahrām Mīrzā, as well as the commanders, to stay my side and not separate from me again, and [by decamping gain the advantage over this numerous group {i.e. the Ottoman army}].[703]

That night, Qanbaroghlū left and returned the following morning, bringing the commanders along. [In the meantime,][704] they reported: "Dhu'l-Qadroghlū [who was secretly a hypocrite, and only appeared obedient out of necessity, forgot all about his obligations towards his companions and the royal kindness – that ingrate! – at this time, while on patrol][705] fled with one thousand men [f.17v]."

While Menteshā Solṭān and some commanders were in Chorkhehband, and His Sovereign Majesty had not yet reached Ujān, Ṣadr al-Dīn Bēg and Dhu'l-Qadroghlū went on patrol; they were overtaken by about six hundred Ottomans, also on patrol. At first, they prepared to engage in battle, but then, since Dhū'l-Qadroghlū and his people [were cowards][706] (*aljah*), they dropped everything they had and fled, saying that there were [many more] behind [them, the Ottomans].

Meanwhile, three of Ṣadr al-Dīn Bēg's people had gone into a caravanserai to capture a few Ottomans when, the Ottomans arrived. They came out to fight them. [f.18r] The horse of the *qūrchī-bāshī* (i.e., commander of the royal guards) fell on the battlefield, so they captured

---

[694] Kāteb, C1: [f.87v].
[695] Kāteb, C1: [f.87v].
[696] Īlchī [p.119].
[697] Īlchī [p.119].
[698] Īlchī [p.119]: "the rest of the great commanders".
[699] Īlchī [p.119].
[700] Īlchī [p.119]: "the numerous foes".
[701] Īlchī [p.119].
[702] Īlchī [p.120]: "Qarā-āghāj".
[703] Īlchī [p.120].
[704] Īlchī [p.120].
[705] Īlchī [p.120].
[706] Kāteb, C1: [f.87v].

and brought him before His Sovereign Majesty. The latter gave him a robe and sent him back to me with a written message, to the effect of: “Your father fought with my father, and [since] you too are a ruler and make claims to bravery, then come and let us fight! And if you do not fight, then do not pretend to be brave!”

In response, I wrote: “There is someone greater than His Sovereign Majesty, upon whose words I shall act: God Almighty—May He be Exalted and Glorified. God, the Most High, has proclaimed: ‘Do not let your own hands throw you into destruction!’[707] That is to say, in the *jehād* and *ghazāt*—which is fought against unbelievers—never cast yourself in fatal danger. Thus, while it is strictly prohibited to take risks upon yourself while fighting the unbelievers, how then [f.18v] am I to fight with Muslims [who are twice as numerous as my army][708] and thus throw myself in great danger? Moreover, God—May He be Praised and Exalted—has said that one Muslim shall not flee two unbelievers; yet, he has prohibited fighting against Muslims. Also, their army is ten times as numerous as ours, and perhaps even more; so, why should [we] engage them in battle and thus go against the orders of the Almighty God, and knowingly jump into the fire? Furthermore, my father’s fight against yours proved to be unreasonable (*nā-ma‘qūl*), all because Dūrmīsh Khān and the rest of the commanders, along with the entire army [of Shah Esmā‘īl in that war] were drunk: they drank all night and went into battle in the morning! Ever since that date, whenever the story (*ḥekāyat*) of the battle of Chālderān is mentioned (*maẕkūr*), I curse Dūrmīsh Khān, [f.19r] for leading Shah Esmā‘īl to fight the battle in this way. I shall not transgress the ordinance of the Almighty God. It takes a madman, or a drunkard, to wage a futile war, only realizing this when he is about to perish! Praise and gratitude be to God, for the whole army and all the subjects of my domains have repented and given up wine and all the other prohibited activities (*jamī‘-ye manāhī*), and in the entire kingdoms, all taverns, ale-houses, gambling dens, as well as brothels and other dens of iniquity (*nā-mashrū‘āt*) have been eliminated!”

While [returning from Khorasan][709] I performed a pilgrimage to Holy Mashhad and proceeded to Bastam, where Amīr Sayyid Moḥammad, the prayer leader (*pīshnamāz*), saw the Prophet—Peace be Upon Him—in a dream, ordering me: [f.19v] “Give up what is forbidden, so that [you will find salvation][710] and conquer countries.” When he related his dream to me, Aḥmad Bēg Vazīr, as well as some of the commanders, were present. Some said: “Indeed, let us give up some of these illicit activities, but, some others, such as wine-drinking, cannot be abandoned, for it is an indispensable part of kingship!” Everyone [present] told their story. In the end, I spoke: “Tonight, whatever I see in a dream, in the morning I will act upon it.” That night, in my dream, outside the downstairs window, I saw [myself at] the feet of His Majesty Imam Reżā I had taken Amīr Hādī, the bookkeeper (*moḥtaseb*), by the hand and repented of wine-drinking, sodomy, adultery, and all other vices. In the morning, I told everything to the commanders [f.20r] and repented in the same fashion that I had seen in the dream; praises be to God, for from the day that I repented, all manners of vice and immorality (*fesq va fojūr*) have disappeared, and day by day, through the assistance of the Almighty, our affairs progressed and continue to progress, so much so that I cannot express my gratitude even with a thousand tongues.

Should every hair of mine become a tongue, and should every one of them be praising you,
It is still as if I am as silent as one asleep, and as if I have not praised you even once[711]

---

[707] *Al-Baqarah*: 2:195.
[708] Īlchī [p.121].
[709] Kāteb, C1: [f.88r]: “from Herat”.
[710] Kāteb, C1: [f.88r].
[711] *Khamseh-ye Neẓāmī*: *Khosrow va Shīrīn*.

Menteshā Solṭān reproached the *qūrchī-bāshī* who fell on the battlefield and came from *Khwāndgār*, and chided: "I was expecting you to bring news of peace, but you have brought a proclamation of war!" He took him outside and had him decapitated. [f.20v] At that time, we had approximately seven thousand men and two or three thousand horses, which were in good condition, by our side. The rest of the horses, because we had come from Herat by forced march, were exhausted. Besides, Ḥoseyn Khān, Ghāzī Khān, and Malek Khūyyī, as well as their subjects and allies, started an insurrection within our army. I had grown extremely anxious [and so] fully entrusted myself to God and sought refuge in the prayer of desperation [and supplication], "Who responds to the distressed when they cry to Him?"[712] When I came home, I told the story of His Majesty Khalīl al-Raḥman, the Friend of the Almighty, [that is, Abraham]—Prayers and Peace be Upon Our Prophet—relating it in an inspired manner: "When they placed His Majesty in a catapult to throw him into the fire, His Majesty Archangel Gabriel came to him and said: [f.21r] 'I will help you, if you want!' Khalīlollah replied: 'I *do* need help, but not yours!' When he said these words, the sea of godly mercy began to boil, and He commanded, 'O fire! Be cool and safe for Abraham!'[713]" [Overcome by pity],[714] I then recited the following verses:

You are the One from whom all the being has emerged,
the weak soil has become potent through you
All creation sits beneath your banner,
we gain constancy through you, for you are constant in essence
Your essence has no form and no joints,
No one is like you, and you are like no one
You are the One who does not change,
the One who has not and will not die
We are all mortals and only you are eternal,
You alone are the Lofty and Holy King
Assist us for we are helpless,
to whom shall we turn if you drive us away?
The caravan is gone, see us left behind, [f.21v]
You are our companion, see how friendless we are![715]

Even though His Sovereign Majesty [refrained from] assisting us, God the Most High did help.

In this world it is God who is the helper,
It is [God] who is merciful to his servant in difficult days[716]

[After much lamenting and supplication to the threshold of the Almighty—May His Name be Glorified and his Proof Dignified—],[717] we decamped and departed from Soltaniyeh and set off for Darjazin. [*Khwāndgār* and his mighty army had camped in the pastures of Soltaniyeh, sweeping the area clean with the broom of spoliation and plunder].[718] The same night, which was the fifth night of Scorpio [i.e., the month of Aban], it snowed so heavily that even our camp got trapped amidst the snow; we marched on and reached Darjazin.

---

[712] An-Naml: 27:62.
[713] Al-Anbya: 21:69.
[714] Īlchī [p.121].
[715] *Khamseh-ye Neẓāmī*: *Makhzan al-Asrār*.
[716] Unidentified Torkī couplets.
[717] Īlchī [p.122].
[718] Īlchī [p.122].

Meanwhile, the governor of Kuh Giluyeh arrived with a thousand men, bringing with him two strings (*ṭavīleh*) of horses. I dispatched Qarā Maḥmūd Avjībāshī, along with fifty men [including] royal-guards, retainers of the commanders, as well as a group of Tekkalū and Sārīlū [tribesmen], to gather intelligence, giving them the fresh horses that had been brought. [f.22r]

In Kalangīn in the district of Kharaqān, the company of Tekkalūs and Sārīlūs took the Ottomans by surprise and gave battle. The Ottomans grabbed Ḥoseyn Bēg Qelechoghlū in the battle, while our men captured thirty-five of their soldiers before returning to [the camp]. [They, the captives] said: "Following a consultation, it was decided that His Sovereign Majesty would go to Baghdad, while dispatching Olāmeh and Dhū'l-Qadroghlū to Tabriz." [When I heard the news that *Khwāndgār* was heading towards Baghdad, I realized the Tekkalū commanders would not agree with Mohammad Khān Sharaf'l-dīnoghlū on guarding the fortifications of [the city]. Thus,][719] I immediately sent Rajab Abdāl Ḥamzah Bēg Ghazāloghlū to Moḥammad Khān Sharafoghlū [Tekkalū], the governor of Baghdad, urging him to dump whatever equipment and provisions he had into the river, and then cross it and come to us via Hoveyzeh.

Some commanders suggested: "Let us follow His Sovereign Majesty and raid them [every morning and evening from all sides of his camp]!"[720] To which I replied: [f.22v] "I have no business with His Sovereign Majesty—everything that has happened is because of Olāmeh, [so] our business is with him." [Qārāqaymāz and][721] Menteshā Solṭān said: "We should kill Ghāzī Khān as well!" However, while I was with him in [Herat],[722] I had sworn an oath that for as long as an army, with Ghāzī Khān in its midst, does not march against me, I shall not kill him. And [so], based on this oath, I did not allow him to be killed.

[That] night Ghāzī Khān fled, and everyone said: "He has gone [to the Ottoman lands][723] to His Sovereign Majesty; otherwise, we would gallop after him and capture him!" [After it became evident that Ghāzī Khān had gone to Olāmeh via Tabriz,][724] we rushed to Tabriz to capture Olāmeh; but Ghāzī Khān had arrived there on Saturday and informed him [of our approach, and so both got away].[725] Because the road was muddy, we could not travel more than [f.23r] four *farsakhs*[726] in a day, for the camels were growing increasingly exhausted.

Qanbaroghlū suggested to leave the camels behind and make a forced march. On Sunday morning, we reached Tabriz. Olāmeh and Ghāzī Khān had already fled. We stayed there for twenty days, and after that [we departed from Tabriz and][727] went on to [Van].[728] The day we reached Van, we were in the company of one thousand and four hundred commanders and royal-guards; including [three hundred and twenty royal-guards].[729] The rest were [*qezelbāsh* soldiers under the command of the commander of] *amirs*.

We besieged [the citadel of] Van [which at the time was under the Ottoman control][730] and were about to take [it] when Qobād Āghā, the retainer of Ḥoseyn Bēg the Lieutenant (*yūzbāshī*) and prefect of Tabriz, arrived. I was in the baths and asked him for news and sent someone to summon Menteshā Solṭān and Amīr Bēg.

---

[719] Īlchī [p.125].
[720] Īlchī [p.124].
[721] Kāteb, C1: [f.88v]: "Qarāqāytmesh".
[722] Kāteb, C1: [f.88v]: "Tabriz".
[723] Kāteb, C1: [f.88v].
[724] Īlchī [p.125].
[725] Īlchī [p.125].
[726] A *farsakh* is equivalent to about five to five and a half kilometres.
[727] Īlchī [p.125].
[728] Īlchī [p.125]: "Vesṭān".
[729] Īlchī [p.125]: "six-hundred and twenty royal-guards".
[730] Īlchī [p.126].

The people of the citadel saw them as they were arriving and shouted: [f.23v] "Sām Mīrzā has rebelled, His Sovereign Majesty has declared him his son [and given him the kingdom of Persia (*mamlakat-e ʻajam*)]!"[731] I said: "I have also called Dhū'l-Qadroghlū son. What has he done for me that Sām Mīrzā might do for His Majesty? I have treated [him, Sām Mīrzā] well, while he did the opposite in return and acted unfilially (*qaṭʻ-e ṣaleh-ye raḥem*). I consign him to [the judgment of] God! (*be khodā ḥavāleh mikonam*)." Then, we decamped and departed from Van [and started our march towards Tabriz].[732]

Chapter Two: The Story of Ghāzī Khān

Ghāzī Khān was a diabolical, cunning, and lying rascal of a man; the following verses are appropriate [to describe] his condition:

[He is like] a fox who, by deviousness and slander,
has deceived the world through his trickery…[733]

Ghāzī Khān went to Baghdad [where] he encouraged and persuaded Ebrāhīm Pāshā to invade by telling him: [f.24r] "Sām Mīrzā had rebelled [and there is discord among the Qezelbāsh commanders; it would be a good idea for you][734] to spread the new throughout the land that His Sovereign Majesty had given [Shah Esmāʻīl's kingdom][735] to Sām Mīrzā and pronounced him his son. [When the news has spread far and wide,][736] I will bring him before His Majesty. Now you should turn towards Iraq!" Thus, even though His Sovereign Majesty had already conquered Baghdad, he still coveted our poor [country][737] (*moḥaqqar-e velāyet-e mā*).

I heard that in the olden days, stones in pious men's hands turned into silver,
Do not think this story is lame, for when you are content, rock and silver are the same,
While a beggar is satisfied with one silver dirham, Fereydoun is [only] half-satisfied with the land of ʻAjam…[738]

The news of His Majesty's approach reached us in Tabriz. I placed my trust in God Almighty [f.24v] and from Tabriz sent Sayyid ʻAbdollāh, the tutor, through Begüm, and Amīr Shahavār the Kurd, through Menteshā Solṭān, as ambassadors to Ebrāhīm Pāshā to negotiate for peace.

[This] Ebrāhīm Pāshā was an opium-addict. When high on opium, he used to say: "I am the real Ruler (*khwāndgār*), I [can] do whatever I want. I have [Soleymān] in my hands: I can 'bind' him if I want, and I can 'release' [him] if I want!" However, whenever he was sober, he used to say: "I am nobody! I am an impotent and pitiful slave! Nothing is within my hands! Sovereignty belongs to His Majesty!" [So], when we went from Tabriz to Ujān, the threatening letter Ebrāhīm Pāshā had written arrived. [People were perplexed after reading it],[739] saying: [f.25r] "Sām Mīrzā has rebelled on one side, while His Sovereign Majesty is on

[731] Īlchī [p.126].
[732] Īlchī [p.126].
[733] Unidentified verses, possibly belonging to the Shah himself.
[734] Īlchī [p.127].
[735] Īlchī [p.127]: "the Kingdom of Persia" (*mamlakat-e ʻajam*)
[736] Īlchī [p.127].
[737] Kāteb, C1: [f.88v]: "countries" (*velāyāt*); Īlchī [p.128]: "Azerbaijan and Persian Iraq".
[738] *Būstān-e Saʻdī, Concerning Contentment*.
[739] Īlchī [p.127].

the march [against us] from the other; now, what is going to become of us?" To this, I responded by saying: "God is merciful!" and recited the verses that Shaykh Sa'dī wrote in the *Golestān*:

God did not forget you in this state, for you once were a seed, buried and unconscious,
He gave you spirit, temper, understanding, and comprehension,
Perfection and excellence, judgement, insight, and intelligence,
He arranged ten fingers upon your palms, two arms upon your shoulders,
Now, do you [really] think, O, trifling-minded one, that he might forget you one day?[740]

We left Ujan and set off for Soltaniyeh. Upon reaching Zanjan, we sent Kachal Pīr 'Alī Qūrchī Hājjīlū, [f.25v] with some gifts, on a diplomatic mission to His Sovereign Majesty [in the hope that] he might show [us favour, abandon obstinacy and make peace].[741] [When Kachal Pīr 'Alī reached the Ottoman ruler's camp, and carried out his mission, this effort was not met favourably at all; instead,][742] His Majesty was enraged by the arrival of [our] ambassador. We decamped and left Zanjan; turning towards Iraq, we reached Darjozin [via Soltanieh][743]. We were in Darjezin when Pīr 'Alī returned, bringing the news, that: "His Majesty has arrived and is ready to discuss peace, and peace it shall be!" To this, I said: "If it was for peace, [he] would not have come in person!" We burned all the grain in Darjazin and the surrounding area, and sent the camp to Esfahan, while ourselves moving on to Hamadan. His Sovereign Majesty came all the way to Darjazin but, thank God, did not stay there and [soon] withdrew. In turn, we set off for Tabriz from around the back of Mount Alvand. [f.26r]

In the first year that we rushed to Tabriz to seize Olāmeh [but failed], and Ghāzī Khān got away, His Majesty Solṭān Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn—May God Bless His Soul—appeared in a dream to one person and said to him: "Tell the Shah to perform a pilgrimage to the Great Shrine, bring twelve candles along, and to visit to the Safavid elders; afterwards, he may go wherever he wishes." At the time, [though,] it was not possible to perform the pilgrimage and, as a result, we made no progress on all fronts—we failed to capture Olāmeh, or to make any conquests.

At this point, as His Sovereign Majesty had gone to Tabriz, we went to Ardabil via the 'Abbās Caravanserai, brought twelve candlesticks (*sham'dān*) as an oblation (*naẕr*), and spent the night there. I slept and saw His Majesty Solṭān [f.26v] Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn in a dream. He said to me: "After twenty-three days, he will manifest himself (*ẓohūr*)" or [perhaps] "he will withdraw (*khorūj*)." He said one of these two words, but I am not sure which. When I woke up, I said to myself: "*'Ẓohūr'* is specific to His Majesty the Mahdi (*ṣāḥeb-e zamān*)—Peace be Upon Him—but then what could *'khorūj'* mean?"

After that, we left Ardabil and went to Sarāb to join the camp. His Sovereign Majesty left Tabriz and went back, while we continued to Marand. When we reached Marand, we learnt that His Majesty had gone to Akhlāt. [From there,] we set off for the Qarānqū Valley, in the district of Khoy, where, while we were fishing, two Kurds came bringing the news that Olāmeh was in Van. [f.27r] Covered in mud, I hastily washed myself with cold water and mounted [a horse]. At a gallop, I went as far as the hermitage (*zāviyeh*) of Moulānā Ḥasan, where I developed a fever. They pitched a tent as I dismounted and made myself comfortable, while Ostād Mahmūd the storyteller (*qessehkhān*) was at a session, narrating a tale. I dispatched Qobād Bēg Qājār and Shīr Ḥasan Qūrchī, along with thirty men, to gather

[740] *Golestān-e Sa'dī | On the Effects of Education*.
[741] Īlchī [p.128]; Kāteb:D.2 [f.88v]: "mercy".
[742] Īlchī [p.128].
[743] Īlchī [p.128].

intelligence. In the evening, two royal-guards came [back], bringing the news that Olāmeh had abandoned Van and fled.

Immediately, we decamped and went to Van. I ordered Ghāzī Khān, the governor of Shiraz, and Ya'qūb Solṭān Qājār, with three hundred royal-guards, accompanied by Kūpek-qırān and Ḥasan Bēg the lieutenant, with approximately five thousand men, [f.27v] to pillage the country of Sayyid Moḥammad. While in Khoy, I also sent Bahrām Mīrzā, Menteshā Solṭān, Amīr Bēg, Shāhqūlī Khalīfeh, Būdāq Khān, as well as Ṣadr al-Dīn the cook (*sofreh-chī*) [to Arjish]. Lastly, I ordered the *aides-de-camp*, porters (*qāpūchīyān*), and tailors (*qīchājīyān*) all together to accompany Bahrām Mīrzā to shadow His Sovereign Majesty all the way to Arjish.

Būdāq Khān and Ṣadr al-Dīn Khān were sent on patrol, during which they took Ḥājjī Bēg by surprise and engaged him in combat. They defeated him and captured two hundred and fifty of his people, while he escaped alone. They sent the booty and the [enemy] heads [to me]. The day these arrived, Soleymān Solṭān Rūmlū went to the shores of Lake Van, [f.28r] prayed there, and after the prayer, in the afternoon, returned to the camp. He said: "The shores of the Lake have pasture and great weather" and suggested that we should go there on an excursion. His motive was to show me the dust that he had seen between 'Adeljevāz and Arjish. So, I mounted my horse and went towards the lake. When we arrived, he said to me: "You see this dust? It is undoubtedly from the Ottoman army which is marching against Bahrām Mīrzā."

Meanwhile, I dispatched Shāhverdī Khalīfeh Sokulanoghlī—who used to be a royal-guard back then but is now a standard-bearer—to Bahrām Mīrzā, Menteshā Solṭān, [Amīr Soltān,][744] Shāhqūlī Khalīfeh, and the rest of the commanders, saying: "There it is! The dust has appeared: [there will be approximately thirty-thousand-strong [Ottoman] force].[745] [Beware [f.28v] and as soon as it becomes apparent that they are marching against you, let us know so that we may come to your assistance]."[746]

Anxiously awaiting further news, I retired to my quarters. [The night fell and there was no news whatsoever.][747] The following morning, I wanted to move towards Vestān;[748] however, because we had not yet received reliable intelligence, we decided against it. Around noon, Halhal Bahādor 'Arabgīrlū and Kūr-Shaykhī Qūrchī Chemīshgezekī, both of whom had gone to the shores of the lake for an excursion, came back bringing along one Ottoman along who had fled from Olāmeh and come [to us]. He said: "Olāmeh and the Pāshā of Diyārbakr came to Vestān and captured one *aide-de-camp* of Alqās Mīrzā." This *aide-de-camp* [reportedly] said to them that the Shah was in Van following which they fled. [Upon hearing this,] I greatly regretted not having advanced [f.29r] [on Vestān] that day to ambush and capture Olāmeh.

Eventually, I dispatched eighty Turkmen royal-guards to Vestān to bring a reliable report. After an hour, Ghāzī Khān—the governor of Shiraz—returned, along with the commanders, from their raid. I told them: "What a pity! Olāmeh came so close and yet still managed to slip through our fingers." Soleymān Solṭān [Rūmlū] said: "Come, let us go the shore of the Lake, and see if what appeared was indeed dust!" We went all the way to the plain, examined [everything] carefully, and it became apparent that it was indeed the dust, [raised by the advancing Ottoman army], which had [now] settled. I dispatched a messenger

[744] Kāteb, C1: [f.89r]: "Amīr Bēg".
[745] Kāteb, C1: [f.89v]: "Everyone who saw made an estimate, saying: 'No less than thirty-thousand strong force has come after you'".
[746] Kāteb, C1: [f.89r].
[747] Kāteb, C1: [f.89r].
[748] Today's Zernek.

to the Turkmen royal-guards, ordering them to cross the Vestān River and return, so that [all of us] could go to Arjish to assist Bahrām Mīrzā.

I had not yet entered the tent when Qarā Esma‘īl Qūrchī and Kūr-Shahsavār arrived; one brought a head [f.29v] and the other a living man. [I asked that person][749] whose retainer he was, and he replied: “I am a servant of His Sovereign Majesty.” I further enquired as to where His Majesty was [at the time], to which he replied: “He is in Akhlāt.” Then I asked: “What were you doing around here?” He answered: “His Majesty sent Olāmeh to Van.” When I heard his name, I became agitated; I went to my quarters and put on a breastplate over my coat of mail; [I ordered seven torches to be lit, mounted my horse, and set out].[750]

The Turkmen royal-guards captured and came back with another seventeen Ottomans, as Olāmeh fled upon seeing the light of the torches. I appointed around three hundred Turkmen and Dhu’l-Qadr royal-guards as vanguard (*charkhchī*) and went after him. Some crossed the bridge, while others forded the river. [f.30r] In the meantime, ‘Abdollāh Khān, Gökcheh Solṭān, Yādgār Solṭān, Ya‘qūb Solṭān, Ḥoseyn Bēg the lieutenant, along with the commanders and about six or seven thousand royal-guards, came back from the country of Sayyid Moḥammad.

When ‘Abdollāh Khān and the commanders reached the bridge, they saw the fires from afar and thought that we had settled down [for the night] and were busy feeding the horses. So, they encamped and settled there for the night as well, while we, unaware of their arrival, rode past them. As the royal-guards [captured plenty of Ottoman soldiers],[751] Olāmeh [once again] got away. With [two-thousand men],[752] we went after them to capture “the Mad Moth” (*delü parvāneh*) [i.e., Olāmeh] alive. He told us that Ebrāhīm Pāshā was making a forced march against Bahrām Mīrzā, [f.30v] and, upon hearing and confirming this, we turned back. We reached the Kavāsh River in the afternoon and encamped there for the night. The following morning, we reached Vestān. There, a messenger from Bahrām Mīrzā, and the commanders, came to inform us that they had captured seven of Ebrāhīm Pāshā’s men, while he himself had fled. That day was the twenty-third day since the dream I had seen while in Ardabil, to the effect that I will defeat Olāmeh and that, by the grace of God Almighty, I will conquer Van and Arjish.

Whenever your affairs advance through your efforts, [you should] know,
That it is [in fact] by God’s approval, and not through your own endeavour…[753]

Right about that time, Ebrāhīm Pāshā [who was the leaven of evil and had tasted the consequences of his own deeds,][754] was killed [by His Majesty], [following which] the disturbances subsided. Thus, even though there was no friendship there, nonetheless was no discord [and war] either, and, as a result, there was complete security [f.31r] and the Muslims had a respite; that is, until Alqās Mīrzā rebelled.

[f.31r] Chapter Three: *The Story of Alqās Mīrzā*

Whenever I read the *Tārīkh-e teymūrī* and came upon these verses:

Shāhrokh became his brother in arms:

[749] Kāteb, C1: [f.89r]: “…that person said”.
[750] Kāteb, C1: [f.89r]: “…lit seven torches and set out”.
[751] Kāteb, C1: [f.89v]: “some men”.
[752] Kāteb, C5: [f.76v]: “twelve thousand men”
[753] *Būstān-e Sa‘dī, Concerning Gratitude*.
[754] Īlchī [p.130].

I used to say: "Alqās and I are like that." From among all the brothers and children, I used to love him most, so much so that [before Alqās rebelled,][755] I had lent the sum of two-hundred and fifty *tūmāns* to the *sayyids* [as well as] the righteous and the devout citizens of Holy Mashhad—on the basis that, as long as Alqās was alive, I would not ask [that sum][756] (*vajh*) back and so that [this congregation][757] would continually [occupy themselves][758] with prayers for his longevity at the Sacred Threshold. [f.31v]

However, he was foolish and without reason or cause rebelled [against me]. Indeed, no reasons come to mind other than that he had misbehaved (lit. 'did bad things') with a boy named Ughūrlū, who is now in the Ottoman lands, and [feared] that I might hear [about it] and punish him. Also, a handful of scoundrels among his servants, who used to drink wine and out of fear that I might become aware of it and discipline them, instilled in him wicked ways (*bad-amūzī kardand*) and caused him to rebel.

[Now before][759] the news of his rebellion spread, I had sent 'Alī Āghā Aghcheh Saqqal to Alqās to counsel him to abandon opposition and [to caution] against acting unfilially—and if he would not listen, [f.32r] and persisted in rebellion, I would submit his case before God Almighty [to be judged]. They delivered these words to him, but he gave no answer at all. Then, I sent [a group of] commanders to him with a message to the effect that: "I have never treated you badly and shall not do so now; however, [since you have shown hostility],[760] I have a master to whom I shall now consign you to mete out what you deserve! [The hand that removed the door of [the castle] of Khaybar][761] can [also cut off][762] your rebellious head!

Reciting [the verse] 'God's hand upon theirs,'[763] *he became one with Ḥaydar's mighty hand,*
Thus, he managed to pluck, with two fingers of his mighty palm, Khaybar's gate …[764]

His intelligence was at a level that although he knew well that in power and armed forces I was twenty times greater than he, and he vowed not to do anything against me, [f.32v] and did not request me to make a [reciprocal] oath [to that end], and moreover, in the presence of the commanders, Qāżī 'Askar, Amīr Ebrāhīm Ṣafavī, and Ma'ṣūm Bēg [Ṣafavī], who at the time was the custodian of the Safavid Shrine—May God Bless their Souls—he made a pledge not to rebel against me, yet, after the commanders departed, [Alqās] had the Friday sermon read and coins minted in his own name. After that, I set off for Georgia and from there went on to Qarabagh. He learnt of my advance towards Qarabagh and went to Circassia (*charkas*). Since he was rebellious (*az ahl-e baghī*) I did not [even] consider [the possibility] that he would attack the infidels and therefore dispatched the commanders to Shirvan against him.

The commanders, following the same rule as the Pāshās of His Sovereign Majesty who dealt with Bāyezīd at Pasin[ler], treated Alqās in like manner and [f.33r] did not capture

[755] Īlchī [p.160]; Kāteb:D.2 [f.89v].
[756] Īlchī [p.160]: "gold".
[757] Kāteb, C1: [f.89v]: "they".
[758] Īlchī [p.160]: "attend to" (*qeyām va aqdām nemāyand*)
[759] Kāteb, C1: [f.89v]: "not yet"
[760] Īlchī [p.160].
[761] Īlchī [p.160]: "in the same manner that he plucked out and threw away the gate of Khaybar with [his] mighty hand *(yad-e velāyāt)*".
[762] Īlchī [p.160]: "decapitated".
[763] Al-Fath: 48:10.
[764] Unidentified poem.

him until he was able to flee and go to Kaffah. From there, he wrote and sent a letter to the effect that he was going to His Sovereign Majesty: “You will see what I will do to you!” In response, I said: “This is empty talk, for there is someone [much] greater than His Majesty—God is greater than all and so is his power! What are you and me and His Sovereign Majesty before his power, and what do we have to show?”

Once a haughty mosquito, drunk with power, landed atop the Mount Qāf for a moment,
Thence it flew and vanished, now, tell me, what accrued to the mountain, what diminished?
We are all like that before His power, whether we are ordinary [folks] or noble![765]

Felicity lies in the favour of the Just One, it cannot be taken by a forceful arm …[766] **[f.33v]**

God will steer the ship wherever he wills, even if the seaman rends his garment …[767]

This much I know: His Sovereign Majesty should have first sent an envoy asking [us to forgive] the transgressions [of Alqās]; if I rejected *Khwāndgār’s* offer, and did not give Alqās his country [i.e., Shirvan],[768] then whatever conflict they might initiate would have been justified. And even if [they failed to do that,][769] they should have kept Alqās in Istanbul, so that they could make use of him one day. [For his part], Rustam Pāshā did not treat us badly right up until the end, for which we are grateful. [However], in this matter, [Alqās] should have respected the hospitality of His Majesty **[f.34r]** and suggested that the expedient way would be to speak with the Qezelbāsh first, and only then march against them, that is to avoid recklessness.

Whoever it may be that the king follows his every word,
It were a pity if he uttered anything but what is good…[770]

In Istanbul, Alqās told a lot of lies, such as “All of the Qezelbāsh [are my allies and they want me][771] and will come to me; [so if His Majesty begins in the land of Azerbaijan, most of commanders and chiefs of the army would turn away from the Shah, the Refuge of the Caliphate, and join us!”][772] [Whereas][773] the truth is that even if a *qezelbāsh* loses his head, he would not throw off the *tāj* (crown). So, even when Alqās [himself] wore a *tāj* upon his head, nobody went over to his side; how is it then, [after] he had tossed it off, that he expected them to throw their support behind his cause? His Sovereign Majesty should have first assessed his sense of judgment and intellect, and only then listened to him, acted upon his words, and moved against us. Failing to reflect on his sense of judgment, intellect, and prudence, **[f.34v]** His Majesty acted with little consideration, listened to Alqās’ words and, [as a result] lowered the degree of his majesty and grandeur, in the eyes of the people of this kingdom, from one thousand [to one!][774]

---

[765] *Khosrow-nāmeh-ye Aṭṭār*.
[766] *Būstān-e Sa‘dī | Concerning Resignation*.
[767] *Būstān-e Sa‘dī | Concerning Resignation*.
[768] In the text “the country of Alqās” (*olkā-ye alqās*).
[769] Kāteb, C1: [f.90r]: “even if they got angered and furious”.
[770] *Golestān-e Sa‘dī | The Manners of Kings*.
[771] Kāteb, C1: [f.90r].
[772] Īlchī [pp.164/165].
[773] Kāteb, C1: [f.90r]: “the truth is that”.
[774] Kāteb, C1: [f.90r]: “to ten”.

The king, talking to himself, [says:] "I shall entrust the kingdom of Iran to him"
"Yet [I shall do so] gradually, so that the public do not secretly laugh at my judgement …"
"First, [I] need to subject him to the test of wisdom, and only then raise him to a position to match his merit;"
"Time and time again, [my] heart has been burdened with sorrows, for failing to properly assess things;"
Even for one like Yusuf, so righteous and pure, it takes forty years to become the ruler [of Egypt],
It takes many days to know how someone is deep-down inside…
Pay attention to the arrow's notch while it is still in your hand, not after you have let it fly!
Reach for the blade in haste, and you will bite the back of your hand in regret …[775] **[f.35r]**

The strife which, after the death of Ebrāhīm Pāshā, had been dormant for years, was reawakened because of Alqās. In the company of Olāmeh, [he] reached Sivas before His Sovereign Majesty. From there, Alqās sent a lengthy letter to Shāh 'Alī Solṭān Chapnī, the governor of Van, [urging] him to take the key of [the citadel and come out to welcome him].[776] At the beginning of the letter, he wrote: "His Sovereign Majesty pronounced me his son and [granted the kingdom of my father to me]."[777] [To this], I replied: "The dominion is neither from me, nor is it from His Sovereign Majesty; it is from Almighty God and he grants it to whomever he wills!"—**[f.35v]** *O Allah! Lord over all authorities! You give authority to whoever You please*, [*and remove it from whoever You please*]."[778]

Who in this old world, other than God, can say "for whom is the dominion?"[779]

He further wrote: "His Sovereign Majesty is coming with seven support columns carrying munitions and several armies; ten thousand water-carrying camels (*rāviyeh*/*rāviyat*), so, should [the Shah and his host flee out of the fear of the dread-inducing army and take refuge in][780] the desert, one hundred thousand *akhenjīs*,[781] which are accompanying [those camels], will provide water to nourish horses and men along the way [and won't turn back until they have achieved their objective]."[782] [To this], I said: "I too know that His Sovereign Majesty possesses absolute splendour and grandeur, and that he will help you; [for he has the power indeed.][783] As for us, our help comes from God Almighty, His Majesty, the Refuge of Prophesy—Peace be upon Him and his Family—**[f.36r]** as well as the Immaculate Imams—Peace be upon Them All."

Although our dreg-drinking Sage has neither power nor wealth,
He has a God who is munificent and merciful![784]

He also wrote: "His Sovereign Majesty granted me—apart from various articles of equipment, jewel-encrusted items, fabrics, horses, mules, camels, and robes—some thirty thousand *ashrafīs*." My reply was: "Congratulations [on this potential dominion and

[775] *Būstān-e Sa'dī | Concerning Justice, Counsel, and Administration of Government: On the Need for Deliberation*.
[776] Kāteb, C1: [f.90r]; Īlchī [p.165].
[777] Īlchī [p.165]: "[he] has bestowed upon the Kingdom of Persia and this territory".
[778] Ali 'Imran: 3:26; C1: [f.90r] – the part in square brackets.
[779] *Khamseh-ye Neẓāmī | Makhzan al-Asrār*.
[780] Īlchī [p.165]
[781] Irregular light cavalry used by Ottomans.
[782] Īlchī [p.165]
[783] Kāteb, C1: [f.90r].
[784] *Dīvān-e Ḥāfeẓ*.

kingship!][785] However, this money will not benefit you [neither in this world nor][786] in the afterlife. [It is obvious how much thirty thousand *ashrafīs* is worth in this world, in terms of land and army, while these worldly benefits are worthless],[787] for *the World is a corpse, and its seekers are dogs*."[788] **[f.36v]**

O my heart, forsake this transient wealth, for with it you will not achieve much!
Choose the kind which, upon the day of reckoning, will secure you a place in the house of everlasting peace…[789]

"[So], although he gave you this money, I too have a treasure (*naqd*; lit. 'separating the good from bad coin') [inside my soul],[790] which will [benefit me,][791] both in this world and in [the hereafter]:[792] that treasure is neither gold, nor is it army, but the love for [my Master][793]—I entrust you to him [to be judged]! You shall see whether your 'riches' (*naqd-e tū*) will be more beneficial to you, or mine (*naqd-e man*) to me."

There is a treasure in my soul, like the red philosopher's stone,
The treasure without which Adam's affairs would not advance **[f.37r]**
The treasure which Abraham summoned, so that not one strand of his hair was burned in the flame,
The treasure without [*which*][794] *Moses' wisdom and devotion, could not be sold for a grain of gold,*
The treasure with which the prophet Moṣṭafā made himself an equal,
The precious and most cherished treasure is none other than the love [and assistance] of Ḥaydar …[795]

"[It is evident that][796] my Master, before Almighty God, is more precious [and more venerated][797] than yours. Would he ever leave me fearing your ten thousand water-carrying camels? I am a bondservant of the Imam of whom the Almighty God sent these verses: *Our soul*, *and your soul*, *we and you*[798]... **[f.37v]** *Allah only intends to keep ˹the causes of˺ evil away from you and purify you completely*, *O members of the ˹Prophet's˺ family*![799] … *And give food —despite their desire for it—to the poor*, *the orphan*, *and the captive*.[800] … *And their Lord quenched their thirst with the purest drink*.[801] On the Day of Resurrection, hundreds of thousands of thirsty people, your master among them, will be asking my Master for water at

[785] Īlchī [p.165].
[786] Kāteb, C1: [f.90r].
[787] Īlchī [p.165]: "Among the wise it is well known that thirty thousand *ashrafīs* is not sufficient for the purpose of sovereignty nor for the sake of rulership…".
[788] A Shi'i hadith, attributed to 'Alī, with a weak chain of transmission.
[789] Verses of unknown provenance.
[790] Īlchī [p.165]: "in the treasury of my heart" – i.e., spiritual wealth.
[791] Kāteb, C1: [f.90r]; Īlchī [p.165].
[792] Īlchī [p.165]: "the life to come".
[793] Īlchī [p.165]: "The Commander of the Believer, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭāleb (P.B.U.H.)".
[794] Kāteb, C1: [f.90r]: "Aaron"; Īlchī [p.165]: "him".
[795] Verses of unknown provenance.
[796] Īlchī [p.166].
[797] Īlchī [p.166].
[798] Ali Imran: 3:61.
[799] Al-Ahzar: 33:33.
[800] Al-Insan: 76:8.
[801] Al-Insan: 76:21.

the Pool of Abundance (*ḥauż al-kauthar*), while he will give it to whoever [he deems worthy].[802] The Prophet—Peace be upon Him and his Family—as well as the Almighty God, have said of him: Without you I would not have created the heavenly spheres.[803]

Mohammad: the pearl of the sea of glory, with whom the dominion of prophecy was sealed,
The king of kings upon the throne of the "two bows' length," God's beloved and the sovereign of the Two Worlds **[f.38r]**
The swift rider of the Night of Mi'rāj, the brave one of the field of "Indeed, [we have granted you clear] triumph"
The trustee and the keeper of the secrets of revelation, the breeze of the rose garden of Yasin and Ṭaha
He is the first and the last intercessor, He is God's mercy for all [inhabitants of] the world,
Saying 'greetings' upon Mosṭafā is the root of religion, the other felicities are only the branches,
Say 'greetings' upon him [from the heart] and the tongue, with these you should every moment praise the Family [of the Prophet!]
Be the bondservant of the Family of Mosṭafā, upon the path of the religion, be the dust beneath the feet of 'Alī!
Worthy of the greetings and endless praise are Moḥammad and the Family of Moḥammad
…[804]

"The Almighty God also pronounced these words about His Majesty: Nor does he speak of his own whims. *It is only a revelation sent down ˹to him˺*[805] **[f.38v]** [The Prophet] further spoke the following hadiths about my Master: He of whom I am the master, of him so is 'Alī. You are to me what Aaron was to Moses. I am the city of knowledge and 'Alī is its gate.[806] His Majesty [the Prophet] also raised my Master upon his shoulders in order to smash the idols that were atop the Ka'bah."

[He was the one who stepped on the shoulders of the Prophet, no one went as high as he did,
They call the Ka'bah 'the House of God', however, no one could be found there but 'Alī][807]

"Moreover, [the Prophet] refused to eat the roasted fowl that Gabriel—Peace be upon Him—had brought for him from Heaven. Instead, he pleaded: 'O God, send a person most loved by the people, whom you love the most, and who likewise loves you, so that I may share this meal (lit. 'eat this bird') with him.' Immediately my Master, His Majesty the Commander of the Believers, appeared and ate this fowl with the Prophet—Peace be upon Him and his Family.

Furthermore, once, the Sun **[f.39r]** became obedient to 'Alī so that he [could] perform his [evening][808] prayer on time. He also dealt a blow to 'Amr b. 'Abd [al]-Wud, [thus prompting] the Prophet—Peace be upon Him and his Family—to utter the following ḥadith about 'Alī: 'the struggles of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib during the Battle of the Trench are greater than those of my community until the Day of Resurrection.' Besides, 'Alī plucked the gate of

---

[802] Īlchī [p.166].
[803] *Hadith Qodsi*.
[804] Verses of unknown provenance.
[805] An-Najm: 53: 3, 4.
[806] The *hadith* of *al-Thaqalayn*; the *hadith* of *al-Manzila*; the *hadith* of *Madinat al-'Ilm.*
[807] Kāteb, C1: [f.90v] – verses of unknown provenance.
[808] Kāteb, C1: [f.90v].

Khaybar [with his mighty arm],[809] God Almighty gave the sword Dhu'l-Feqār to him, and the prayer for His Majesty (nād-e ʻAlī) descended [from Heaven]."

[Until the Commander of Believers showed up,
The problem of the gate of Khaybar was not resolved][810]

"[Thus,] I have entrusted you to my Master, as you should entrust me to yours; [so let them do whatever they will about us]."[811]

After a while, the news came that His Sovereign Majesty had reached Sivas and would be staying [there] for three weeks to [feed and] fatten the camels. I summoned the headmen [f.39v] and peasants (kadkhodāyān va roʻāyā) of every district, and said [to them]: "If we do not feed your grain [to our animals], the army of His Sovereign Majesty certainly will [make use of it]. [So], it is best that we first feed [our beasts] and then burn whatever is left. In return, we shall hold you exempt from taxes for three years." Thus, we burned the grain and destroyed the subterranean irrigation canals (kārīz-hā).

The business of war is akin to a game: one should do whatever is necessary [to achieve victory against an adversary].[812] [War is deception – so, give no chances to the enemy in warfare, whether they fight or flee].[813] And whenever the enemy is on the warpath and [have a greater army],[814] as much as it is possible, one should not engage them in direct confrontation.

[Moreover, concerning what they have made up on seven supply columns of munitions, ten thousand water-carrying camels, and His Majesty's aptness for journey and his glory and magnificence: logically, one is not afraid of these false and foolish stories, for],[815] we counted numerous times [and figured] that His Sovereign Majesty, besides the servants, is accompanied by approximately three hundred thousand cavalrymen. If [f.40r] each of them has a servant, it would make six hundred thousand people. Moreover, the Janissaries are the only infantry; so, if every one of them has [a horse or a mule,] that would make six hundred thousand horses (and mules). [In addition], each donkey needs approximately two [Tabrizi][816] manns[817] of barley every night, which makes [the total of] twelve thousand kharvārs, one hundred manns each, of barley daily. Now if every one of the six hundred thousand soldiers requires half a mann [of provisions] daily, it makes the total of three thousand kharvārs (of one hundred manns each) in total. Thus, the daily total, for animals and men, amounts to fifteen thousand kharvārs of grain, [which makes it thirty thousand kharvārs in twenty days].[818]

It is quite likely that His Majesty has one hundred and fifty kharvārs of grain at his disposal, and just as much for the army. [f.40v] To transport this amount of provision (i.e., three-hundred thousand kharvārs) would require five hundred thousand camels; not to mention the camels needed to move various weapons, military equipment, canons, and other campaign necessities. The three hundred thousand kharvārs of grain will last for more than twenty days. [Therefore, after we have scorched the earth everywhere and fed what we could

[809] Īlchī [p.167]: "*beh yad-e velāyat*".
[810] Kāteb, C1: [f.90v] – verses of unknown provenance.
[811] Īlchī [p.167]: "Let us see what our masters will do".
[812] Kāteb, C1: [f.90v]: "to trick and fool an adversary".
[813] Kāteb, C1: [f.90v].
[814] Kāteb, C1: [f.90v].
[815] Īlchī [p.167].
[816] Kāteb, C1: [f.90v].
[817] A Tabrizi *mann* is approximately three kilograms.
[818] Īlchī [p.167].

to our horses and mules],[819] if we do not confront them in battle, but [instead follow them at a distance (gard-e īshān mī-gashteh; lit. follow their [trail of] dust), what will they do then?][820] What other option will they have but to retreat? Besides, where will they find provisions? [And when there is nothing edible can be found in this area,][821] [the gold they have will be of little benefit to them].[822]

[Even] if he possessed all the Ja‘farī gold, it avails nothing to a hungry man,
For a hungry wanderer in a desert, a cooked turnip is better than pure silver, **[f.41r]**
It is possible for an ear to go without hearing a tambourine, a harp, or a flute
The eye can abstain from gazing at a garden, and the nose will get by without a rose or a wild rose,
If a feather pillow is not at hand, one can sleep with a rock under one’s head,
If there’s no sweetheart to sleep with, one can place one’s hand on one’s own bosom,
But man’s worthless, twisted belly does not have the patience to stay empty…[823]

As we shall not fight them face to face, they will [eventually] encamp somewhere and having to consume their twenty days-worth of supplies, following which [they will be impotent][824] and [on their way back will become desperate].[825] Since we have scorched all [the grain in this region][826] they will not be able obtain **[f.41v]** even a mann of grain anywhere; how then will they return to their own country? Now if they encamp somewhere [at the very beginning] and then return using the provisions they have brought, what could be more fortunate [than this]?

In short, when His Sovereign Majesty reached Khoy, I sent [a message] to ‘Abdollāh Khān and the commanders who had gone on patrol to Marand, [ordering] them not to reveal themselves and to return on the same day to meet me in the summer pastures of Ashkanbar. [So], when His Majesty advances to Tabriz, we shall dispatch ten thousand men to capture Olāmeh at the foot of the citadel of Van, as we rush there ourselves at a gallop. The aforesaid commanders were delayed by one day, which was because the Ottoman scouts had caught up with them and since they did not have enough strength to resist, they came to us.

When **[f.42r]** His Majesty reached Tabriz, the said group of commanders and soldiers had not yet arrived and were five farsakhs from the city. Some of the soldiers said that it is prudent to go to Ahar and wait there until the said commanders join us. When we moved on from where we had been, Cherāgh Solṭān, Charandāb Solṭān, and Alīqolī [Bēg] arrived on the first day. On the second day, Ebrāhīm Khān, the governor of Shiraz, arrived with three hundred men. ‘Allāhqolī Bēg arrived on the same day.

[Here are the detailed account of the aforementioned commanders and their men:][827] Bahrām Mīrzā, with one thousand men; Cherāgh Solṭān, with five hundred; ‘Alīqolī Bēg Torkmān, with three hundred; ‘Allāhqolī Bēg, the governor of Dārājird, with five hundred;

[819] Kāteb, C1: [f.90v]; Īlchī [p.167]: “… [after] we have scorched all the crops and grains of this province …”.
[820] Kāteb, C1: [f.90v]: “we [somehow] find our way to a place, [so] they cannot pursue us”.
[821] Īlchī [p.167].
[822] Īlchī [p.167]: “what use will there be for their gold and equipment”.
[823] *Golestān-e Sa‘dī* | On the Benefits of Contentment
[824] Kāteb, C1: [f.91r]: “what will they do”.
[825] Kāteb, C1: [f.91r]: “what state will they be in”.
[826] Kāteb, C1: [f.91r]: “before them”.
[827] Kāteb, C1: [f.91r].

Charandāb Solṭān [Shāmlū],[828] the governor of Ij, Neyriz, [and Fasa],[829] with five hundred; Ebrāhīm Khān, the governor of Shiraz, [with two thousand five hundred];[830] Shāhqolī Solṭān [Afshār],[831] the governor of Kerman, with a thousand; Kūpek Solṭān, the governor of Kazerun, with three hundred; Moḥammad Khān [Afshār],[832] the governor of Kuh-e Giluyeh, with a thousand; the royal-guards of [f.42v] Qazvin, three hundred and fifty of them; and the group of Sūkolān and Tatars, two hundred in total, apart from the servants in Qazvin that were two hundred in number; the total number of the soldiers amounted to eight thousand, one hundred and fifty.

When His Sovereign Majesty arrived in Tabriz, we were in Ahar. We performed a pilgrimage to the Shrine of Shaykh Shahāb al-Dīn [Aharī][833]—May God Bless His Soul—following which I pleaded with God: "O, God! You have said that you love and have compassion for the broken hearted [f.43r]. Have mercy, for my heart is broken and I have no one other than you to ask for help!" My prayer was answered and even though His Majesty showed us no mercy, God Almighty, the most merciful of all, did. His Majesty remained in Tabriz for four days, could not stay there, and turned back.

Leave your matters to God and be content,
For God is merciful even if the enemy isn't![834]

In Ahar, before His Majesty left [Tabriz], I told the commanders: "Appoint three thousand men to escort the [royal] camp to Ordubad by way of Jūshīn-Dīzmār. Then, with ten thousand men, [you should] go on a raid against Olāmeh, [while another five thousand are sent to Qārs].[835] I shall [f.43v] follow you until we capture Olāmeh; we shall burn whatever grain there is in Van and if His Majesty comes after us, from there we shall proceed to Chokhūr Sa'd and then also dispatch [a company][836] to Qārs [in order to kill the men who had come to rebuild the citadel].[837]" The commanders said: "Until Bahrām Mīrzā and others join us, it would be unwise to leave." [Thus], we decided to stay in Ahar and sent 'Abdollāh Khān, with three thousand men, on patrol.

In the meantime, two hundred and fifty kharvārs of weapons [from] the armoury (*qūrkhāneh*), loaded on Arab camels, arrived from Iraq. The same night, the Arabs mounted their camels and fled, leaving five hundred chests full of arms (*yarāq-e qūrkhāneh*) on the ground, while we did not even have enough [f.43r] camels to transport them [and if we decamped, they would left behind at the encampment]. Then, I said: "Let us retreat by one station, [bring these arms along, whatever it takes], distribute them among the soldiery, and after that, let us move ahead together."

We moved back four *farsakhs*, stayed there for a day, and busied ourselves with distributing the weapons. Then, the news came that His Majesty had left Tabriz and that Ebrāhīm Khān, who was eight *farsakhs* away from the city, followed him all the way to Tasuj. We also went after them. When we reached Chālderān, we were told that His Majesty

---

[828] Kāteb, C1: [f.91r].
[829] Kāteb, C1: [f.91r].
[830] Īlchī [p.170]: "one thousand and five hundred men".
[831] Kāteb, C1: [f.91r].
[832] Kāteb, C1: [f.91r].
[833] Kāteb, C1: [f.91r].
[834] *Dīvān-e Ḥāfeẓ*.
[835] Kāteb, C1: [f.91r].
[836] Kāteb, C1: [f.91r]: "some soldiers".
[837] Kāteb, C1: [f.91r].

had besieged the citadel of Van. On that day, Shāhqulī Solṭān, Moḥammad Khān, the governor of Kuh Giluyeh, and Kūpek Solṭān, [joined][838] the royal camp. [f.44v]

Some commanders said: "We shall night-raid the Ottoman army." I said: "From here, we shall go to Erzurum, so that when His Majesty hears that we have gone into his country, he will swiftly raise the siege, withdraw from Van, and come after us." So, based on this, I decided to dispatch Esma'īl Mīrzā, along with seven thousand men, against the citadel of Qārs, to kill the garrison of the citadel, and from there proceed to Erzurum. In turn, we hastened and reached Arjish the following day.

Now the clamour of cannon and gun fire was coming from the direction of the citadel of Van. Once it ceased, I knew that Shāh 'Alī Chapnī had [out of apprehension and dread, asked for a quarter],[839] and surrendered the citadel of Van to the Ottomans. Thence, I set off in the direction of Hınıs and Pasin.[840]

I had initially decided [f.45r] to destroy the citadel of Van and not leave even one fortress standing in Azerbaijan before the coming of His Majesty; however, at the time some people did not allow for this scheme to be realized. When the Alqās affair and the conquest of Van had taken place, out of zeal it occurred to me that for as long as he was in the Ottoman hands, [this] conflict would not come to an end. [Therefore], there was no other remedy but to pillage the lands of His Majesty and, without maltreating the common folks and the peasantry, to scorch grains and burn houses until the [territory] between us [and them] becomes desolate and the coming and going becomes impossible. Thus, we burned Hınıs and Pasin and encamped in [the latter] to fatten the horses and see [f.45v] what His Sovereign Majesty was up to.

As we were encamped in Pasin, the report came in that His Majesty had reached Hınıs; since their horses had become weak and there were shortages of food among his people, they turned back. In turn, we set off towards the province of Mush.

[Further] reports came that His Sovereign Majesty had passed through Bitlis; and we too went further ahead. The Chemeshgezekī[841] royal-guards had gone out to gather intelligence and brought back two [Ottoman] sergeants (*do chāvosh*) they had captured along the way. They said: "His Majesty wrote a letter to Olāmeh and the Pāshā of Bayburt [informing] them that he had gone to Diyārbakr, while ordering them to encamp in Terjān, until the snow falls, and then winter in Azerbaijan." In turn, I also sent 'Alī Solṭān Tātī-oghlī, with twelve thousand men, to burn Akhlat, Bitlis, and Mush [f.46r], while we hastened on a raid against Olāmeh. [People said Olāmeh is sitting there: it is not prudent to raid against him; but we did so anyway.][842] Perchance, two days before we reached Terjān, both [the Pāshā of Bayburt][843] and Olāmeh had gone to Erzenjān.

We ordered the entire region of Terjān and Bayburt to be burned and razed to the ground. I further decided that, wherever there was a mosque, one of the army officers would be stationed there [for a couple of days][844] in order prevent anybody from attacking it. [They burnt every house down, save for the mosques].[845] Now, even though [the Ottomans], whenever they were on campaign against us, considered our property legitimate [to plunder] (*ḥalāl mī-dānestand*), we deemed neither their estates nor subjects so. Instead, we always brought lawful things (*ājnās-e ḥalāl*), such as poultry, lamb, rice, oil, and other such items, along with us [on campaigns]. This time also, in accordance with [the same] injunction, we

[838] Kāteb, C1: [f.91r]: "arrived".
[839] Īlchī [p.171].
[840] Modern Pasinler, a town in the Province of Erzurum.
[841] Çemişgezek is town in the Province of Tunceli, Turkey.
[842] Kāteb, C1: [f.91v].
[843] Kāteb, C1: [f.91v]: "the Pāshā of Pasin".
[844] Kāteb, C1: [f.91v].
[845] Kāteb, C1: [f.91v].

brought *ḥalāl* items; and I had ordered that every day, three dishes [f.46v] were to be prepared for me for breakfast and three dishes for supper.

In the meantime, one day in the month of Ramadan, I rode to a riverbank to catch some fish to eat, which is indisputably *ḥalāl*. There, I saw twenty people approaching on foot [f.47r]. I sent a runner (*shāterī*) to find out who they were. They said: "We are from Hınıs. The Ottomans raided us and had we stayed there we would have perished from hunger. Inevitably, we left our homes and are going to Diyārbakr." Mounted atop the horse, I cursed Alqās and wept over their circumstance. From there, we decamped and [went on] to the region of Tuzla Stream (*āb-e tūzlā*). There, two of our Chemishgezekī spies came and informed us that, according to reliable reports, Alqās had been sent to Hamedan, and that His Majesty had reached Harput, while Aḥmad Pāshā—with ten thousand cavalry and two thousand hand-gunners—had been sent on ahead and arrived in Kīghī. At the time, all our commanders were in Bayburt and Erzenjan and there were only [some] royal-guards by my side. [f.47v]

[So, I asked them: "What should we do?"][846] Ebrāhīm Āghā Bürdür said: "It would be wise to hasten and go to Māmā-Khātūn.[847] From there, we [should] send someone to bring the commanders in Bayburt [to our side] as well as those in Erzenjan, also ordering [the latter] to scorch the province before joining us. Then, we should send ten thousand men forward, so that, if Aḥmad Pāshā comes to Hasankeyf, they can engage him."

[My] groom (*jeloudār*) lieutenant Moḥammad Rūmlū and Maqsūd Beg Ināloghlū said: "It is unlikely that the Ottomans are so imprudent as to be let Alqās go off to Iraq [on his own]. [Instead, it seems] that they have dispatched him to Baghdad via the pass of Khanaqin and Qezel-Ribat so that when the news that Alqās has gone to Iraq reaches us [f.48r], we will turn back. After we have turned back, they will dispatch [someone] to bring Alqās back again." Moḥammad Āghā and Ināloghlū further said: "Since we are just two *farsakhs* away from Erzenjan, why not go ahead and scorch their grain? [Why should we turn our backs on Aḥmad Pāshā?][848] Yes, if His Majesty himself shows up, we shall leave by way of Bayburt." We acted upon this suggestion and went to Erzenjan. There, Othmān Pāshā marched out and fought a battle against the Dhu'l-Qadr royal-guards, whom we had sent on patrol, and was defeated. From Erzenjan, we decamped and moved to Bayburt, where a group of [Armenian][849] children had been taken captive; I ordered that they be wrapped in cotton, put in baskets, and [then] given to 'Abdollāh Khān [f.48v] to take and leave them at the foot of [the] citadel. From there, we came to Erzurum. Oghlān Qāsem Pāzhūkī captured one of the folks who had come out of the citadel to fight [them] and brought him before us. He too told us that Alqās had gone to Hamedan to which I said: "[Releasing Alqās and letting him go off][850] does not sound at all like an Ottoman strategy!" This verse came to mind:

Many a state arises along the way,
That if a man is not alert, he will lose his way…[851]

From there we came to Avnik and there too the troops had captured some children. When I found out, I once again gave orders to take them to the foot of the [same] citadel. We

---

[846] Kāteb, C1: [f.91v]: "then, with the royal-guards, we deliberate over what is the best course of action".
[847] Today's Terjan, a town and district in the province of Erzinjan.
[848] Kāteb, C1: [f.92r]: "there is no reason to step back as soon as Aḥmad Pāshā steps forward."
[849] Kāteb, C1: [f.92r]: "Ottoman/Greek (*rūmī*)".
[850] Kāteb, C1: [f.92r]; Īlchī [p.171]: "at first, they were surprised, saying: 'His Majesty is surely wise enough not to separate Alqās from himself".
[851] *Khamseh-ye Neẓāmī |Khosrow va Shīrīn*.

set off towards Chokhūr Sa‘d and still could not believe that [the Ottomans] would let Alqās go [like this]. [f.49r]

I dispatched Esma‘īl Mīrzā to Shirvan, to occupy the province, and the chief of the royal-guards, with one thousand and five hundred men, to capture Sheki. [Furthermore,] I gave permission to Bahrām Mīrzā, Ebrāhīm Khān, as well as the commanders of Iraq, Fars, and Kerman, to return to their provinces, while myself going to Qarabagh for the winter.

Meanwhile, we repeatedly received news that Alqās had come to Iraq, plundered the families of Bahrām Mīrzā and Cherāgh Solṭān, divided their slave girls among [his people],[852] and taken [Bedī‘uz-zamān Mīrzā,][853] Bahrām Mīrzā’s son, with him. It [soon occurred to him]:[854] “Should I take the son of Bahrām Mīrzā before His Sovereign Majesty, he will order me to kill him; and as soon as [f.49v] I kill [Bahrām Mīrzā’s son], he will in turn kill my [sons]. [Thus, I should not go before His Majesty.]”[855]

When the news of our advance against him reached his ears in Qom, he took various items and money he had looted and, along with Bahrām’s son, fled in the direction of Shiraz. There, too, due to his great anxiousness, he did not stay for long and moved on to Baghdad by way of Shushtar. From [there], he sent a letter, calling for peace and pleading for pardon for his sins. In turn, I wrote and sent an order for [reconciliation to him as a brother].[856]

However, at the time, some were saying: “If tomorrow Alqās comes from the side [Baghdad],[857] and His Majesty from the side [Azerbaijan],[858] it is not clear what will become of us.” Thus, some saw [f.50r] it as prudent that Shirvan be given to Alqās, so that he would go there and [then] this conflict would come to an end. These words made me weep, for [I had entrusted][859] Alqās to His Majesty the Commander of the Believers—May Blessings and Peace be Upon Him. Accordingly, these verses (*haft-band*) of Mowlānā Ḥasan Kāshī—May God Have Mercy on Him—came to mind and I recited them in tears:

The foundation of the Ka’ba is [made] glorious by the speech of Moṣṭāfā, the Pivot of the World and religion are the body and soul of Moṣṭāfā!
[*A wealth of pearls of meaning has filled your mouth to the brim, as soon as you kissed Moṣṭāfā’s lips,*
There is, deservedly, no one greater to have come into being after Moṣṭāfā!
Your blade is like that cloud, beautiful as the sea, which has been refreshed with the waters of victory of the garden of Moṣṭāfā][860]
Ever since the firmament of law was illuminated through him, there has not ever been anything more luminous than the moon of Moṣṭāfā,
[*The travellers upon the path of knowledge will not reach their destination, if they do not kiss the threshold of Moṣṭāfā,*
Nobody has ever been loftier that Moṣṭāfā, [f.50v] *it is only befitting of the might of Moṣṭāfā*][861]

---

[852] Kāteb, C1: [f.92r]: “[his] retainers”.
[853] Kāteb, C1: [f.92r].
[854] Kāteb, C1: [f.92r]: “[in conversation] with his own people he said”.
[855] Īlchī [p.173]: “he was so ashamed that he could not [bring himself to] meet His Majesty. It also occurred to him that even if His Majesty takes the son of Bahrām Mīrzā away from [Alqās], and has him killed, Bahrām Mīrzā will in turn kill his sons!”
[856] Īlchī [p.173].
[857] Īlchī [p.173].
[858] Īlchī [p.173].
[859] Īlchī [p.173]: “the One I have entrusted the affairs of Alqās to will, soon enough, grab him by the collar and deliever him to me!”
[860] Kāteb, C1: [f.92r].
[861] Kāteb, C1: [f.92r].

Even though, O King, I have done what Hassān did in the time of Moṣṭāfā,
[*I do not dare brag about writing a worthy eulogy of his majesty: your praise is sung by God Himself!*
Man is unable to utter the attributes of your essence, [O, God], if there is one who can, it would be Moṣṭāfā][862]
One has no need to [ask you] for what they need, you know sincere loyalty to the House of Moṣṭāfā,
The people's burden of favour has made me fed up with my life, have mercy on me;
Free me from this burden, for the life of Moṣṭāfā!
Do not turn the face of compassion away, O, [*Sun*],[863] *from my face: for the life of Prophet, turn your gaze towards me!*

Rostam Pāshā wrote and sent a letter to Moḥammad Pāshā, the governor of Baghdad, saying: [f.51r] "Killing Alqās there would be unwise. Send someone [to capture and kill him],[864] or else expel him from our land, so that he never comes here again." [When] Alqās [heard the news from hearsay and the tongues of men],[865] he fled [from Bagdad and went to Kordestan],[866] to Begah Ardalān [who was one of the governors of the region].[867]

He made Badīʻuz-amān Mīrzā, the son of Bahrām Mīrzā, 'the means of peace' (*vasīleh-ye ṣolḥ*), and, accompanied by his retainer Khwajeh Mīrak, sent [him] to me. Three or four days later, the news came that the Ottomans had attacked and defeated him [Alqās], and that he had fled and gone to Sorkhāb Solṭān Ardalān, [also one of the rulers of Kordestan].[868] Bahrām Mīrzā [and Ebrāhīm Khān],[869] along with some commanders, hastened to go after him. Sorkhāb Solṭān took Alqās to the fortress of Mashīleh and dispatched [a messenger,][870] saying: "Send Shāh Neʻmatollāh to retrieve him and let him swear that you will not kill him [i.e., Alqās], and then I [f.51v] will send Alqās to you."

[Thus,] Shāh Neʻmatollāh, with some commanders, went and retrieved him. Praise be to God, for the Commander of the Believers—Peace be Upon Him—to whom I had entrusted Alqās, has now brought him to me. I then said to [Alqās]: "[Now], you have seen how my Master has delivered you to me!" [Then I recited these verses:][871]

Whoever blows out a lamp lit by God, burns his own beard![872]

Stories are told of great men of religion, the knowers of Truth [*with utmost certainty*][873]
That a man of God sat upon a tiger riding it along the road, with a snake in his hand,
Someone said: "O, man of God's path, guide me along the road you have traversed!"
What have you done to tame the ravenous beast so that the signet of felicity was engraved in your name? [f.52r]

---

[862] Kāteb, C1: [f.92r].
[863] Kāteb, C1: [f.92v]: "soul's desire (*kām-e jān*)"
[864] Kāteb, C1: [f.92v]: "so that he may capture and kill him"; Īlchī [p.174].
[865] Īlchī [p.174].
[866] Īlchī [p.174].
[867] Īlchī [p.174].
[868] Īlchī [p.174].
[869] Īlchī [p.174].
[870] Īlchī [p.174]: "a smooth-talking persuasive emissary (*rasūlī-ye sokhandān-e charb-zabān*)".
[871] Kāteb, C1: [f.92v].
[872] Abū Saʻīd Abū'l-Khayr.
[873] Kāteb, C1: [f.92v]: "[upon] the path of certainty (*rāh-e yaqīn*)".

He said: "Even if the tiger and the snake are at my command, even elephant or vulture—be not surprised!"
Do not disobey the Judge's ruling, so that nobody disobeys your orders!"
When the ruler adheres to the Judge's decree, God will be his guardian and helper…[874]

I further said: "When you were friends with me, you did not used to drink wine, and did not engage in debauchery; but [since] you rebelled, you have become a source of vice! It seems that you have also rebelled against the Almighty God [himself]."

Everyone who strives for the sake of God, his affairs are put in order by Almighty God,
Nobody but God resolves problems—I swear to God, people can do nothing![875]

After that, I ordered Ebrāhīm Khān and Ḥasan Bēg the lieutenant [f.52v] to take him to the fortress of [Qahqaheh][876] and jail him. They took him there, locked him up, and came back. Five or six months later, [we learnt] that [two or three people from the group][877] guarding Alqās in the citadel had a blood feud with him, for he had killed their father[s] and brother[s][878]. [Thus], to avenge their death, [this group] threw him down from the [walls of] the citadel and killed him. After the death of Alqās, when the world [once again] became safe, I made a pledge to myself to go on campaign against the Circassians and the Georgians, so that [I would only fight the unbelievers][879] and avoid a conflict with Muslims. Suddenly, one Iskandar Pāshā turned up and what transpired is contained within the following verses:

Whenever a pious man wants to live a moment without the 'ze' of zaḥmat [f.53r]
The world sends a fly to shit on top of the 're' of raḥmat…[880]

[f.53r] Chapter Four*: The Story of Eskander Pāshā*

At the time when he was the Pāshā of Erzurum, he schemed, and incessantly provoked sedition and conflict. Although our commanders sent him letters and tried to admonish him, he would not have any of it; in response,[881] he would threaten [us even more].

Whenever one who has never been hit is slapped by a stranger,
He thinks his hand is made of iron, whereas in essence it is [just] a paw …[882]

---

[874] *Būstān-e Sa'dī | Concerning Prayer*.
[875] Unidentified verses.
[876] Īlchī [p.175].
[877] Kāteb, C1: [f.92v]: "two people".
[878] Kāteb, C1: [f.92v]; Īlchī [p.175].
[879] Kāteb, C1: [f.92v]: "[so that] every battle I fight be with the unbelievers".
[880] Thus, turning *raḥmat* [رحمة], that is 'a gift of divine mercy', into *zaḥmat* [زحمة], or 'pain, trouble and/or disease', by dropping a dot on the first letter – *rā*.
[881] Kāteb, C1: [f.92v] – *Dīvān-e Anvarī*, *Moqaṭe'āt*.
[882] Torkī couplets.

[Since he was a low-born slave, he acted according to his ignoble nature.][883] Once, he sent a letter to Ḥoseyn Jān Solṭān [Rūmlū],[884] to the effect that: "I have laid siege to the fortress of Ardanūj; if the Shah attacks me, I shall fight [him]. Should I be victorious, I will have defeated the sovereign of the East! [f.53v] Should I be defeated; they will have defeated a slave!" I then sent a message to Ḥoseyn Jān Solṭān: "In response, you [should] write: 'What you have written are not the words befitting sensible men; indeed, only fools speak in such manner!'" And yet, out of ignorance, he used to say over and over again: "I am the Pāshā of Georgia and Shirvan!" After Shāhqolī Solṭān became the governor of Chokhūr Sa'd, he wrote the following verses [in a letter] and sent [it] to [Eskandar Pāshā]:

There is no grudge nor fight between two wise men, neither does a learned man argue with a half-wit,
For when an ignorant man speaks harshly, the wise man seeks reconciliation by 'softening his heart',
[*Two smart persons can hold onto two ends of a hair, whether dealing with a stubborn man or docile,*][885] [f.54r] *Whereas fools holding the two ends will tear it asunder—even if it is an [iron] chain!*[886]

[He, Shāhqolī Solṭān] further wrote: ["You are the son of an infidel: who are you to disrespect the children of the Commander of the Believers—Peace be Upon Him?].[887] Whoever showed enmity to this family, received their punishment—and so will you! The day that [the accursed][888] Umayyads martyred His Majesty, the Oppressed Imam, [Imam Ḥoseyn,][889] other than Imam Zeyn al-'Ābedīn—Peace be Upon Him—there was nobody else left from their men. In those days, there were [fourteen][890] thousand Umayyad children, whose cradles had golden canopies. Now, [have a look]:[891] not even one of them has survived, whereas from the genus of *sayyids* (*az ṭabaqeh-ye sādāt*), there are thousands [in every city]."[892]

And whenever our commanders sent messengers to the grand viziers of His Sovereign Majesty, [he, Eskandar Pāshā] obstructed their passage [f54v]. He took disrespect to a new level: he denied my *sayyidhood*, responding with the noble verse: "*He is certainly not of your family—he was entirely of unrighteous conduct*."[893] [In response], Shāhqolī Solṭān wrote out the *hadith*, which has been transmitted from His Majesty Imam Ja'far Moḥammad al-Sādeq, the truly excellent speaker (*beh ḥaqq nāṭeq-e hazeq*)—Peace be Upon Him and His Family—and sent it [to Eskandar Pāshā]: "*No house showed us enmity without being ruined, no dog barked at us without getting mange, and whoever does not believe in that shall see [for themselves]!*"[894] When we saw that there was no way we could [reason] with him, *out of necessity*, we said: "Let us chastise him!"

---

[883] Kāteb, C1: [f.92v]; Īlchī [p.177]: "since he was of low-birth from among the European unbelievers and by compulsion entered the yoke of Islam...".
[884] Īlchī [p.177].
[885] Kāteb, C1: [ff.92v/93r].
[886] *Golestān-e Sa'dī | On the Benefits of Silence*.
[887] Īlchī [p.177]: "You, an unbeliever's son, what right do you have to show such bad manners towards the children of Mustafa and Murtaza, Peace be upon Them, and to utter such unbecoming words."
[888] Kāteb, C1: [f.93r].
[889] Kāteb, C1: [f.93r].
[890] Kāteb, C1: [f.93r].
[891] Kāteb, C1: [f.93r].
[892] Kāteb, C1: [f.93r].
[893] Hud: 11:46.
[894] *Biḥār al-Anvār*, vol. 1, p. 38, attributes the *hadith* to Zayd, the brother of Moḥammad Bāqer, going back to the Prophet.

If a matter cannot be resolved by intellect,
It requires a dose of madness…[895]

[At the time when][896] the campaign of Arjish and Akhlat came to pass, [f.55r] we spent the month of Ramadan in Akhlāt, [where] we had bought the garden of Malek Shams al-Dīn Khān and fasted there. Meanwhile, approximately nine hundred [Khūrchīnlūs of Qarabagh][897] and three hundred Georgians, were at [Dādīlī/Dāvīlī].[898] Eskandar Pāshā [became aware of this group's approach][899] and advanced against them with eight thousand men. Although most of them had gone hunting, those that stayed behind—both the Khūrchīnlūs and the Georgians—mounted [their horses] and went out to face [Eskandar Pāshā] in battle. He eventually [attacked and overpowered that small group]. Having killed some of them, [he deemed][900] this whole affair "a great victory." Consequently, his arrogance [and pride][901] reached such [levels][902] that cannot be described— [he opened his mouth, boasting and flattering himself constantly.][903] Thus, it became necessary to chastise him. It occurred to me that should I personally advance against him [f.55v], he will not come out of the citadel; [so,] I dispatched Esma'īl Mīrzā with a group of commanders. At first, he came out [with many soldiers][904] to give battle, but then, when he saw their troops, he fled and went back into the citadel [at once].[905]

[Torkī verses, see the Text]

After that, the commanders returned to us, and we set off for Nakhichevan. [f.56r] I wrote the description [of these affairs,][906] and sent it to His Majesty's court with Maḥmūd Bēg, the governor of Bīghā, who had been captured in the Battle of Erzurum. Later on, the letters of Her Highness Khāssekī Solṭān and Her Highness [Mehr-Māh] Solṭān, the daughter of His Sovereign Majesty, who had written to my sister, as well as the letter of Rostam Pāshā, who had written to the commanders, arrived, all to the [following] effect: "Send your entrusted emissary to His Majesty's threshold, [so that we can intervene, talk about peace and reconciliation, and put an end to calamity and conflict]."[907]

In accordance with the [contents of] the letters, and upon [what they deemed prudent],[908] we dispatched Amīr Shams al-Dīn—the Refuge of Sayyidhood—as envoy. Eventually, Amīr Shams came back with a letter from His Majesty to the effect that: "The Ottoman *'olamā* have issued a *fatvā* [according to which] the blood of all of the people of the East, both the army and the peasantry, [f.56v] in particular the Muslims, Armenians, and [Jews],[909] is allowed to be shed with impunity (*mobāḥ*), [seizing] their property, kinfolk, and families is lawful (*ḥalāl*), and fighting against them is a holy war (*ghazā*)." [To this,] I said:

---

[895] The Shah's own verse?
[896] Kāteb, C1: [f.93r].
[897] Īlchī [p.178]: "the people of Qarabagh which are named Khūrchīnlū".
[898] Īlchī [p.178]: "the border regions (*velayāt-e sarḥadd*)".
[899] Īlchī [p.178].
[900] Kāteb, C1: [f.93r]: "having entertained this idea, he returned".
[901] Īlchī [p.178].
[902] Īlchī [p.178].
[903] Īlchī [p.178].
[904] Īlchī [p.178].
[905] Kāteb:D.2 [f.93r].
[906] Īlchī [p.179]: "the details of the sedition and bloodshed of Eskander Pāshā".
[907] Īlchī [p.179].
[908] Kāteb:D.2 [f.93v].
[909] Īlchī [p.180]: "Christians (*naṣrānī*)".

“Now that’s something! Even though we observe and perform all the necessities of religion, such as prayer, fasting, alms, and *ḥajj*, [the Ottoman clergy][910] consider *us* to be unbelievers! Let God Almighty pass judgement between us and them.”

Dream One. Meanwhile, at the end of the month of Rajab of 959 [end of July of 1552], which was the harvest season, one night in a dream, I saw a moon standing still in the middle of the sky, as another moon appeared in the east, and yet another one in the west. The moon that was in the west was huge – I was told: “The Eastern Moon is Dīn Moḥammad the Uzbek, [f.57r], the Western one is His Sovereign Majesty, and the middle one represents you!” At first, the Eastern Moon gradually moved forward and when it came within a lance-distance of the Middle Moon, it fell from the sky like a [shooting] star and went right into the ground. Next, in the same manner, the Western Moon followed suit and sank into the ground. [Then], the Middle Moon, like a sheet of paper in the air, slowly descended upon the royal bed, which they had prepared for me, and atop of which they had placed a rug with a mattress.

Dream Two. After this episode, in the month of Ṣafar of 961 **[**January-February of 1554**]**, I saw another dream [while] in Nakhichevan: in the sky, from the direction of *qebleh*, in the place where the Sun stands at noon [f.57v], a line of calligraphy appeared on the face of the firmament, in the style of the Hebrew script (*be-ṭarīq-e khaṭṭ-e ‘ebrī*) and in the colour of the sky; however, the line was more translucent than the canvas (*būm*), which was the sky [itself]. It was written in a *tamghā*-like style in the curved lines which are [found] on European (*farangī*) papers, in the shape of a large *meḥrāb*, approximately two and a half cubits (*do ẕar‘ va nīm*)[911] wide and three and a half cubits (3.64 m.) in length.[912] [I read this calligraphy],[913] it was the verse: “*But Allah will spare you their evil. For He is the All-Hearing, All-Knowing*.”[914] Seeing the line, I felt trepidation and anxiety. [Suddenly,][915] I saw that the writing began to ripple like the waves of the sea. [Then,] the part of the sky surrounding the calligraphy, towards the west, began to tremble, as if it was going to rupture. [f.58r] It appeared that this calligraphy and the *meḥrāb* were beginning to shake as a door opened in the sky. Out of utter anxiety, [I felt as if I woke up from the dream several times over],[916] finding myself, once again, in the summer pastures of Khoy. A great wind blew up from the direction of Van, and the people told [me]: “The Ottoman army is coming after you!” [Everybody] became concerned, for should this wind reach the camp, it would blow all our tents away. [So], I told the guards of the royal quarters (*qūrchīyān-e ḥaram*), and Ayghūt Āqā the lieutenant, to take Parīkhān Khānūm and Solṭān Ebrāhīm Mīrzā, both of whom were children, and flee, while we would mount [our horses] and move forward.

We saw that the wind was gradually getting stronger. As it came to the edge of the pasture where we had set up our camp, [f.58v] it turned aside before reaching the camp and not even a particle of dust reached us. Suddenly, the storm vanished and [out of the dust,][917] there appeared numerous mountain ewes and rams, all of them with fat tails, like fat-tailed sheep. I told the commanders: “Whichever of you likes hunting should go after them!” Off they went,

---

[910] Īlchī [p.180]: *‘olamā‘-ye rūm*.
[911] One Persian *ẕar‘*, or cubit, is equivalent to one hundred and four centimeters; two and a half cubits thus approximate to two meters and sixty centimetres.
[912] Approximately three meters and sixty-four centimetres.
[913] Īlchī [p.180]: “when I glanced at and examined the inscribed line…”.
[914] Al-Baqarah: 2:137.
[915] Īlchī [p.180].
[916] Īlchī [p.180]: “I thought that I was seeing this fully awake”.
[917] Īlchī [p.180]: “when the dust settled”.

and I [wounded][918] three mountain cattle and one ram, and, [having brought them back], said: "I shall not go further, for my horse has been in the stables for too long (*asb-e man khām ast*)" I then told Solṭān Ebrāhīm Mīrzā and the other children: "You should roast these before the commanders come back, while I shall rest in the tent." Soon, everybody else showed up, bringing thirty or forty of them [i.e. the rams and cattle].

Then, once again, I saw that I had woken up from my dream and yet I was still asleep. [f.59r] I saw my sister had seated a beautiful woman on each corner of the bedspread covering my quilt, each having a gorgeous face, very tall and well-figured, without any adornment whatsoever. They were so beautiful that such beauty is rarely seen among people. I asked my sister: "Who are they [that they are sitting here?"][919] She replied: "They brought them for you from Georgia. One is Varazā's sister who has been living in our house, and the other three have arrived recently." [To this], I said: "The Varazā's sister did not look like that! When did she become so [beautiful]?" She replied: "She became so just now!"

In the meantime, I woke up from [my] dream. I saw myself in the same house, still anxious, reading the noble verse: "*Allah will spare you their evil*." [f.59v] I fell asleep again [for the night was not over yet].[920] I saw the first dream again, [in the same manner], reciting the same verse: "*Allah will spare you their evil*," wondering if the verse is for repulsing the enemy, and what all the anxiety is about. Then it occurred to me: whenever the ray of divine light shines upon you, it will be a cause of anxiety and trepidation. [In the dream, I said]:[921] "When His Majesty [the Prophet][922]—Peace be Upon Him and His Family—spoke with Almighty God from behind the veil, the divine grandeur and might [greatly] affected [His Majesty]. [Thus,] [it became certain][923] that whenever I see the verse in this manner, its grandeur will leave an impression on me [even greater than that made upon His Majesty].[924] After that, I woke up from my dream. [After waking up, I knew that something terrible was about to happen, which would be resolved in the easiest possible way, and in accordance with [the verse] – "*But perhaps you hate a thing and it is good for you*, [*and love something which is bad for you*]"[925] – there will come about unexpected conquests.][926]

Meanwhile, His Sovereign Majesty set off in this direction and [f.60r] upon reaching Pasin, he encamped there, waiting for the supplies and provisions to arrive. [Then,] they sent the retainer of Olāmeh to us [to commence peace negotiations].[927] Under no circumstances would I accept to negotiate peace with His Majesty [through Olāmeh the *aide-de-camp*][928] as an intermediary; [so,] I said: "[It is not unlikely],[929] if one of His Majesty' Pāshās acts as a mediator."

Better to forsake the beneficence of the noble man, than to endure the abuse of gate-keepers,
Better to die craving meat, than to face the indecent demands of butchers …[930]

---

[918] Īlchī [p.181]: "hunted and returned".
[919] Īlchī [p.181].
[920] Īlchī [p.181].
[921] Īlchī [p.181]: "Haven't you heard?".
[922] Īlchī [p.181]: "the Refuge of Prophesy".
[923] Kāteb, C1: [f.93v]: "is evident".
[924] Īlchī [p.181].
[925] Al-Baqarah: 2:216.
[926] Īlchī [p.182].
[927] Īlchī [p.182]: "in order to speak of war and peace".
[928] Kāteb, C1: [f.93v]: "by the grace of Olāmeh".
[929] Kāteb, C1: [f.93v]: "would be more appropriate".
[930] *Golestān-e Sa'dī* | On the Benefits of Contentment.

After this, we went to Bazarchay[931] and encamped there. The news reached Levand the Georgian that His Sovereign Majesty had come, defeated some [commanders],[932] left the Shah helpless, and cut off his son's hand in battle. [f.60v] Because his son was by our side, he was shaken; [so] he sent a messenger to verify the report and to determine his condition. He wrote to his son and his agent Khwājeh Tāj: "Such and such news reached me; describe your condition as it is, and send me a message!" In response, I wrote and sent [these verses]:

O, you who ask how the affairs of the world will be: [They] will be the way the lovers [of God] desire them to be!
By the signs and traces that we see, we can tell what was foretold from the start is exactly how it will be!
Such wisdom will manifest itself from the mysteries of the unseen realm, [f.61r] at which the eyes of the wise will be awe-struck!
The Family of Mortażā and Moṣṭafā will have the upper hand: whatever it is they want, it will come to pass![933]

After that, His Majesty came to Nakhichevan and sent a letter with Sarū Qaplān, the retainer of Jāmī, the son of Delü Sayyidī Ḥasan Abdāllū, whom they had captured, to the effect that: "[Since you do not want to make peace,][934] come and let us fight [face to face]!"[935] Ḥasan Bēg the lieutenant proposed: "[It will be wise for us to][936] send all the camels, supplies, provisions, and the camp to the mountains and forests of Ganja, and those areas, leave the camp and the tents, [prepare the troops,][937] and ourselves go up to the mountains and guard the path. Once His Majesty is separated from [his] depôt of arms and ammunitions (*'arābeh*), and turns towards our camp, we [f.61v] shall raid their camp from the other side. [So,] whatever they find in our camp will be their booty, and whatever we find in theirs will be recompense for [their] wrongdoings and requital for the prayers and fasting that His Majesty, and his father, [have failed to perform]." My response was: "His Majesty will most certainly retreat and with this letter, he means to say: 'I wrote [urging them] to come out and fight, but they did not; that's why I was obliged to turn back.'" The following day, the news came that His Majesty had withdrawn.

After that, Shāhverdī Solṭān [Ziyād-oghlī][938] said: "It would be a good idea for me to go ahead and capture the equipment and provisions they had gathered in Erzurum, and also burn and plunder Pasin and Erzurum, before His Majesty's arrival." We gave him permission to go against Pasin with five thousand men of Aq-Menqān, [f.62r] while we stayed there for another day and then continued to Chokhūr Sa'd.

The day we reached Qerkh-Bolāq, it was the first [day] of the month of Ramazan [and the commanders and the troops intended to go to different parts of Ottoman territory to raid and plunder them.][939] This story came to my mind: "It has been reported that one day, His Majesty the Refuge of Prophethood—Peace be Upon Him and His Family—was ascending the pulpit to deliver a sermon. As he set his blessed feet on the first, second, and third steps, he uttered 'Amen!' on each step. After delivering the sermon and coming down from the pulpit, the companions asked [him] the reason for uttering these three 'Amens'. He replied:

[931] Today's Vorotan River, in Armenia.
[932] Kāteb, C1: [f.94r]: "some folks".
[933] A popular poem.
[934] Īlchī [p.182].
[935] Īlchī [p.182].
[936] Īlchī [p.182].
[937] Īlchī [p.182].
[938] Kāteb, C1: [f.94r].
[939] Īlchī [p.183].

‘At first, when I set my foot on the first step, Jabra‘īl (Gabriel)—Peace be Upon Him—cursed those [f.62v] who had heard my name but did not send greetings, and I said: ‘Amen!’ Upon the second step, [Jabra‘īl] cursed those that realized it was Ramazan, but did not observe the fast, to which I also said: ‘Amen!’ And, when I set my foot upon the third step, [he cursed those who meet their parents and yet do not show them respect];[940] I once again said: ‘Amen!’”

Thus, acting upon this story, I said: “Since it is the month of Ramazan, we shall not attack a Muslim country, [but instead] go [on campaign] against Georgia and plunder the province of Shaushad, who are hostile unbelievers (*kāfer-e ḥarbī*).[941] We shall encamp in the country of Qvarqvare[942] to feed and fatten our horses.” On the same day, the troops of Kuh Giluyeh arrived. For about one month until the feast day at the end of Ramazan, we camped in the region of Şavşat, [Qaranat/Qadanat-e] Gorjī, and Qvarqvare.

Meantime, Erziyār, the retainer of ‘Isā Khān, went to Besbāt the Georgian [f.63r] [who] told him that His Majesty was in Erzurum, while Ayāz Pāshā was in the citadel of Oltu,[943] and that it was necessary to attack [them]. [He also said: “You should send someone against them, perhaps some progress can be made!”].[944] In turn, from the vicinity of the fortress of Peterek, we dispatched Shāhqūlī Khalīfeh the seal-keeper, Moḥammadī Bēg Mousullū, Adham Bēg Rūmlū, and [Torkhān Bēg],[945] along with some other commanders, while the son of Jotham [of Qvarqvare], and Varazā became their guides (*charkhchī*). [Along with] approximately five thousand men, they marched against Ayāz Pāshā.

One night, as they were on their way, Amīr Khān, the son of Moḥammadī Bēg Mousullū [Shāh Geldī Bēg], along with two hundred men from the right side were sent on patrol; should somebody [come out] from the fortresses of [Kamkhez / Kamkhosrobeg / Kamkhorosak / Palang?], they would learn of it. By chance, they surprised Senān Bēg, [the Ottoman, who was accompanied by a group];[946] they defeated [his force], captured and brought him alive before the commanders. When they questioned him about Ayāz Pāshā, Senān Bēg told them: [f.63v] “[Ayāz Pāshā is encamped beside the citadel of Oltu**,** but][947] all of [His Majesty’s][948] soldiers came to Oltu, while His Majesty was following [them].” On their way back, the commanders went to Qanlū-chaman, but sent Senān Bēg before me, while I had him taken to the fortress of [Qodrat][949] and kept there. After that, we also separated from the [royal] camp and, fully equipped, went to [the highlands of][950] Qanlū-meadow, [where] we joined the commanders, so that when the [enemy’s] army attacked us, we would fight [them on high ground].[951]

Meantime, both the son of Delü Efendi and the son of Bashārat Keleveklü (Kelebeklü), the retainer of Alqās, escaped and [came to us, saying that the Pāshās had

---

[940] Īlchī [p.183]: “upon those who which do not show due respect towards [their] parents he uttered a curse”.
[941] That is, they are outside *dār al-islām* and therefore in the *dār al-ḥarb*.
[942] A ruler of Samtskhe-Saatabago; many of them hand this title. At the time of the Safavid campaign Kaikhosro (d. 1573), Jaqeli, son of Qvarqvre III (d. 1535), was the ruler of the principality, ruling from 1545 until his death.
[943] A town and district in the province of Erzurum, also known by its Georgian name Oltisi.
[944] Kāteb, C1: [f.94r].
[945] Kāteb, C1: [f.94r]: “Teymūr Khān Bēg”.
[946] Īlchī [p.184].
[947] Īlchī [p.184].
[948] Īlchī [p.184].
[949] Īlchī [p.184]: “one of the citadels on the frontier”.
[950] Kāteb, C1: [f.94r].
[951] Kāteb, C1: [f.94r].

fled.][952] We sat down and held a consultation. Moḥammadī Bēg said: “His Majesty is encamped in Erzurum, [so] let us [besiege] the citadel of Van and plunder Kurdistan. We shall encamp there until we have fattened the horses and for as long as His Majesty remains in Erzurum we shall not move. Should [he] move against us, we shall go to Baghdad, and if he follows us [f.64r] to Baghdad, we shall go to Diyārbakr, and if he comes [there], we shall go to Erzinjan. If he does not come after us, and goes to Sivas instead, we shall go to Diyārbakr, and if he comes there, we will go to Erzenjan and destroy that province; having done that, His Majesty will not be able to attack us in the spring.” To this I said: “[This will prolong the time of calamity and these poor people will be hurt because of raids.][953] Let us make peace! Should His Majesty treat us badly, we shall not reciprocate. [According to the verse, *Reconciliation is best*,[954] we make peace and put an end to all enmities].[955]” [Then,] these verses came to mind:

The Pure Lord has created you out of dust, so, O slave, humble yourself like dust!
Do not be greedy, tyrannical, and head-strong; He created you out of dust, be not like fire!
While a dreadful fire exalted its neck, the dust cast itself down in servility [f.64v]
One showed arrogance, the other humility – from one demon was made, from the other Man!

A raindrop fell from a cloud, humbling itself upon seeing the endless sea,
Wondering, “who am I compared to the sea? If it exists, then surely I do not!”
While it considered itself with humility, the oyster shell dearly cherished it:
In the end heaven developed it so far, that it turned into a renowned royal pearl.
One who humbled himself became exalted; he sought non-existence, thus he came to be![956]

After that, I sent Jāmī to bring Senān Bēg, who was held bound in the castle of Qodrat[ābād], and then dispatched him, accompanied by Shāhqulī Āqā, to deliver a written message of peace, in which I had written to His Majesty to the effect that: “Should His Sovereign Majesty [f.65r / f.71r] treat us badly, we shall respond with kindness and shall make peace”; as I reminded him of the following verses:

O young man, learn some chivalry, from the men of the world, learn some manliness!
Keep your bosom free from seeking vengeance on the vengeful, restrain your tongue from blaming the slanderers!
Treat kindly those who have treated you badly, for they have already jeopardized their own fate!
If you make doing good a habit, nothing but that same goodness will return to you![957]

If you leave your affairs to God, O Ḥāfeẓ,
You will enjoy plenty of God-given fortune![958]

[After] dispatching Shāhqulī Āqā and Senān Bēg, I set off for Georgia, [the region of] Luarsab, conquered most of the citadels of [the country], and took around thirty thousand

[952] Īlchī [p.185]: “Ayāz Pāshā, along with the commanders and the army, decamped and left Oltu for Erzurum”.
[953] Īlchī [p.185].
[954] Al-Nisa: 4:128.
[955] Īlchī [p.185].
[956] *Būstān-e Sa‘dī | Concerning Humility*.
[957] *Bahārestān-e Jāmī | On the Merciful*.
[958] *Dīvān-e Ḥāfeẓ*.

captives. From there, we came to Qarābāgh [of Ārrān][959] and sent Farrokhzād Bēg the chief-usher (*īshik-aghāsī*) as an emissary; [f.65v / f.71v] and after him we also dispatched Tobat Āghā, who went there and prepared the ground for the necessities of peace on both sides. Praise be to God, for peace has been achieved and since then for several years the Muslims have[finally] been enjoying some peace and quiet.

[f.66r / 71v] Chapter Five: *The Story of Sultan Bāyezīd*

Everybody coming from that region (*ān-ṣūb*), from merchants to wanderers, would say that Sultan Bāyezīd was in Amasya, gathering troops to fight against Sultan Selīm. [Upon hearing this], I would wonder: "With His Sovereign Majesty still on the throne, alive and well, how dare they fight one another?" Eventually, I dispatched a messenger to Yādgār Bēg [the Kurd][960] Pāzhūkī, [ordering] him to send someone to the frontier to ascertain [the truth of] those reports.

His retainer came and brought along two servants of Alqās who had been with Sultan Bāyezīd. [f.66v / 65r] They said: "We went to Konya, where we fought a battle with Sultan Selīm; [but] we were defeated and returned to Amasya. Sultan Bāyezīd summoned us and ordered us, disguised as merchants, to go the Shah and ask for one thousand five hundred gold *tūmāns* [f.67r / 65v] to be sent to him. He said: ['Once I sit upon the throne of His Sovereign Majesty],[961] I shall repay it ten-fold.'" I said [to them]: "This low fellow (*mardak*) is a fool and a half-wit (*safih va ablah*). Since, firstly, I am on good terms with His Majesty: why would I give him gold? Secondly, [he is so stupid that][962] he does not even know that you wouldn't [be willing to] make yourself an enemy of His Majesty for [as little as] one thousand five hundred *tūmāns*!" I entrusted both to Ḥasan Bēg the lieutenant to watch them, while awaiting further news.

[Approximately one month later,][963] news came from Yādegār Bēg Pāzhūkī that Sultan Bāyezīd, [along with his] four sons, has renounced [his] father, and is now encamped in Pasin with a few tents. Following this, a retainer of Shāhqūlī Solṭān and 'Alī Chāvosh-bāshī, whom Sultan Bāyezīd had sent, arrived. Chāvosh-bāshī said: "Sultan Bāyezīd came to Pasin and sent me to say: '[Something has happened between me and my father and brothers.][964] Should I come to the side of the Shah, will [you] protect me or not?'" After [f.67v / 66r] just two days, the news reached [us] that the Pāshās had attacked and defeated Sultan Bāyezīd, [who then fled,][965] and that he came to Shāhqūlī Solṭān at Chokhūr Sa'd. [Upon hearing this,] I said to the commanders: "Once he comes to our country, we should not allow him to go anywhere else; for if he does, [His Majesty will hold us accountable.]"[966] I dispatched [Āghā Mollā the minister of Qazvin],[967] Mīr Shams al-Dīn the envoy, and

[959] Īlchī [p.186].
[960] Kāteb, C1: [f.94v].
[961] Īlchī [p.192]: "when I come to reign over the Ottoman lands".
[962] Īlchī [p.192]: "… with the assistance of 1,500 *tomāns*, how can he take over the Sultanate of Rum; besides, I had made a covenant with his father, so I shall not oppose him, let alone helping a child who has rebelled against his own father…".
[963] Kāteb:D.2 [f.94v]: "a month or forty days later…"; Īlchī [p.192]: "a few days later".
[964] Īlchī [p.192].
[965] Īlchī [p.192].
[966] Īlchī [p.193]: "now that the boy has come to our country, if we let him leave and go elsewhere, His Majesty will see it as a breach of our covenant, which will in turn reignite the strife and sedition; it would be wise to console and bring him here, we will then see what fate has for us".
[967] Īlchī [p.193]: "Āghā Mollā Gerek Yarrāq".

Allahvērdī Āghā the master of ceremonies, with gold and weapons, so that they would escort [him, Bāyezīd] to Tabriz.

Now since Shāhqolī Solṭān had written: “Sultan Bāyezīd is afraid of you, send someone to calm and reassure him!” Thus, I dispatched Ḥasan Bēg the lieutenant to reassure [Bāyezīd] and make an oath that I shall not surrender him, or his children, to His Sovereign Majesty. I made the same oath before ʻAlī Āghā Chāvosh-bāshī [f.68r / 66v] and sent him along with Ḥasan Bēg. Ḥasan Bēg went to Bāyezīd, swore an oath and reassured him, [and then they set off for Qazvin together].[968]

From Tabriz [Bāyezīd] sent me a message [to the effect]: “Let the Shah come here, so we form two divisions, one of which will advance against Baghdad and the other against Van. Sultan Selīm will have to face one party [while] the other will be able to do whatever they wish, for the entire army are cowards (*aljah-and*), while His Majesty is in Istanbul. Most of the troops will support me.” In response, I wrote and sent a letter: “Come to Qazvin, then we shall do whatever is sensible.”

Before Sultan Bāyezīd reached Qazvin, Senān Bēg had arrived as an envoy from His Sovereign Majesty, [f.68v / 67r] bringing an order and a decree of His Majesty, while Dūrāq Āghā also came from Sultan Selīm. [In the letter, they basically said: “Do not be deceived by the words of Bāyezīd and do not damage the foundation of the covenant, for his words have little worth”][969] To this, I replied: “Let Sultan Bāyezīd come here [first]; after that, we shall do what is most conducive to peace (*maṣlaḥat*).”

Then Sultan Bāyezīd sent me another message: “The Shah should not see the envoys [of His Majesty] before my arrival, lest Dūrāq deceive the Shah.” My response was: “He has been inconsiderate [in writing this]! Given that our envoys thrice went to *Khwāndgār*[’s court], every time bringing humble (*darvīshāneh*) gifts, and every time they were not treated well, let alone recompensed with gifts and kindnesses?”

Looking after dervishes does not diminish one’s greatness,
Soleymān, with all his splendour, considered even the ants![970]

[f.69r / 67v] When Alqās went from our side to theirs, His Majesty [listened to and] acted upon his words, set off, and attacked us. In turn, we never moved from the place because of Bāyezīd and always followed the old-custom (*dastūr-e sābeq*), observing the tradition of respect and propriety. [Back then,] even though we could not do much, we were, at least, able to go to their country and [destroy some of the provinces], so that afterwards they would not be able to pass through them.[971] And since His Sovereign Majesty was in Istanbul at that time, we could have burned and plundered Erzenjan, Diyārbakr, Erzurum, and Van, so that there would have remained no trace of habitation and cultivation; that is, until Alqās came back to us and peace was restored, we were not in a bad situation.

After Sultan Bāyezīd arrived in Qazvin, he made great exaggerations, [saying]: “Since Alqās went there, it was because of him that His Majesty [f.69v / 68r] raised an army and came to Tabriz; why won’t you consider assisting me? Let two of my sons accompany you and let the other two come along with me! You should go to Erzurum, while I shall go to Baghdad!” [In response,] I said: “His Majesty did not do a good thing by listening to Alqās and attacking us; [for this,] we always fault him, saying that he listened to Rostam Pāshā, and acted hastily. Why should we make the same mistake then? [Since you have sought our assistance,][972] it

[968] Kāteb, C1: [f.83r]: “brought him to Qazvin”.
[969] Īlchī [p.193/4]:
[970] *Ghazalīyāt-e Ḥāfeẓ*: no. 278.
[971] Kāteb:D.1 [f.83r]: “completely pillage and plunder [some] localities”.
[972] Īlchī [p.194]:

would be wise to send an envoy and ask him [the Sultan] to forgive your sins. If there is an order for us, having taken your family, to hold you or send you back, we shall then send another emissary to make the same plea until they forgive all your sins and show mercy."

To myself, I said: [f.70r / 68v] "He has acted unfilially against his benefactor (*bā valī-ye ne'mat-e khod 'āq shodeh*) and is not respectful of parental rights (*ḥoqūq-e vāledeyn*), which are obligatory according to the Quranic verses and the *hadiths*. In this regard, His Majesty Jabra'īl—Peace be Upon Him—said to the Prophet—Peace be Upon Him and His Family—that Almighty God has no mercy on those who do not respect parental rights. [He is not to be shown mercy.][973] Besides, [while] I have made peace with His Majesty, [Bāyezīd] is [trying] to challenge his father and benefactor; so, how am I [supposed] to assist him in that?"

Another one of his vices and follies is that even though he took refuge with me, he addressed me as 'Shah Ṭahmāsp,' whereas His Majesty Sultan Selīm Khān, who was a stranger, made various courteous remarks [addressing me][974] as 'father'. Thus, I understood that [f.70v / 69r] this low fellow lacked intelligence and judgment.

A weak-headed person cannot manage a sultanate,
He cannot even manage a flock of sheep, let alone a sultanate![975]

But Sultan Selīm is a wise and intelligent man!

I asked a learned man for some advice,
he told me: "Do not associate with an ignorant man!
For even if you are the wisest man of the age, you will become an ass,
And if you are a fool, you will become an even bigger fool!"[976]

He is a half-wit and a fool—that much is clear; but why should I, by allying with him, do something foolish as well? Considering this, I appointed [and sent] 'Alī Āghā Aghcheh Saqqal the lieutenant as ambassador to His Sovereign Majesty, and Arshī Āghā to Sultan Selīm Khān, while talking him [Bāyezīd] into staying.

When he [f.71r / 69v] [expressed] the desire to send gifts to the commanders of the frontiers—such as Holy Mashhad, Herat, Qandahar, Sistan, Shiraz, Kerman, Gilan, and Mazandaran—Farrokh Bēg said: "I wish to go to Gilan to listen to the music [performance] of Master Zeytūn, and to play bağlama (*sāz*) with him for a while." And in the meantime, he gave many gifts to his chiefs—something for every commander—and dispatched them to the provinces, to the commanders of the frontiers. Farrokh Bēg went to Gilan, came back, and suggested to [Bāyezīd]: "One day, we could go out hunting, with five or six thousand men, and then escape. They will become aware of our departure after one day and will come after us. But since we will have advanced by one-day's journey they will not be able to catch up with us – at the very most, they will capture some of our men whose horses fall behind. [f.71v / 70r] With one or two thousand men, we will raid the Yaqqeh Turkomans; from there we shall take a boat and, via Ogurcheh [Island], reach Astrakhan and Kazan. Then, we shall send a messenger to the Russian Czar (*pādshāh-e orūs*), saying that we are the enemies of His Sovereign Majesty. Having obtained their support, we shall make the Circassians our vassals, stay there, and [also] subjugate the people of Nogai, Crimea, and Circassia. After we secure

[973] Kāteb, C1: [f.83r].
[974] Īlchī [p.193]: "from there, he has written a letter, addressing [me] as Shah Ṭahmāsp; and Sultan Selīm, who was sitting in Rūm with glory and honor, wrote a letter, with utmost respect, addressing [me] as 'father'".
[975] Torkī couplets.
[976] *Golestān-e Sa'dī | On Rules for Conduct in Life*.

the support of the Russians, we will go wherever we want in the country of His Majesty and plunder it. If he sends an army against us, we shall withdraw into the desert; what can he then do to us?"[977]

Qarā Ughūrlū, Moṣtafā Neshānjī, and Maḥmūd Bēg the Circassian, [who were among the retainers of Sultan Bāyezīd,][978] had learnt of this plot and [fearing that Sultan Bāyezīd would flee with his close companions, while leaving them in Qazvin], said to Ḥasan Bēg: "We have something [f.72r / f.71v] to discuss with the Shah." Ḥasan Bēg accepted to bring them before me to speak what they wished; however, Sultan Bāyezīd found out, summoned them, and had all three killed.

A few days later, ʻArab Moḥammad came from Mazandaran. Three days after his arrival, there was a party in the garden. ʻArab Moḥammad came to me and said: "There is something I wish to tell you in private." I said: "After [the party] I shall go to the royal pavilion (*dīvān-khāneh*), come and tell [me what you wish]!" And since Bāyezīd became aware that ʻArab Moḥammad had learnt of his plans and wanted to tell me [the truth about his scheme,][979] at night, he summoned and had him killed [too]. And ʻAlī Āghā the chief dog-keeper, the companion of ʻArab Moḥammad, realized what Sultan Bāyezīd and his associates were up to, came to me and related their plans: [f.72r / 72r] "They held a council," he said, "and their plan is so-and-so; and Qadūs Farhād has related that the following night, they [were planning] to escape and go to Astarabad." I realized that it was genuine and for this reason summoned [Bāyezīd] and seized him; and whoever were his confederates in this affair I had killed, while others I ordered stripped naked and let go wherever they wanted to.

What happened to me next made things even more complicated. ʻAlī Āghā came from the service of His Majesty and for everyone—the children, commanders, and our people—who had previously sent humble gifts [to the Ottoman court], he brought matching presents from their side; all except my own gifts, which still at this time had not been accepted.

Now I had had arrested all the five men for the sake of His Sovereign Majesty and Sultan Selīm Khān. [These are the names of those five persons of whom we were taking care: Sultan Bāyezīd was imprisoned in the ceremonial hall (*doulat-khāneh*); Orkhān was with Ḥasan Bēg the lieutenant; Sultan Maḥmūd with Sevindük Afshār the commander of the royal-guards; Sultan Moḥammad with Maʻsūm Bēg the regent Vakīl; and Sultan ʻAbdollāh with Mīr Sayyid Sharīf Shīrāzī – [all] five of them were from the family of the Ottoman Ruler (*qayṣer-e rūm*).][980] Since I vowed [f.73r / 72v] not to give Sultan Bāyezīd to His Sovereign Majesty, [my] position is that I am waiting for an order and signal from His Majesty, as well as for the arrival of the envoys of Sultan Selīm Khān, so that I may give them to the envoys of Selīm Khān.

[Pāshā Ḥażratlarī][981] and Ḥasan Āghā, welcome! Whatever is the command of His Sovereign Majesty, I shall oblige. I will not deviate from whatever he orders and indicates, and I am ready for any service that he commands. However, in exchange for such a great service, I request a worthy gift from His Majesty and Selīm Khān—a gift that is worthy of their station! Peace.

On the Day of Judgment, heaven shall deal kindly with you,

---

[977] Īlchī [pp.196/7]: "Meantime, he told him to flee Qazvin with five, six thousand brave horsemen and ride to Astarabad, and from there, go to the Turkmans of Atrak, and ask for the assistance of the governor of Khwarazm and other warriors that are in that region and reach out to Circassian and Russian rulers via Cumania, and after asking for their approval and their help, to raid the Ottoman land and cause upheaval there".
[978] Īlchī [p.197].
[979] Kāteb, C1: [f.83v].
[980] Kāteb, C1: [f.83v].
[981] Īlchī [p.197]: "Ḥeżr Pāshā".

Now let us see how grateful you are and what gratitude you bring!
In the abode of love, Kingly splendour is worthless;
[there, you should] profess bondage and show servitude!
The one who fell down, God took his hand;
remember that and sympathize with the downtrodden
O cupbearer, enter my door with the reward of the tidings of joy;
so that, for a moment, you take away the sorrows of the world from my heart,
The highroad of splendour and greatness is beset by many dangers;
it is better to pass this hillock with a light burden,
The Sultan—concerns of the army and obsession with the status and wealth;
the Darvish—peace of mind and hermitage of a qalandar
May I speak like a Sufi for a second? "My son: peace is better than war and strife!"
Ḥāfeẓ, do not wash the dust of poverty and contentment off your face, for it is better than turning metal into gold![982]

Letters

Petition of Alqās to Soleymān [c. late-1530s ~ 1538/39]
[pp. 170–172 | PERS. | *'arżeh-dāsht* | 1,480 words]

A petition from the lowliest of servants, Alqās,

I have the privilege to inform Your Honor, the most revered Lord, whose repute is as [high as] the sky, status as [magnificent as] Saturn, whose countenance as [luminous as] the Sun, rank as [majestic] as Jupiter, [who is] as swift as the Moon, as exalted as the firmament, with the [lofty] aspiration of the heavens, [with] the acumen of Mercury, the ferocity of Mars (*bahrām*), the majesty of Solomon, the army of Alexander, the refuge of [the inhabitants of the world], the swift rider on the domain of the Caliphate and auspiciousness, the horseman on the fields of sovereignty and kingship, the possessor of the throne of the Caesar of the age, the one who sits upon the royal throne [as] the Khusraw Anūshīrvān of our age, the one who places crowns upon the heads of kings, the one who sits upon the throne of the kingdom of Solomon, the conqueror of the world and the vanquisher of countries, [with an] auspicious shadow and the Solomonic throne, the one who overpowers the brave ones of the time, the valiant warrior whose onslaught breaks through the tumult kings of the age, the just one who protects the oppressed, the destroyer of the oppressors and the one who treats his subjects fairly, the inheritor of the kingdom of Solomon, the candle of the dynasty of Othmān's descendants, the one who has established the foundation of kingship, the adornment of the apparatus of lordship, the raiser of the banner of justice and benevolence, the one who spreads the wings of security and respite, the one who supports the servants of God, the one who is approved by God, the Holy Warrior on the Path of God, the one who has elevated the status of kingdom to the highest heaven in the shortest time, [who is like] the sun in the firmament of glory and grace, the moon in the sky of magnificence, majesty, and honor, the Solṭān, son of Solṭān, son of Solṭān, Solṭān Soleymān Bahādor Khān, may God prolong his dominion and sovereignty, and shine upon the people of the world his piety and beneficence, for the almighty, omnipotent, glorious Lord has elected the unrivaled essence of the servants

[982] *Dīvān-e Ḥāfeẓ*.

of His most revered Majesty from the cosmic realm to give order to the important affairs of the world and the ends of the troubles of the populace, elevating them above all the kings of the earth and setting them apart from all lofty emperors, which is why the hands of the kings of the age are in supplication and [their] arms are extended [in anticipation] and pleading for the everlasting continuation of his good fortune; and it is incumbent such a courteous, gallant, and auspicious [king] who is luminous like the sun, to ward off the evil and eliminate the injustice [that come from] those with authority, from the servants of the most exalted God, so as to uphold the [divine] order, "Indeed, Allah commands justice, grace, as well as courtesy" [16:90], so that on "the Day when neither wealth nor children will be of any benefit," [26:88] its results would be accrued to [His Majesty's] auspicious days.

Your justice is the torch that illuminates the nights,
Today is going to be your tomorrow's companion ...
~ Neẓāmī, *Makhzān al-asrār*

The purpose of writing these [words of] introduction and the intention in composing this discourse is that the owner of this [your humble] servant's hereditary throne, i.e., his brother [Ṭahmāsb], seduced and led astray by a group of mischief-makers, planned to lay a trap on the way of this [your] lowliest of servants, so that, through trickery and deceit, he would prevent my passage, and a secret informant alerted me, however, [so] I, in accordance with the revered [Qur'ānic] verse, "Do not let your own hands throw you into destruction," [2:195], entered [and took refuge in] the safe citadel and fortified my ramparts and turrets in such a way that the far-reaching lasso of lofty kings could not even reach its battlements, and the high-flying hawks of magnificent kings would not dare to think of capturing it. And he gathered such an army that even birds would take refuge in the sky[-scraping] citadel from its assault, and due to the might of their swords, hearts would flutter in the sky like startled doves.

When the aforesaid individual got wind of the fact that his plans had become apparent to me, he started calling for [settlement, saying] – "reconciliation is best" [4:128] – while trying to use deceitful leniency. [So, he] started sending the pillars [i.e., high-ranking officials] of the state, the patricians of the country, and the experts in [the art of] reconciliation, claiming to be faithful to the covenant, reinforcing it with vows [of] fidelity. Since faith is accepted through faith, I believed his oaths and promises, and in accordance with the implications of the words, "those who strived in the cause of Allah with their wealth and their lives" [9:20], [I] set off to wage [the holy] war against the [infidel] Circassians. When the court of the above-mentioned individual [i.e., Ṭahmāsb] saw that the land was left with no guardian, he breached his oath and made an assault on the wives and families of Muslims, and carried off all the children of the people of Islam as plunder. When your servant [i.e., myself, Alqās] was informed of the matter, I distanced [myself] from this frightful [situation] and hastened to this land.

Since he has breached his promise, [my] hope is that, under the auspices of the one who has the status of Alexander and in the prosperous state of the one who bears the sign of Solomon, in accordance with the truthful [proverb], "he who digs a pit for his brother will fall into it," his guile and deception would recoil on himself, and your servant's hereditary land would be repossessed [taken back] through the royal will and the unmerited kingly attention and favor, and, by necessity of desire, even by the assistance of fortune, I can count myself as one of the servants of that king who has the status of Jamshīd and [the one who] gives shelter to [all inhabitants of] the world, becoming one of the slaves of the court, minting and adorning *dirham* and *dinar* [coins] in Your Majesty's name, while the *minbars* of Islam all over the land of Iran would be dignified by the imperial titles of Your Majesty, and all the

Qezelbāsh army [… **text missing** ...] and the kindness of the one who bears the sign of Alexander that has been [graciously] bestowed upon this servant may, with the help of the most high God, unravel the pillars of his throne, and of his state, and the foundation of his kingdom "like carded wool" [101:5], and cut off [and remove] the hand of incursion and the claw of cruelty from the collar of the oppressed and the destitute [i.e., the intervention of Suleiman will bring about these happy outcomes] and, thanks to the kingly efforts, all creatures and every member of the populace of Iran and Turan will be able to dwell [… **text missing** ...] in the cradles of safety, in peace and prosperity.

I am like the soil [that gives] thorns [and thistles], you are like the sun and the clouds,
I shall give flowers and tulips if you cultivate [and shine on] me ...

I have already written a couple of letters of supplication, pleading for help, which I have not sent, lest they be captured by enemies' hands, and their contents not be revealed [to you], and thus the countenance of that desire remain concealed, hidden, and veiled. In every matter, my eye of hope and expectation is set on the kingly path of royal attention and favor. It is hoped that the shadow of your kindness may be cast over this servant's head, and by the kingly victory, assistance, and attention, my honor may be salvaged from the dire straits of failure.
I am in dire straits of pain and affliction because of the oppression of the enemy,
Have mercy on me and rescue me from my predicament ...

Since the rest of the matter should not be expressed in written form, I shall no longer trouble you and take your holy time.

May you live a thousand years in a thousand ways!
For there are a thousand good purposes in your longevity ...

May the shadow of [your] caliphate, sovereignty, and splendor be eternally cast over the temples of all inhabitants of the world, and [may it be] radiant [forever].

Marginal Note in *MS. Majles 606*: **"this petition was captured in the Year of the Sheep, 945 AH [1538/39], during a battle with Ottomans (*jang va jedāl-e rūm*); some of the illegible words have been damaged underneath the feet and hoofs of animals, for this reason some passages are disconnected." –** the date is inaccurate as the Alqās affair came to pass almost a decade later; therefore, 955 AH [1548/49] is a more likely date and what we have is either a scribal error or perhaps even an indication that this letter is a forgery.

֍ *Ṭahmāsb's Letter to Malek Kayūmarth of Rostamdār* [Moḥarram 956 | Jan.–Feb. 1549] ֍
[pp. 175–187 | PERS. | *fatḥ-nāmeh* | 5412 words]

Sovereignty and dominion belonging to the pillar of the kingdom, Kayūmarth, and the lords, possessors of splendor and respect, great scholars, and the noblemen of the province of Rostamdār, [all of whom have been] gracefully honored by our infinite kingly favour and our royal kindness.

Let it be known that, from the very beginning of our every-increasing sovereignty and since the time of our august Caliphate, as befits [the verse], "And whoever puts their trust in God, then He alone is sufficient for them" [65:3], in certain circumstances pertaining to the eternal wish and design [of God], [we have] surrendered [to God] the order of the necessities

of success and prosperity, perhaps even the very foundation of kingdom and monarchy, so long as it is confirmed and assisted by the Lord God and all the Fourteen Infallible Ones, may God's blessings be upon them all.

Therefore, eternal favor and divine providence, in accordance with the noble [verse], "Allah selects whoever He wills for His mercy." [2:105], in all the affairs of the heart and resolutions of desire, have been known to that unrivaled, auspicious essence [i.e., God], every aspiration that is reflected on the joyous mirror of the mind, by the grace of the Almighty, appears from behind the veil of destiny and from beyond [the devices] of men, unhindered by obstacles and without delay. [Moreover,] each peculiar thing that unveils its face, ornamented with manifestation, even though it might seem to the intellect to be contrary to the exigencies of the government and in conflict with the interests of people and country, yet, eventually, by the virtue of grace, and the confirmation of the glorious Lord, may His blessings be bountiful and may His favours prevail, pertaining to [another verse,] "Goodness is in what God has ordained," it all turns out to be is in accordance to our august will and demand, comprising the best [outcome that is not only good] for this world [but] also so for the world to come.

Among the evidence that confirms the providence behind all these blessings is [the fact] that, since the very beginning of the luminous dawn of this world-illuminating government until today, the heralds of the world above [i.e., angles], suggesting [the verse] "God supports in victory whoever he wishes" [3:13], have been proclaiming the good news from every side:

The government of the glorious king took the world,
By beneficence, felicity, conquest, and victory ...

Bringing it to the attention of all inhabitants of the world, and inspiring never-ending auspiciousness and good fortune, confirming and honoring [the verse], "And victory comes only from God," [3:13] have filled the universe with impassioned cry,

We have raised the banner of conquest throughout the World,
We have cried victory all over the Universe,
[It] reaches us from the invisible realm, from the grace of the creator,
Sometimes a sound of triumph, sometimes a call to conquest,
All the enemies have been vanquished and humiliated,
It is the pinnacle of victory and the ultimate triumph.

And wherever we raised the banner of war, [it was] confirmed, helped, and "supported [by] forces you did not see" [9:40], [as we were] aspiring to repel the enemies, blessed by turning our attention and appealing to the holy spirits, the Prophet, Peace be upon Him, [by] the blessings, help and support of the one vested with all authority [i.e., al-Mahdī], Prayers upon Him and His Family, and with fortuitous events, whatever came to pass [was] in accordance with [the will of] the Infallible Ones and the followers of the pure and saintly family of the Prophet, leading to the downfall of the adversaries and rivals, revealing itself from the invisible realm,

By the blessings of the one vested with all authority [i.e., al-Mahdī],
Wherever we struggled and our ambition turns,
We make a shroud of blood for the Sunnis,
And giving a victory robe to the Shī'āh

And among the adversities of these affairs are the present state, the future, and aspirations of [the Ottoman Ruler], who has let satanic temptations and fleshly desires into his imagination, even though he had already opposed us twice, having witnessed the Solomonic awe and magnificence on the face of heavenly confirmations, he once again neglecting the evident, eloquent contents of [the verse], "If Allah should aid you, no one can overcome you; but if He should forsake you, who is there that can aid you after Him?" [3:160], as well as the implications of [the poem],

The one whom He has made great, the heavens cannot belittle,
The one whom He holds dear, the world cannot demean ...

And upon [hearing] the invalid stories and futile legends of Alqās the Owl (*būf*), he was [immediately] overcome by greed, and out of conceit, self-deceit, and the arrogance of [having] an army of unnumbered soldiers, aspiring to conquer and vanquish, [he] set off towards this land.

And after going a distance (since he began in the lands of Azerbaijan) and after [seeing that] none of the empty promises of Alqās, by which he had tricked him, had materialized, he came to regret his coming [to this land] and being so overwhelmed and bewildered, he moved slowly and cautiously from one resting-station to the next, until he reached the vicinity of Marand, two months after crossing the borders of Azerbaijan.

The famed brave warriors who had set out for reconnaissance from all directions, came to the court of the refuge of the world [i.e., Ṭahmāsb] and, having [already] killed some [Ottomans], brought heads and booty, along with those captured [as prisoners], before the Noblest and the Loftiest [one].

Before their arrival, Our Royal Highness [*navvāb-e homāyūn-e mā*] had already sent, in different times, some high-ranking commanders, specifically Ẓahīr al-Dīn, ʻAbdāllah Khān Kord Jehān Beglū, Badr Khān, Ḥoseyn Jān Solṭān Rūmlū, Shāhverdī Solṭān Qājār, ʻAlī Solṭān Tekkalū, Moḥammad Khān Tālesh, Shams al-Dīn Khān, the son of Sharaf Khān Kord Shaqqāqī, Ḥajjī Solṭān Donbolī, Qaytmīsh Khān Heneslū, on patrol to the region of Marand. While personally remaining in Tabriz, the royal seat, occupying Ourselves with organizing the army, that is lofty and glorious as a mountain, distributing weapons until the moment that the news of their approach reached us.

On Tuesday, the 19th of Jomādā al-Thānī, the royal banners, seeking help and support from the Almighty, departed from Tabriz to confront that horrid group, set off in the direction of the summer pastures of Ashkanbar and its vicinities. [There], until the dearest, esteemed, victorious, and loyal brother, Abū al-Fatḥ Bahrām Mīrzā, may the most high God protect him, and Ẓahīr al-Dīn Ebrāhīm Khān Kangarlū, with the army of Fars, Moḥammad Khān Afshar and Shāh-Qolī Solṭān, the governor of Kerman, joined the exalted army, we busied ourselves as before with distributing weapons, anticipating that when this group [i.e., the Ottomans] reached the above mentioned capital, the royal city of Tabriz, we would launch a surpise attack and completely annihilate them.

After he reached the region of Marand, even though an order had been issued in the name of ʻAbdāllah Khān and the patrolling commanders, his companions, so that they withdraw to the Royal Camp and not engage this deviant group [i.e., the Ottomans] in battle to eliminate them, and they did act in accordance with the decree and hurried from Marand to the aforesaid summer pasture, some of the retainers of the aforementioned person, such as Amīr Gheyb Bēg, the retainers of Badr Khān, and Tobat Āqā, the retainer of Ḥoseyn Jān Solṭān, with approximately one thousand men from among the retainers of other commanders, who were with them in Marand, set out to confront that party in the town of Marand, and a bloody fight ensued between them and the Wretched Owl, who had chosen

some twenty thousand men from among that unlucky bunch to accompany him, along with the five thousand men whom he had already sent ahead of themselves.

The victorious warriors drew the razor-sharp blades from the scabbards of vengeance and in a blink of an eye dealt a deadly blow to this numerous and yet inglorious group, killing so many of those wretches that his foundation as well as that of the group of his associates, were shaken and they started to retreat to the camp of [the Ottoman ruler]. As soon as the first attack was launched, they were overcome by the utter fear of the famous army and the vengeful brave [men], and from there they retreated in the direction of the region of their master's camp. When the utter incompetence and distress of their army and the sings of regret and remorse from coming to this land became apparent to Our most noble heart, at that time We sent one elephant, which had been delivered to the noble court from the refuge of dominion, the Neẓāmshāh—the one protected by the sultanate—the governor of India, before [the Ottoman ruler], so that he could ride it instead, since his horse was left behind. Because of that, he strove and exerted himself to go from that area to the aforementioned royal seat, and until he reached Tabriz, he was so overtaken by fear and dread that he could not bring himself to take even one step away from the vicinity of the gun carriages, on which the artillery pieces were mounted.

In short, after they reached the royal city of Tabriz and set up camp around Charandab, we appointed the high-ranking commanders Ebrāhīm Khān, governor of Fars, Shāhvērdī Bēg Chāvoshlū, and Moḥammadī Bēg, son of Amīr Khān Moṣellū, with five thousand victorious soldiers as a vanguard and sent them to Khwājeh Khoshnām. We resolved to [make] the sun-bearing banners [i.e., the army] suddenly attack and ambush this group.And [only] four days after they reached and descended on the aforesaid royal city, the news of the retreat and demise of that wretched bunch arrived from the above-mentioned Khān and his fellow vanguard commanders. In the meantime, victorious groups of warriors and soldiers brought heads and booty before Our most noble presence, and they reported the state of things such as I just described.

The aforesaid Khān, with his accompanying commanders, even though they were not relieved of duty by Our royal highness, they went in pursuit, plundering [as they went], and in the vicinity of Shabistar they caught up with the Pāshā of Shām and Deyārbekr, and the Pāshā of Ẕū al-Qadr, who had been appointed to go after the inglorious army [of Alqās]. A great battle took place between them, and, by divine support, the great warriors overwhelmed that wicked bunch, decapitating most of them, including several commanders (*sardārān*), specifically Amīr ʻAyn Tāb, and bringing his head [too], that is along with banners, trumpets, and other heads, booty, and those captured, to Our most noble court.

Now the circumstances of the downfall and retreat of that wretched group from the said royal city is thus: since we had scorched all the grain and crops on the way of that wicked bunch, evacuated all the tribes, clans, and livestock from their route, and blocked the underground water courses and channels of [Tabriz], after traveling for four months, [with] the utter fatigue of horses and camels, and finally the distress of all the soldiers upon arriving at the aforesaid capital, the scarcity of provisions and fodder had reached such a level that they gave up all hope of finding any supplies, for even water available for drinking and other basic needs was not enough.

During the four days that they remained in [Tabriz], leaves and barks of trees became the fodder of the donkeys and camels. It reached such a degree that during those four days approximately five thousand horses and camels perished, excluding those that out of complete fatigue and impotence were not brought along. What is more, along with their utter fear and dread of the victorious warriors who had encircled them, blocking their ways, and thus severely limiting that wicked group's room for maneuver, a hostile wind started blowing. During those four days, due to the severity of the wind and the dust-storm, the air

became so dark and grim that all who had eyes could not tell the difference between night and day. Ultimately, on Monday 24th of Jomādā al-Akhar, out of utter fear and horror they had to leave the royal city and began [their] retreat. The pen of [the *hadith*], "Once the writing has dried on what is recorded on the protected tablet [no one can change it]," the monogram of [the verse], "And God never wronged them, but it was they who wronged themselves." [16:33] sealed the fate of the cruelty of those vicious folks, and the meaning of [the verse], "Soon their united front will be defeated and forced to flee," [54:45] was engraved upon the tablet of their misery.

Ever since there was a garden of triumph and a brook of victory,
There has never bloomed such a rose in the spring of conquest ...

Now during those calamities, the victorious army had so thoroughly shaken and upset the pillars of their stability and patience that, after traveling [such] a long distance and entertaining the idea of reaching he aforesaid capital, which is the seat of our ever-increasing august sultanate, and of contaminating its mosques and *minbars* with the sermons of their preachers, as per their false religion (*maẕhab-e bāṭel*), during the four days that he stayed there, [however], and even though it was a Friday, he did not commit himself to carrying that [plan] out, [yet] they grabbed the opportunity and one of those days, Alqās the Owl 'took his miserable existence to the Garden of 'Eyshābād', while [Soleymān] did not succeed even in doing that [i.e. he did not miss a chance to enjoy himself, while the Sultan was too frightened to carry out his intentions].

And as soon as the banners of splendor and might of the opponents, who had reached the peak of pride and arrogance, was turned upside down by divine grace and the help the sanctified spirits of the Protector of all Prophets, Peace be upon Him, and the Immaculate Imams, Peace be upon Them All, and the harbinger of good fortune, without igniting the flames of bloodshed and the raging fire of war, heralded the auspicious [verse] of "So the wrongdoers were utterly uprooted. And all praise is for God—Lord of all worlds" [6:45], so that its message reached the ears of all the inhabitants of the world, the victorious cavalcade, having received abundant felicities, acquiring all kinds of desirable things, relying solely on God, His Messenger, and the Immaculate Imams, who have given guiding instructions, "Go wherever you want to go, for you are given victory!"

On Thursday the 28th of the said month, we departed from the vicinity of Ahar as well as Meshkin, intending to catch up with them by way of Marand, steadily proceeding without taking a rest. Day after day, every one of the victorious warriors and the brave men of the triumphant army who laid their hands on that malicious bunch, having captured some and killed others, bringing them along with the booty to the blessed cavalcade, bringing to Our most honorable presence fifty, one hundred, or two hundred people every day, plus horses and booty, apart from those that due to extreme weariness and fatigue were left behind along the way and at the resting-stations. Until Saturday the 6th of Rajab, we finally settled and encamped in the country of Khoy and Ebrāhīm Khān, along with the commanders accompanying him, came to kiss the ground before Our most venerated presence, informing us that the misguided group had fled out of total distress, leaving all their loads and baggage behind.

On the 14th day of the above mentioned month, when We settled and encamped in Chālderān, Shāhqolī Solṭān, the governor of Kerman, and Maḥmūd Khān Afshar, joined the royal triumphant encampment with three-thousand-strong army of Kerman and Kūh Gilūyeh, We dispatched the dearest child of the esteemed, loyal-to-the-throne, Abū al-Manṣūr Esmā'īl Mīrzā, may God sustain him, Goekcheh Solṭān Qājār, may God give glory to his governance, and an another group, to the fortress of Qars, that the Ottoman gang of 'Alī Bēg had sent the

brother of Moḥammad Solṭān Ẕū al-Qadr, and Othmān Chelebī Qollar-āghāsī, along with four thousand men, to the abovementioned citadel. Since the news of the group of ruffian Ottomans reached us that they were in Arjīsh and ʻĀdeljevāz, we set off in that direction, and before the arrival of the banners of splendor, they found that location favorable, for they saw that there is a lake on the one side of Akhlāṭ and mountain on the other, while their weakness reached such a level that they abandoned some thirteen thousand horses, camels and mules from Mārkīmī (?) to Akhlāṭ, all of which had perished within the space of sixteen leagues (*shānzdah farsang*).

In accordance with that, We had sent some high-ranking commanders to raid and plunder the surrounding areas. [Since] the dearest [and] auspicious child of [ours, i.e. Esmāʻīl Mīrzā] had not yet returned from the fortress of Qars, We set off in the direction of the district of Mūsh. After ransacking and pillaging the aforesaid district, We turned our attention to that bunch, [that is] after the honorable child, mentioned above, and the high ranking commanders joined us.

The divinely-authorized order became effective as to grant safe passage to the wives, women, and children of that area, keeping them from the oppression of captivity, [but] killing all their men, setting aflame their homes and crops, all of which were burned with the fire of the king's vengeance, and all the produce, grains, and barns of the area were used to our advantage, and their belongings and properties were plundered.

The high-ranking commanders, according to the divinely authorized order, raided and ransacked all that region and from there set off for the district of Pāsīn, eliminating all living things in the said locality. Moreover, in the district mentioned above, the auspicious, loyal-to-the-throne, dearest brother, Abū al-Fatḥ Bahrām Mīrzā, may the most high God sustain him, who had but recently joined the royal camp, along with the dearest child of [ours, i.e. Esmāʻīl Mīrzā] and the accompanying commanders, who had gone against the fortress of Qars, were granted the honor of kissing [the ground in] Our royal presence, brought with them to Our most magnificent selves some two thousand heads of soldiers and servants, [plus] five thousand [heads of] laborers and workers, who were killed in the battle against this fortress.

From there, We saddled up and, on Monday the 9th of Shaʻbān, set off in pursuit of them. Before facing the banners of splendor and out of utter exhaustion and weakness, they went to the valley of Bitlīs, via the Mūsh road, from where they mounted an attack, and having got wind [of our intention], they placed many riflemen there so that no one could go after them. In accordance with that, we dispatched Zeyn al-Dīn ʻAlī Solṭān Tātī-oghlī Ẕū al-Qadr, with ten thousand men from the retainers of the high-ranking commanders, along with a series of servants, to Bitlīs, so that, according to the order, they would burn and plunder the aforesaid city, Gözeldere, ʻĀdeljevāz, Akhlāṭ, as well as the entirety of the area, and after that return to the triumphant royal encampment.

Moreover, We, in turn, burned and plundered Mūsh and placed the venerable Jelāl al-Dīn Maʻsūm Bēg Ṣafavī, with three thousand men [along with] high-ranking commanders, in the royal camp. On Friday 18th of the aforesaid month, We galloped via Kiğı against the dejected cursed ones, the Pāshā of Erzurum, and the Pāshā of Sivas, who had been sent with thirteen thousand men to Erzurum, [who had been] ordered to stay in the fortress there.

On the fourth day of the expedition, when Our royal majesty arrived at Terjan, the place in which they had gathered, [the news] reached the glorious ears that the blameworthy one had spread the rumor in that region that his Victorious Auspicious Royal Highness had decided to return [to Iran], and, together with his companion Pāshās, realizing that it was unwise to remain in that area, they made this notion the means and pretext to leave for their own respective regions five days prior to the arrival of the Shāh's victorious army in Qarāmān, [while] the Pāshā of Sivas [went] to his own region and the Pāshā of Erzurum set off for Bayburd, which is inside his [own] territory.

On the second day, we dispatched the dearest above-mentioned child [i.e., Esmāʻīl Mīrzā], along with some other high-ranking officials, against the aforementioned Pāshā. On Saturday, the sixteenth day of the aforesaid month, they reached him, killing around one thousand of his retainers, while [the Pāshā himself] fled to the citadel of Bayburd, narrowly escaping the slaughter with his life, and the great warriors pillaged and plundered the city, which had around seven thousand houses, killing approximately five thousand subjects, and after destroying those regions and provinces, We sent the dearest brother of [ours, i.e. Bahrām Mīrzā], along with all high-ranking officials, [back] to Erzurum.

And when the news of the arrival of the banners of glory to Erzinjan and the surrounding areas spread, [Soleymān] dispatched Ahmad Pāshā, his Vizier, with five thousand men from his camp in Amed [i.e. Deyārbekr] to gather intelligence as to whether his Victorious Royal Highness had [in fact] set off for Erzincan, or whether the dearest brother of [ours] had left Amed for Malatya. In the meantime, [the news] reached the glorious ears that the group had chosen from among themselves five hundred men with fine horses, sending Othmān Pāshā, the governor of Aleppo, to go ahead of them.

Because at the time we had [already] sent all the high-ranking officials to pillage and plunder those regions and there was nobody by the side of [Shāh's] victorious stirrup except for the royal guards, We selected about one hundred individuals from among the most esteemed royal guards, leaving Ebrāhīm Bēg Yūzbāshī Qerqlū Afshar at that place to gather intelligence. Because that night the aforesaid royal guards had made a bonfire due to severe cold and snow, Othmān Pāshā and his men saw the fire and mounted a raid against them and martyred five members of the royal guard, [while] the members of the royal guard [in turn] shot them down with their arrows, [and] reaching [and mounting] their horses, they waged a great battle, killing some eighty-five people from that group. The son of Othmān Pāshā was killed by Esfandiyār Bēg, the son of Qamar Bēg [of] the victorious army, and the aforementioned Othmān Pāshā was badly wounded and fled the killing field at night, while the esteemed royal guards came to kiss the feet of the Shāh in Erzinjan on the third day of the blessed month of Ramadan, bringing heads and booty before the [presence of the] most noble and loftiest one.

And when they reached the extremes of exhaustion and distress, it occurred to the Pāshās that staying in the camp of Amed would be problematic, and that they should withdraw in the direction of Istanbul, yet [also realizing that] the victorious Shāh would likely find out and moving from Erzincan intercept us along the way; thus, [it was decided that] the best course of action is to give Alqās one thousand *tomans* and dispatch him towards that region via Baghdad, so that from there he would set off for Hamadan and capture the camp of Bahrām Mīrzā. When the news reached the victorious Shāh, he returned to his territory to repulse Alqās. In turn, Alqās requested an army from [the Ottomans] to go along with them, [to which] they said that their army was weak at the time and gave him one thousand five hundred *tomans* [worth of] gold [instead] so that he would gather an army from among the Kurds, the Lurs, the Qara Ulus, the Arabs, etc. Thus, Alqās, with two hundred men, who had fled with him from there, set off for Baghdad. When he reached Baghdad, he enlisted one thousand eight hundred people from the Kurds, the Lurs, the Cheganis, and the Kalhors, and other such [tribes] as his mercenaries and moved on to Hamadan.

[Our] mind was set at ease after having plundered, pillaged, and utterly destroyed this country and provinces – from ʻĀdeljevāz, Arjīsh, Akhlāṭ, Bitlīs, Malazgerd, Bolānīq, Pāsīn, Khandarsik, Hameri, Kiğı, Terjan, Kelikiyat, Danziq, Bayburd, Erzurum, Erzincan, Kemākh, and some of the places around Aqshahr – they returned and the Splendid and Glorious Banners reached Chokhūrsaʻad. We thus gave the permission to the aforesaid dearest brother and the governors of Iraq, Fars, and Kerman to go back to their [respective] regions. Because [procuring] food and fodder supplies in Tabriz was difficult, with the army of Azerbaijan and

Shirvan, we set off for Qarābāgh [intending] to spend winter in the province of Barda' [and] to gather, from Shakki and Georgia and the surrounding areas, this year's provisions and the various necessities for the army.

The honorable child, in accordance with the order of the One who the World Obeys [i.e., myself, the Shāh], hurried to the court with the worthy tributes and joined the triumphant royal encampment and Jelāl al-Dīn Sevindük Bēg Qorch-bāshī [royal bodyguard], with ten thousand men from the commanders of the guards and soldiers, was dispatched to Shekki while Ourselves remained in the region of Barda'.

The above-mentioned [i.e., Esmā'īl Mīrzā] with the victorious soldiers set off for Shakki and Georgia, pillaged and plundered [those regions] and brought to the royal camp around two hundred thousand goats, fifty thousand cows, five thousand horses, and thirty thousand ass-loads [nine thousand tons] of grains and rice, [along with] others goods. The aforesaid booty was distributed between the commanders and the soldiers. After ten days following the joining of the abovementioned [person] to the royal camp, the news of Alqās' arrival in Hamadan reached us. Immediately, the order of the One Whom the World Obeys was issued and sent to the dearest brother and [his] accompanying commanders, urging them to march against him without delay and follow him, while [We] mobilized and set off for Qazvin, the City of the Monotheists (*dār al-movahhedīn*).

When the news of Alqās' arrival reached the dearest abovementioned brother [i.e., Bahrām Mīrzā] in the royal city of Tabriz, they mounted an expedition together with the high-ranking officials, not even stopping along the way once to rest.

On the 16th of Shavval, Alqās reached Qom, and on the 17th, i.e., the following day, some of the people of Ebrāhīm Khān, who were in Qaqzan (?) and had separated from the royal camp on the 28th of Ramadan, [which was] the day the victorious soldiers appeared; and having set off for Shiraz, they caught up with the patrolmen of the Owl [i.e., Alqās] in the vicinity of Qom and two of them were captured and brought them before Alqās and the aforementioned [person] inquired about the approach of the splendid banners. [This happened] while he was in the middle of having dinner, and out of extreme anxiety, he abandoned his food and began to decamp.

When also around one thousand men from the retainers of the dearest brother, accompanied by the son of commander Cherāgh Solṭān Bakhtiyārī had set off for Hamadan, the prefect (*dārūgheh*) whom the Owl had placed in Hamadan became anxious and fearful of their approach, during which time the Owl fled Qom because of the news of the retainers of Ebrāhīm Khān, [and] arrived and also received the reports of the approach of the Splendid Banners, [while] the Owl, out of utter fear and anxiety that the Shāh's army might have taken the Hamadan road, left for Esfahan without delay.

When he reached that place, commander Sayyidi Bēg Eshīk-āghāsī [the chief usher] and Amīrzādeh 'Alī Bēg, the son of Amīr Khān Qājār, Amīr-e Dīvān [the chief minister], who was there during these days with Kheżr Solṭān Rūmlū, the royal bodyguards, the warriors, and three hundred men from the king-honoring servants and two thousands of infantry of Farahan and Esfahan, left the city walls and fought a battle with him, killing three hundred of his men and took back the horses and mules that they had captured from the aforementioned dear brother's camp, and the above-said person [i.e., Alqās] fled and headed to Fars. The leader of the Bakhtiyārī tribe saw his frailty and distress and bravely pursued him, killing three hundred of his men and capturing around six hundred of his and his soldiers' horses, camels, and mules, from there proceeded to Kūh-gīlūyeh, all of them and the people of that region fled and hid themselves in fortifications [in the] mountains […] the son of Maḥmūd Khān in the Dezh-Kūh-e Bakhtiyārī fortress went in that direction, every night, groups of them [along with members of] their tribes and clans ambushed his camp and snatched the camels and other beasts like thieves and robbers at the narrow mountain

passages and canyons along the way, until he reached Shushtar and sent someone to Ḥoseyn Bēg, the son of Toshmāl Esḥaq, in order to encourage him to join his side.

Ḥoseyn Bēg immediately had his envoy killed and after despairing and losing hope in him [i.e., when Alqās saw that he could not persuade Ḥoseyn Bēg to support him], during the fifteen days that he stayed there [at Shushtar] he busied himself with making trenches and siege ladders, [preparing to lay siege to and assault the citadel of Shushtar]. By chance, on Friday the 18th of Ẕū al-Ḥijjah, before he (i.e. Alqās) could mount an assault on the citadel of Shushtar, Maḥmūd Khān Afshar, with his sons, and Heṣār Bēg Āqā, the Crown Equerry, gathered three thousand cavalry and infantry around themselves and arrived [on the scene] by means of a rapid forced march, and on Saturday, 19th of Ẕū al-Ḥijjah, when battle and fighting took place, they fell on them, killing three hundred of his [Alqās's] trusted men, and inflicting a great defeat upon him, so much so that, out of extreme hopelessness and misery, they fled towards Dezful, and his men jumped into waters of Shushtar and around two hundred of them, along with approximately five to six hundred camels and other beasts of burden, drowned in the sea of destruction.

The people who were in the citadel [of Shushtar] came out and recovered most of those whom that group had taken captive from the evacuated homes of the people of Iraq. And they [also] took back the beasts and plenty of goods that they [i.e. Alqās's troops] had gathered by plundering and looting, and they [i.e. Alqās's troops] were able to carry off only a small part of the goods and stuff they had.

And after they reached the vicinities of the fortifications, the rest of those Rūmī folks [i.e., the Ottomans] who accompanied him, because of having witnessed what had befallen him [i.e., Alqās] in Shushtar, Kūh-gīlūyeh, Fars, and Esfahan, abandoned him and set off for Baghdad. Seven to eight hundred men from the Kurds, the Lurs, the Qara Ulus [lit. the Black Tribe], the Cheganis, the Sarulus, and others, [who] survived, [also] dispersed and returned to their homes.

Moreover, the Owl, who saw no way out, acting out of utter hopelessness and helplessness, sent a letter to the great amirs– the copy of which has been sent – to Ḥoseyn Bēg, urging him to go to the Most Elevated Presence in person and deliver the said letter to the high-ranking commanders. At present, with around one hundred and fifty to two hundred men accompanying him from there, [they] encamped in the vicinity of ʻAud-Bēgler and the region of Mandali[j], waiting for a response. The divinely ordained decree to pacify him [i.e., Alqās] has been written and within the next few days will be sent via the most venerated Mīr ʻAbd al-ʻAẓīm Ṣafavī, and Qarā Khalīfeh, who ornaments the heaven-like Presence [alt. court] [of the King].

One has to be joyfully pleased by these good news and ordain that for three days and nights they play the *naqāreh* [and make merry]; and all people and folks should rise to the duty of merrymaking and celebration and give great news of this victory to his lordship, the honorable *sayyidic* presence of Amīr Moḥammad [?], who has been serving you from the very beginning, attending to the royal procession, and he knows about all that has come to pass, and expresses pleas, apologies, and requests to the loftiest one so that they could be granted and not be found guilty in this regard.

Written in Moḥarram al-Ḥarām, Year 956 from the Prophet's Emigration. [c. Jan-Feb. 1549]

Ṭahmāsb's Letter to Soleymān [Jan.-Feb. 1554]

[pp. 203-237 | PERS. | *maktūb* | 17,204 words]

In the name of God, the merciful and the compassionate.

Praise be to God, the possessor of mercy, charity, greatness, and sovereignty. The one who is free of shortcomings, errors, and forgetfulness; the one who is devoid of the dishonour of decadence and deficiency; the generous one who, by [putting forth] reason and argument, has bestowed upon us the knowledge of himself as well as of the prophets, the messengers, and the Infallible Imams.

The compassionate one who rescued us through his mercy from the filths of passions of the flesh, the false doctrines, and [from] obeying the cruel and lawless ones. The gracious one who gave us out of his kindness an infallible leader [imam] to guide us and make intercession [for us], [who is] from the lineage of Hāshem and the seed of ʻAdnān; He [who] granted us [the ability] to promote the Law [*sharīʻah*] of our ancestor Moḥammad, upon whom He sent the *Qurʻān*, abrogating other paths, laws, and religions through following the Immaculate Imams by the evidence of God.

Peace and blessings be upon his beloved Prophet, messenger, and friend, the appointed Moḥammad, [chosen to be sent] to the mankind and [all] spiritual beings, and [upon] his family and the people of his house and his relatives, and [likewise upon] the guardians of religion, the Imams, his faithful companions, the first among whom [is] the chief of all believers, ʻAlī b. Abī Ṭāleb, the leader of all living beings, according to the text of the *Qurʻān*, and the last of them, the expected Imam, Moḥammad al-Mahdī, the one who is sovereign of the age. Peace and blessings be upon them all, until the day of resurrection and all the way through [the end of days], and their children, companions, their beloved ones, and the chosen ones who make the *jehād* [lit. those who strive] and their party [lit. those who follow them]. May the most high, generous God [send] mercy upon them all, and may God, [who is] the king and the judge, curse their adversaries and opponents.

Now after the address of the auspicious letter in the name of [God,] the holder of the dominion, who, in accordance with [the verse] – ʻYou give sovereignty to whom You will' [3:26] –this royal and stately letter of ours has been authored, penned, set down, and inscribed with the munificently-writing pen of the scribe of the mighty court and the musk-scattering pen of the chief secretary of the scriptorium of wisdom.

Endless praise and eternal reverence befit the court of the Creator who has given full manifestation and ineffable eminence to the banners of justice, sovereignty, and kingship as well as the flags of greatness, caliphate, conquest, in accordance with the truthful essence of the promise – ʻAllah has promised those who have believed among you and done righteous deeds that He will surely grant them succession [to authority] upon the earth just as He granted it to those before them and that He will surely establish for them [therein] their religion which He has deemed appropriate for them and that He will surely substitute for them, after their fear, security […]' [24:55] – raising [the flags and banners] high up, [making them reach] the edge of the firmament; [the One who also] kept the highly esteemed *sayyids*, who are the seeds of his majesty, Lord of the Cosmos [i.e., Moḥammad], and the best of beings, as well as the pious servants and followers of the household of the relentlessly-attacking Lion [i.e., ʻAlī], and those who follow and obey the righteous imams [i.e., the *shīʻah*], safe from the fear of wicked hypocrites and the lowly miserable Sunnis [who are] outside [of Islam], through our superior, eternal, auspicious good fortune.

Most of the adversaries of religion and the opponents of the most holy [Moḥammad's household; i.e., his family and, by implication, his descendants] have been crushed and humiliated; their banners of hubris and tyranny have been taken down and [the sound of] the drums of the good fortune and prosperity of our sovereignty and kingship—confirmed by the everlasting, all-powerful [One] and by the success of the law of the Praised One who was sent [i.e., Moḥammad] and the love of the Valiant Lion [i.e., ʻAlī], and the rest of the Twelve Imams, peace and blessings of God, the Greatest King, [be upon them all], by the pleasant sound of "When the victory of Allah has come and the conquest," [110:1] and the angelic

sound of “Indeed, We have granted you a clear triumph!” [48:1]—will be heard all over the immovable boundaries of the azure canopy [i.e., the firmament], until the blowing of the [last] trumpet and the day of resurrection.

The stability of this ever-increasing good fortune will be as firmly established as the Alborz Mountains and the lofty status of its foundation will remain until the end of time. The world and its inhabitants can be comforted under our auspicious banner, in the shadow of peace and security, as they have been.

As long as the world turns, it is we who will succeed,
As long as the world is there, the name will be our name

The evidence for this order [of things] and the arbitrator of this proof is that this time, the reviver of the beliefs [lit. rituals] of the unfaithful, evil-minded houses of Ziyad, Marvān, and Othmān, over and over again, through the temptations of demonic men, boasting in his self-exaltation, started entertaining the thought of kings and the desire for sovereignty over the kingdom of Iran – the best [of all kingdoms] upon the face of the earth and the epitome of the highest heaven – trusting in the multitude of his legion of villains and the number [of soldiers] in his army, [and] neglecting the infinite generosity of his majesty, the impartial giver towards this state [of affairs], set off against the province of Azerbaijan. Even though the entirety of our lands were completely safe from the sparks of his malevolence, it reached the ears of our August Sovereign that the infelicitous Ottoman band set their wicked, ominous feet upon the province of Nakhichevan, intending to destroy and do injustice, and there raised the banner of iniquity, [all manner of] immorality, and debauchery.

Now since looking after the subjects and protecting all creatures is incumbent upon [all] famous *khans* and just *sultans*, we selected some soldiers from the triumphant army and dispatched them to the region. While those faithless Europeans (*farangīyān*) and the survivors of the House of Marvān were busy pillaging and plundering Nakhichevan, one of the spies of the inglorious bunch [managed to] reach and inform them of the [approach] of our triumphant soldiers; they fled the region of Nakhichevan like dogs, “as if they were frightened wild asses, fleeing from a lion” [74:50-51], got to their own region, and pulled the plug of negligence out of the ears of that religion-seller and world-buyer.

The wretched one, being weary of the affliction of famines, shortages, hunger, and various diseases, strapped his load of misery upon a donkey, went as far as Deyārbakr, without even stopping. They could not afford resting and had no power to stand against the might and fortune of the August deputy (*navvāb*). “Unable to devise a plan nor able to find a way out,” [4:98] they took flight – every single one of his cowardly soldiers fled in a different direction and dispersed like [the stars of] the Big Dipper. The breeze of victory and triumph blew from the garden of “If Allah helps you, none can defeat you,” [3:160] removing the dust of misfortune and mist of affliction from *the priests of Istanbul* (*keshīshān-e eslāmbūl*).

In the meantime, Esmā‘īl Mīrzā Bahādor, the honorable child, the promising, fortunate youth, the lion of the forest of valor and dignity, the subject of the care of the creator, and the one praised by the slave and the free – may the most high God improve his affairs – exerted great efforts and requested the permission to hunt down the villainous, defiant bunch, along with a number of famed, powerful-as-heaven commanders, soul-hunting fighters, and a great army, in order to strike them with [his] tempered sword. Since most victories [came] from the Generous-Giver, [and they have] raised our high banner of desire without the help of warriors and the assistance of the soldiers, the request was declined.

Since victory is from God, what need is there for an army?

Meanwhile, emissaries and messengers came from over there, [bringing] a low-grade letter from Aḥmad Pāshā, the Grand Vizier, and most of the Pāshās of the border, who had written to our famed commanders, pleading for peace, under the condition that from our side also a person be sent to their region, expressing [a desire] for peace and reconciliation. In accordance with that, the famed kingdom-adorning commanders, the eminent genteel noblemen and prudent sagacious viziers, as well as most other men of religion and friends of the court, were informed and aware of the truths and minute details of the dismal [affair].

Many of the subjects on both sides of the borders had been harassed, killed, and trampled [under] the hooves of horses and [other] animals. Weakness and deficiency had befallen all people and from the passing of the armies from both sides. Most of the lands were trodden down by abasement and humiliation. [Thus] their outcry [was reminiscent of the verse] "Now we are no match for Goliath and his warriors," [2:249] and the fire of plunder, pillage, and looting was ignited from both sides, threatening to "destroy crops and cattle" [2:205] [even] upon the properties of Muslims, thus calling for order, and according to Āyāz Pāshā's request and the plea of Aḥmad Pāshā, the grand vizier, they began to prepare the ground for peace and reconciliation, appointing the chosen one of the elect, Shāhqulī Āghā Qorchī, [while] some famed commanders wrote and sent correspondences, responding to their letters and petition, even though the honorable son, the auspicious one [who is] graceful like the heavens, Abū'l-Fatḥ Esmā'īl Mīrzā, opposed all the commanders, and was by no means satisfied with such an intention. When the correspondence of the great commanders reached the hypocrite arrogant [one], he wanted to act proudly amid all people to show that the Qezelbāsh army see themselves as inferior to us, [and] their plea for peace is out of utter impotence.

Since the foundation of the sultanate and the survival of the glory of that beguiling devil is based upon deceit, fraud, duplicity, and hypocrisy, they have written a bombastic and long-winded letter in response to the epistles of the great, pivots-of-the-world, powerful-as-heaven commanders, heaping up pearls and gems of prose and poetry [taken from] the skirt of the world [literature] and the hem of eloquent scribes, through the reasoning and proofs they have presented to demonstrate the truth of their made-up religion, the intellects of scholars and learned men have been [rendered] inept and impotent, and the decisive arguments they have put forth in support of the imamate of Abū Bakr, curse be upon him, have appealed to the tastes f [both] nobles and common folk, due to its extreme assurance and the seductive eloquence of [its] expressions and metaphors, which are a mixture of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, similar to their four religious schools [of jurisprudence] (*chahār maẕhab*), [they] appear concordant, consonant, and the sweetness of their beguiling implications seem to encompass all subtleties [of knowledge].

Every single dot on the luminous discs [of heaven]
They are all included in your four-sided tome ...

To sum up the baseless nonsense and recapitulate the unfounded windiness: unless you refrain from holding fast to the 'firmest handhold' [2:256] of the love of [Moḥammad's] household, set foot upon the untruthful path of adversity of [his] family, and [put on] the unworthy garment [alt. sign, emblem] of Abū Bakr, Othmān, Mo'awiyah, Yazīd, or Marwān, curses be upon them and fires, there will be no peace between you [ourselves] and [them]. Peace between you and [them] is impossible and what has come to pass in the earlier periods will appear [once more] in the future, [as they will go on threatening to] do such and such.

Each one of the non-poetic expressions, metaphors, and interpretations, obscure allusions, concocted deceits, and made-up slanders, that has been revealed from the one—who has been expelled from the divine court and abashed in the godly tribunal, incapable of

[presenting] evidence, the enemy of the household [of the Prophet] and [his] descendants, spiteful rebel, destroyer of the prophet's religion, dull-witted coward, the foremost of all the accursed ones, the leader of the ungodly, the one who retreats into the hermitage of idolatry, the one in the service of a temple, [that is a] wretched resting place [3:12], the chief among all evil [men], the direction towards which adulterers pray, clamorous spitfire, world-buying religion-seller, the worst of sons and the principal [inhabitant] of hell, the trickster of the land of trickery, the exhorter from the book of the devil, the mine of hypocrisy, captive to curses and apostasy, the denier of chastity and integrity, the reviver of the customs of licentiousness and debauchery, the ignorant dim-witted adulterer, the chief priest of Istanbul's idol temple, may God curse him and all heretics and hypocrites, as numerous as the drops of rain, leaves of the tree, sands of the seas, and waters of the rivers, by Moḥammad, his pure, good, and pious family—the response to the balderdash and baseless stories will be carried to the deaf ears of that reprobate and the filthy eyes of that estranged [person].

In turn, he replied, "I had no knowledge of the correspondences of Aḥmad Pāshā, the Vizier. They had written those letters without my permission and awareness, talking about peace and reconciliation." If what you say is indeed true, that the quarrel between Aḥmad Pāshā and others happened without your knowledge and that they have written [the letters] without consulting you, know that the question of peace and reconciliation with the famous sultans and the lords of the age, and those of high rank in the affairs of the caliphate and the sultanate […] the impact [of your deeds], which [constitutes] the pillar of your sovereignty and the support of your kingdom, [they] acted based on their own feeble judgment without consulting you, perpetrating such a great thing, deeming you inferior and uncreditable, bringing about and establishing such a treachery.

This calls [and must be an occasion] for your disgrace, ignominy, humiliation, and disrepute. If in your right mind, you [make a] change and alter the course [of action], the changer will be subject to the curse and contempt of the Most High, [as] "the blame will only be on those who made the change. Indeed, Allah is All-Hearing, All-Knowing," [2:181] [while] resorting to peace and reconciliation out of desperation and despondency, in an occasion of dearth and urgency, when you are in a state of decline, and after getting away with your life from deadly fires of fight, struggle, and the battlefield of lion-like men of valor, and the sharp swords of vengeance of great warriors, getting yourself to some place [of authority], crying out, once again, "Who does all authority belong to?" [40:16], raising the banner of arrogance and rebellion, [then you must] know that we are holding fast to the garment of the love of [Moḥammad] Moṣṭafā [the chosen one] and [ʻAlī] Mortażā [the approved one] and their pure descendants, [as] we are adorned with the attribute of faith, dutifully obeying the knowledge of God, [his] apostle [i.e. Moḥammad], and the Imams, as it is obligatory, worthily following the *sharʻīah*, both primary and secondary, putting on the girdle of love and amity for the people of the cloak [the holy five] and the guiding Imams [the twelve] on the waist of our soul, in accordance with the perfect-for-guidance verse, "Say, [O Prophet,] 'I do not ask you any reward for it, except love of [my] relatives,'" [42:23], steering clear of their enemies—in accordance with divine decree and order of his holiness the refuge of prophecy [Moḥammad]—and of you, who are the mine of filth, the pit of guile, the stuff of idolatry, the essence of lawlessness, the center of blasphemy, the locus of impurity, the gathering place of depravities and discord, the epitome of enmity towards the family of the prophet and [their] guardianship: [reconciliation] is by no means acceptable in the face of God or [his] apostle, nor will the immaculate ones of the family [of Moḥammad] be in any way satisfied with or consent to us making peace and reconcile with you or [even] treating you amiably.

Don't touch with your fingers the food of an outsider, who is unworthy of his very life,

God created your hands with five fingers, so that you may hold fast onto the garment of the holy five ...

He has responded with the [following] nonsense, "We have come to your land a number of times, but you did not stand [up to fight] against us; you do not have the strength [to] resist us!" You are right in saying that the famed sultans and the lords of our time do not attribute to you manliness, valor, courage, and wisdom and do not consider you to be among conquerors. Because, all your life, you have never walked in the file [alt. followed the footsteps of the] brave, fierce warriors and hot-tempered lions. You have not boasted about your manliness and chivalry, and have not raised the banner of honor and glory on the battlefield of warring men of valor. You have not shielded your spiteful chest against the assault of a thousand arrows, spears, swords, and heavy maces. You have not maneuvered [on your horse] from right to left and from left to right, and know nothing about the hearts and flanks of wrathful lions. In the manner of tricksters and cutpurses and of those who light fireworks and fling stones, you hide away in [your] fortress of fire. Just like scowling undignified women in purdah, you enclose three hundred thousand scoundrels in an area surrounded by guncarriages and chains. If you are concerned [at all] about rulership, kingship, bravery, and courage, be a man! Come out of your fort—the house of debauchery and the gathering place of villains:

Throw fear out of your head like a man,
Do not give excuses like women!

So as to witness bravery, manliness, fearlessness, the valiant men, the lions of the battlefield, the tigers of the war zone, as well as the rigor and grandeur of the auspicious, powerful-as-heaven soldiers:

An army whose grandeur is like the waves of the sea,
A band as numerous as the stars ...

When these crocodiles (*nehangānī*) turn to your army, they will strike down [lit. uproot] your army—even if it they were like the Alborz Mountains—with the first blow of their tempered swords and their chest-piercing spears, blowing away the dust of misery from the world, and when they kindle [the fire] of war, they knit the gilded dome of the sun to the azure canopy of heaven by the point of [their] heart-piercing arrows. Know that courage, bravery, and fierceness is [what we have] inherited from our great ancestors and our loftiest father. If you require proof, it is apparent and evident to all the inhabitants of the world: at the beginning of our ascension to throne of sultanate and caliphate, the lords (*khavāqīn*) of the regions and the sultans of the land of Turan, the rulers of Transoxiana, as well as [those from] Khata and Khotan [in Turkestan and northern China], entertained the idea that when His Majesty the Shah, my father [Ṭahmāsb's own voice], may God illuminate his proof, passed away into the world of eternity, the [authorities in the] lands of Mazandaran, Khorasan, Sijistan, Fars, Tabarestan, Iraq, and Azerbaijan, and the entirety of Iran, which is like a piece of paradise, will be without an owner, unaware of the fact that,

Do not look down at the meek of world, [who have dust on their clothes]
What do you know? Perhaps the dust is from riding horses!

They started to entertain a futile idea, and eighty famed victorious kings, each of which considering himself twice as manly, valiant, and more combat-ready than you, they all

crossed the waters of Amu Darya [river] and set off for the land of Khorasan. Being unaware of this development, our auspicious sovereign [i.e., the royal We], [along] with the nobles of the victorious Qezelbāsh soldiers, [had already] set off on a pilgrimage to [the shrine of] the Eighth Imam, the guarantor [of the deer], Abū al-Ḥasan ʻAlī b. Mūsā al-Reżā, greetings and praise be upon him and the blessings of Allah, when the news of the approach of the [enemy] commander (*khabar-e resīdan-e īlkhānī*) and of impending disaster reached [us], and Kuchum Khan, who was the king of Transoxiana, [along] with eighty thousand kings from Turan, Khota and Khotan, Qalmiq, Moska [Moscow], Khwarazm, Cherkes, and Dasht-e Qepchaq, with twenty-five hundred thousand swift-as-wind, flesh-ripping, blood-thirsty Uzbek and Tatars, who could hit an ant's eye with an arrow in pitch-black night. Each one of them, perhaps [even] the lowliest ones among them, would match one hundred of your miserable soldiers. Relying on faith in His Majesty, the giver of gifts [i.e., ʻAlī], we ambushed them with the small army that was with us, raising the banner of the land, the sky-scraping canopy of greatness, on the delightful battlefield (*dar ān ʻareṣeh-ye del-goshā*), making the meadows of Jām the site of the auspicious canopies of tents [i.e., royal encampment].

It was on Thursday, the 10th of Muharram 935 AH [i.e., 24 September 1528], that the army of the commanders of the Uzbeks, Qalmiqs, Cherkes, and the famed lords and Tatar Khans [princes] of lofty origins, reached us with much glory and magnificence, it felt like it was Noah's flood, Hud's thunderbolt, or Thamud's plague descending upon us. The uproar of drums and trumpets made the heaven [tremble] with tumult and clamor encompassing us like the halo surrounding the full moon. Our auspicious sovereign [i.e., the royal We], despite being very young, having not seen [many] battles, [despite] the paucity of our victorious soldiers, and the multitude of the enemy forces in comparison to our own, sought help from the Creator, which has no match, and with the complete trust in the certain premise, '"How many times has a small force vanquished a mighty army by the Will of Allah!" [2:249], fearing not the multitude and [their] abundance, which manifested itself like the day of resurrection, we appointed the triumphant soldiers left and right to [lead] victorious brothers, and the courageous ones [who are like] crocodiles, the pious single-minded ones, and the vengeful arm-bearers lined up, [while] the council of the enemy's army decided to shower us from four directions with arrows. Due to multitude of arrows, the sky was covered to the extent that ...

Arrows started to ravage from the bow, calamity began to arise from every corner
A different world started to emerge from the dust, rising from the earth to the skies
[The glint] of chainmail turned the eye in every direction, causing distraction like the eyes idols
Spearheads in that judgment day, made their tips sharp with the courage of valiant men
Beasts of battle fell to the ground with no hoofs and shoes, lost and bewildered, dazed and confused
Sharp arrows came flying into the air, covering the sky like a wooden ceiling
Like the sound of thunder from the two-colored canopy of heaven, the cry of the war-drum came from the back of camels ...

From the volume of dust, the sound of clamor, and commotion of the battlefield [caused] by the offense of the Tatar army, a defeat befell our auspicious army. Thinking that [We] had fled, most of our soldiers fled [too], each in a different direction. Some three thousand men of great warriors and vengeful-like-Mars arms-bearers, each one of them considering himself equal to a thousand young men, remained [by our side]. Close to the [time of] afternoon prayer, [We] went upon an elevation and alighted there amidst twenty-

five thousand bloodthirsty Uzbeks. Despite the Uzbek opponents who defeated and repulsed us, on the morning of 12th of Moḥarram al-Ḥarām, when the entirety of the Uzbek soldiers, with sultans of the kingdoms of Turan, mounted their horses and set off, with the intention to pillage and plunder, suddenly the news of a covert informer reached our ears that, "Behold, the holy spirits of the Twelve Imams and His Majesty the Lord of the Age, may Allah, the compassionate king, [send] peace and blessings be upon [him], have come to your help: 'Mount the horse!'" With the fortune, glory, splendor, victory, and triumph, along with these three thousand flesh-ripping young men, fully armed, [We] descended from the elevation and attacked the two hundred and fifty thousand bloodthirsty Uzbeks. Three thousand swords they landed at once and every one they struck on the waist, they cut down like wet cucumbers, and whoever they hit on the head, they split in half from helmet to the waist.

Helmets torn by the swords of vengeance, falling to the ground like conifer cones,
One leaving his armor to flee, like sparks flying from iron,
Another fallen to his death, to the ground/taking so many dreams with him, deep underground ...

With the help of God and the goodness of his victory, with three thousand loyal youths, who were single-hearted, committed, and devoted, we removed eighty kings from the kingdom of Turan [along] with two hundred and fifty thousand Uzbeks, with the blow of the blade, making them run one league. We returned after one astronomical hour, burned so many thousands by flaming swords in the battlefield, and stitched the [piece of] writing, "Kill them wherever you find them!" [4:92] onto the torn clothes [lit. collars] of those miserable ones, returning victoriously and triumphantly from the battle. The unnumbered army of the Uzbeks had so many casualties and those who survived the slaughter fled, as it has been [accurately] recorded in the annals of skillful historians. Indeed, evident victories have transpired in combat in many parts of [different] lands on the part of our lions of the battlefield; [though] victories that have taken place are too many to be recorded in writing, [this fact] is not hidden from the entire world and its inhabitants. Now if you are thinking about witnessing our virility and valor, come out of your fort of fire, like crocodiles ambushing lions, not like women sitting behind curtains, and see our divine power, glorious kingship, majesty, and magnificence.

Whenever the steed of our will starts to gallop, the enemy whimpers for the fear of our blade,
Here, there is no use sending messengers and epistles, the double-edged sword will settle the matter ...

Now if you do not come out, we shall soon make Istanbul's seat our kingly court by the endless grace and victory of God, razing the Marwanid state flag and [their] banner of misery, leveling them with the dark dust [of the ground].

Escorted by astrologers, we shall sit upon the throne of the Roman Sovereign (solṭān-e rūm),
Once the mind is free of the Romans, we shall gird Our loins with kingly vengeance,
I intend to make all the kings of the earth my lowly servants,
The world shall have but one master, for the whole narrow world is but one house ...

In response they have referred to [Us] as 'false *sayyids*' [*seyydāt-ektesāb*, i.e., by acquisition, rather than by descent, that is *seyyadāt-entesāb*,]; this is out of utter spite, enmity, malignity in [their] essence, ignorance in [their] character, and wickedness in [their] nature. This matter greatly resembles the oppression that the people of Kufa and Shām [Syria]

[inflicted on] the family of His Holiness, the best of humans [i.e., Moḥammad]. On the day of the incident [i.e., ʻAshūrā], His Majesty, the Lord of Martyrs, would say to those audacious Jews and the impure Kharijites (*khārejīyān*): "Why do you intend to kill me? What will you [then] answer to God? Am I not the dear child of the Messenger of God and the light of the eyes of Mortażā [ʻAlī]?" Those accursed, dishonorable, and inferior ones who went astray, whom you obey, answered the Lord of Martyrs, and said, "What relation do you have with the messenger of God?", [thereby] cutting their relations with His Majesty [with Moḥammad]. And every one of them soon after became afflicted by some malady. Thus, when the enemies of religion and the adversaries of the children of the Lord of [all] Messengers have behaved in like manner towards the dear child of the Prophet – Peace and Blessings be Upon Him! [then] who am I? Who is the one who talks about me? Why should 'We' be afraid of your nonsense? "Let the dog bark from the rooftop of the barn!"

It is apparent to all renowned kings, auspicious sultans, and all the inhabitants of the world that your forefathers and ancestors are [labeled with] attributes of impurity [in their] nature and ignorance [in their] lineage and have associated with Byzantine and European slaves (*gholām-e rūmī va farangī*) for years and [even] considered it a great joy. They have since given every one of them power and authority, entered familial relationships with them, given them their daughters in marriage, and taken their daughters [for their sons]. Such was your conception. On the same matter, see in which religion among all religions it has been prescribed […] and from the level of anonymity and inferiority and the *nadir* of obscurity and insignificance [such individuals] have been raised to the zenith of greatness, power, order, and authority, trusting them with the keys of religious and political [responsibility] […] getting them to the lowest region of hell. From the beginning of the Ottoman reign until now, your forefathers and ancestors […] you are not with the dynasty of great glory. You are necessarily of lowly nature and accursed ancestry; that is why whenever they open their mouth to slander and smear a lineage and genealogy that is of good and pure [origin], far better than any other, saying defamatory words, in written or spoken form, they will hear an answer, be disgraced, and made an example of.

They compare the world, which is the abode of punishment [alt. abode of punishment/ retaliation – *dār-e mokāfāt*], to a mountain: whatever you say to it, good or bad, you will immediately hear [echoed back]. We have already decreed [across all] the Well-protected Domains, that the Tabarriyan, the Qalandars, and the company that overtly or covertly curses the enemies of the descendants of the Lord of [all] Prophets and of [all] the Imams [lit. inheritors], consider you, from that day on, among [and treating you as] the accursed ones of the Umayyads, the sons of Marwan, the Barmakids, and the Abbasids, [wherever they encounter you], in every corner, every square, every mosque, every pulpit, and every school. Despite the religious enmity and political hostility from both parties and the destruction that has been wrought in the lands on both sides, 'We' have been extremely cordial with you, and formally, in [official] letters and correspondences, [We] never overlooked [even] the nuances of politeness.

Since you are not of pure nature and noble origin and [instead] are adorned with a filthy nature and wicked origin, assuming a place of greatness and magnificence, you wrote and sent such disrespectful nonsense. From this day on, you will witness how 'We' shall order the Tabarriyan, who zealously strive [for the faith], explicitly and implicitly cursing [you] in every neighborhood and every square of the lands of Azerbaijan, Khorasan, and Iraq, with endorsements and praises, to engrave your name and [the names of] the enemies, under the hoofs of the quadrupeds of Armenians [i.e., Christians] and Jews, who praise and eulogize your noble nature in different languages.

You are indeed of good character, embellished countenance, noble descendance, select breed, praised family, lofty ancestry, and pure nature. It befits you to scoff and sneer at

the descendants of the Lord of the Messengers, who are from the lineage of great *sayyids* of lofty station as well as the most illustrious [and] pious ones of the world, and the outward sultanate, with excellent origin and perfect lineage, […] in the soundness of soul, inward purity, abundance of virtues and charity, plenty of beneficence, and blessed ancestry, are superior to [all] agents, [in the] means of life, [who are] gracious in their speech and righteous in their deeds. [Our] hope [is that] if Yazid and his followers endeavor, [in terms of] worldly love and survival of the sovereignty, [to cut themselves from] the lord of all the youth of the people of paradise, Abū ʻAbdāllah al-Ḥoseyn, blessings of God be upon him, and are intent on destroying His Majesty, but fail to realize their goal, they may became afflicted, in this world and next, with various maladies, as they already have been. A certain and sincere hope is that this *kharijite* of bad faith and this boorish old man of infidel stock, this second ʻObaydollah Ziyād, who appeared in the clothes of the people of Islam, may be thus afflicted by some deadly diseases, suffering various tribulations. Let it be so, O, the lord of two worlds!

I ask God to let your heart be roasted on the fire of sorrow,
Let your ominous house be demolished by the wind of calamity,
In the land of your existence, O wicked heart,
Let the foot of grief and misery be in the stirrup,
Let the garden of your life wither in the wind of cruelty,
Let the rain of oppression pour down endlessly from heaven upon your soul!

And as for your claim that you wrote, "I have conquered Baghdad and brought this, that, and the other place under control, and have waged holy wars against infidels..." The whole world knows that Baghdad was under control of the Takkalu. Since some betrayals were committed by them, he [i.e., Ṭahmāsb] did not consider them to be trustworthy. According to 'Our' order, which is impossible to deny, Sharaf al-Dīn Oghlū surrendered Baghdad and set out for the [royal] court, the refuge of the world. Otherwise, you would not even dare to tread upon the soil of Baghdad with a vanquished army, crushed and abject, who were the survivors of [Our] great warriors, or to occupy the citadel of Van [while] the treachery of the Chapnī tribe and the deception [alt. hypocrisy] of Olāmeh, the lowly apostate, in its surrender are obvious and apparent to everyone who is alive, old and young .

Regarding what you have written about Yemen and Sana'a: the messengers of the ruler of Yemen have come to the lofty court and reported [the circumstances] in detail [as well as] the nature of the conquest; [thus] We know that that too came about as a result of trickery and deception. The governor of Yemen fought bravely against you, defeating [your forces] and making them flee and putting their minds at ease. Finding some of the lands of Yemen empty, they returned. They occupied some of the places located along the coast and secured the forts, [while] conquering the rest of the lands through trickery and deception.

'We' too have [conquered and] occupied the land of Shirvan and all its surrounding regions—which [have been] under [the control] of great and glorious kings—[along with] its castles which are wonders of the ages, renowned for their strength and resilience, [as] they consider that land in [terms of its] abundance of riches and hidden treasures, 'the best kingdom in the world': merchants from across the world are attracted to the region. We [did so] by the strike of the tempered sword, not through trickery and deception. We rid the pulpits of the filth of the enemies of the religion by the relentless blade [of the sword] and [then] adorned and honored them with sermons [containing] the famed names of the Immaculate Imams, peace and blessings of God be upon them all.

One of the most recent victories is the conquest of Shekki, whose governor had been taking sanctuary in that inviolable, Khaybar-like fortress [located] in a delightful area, [in

which his] forefathers [had lived] for generations: ‘We’ razed [the citadel] to the ground with the fire of fortress-crushing cannons , mortars, and rifles, and [then] utterly destroyed that miserable wretch with the blow of the tempered sword. [Moreover, in] some of the lands of Georgia [Gorjīstān], which were also in the region, we destroyed their forts and captured [them] in accordance with religious conventions and convictions, [which is] in line with the tried and true beliefs of the righteous denomination (*beh qavā‘ed-e mellat va ‘aqāyed-e dīn*). Right now, they take pride in this great bliss. We killed thousand(s) of priests and Christian clergymen like dogs and demolished all idol temples, monasteries, and convents. Every year, Our great commanders are busy waging holy wars against infidels. Whenever they are through fighting and striving against the armies of ‘deviants’ / *kharijites* [i.e., religious rebels or insurrectionists] and heretics (*khavārej va ‘askar-e molāḥedeh*), they turn from external *jihad* to internal *jihad*.

Now another conquest has come about. The [one who is the] asylum of the government, where justice is practiced, the support of the [enemy]-intimidating empire, the pillar of the superior sultanate, Moḥammad Khān Sharaf al-Dīn Oghlū, one of the confidants from [among] the loyal men of the court of ‘the refuge of the world,’ and the royal city of Herat, which is under the dominion of the realm of Khorasan, whose wealth has been desired by the emperors of the past and sultans of lofty intentions, [the land] which is part of the highest heaven [i.e., paradise] and the best [place] on earth: the governorship of this land was entrusted to him. With his perfect virility and courage, he subdued the land of Gharchistan and Ghor as well as all their fortifications, renowned for their strength and stability, and in its vastness and the pleasantness of its weather, it is envied by Yemen and Sana’a.

Commanders of that vast land are forty generals [with] twenty thousand archers. In the time of war, they come out of the land. No sultan [of that land] has ever submitted to any other commander or king. [Moreover,] no sultan in the whole world has ever succeeded in bringing this land under control. The mountains of that place scrape the circling sky and its forts are akin to Saturn. The water of life is flowing in its rivers and its weather is so pleasant, it has the effect of the breath of Jesus. [The land] has been subdued by the sword blows of great warriors and the lions of the thicket of vengeance, [and then] occupied by pious men, [who are] friends of the [enemy]-intimidating empire. All inhabitants of these territories, who were devoid of true religion (*maẕhab-e ḥaqq*) and bereft of the emblem of the people of the faith, having spent all their lives in the valley of darkness, walking the path of misguidedness, were now cleansed, with the help of God, the Most high, of the filth of malignity. Messengers from the invisible world and the guides of the way of good tidings, bringing [the *hadith*] – “the people of my house in my community is like Noah’s ark” – to the attention of that magnificent group, [while] the leaves of their minds, which were as murky as pitch-black nights, were enlightened by the [announcement of the] good news of the love of the family [of the prophet] for the pages of “Light upon light!” [24:35] [i.e., the Qur‘ān], which shines like the light of dawn. As said God, the Most high, “Whoever Allah wills to guide, He opens their heart to Islam” [6:125].

During these days, nearly one hundred thousand households of that clan [i.e., the inhabitants of the regions in question: Gharchistan and Ghor] boldly fastened the belt of love for ‘the lion who attacks relentlessly’ [i.e., ‘Alī], and the Imamate [alt. leadership] of the household of ‘the Lord [alt. master] who is sovereign in what he elects’ [i.e., Moḥammad], upon the waist of their souls, pledged loyalty and goodwill, and sent gifts and offerings to the court of the refuge of the world. Praise be to God, for His blessings.

As for what he has written regarding faith and belief [alt. religious faith], “that the caliph of the messenger of God is Abū Bakr b. Abī Quḥāfah, may he be cursed by the consensus of the community of believers,” know that a slanderer is outside of the circle of the pious: ‘It is those who believe not in the Signs [or verses] of God, that forge falsehood […]’

[16:105]. One who has said that his caliphate is by consensus, if he has come to believe that the body of believers have come to a consensus regarding his caliphate, it is apparent to the entire world and all its inhabitants that this is not the case, for not the people of an entire city, perhaps even not an entire village [alt. neighborhood], agreed with him, save for a few corrupt, hostile ones. If he has believed that there was a consensus among the nobles of the community, supported by all the people of Islam, ʻAlī b. Abi Ṭālib (p.b.u.h.), Imam Ḥasan and Imam Ḥoseyn (p.b.u.t.), ʻAbbās, ʻAbdullah ʻAbbās, Ṭalḥa and Zobayr, Salmān, Abūẕar, Miqdad, ʻAmmār, ʻAbdullah b. Masʻūd, Abū Ayyub al-Ansārī, Abī Kaʻab, Malik al-Ashtar, Malik b. Zohayr, with ten thousand of his own tribesmen, [plus] Saʻd b. ʻObādah and Qays b. Saʻd, with ten thousand men of the tribesmen of Khazraj, opposed [Abū Bakr] and did not pledge allegiance to him, [as] it is written in all your books.

The body of believers and the whole world and the great Muslims of the household of the Prophet and the great ones of the companions [of the prophet] and the nobility of the body of believers have unanimously agreed with this group, whose blessed names were mentioned. This group has time and time again disputed Abū Bakr, may he be cursed, presenting arguments, and holding him accountable, so much so that out of fear of this group he was rendered impotent in his affairs. You [all] can neither prove the consensus of the nobles nor the consensus of the entire body of believers, [to the extent that] the fate of the community became manifest and opposed the divine text and the traditions [lit. *hadith*] of his majesty, the refuge of prophecy, is [in fact] null and void. [Furthermore,] there are *quranic* verses [confirming] the imamate of his majesty ʻAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and there are innumerable texts from the *hadiths* [i.e., collection of sayings] of the Messenger himself, peace be upon him and his entire family. There are, also, so many arguments, based on reason and tradition, none of which [seems to] have reached your sight or that of your scholars.

Know that in the days of none of the prophets and messengers of God was there a successor or executor, who spent forty years worshiping idols and serving them, tying the belt of subordination to [idols such as] Lat and ʻUzza and then later became successor and executor. From the beginning of the creation of Adam the intimate [friend of God] until [Moḥammad] the seal of the prophets, peace be upon him and his family, it has been decisively determined that for every messenger who would depart from this world, the Generous Giver of Gifts [i.e., God] would appoint an executor and successor. The successor of a [given] prophet has [always] been [appointed] by the decree of God and it has never been the case that a prophet appointed a successor without Divine order, or that the body of believers appointed a caliph without the approval of God and his messenger. No prophet has ever passed on to the eternal world without having a caliph or successor, leaving his community lost and neglected [alt. in a state of indecision]. Every pleasant attribute [they possessed], such as miracles, signs, innocence, [moral] purity, immaculateness, purity of birth, knowledge, courage, etc., their successors were also adorned with [them all] as well. This is beyond dispute.

Now our prophet, the lord of all prophets and superior to all messengers [lit. sent ones, apostles] and the best being, [in turn] needed, by necessity, to have his own successor to be the best of all the successors and prophets, by the order of “Ourselves and yourselves [then let us sincerely invoke Allah’s curse upon the liars]” [54:61] and thus be decided and determined by God and the prophet of God. If you reflect and contemplate by [virtue of intuition and] insight that [Moḥammad] is the lord of the world—that [the hadith] “If it was not for you, we would not have created the heavens” is a witness to his virtue and his is the seal of the prophets—how can it be then that God, Glorious and Most High, would not appoint a caliph and a successor for him, leaving the the likes of the messenger of his religion leaderless and his community neglected, not appointing a successor and executor for him, and then commanding all of the community to depart to the eternal world without an executor?

Now some stupid ignoramus like you, whose speech is akin to that of a jackass [lit. someone who eats the discourse of the brains of donkeys], [along with] a number of others, have made viral among people such nonsense, [which is] due to [your] extremity of deceit, severity of depravity, excess of enmity, and abundance of villainy, having neither seen books of history and exegesis, nor the traditions and accounts [of the life of the Prophet], nor read the books on scholastic theology (*kalām*), which are plenty; most of [such individuals] follow their fathers and teachers, wearing the yoke [lit. bridle] of imitation upon their necks. The [Qur‘anic verse] has been revealed [lit. sent from above] about them: “We found our forefathers on a way, and we continue to find guidance in their footsteps” [43:22].

[These individuals] have struck out, with [the pen of] disproval, the guarantee of glory of his majesty, the lord of all successors, the chief of all the pious, the gallant rider in the battlefield [of Khaybar] [where] no young [man could be compared to him], a brother as dear as life to his majesty, [Moḥammad] Moṣṭafā [i.e., the chosen one] (p.b.u.h.), the commander of the believers and the imam of the pious, the leader of those with shining [lit. white, clean] face, hands, and feet, the regent of God and His messenger in the two worlds, the father of Ḥasan, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, may God’s blessings and His peace be upon him: “Ask me about everything under the heavens; ask me before you lose me!” [He is] the epitome [lit. the extremity] of endless knowledge and the truthfulness of [the Hadith], “[Even] if the veil is removed, nothing will be added to my certitude,” [which comes from or shows] his completeness of discernment, [which] encompasses the heavens and the earths from the six directions.

It is evident to the common and the elite, the foreigner and the local, and all Jews and Christians that His Majesty ‘the refuge of prophecy’, may God’s blessings and His peace be upon him and his family, made his majesty ‘Alī—[who is] his successor, caliph, brother [sic.], and cousin [son of his paternal uncle]—his successor by the order of the [Qur‘anic] verse: “O Messenger! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your God, for if you fail to do so, you have not fulfilled the task of His prophesy. God will certainly protect you from the evil of men,” [5:67] and [thus he did so] upon God’s command. [Moreover,] it was the end of His Majesty’s [i.e., Muhammad’s] life and His Holiness feared no one in announcing [what is] lawful and unlawful, since all people were present. The fear came from the Imamate of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (p.b.u.h.): from the multitude of the adversaries of His Majesty, [who were] from among the companions and others, adorned with the attribute of hypocrisy [i.e., they were false believers], claiming to be Muslims out of fear of the vengeful Ẕū’l-feqār [i.e., the sword] [of ‘Alī], the righteous leader, [while] most of them had their fathers as well as [their paternal and maternal] uncles savor the cordial of punishment at the hands of His Majesty and were put to death. Since they were not perfectly pious and their hearts were filled with discord [and hypocrisy], His Majesty, the Lord of all messengers was fearful of them. This is the reason why the [Qur‘anic] verse, “God will certainly protect you from the evil of men,” was revealed. This is written in most of your exegetic text [alt. commentaries] and in all chronicles [lit. histories]: they have compiled volumes [pertaining to] the events that took place after [the death of] the messenger of God (p.b.u.h.), each of which is famous all over the world. Yet, none of them has reached your feeble perception. Furthermore, the noble proposition, “Your only guardians are God, His Messenger, and fellow believers—who establish prayer and pay alms-tax with humility,” [5:55] [which] by consensus of the people of Islam has been revealed [lit. descended from above] with regard to Mortażā ‘Alī (p.b.u.h.), [meaning that] just as God and his messenger rule over all the people, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (p.b.u.h.) is a ruler as well, with the ‘right to [claim] ownership’ over all creation. Likewise, [as to] the noble verse, being interpreted, “Say, ‘Come! Let us gather our children and your children, our women and your women, ourselves and yourselves—then let us sincerely invoke God’s curse upon the liars” [3:61], witnesses to and reinforces the matter: God the

most high is calling ʻAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (p.b.u.h.) identical to the Prophet; there is no question about it [alt. it is indisputable] and it cannot be interpreted falsely.

Of the necessities of malfeasance [sic. – *moqtażā-ye marāżī*], articulated in [the *hadith*], "You are to me what Aaron was to Moses," [as well as] the auspicious [lit. good-tidings] implications of [the hadith], "[Truly] the people of my house in my community is like Noah's ark: Whoever takes refuge therein is saved and whoever opposes it drowns, and also the hadith, "I am the city of the knowledge, and ʻAlī is its gate," and the truthfulness of "Me and ʻAlī are from the same light," over which all of the tribes-people have a consensus as to the veracity of these words, which has remained unchallenged. Moreover, [as to] the saying that ultimately proves to be true, "For whoever has me as his master and guardian, ʻAlī is his master and guardian. O God! Befriend whoever befriends him and show enmity to whoever shows enmity to him!" as quoted from ʻAlī-Shīr Nava'ī in *Resāleh-ye Vahīleh* [sic], a treatise by the Shaykh al-Islam of Herat. The account of Ghadīr Khumm is given in detail in *Distinctive Signs of Prophecy* (*shavāhedu'l-nobūvvah*) [by Jāmī] and *The Garden of the Beloved* (*roużatu'l-aḥbāb*).

It is also written in all your books of hadith that the messenger of God (p.b.u.h.), at the time of his journey from this transient world to the eternal one, bequeathed to his community of believers [the Hadith al-Thaqalayn]: "I left among you two treasures which, if you hold onto them, will not led you into error after me. One of them is greater than the other: The book of God, which is a rope stretched from Heaven to Earth, and [the second one is] my progeny, the people of my household. These two shall not be parted until they return to the pool [of abundance in Paradise]." The *Verse of Purification* [33:33] has been revealed with regards to them: "Allah only intends to keep evil away from you and purify you completely, O members of the [Prophet's] household!" God the Most High has attested to their innocence and purity [after] making them pure and clean from all uncleanness and issued a command with regard to their love and amity: "Say, [O, Prophet,] 'I do not ask you for a reward for this [message]—only honor for [our] kinship'" [42:23], making them special by peace, which is the peace upon the family of Abraham.

His Majesty the Creator has presented evidence regarding your Imams [demonstrating] that they are witless and ignorant. It is mentioned in your books that while Abū Bakr and ʻOmar, may both be cursed, were sitting down in the private chamber the messenger of God (p.b.u.h.), Abi Rakab b. Muljam came. Then, Abū Bakr told the messenger (pbuh), "Make Al-Aqra' b. Ḥābis commander of the Tamīm!" while ʻOmar spoke up for another. Then, Abū Bakr exclaimed, "You only intend to oppose me!" and ʻOmar uttered a few words in a similar vein. When they began to raise their voices, acting disrespectfully before the messenger, immediately this verse was revealed: "Indeed, most of those who call out to you, [O, Prophet,] from outside [your] private quarters have no understanding" [49:4]. This too is mentioned in your books.

We have also found [in your books] all [manner of] derision and reasons for opponents' cursing and the books [sic.] of the household. In your *Jamʻ-e beyn al-Ṣaḥaḥ* [*A Collection of Sound Hadiths*] by Moḥammad Ḥeydar, [he] has written a *hadith* [narrated by] Jābir b. Thamurah that the Messenger of God has said "the Twelve Imams are all from the Qoraysh." It is also mentioned in your exegetic books that [when] the messenger (p.b.u.h.) headed to 'the cave,' his Majesty ʻAlī (p.b.u.h.) slept in [Moḥammad's bed] and sacrificed his life for him. God the Most High boasted to all angels about the manliness of ʻAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (p.b.u.h.) and his self-sacrifice for the messenger of God. [Hence,] this verse was revealed, "And there are those who would dedicate their lives to God's pleasure." [2:207]. Moreover, "They [who] fulfill [their] vows" [76:7] is [referring to] ʻAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and no other. Likewise, His Majesty the messenger (p.b.u.h.) made him and none of the others equal to the actions of humans and *jinns* in one fell swoop. All these virtues have been mentioned in your

historical and exegetic books; [yet,] you have remained unaware [of them]. These are but mere drops from the seas of rectitude and oceans of virtue of His Majesty and you, a reject of the court, are opposing His Majesty the Messenger of Allah, and despite all [your] vicious actions and despicable traits, you mock the caliphate, the imamate, and custodianship of [the lord of] all successors and the best of all God's creation.

Thus, you must ridicule the prophesy [alt. mission] of [Moḥammad] and question the oneness of the creator. If it is not so, then why do you oppose the divine decree and the very word of his majesty, the refuge of the prophesy, saying that Abū Bakr, a sackcloth seller, the embarrassment of the community [lit. one of the lowliest people in the body of believers], is the imam and the caliph and the successor of the messenger, while the brother and nephew of the messenger of God, who possessed all the virtues and perfections of the prophet, according to the tradition also transmitted by the Sunnis, "Whoever looks upon Adam for his deeds, Noah for his piety, Abraham for his character, Moses for his awesomeness, Jesus for his worship, should look at ʻAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (p.b.u.h.)," dismissing his vice-regency and guardianship of will? "Glory be to You [O God!] This is a heinous slander!" [24:16]. God's curse be upon you, for the height of your knowledge is ignorance and apostasy is its very essence, because the implication [lit. metaphor] of these assertions is nothing other than attributing injustice to the Most High God—may his Glory be proclaimed and his achievement expanded—[saying] that, "indeed injustice is putting something in a wrong place."

Since the lord of all successors [lit. guardians of will] ʻAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (p.b.u.h.) did not have the status of being a caliph and successor, God Almighty instituted governance in a place other than [where it used to be] and considered it not misplaced and said, "Your only guardians are God, His Messenger, and fellow believers—who establish prayer" [5:55] and the honorable the Messenger (p.b.u.h.) clearly declared on the holy day of Ghadīr Khumm to whoever did not have the knowledge of [ʻAlī's] virtues, perfections, and infallibility, that he was worthy of the imamate (alt. leadership). Taking his nephew's hand, he took him up onto the pulpit and raised [his hand] up amid thirty-three thousand companions and several thousand [common] people. He then blessed him and cursed his enemies, "O God, love whoever loves him and consider as an enemy whoever is his enemy, help whoever helps him, and withhold your help from anyone who withholds their help from him."

Something that was not evident to God and his Messenger, became apparent to ʻOmar [ibn] Khaṭṭāb, Abū Obaydah [ibn] al-Jarrāḥ, Sālim Mawla Abī Huẕayfah, and a few other false believers! They obtained the knowledge of Abū Bakr, who, in the Saqīfa of the Banū Sāʻidah, was not able bring himself to prepare [the corpse] of the Messenger of God for interment, [which was] due to his own pretension, [as he] intended to become ruler and caliph. He brought forth Abū Bakr Abī Qohafah instead of ʻAlī b. Abī Ṭālib with the threat of a sword, saying, "Extend your hand, so we may pledge allegiance to you, for you are the oldest and the foremost among us."

Unlike [ʻAlī]—mighty, brave, and courageous, who tore down the gate of Khaybar with his lion-like hands [lit. fingers, paws] and decapitated ʻAmr ʻAntar and lifted up the nine-thousand-kilo-gate [up] with his hands as he stood in the water so that all the people of Islam could cross [the water], and struck down ʻAmr b. ʻAbd al-Wud with a single blow of the blade, [about whom] His Majesty the Messenger (p.b.u.h.) said: " ʻAlī's strike on the [Battle of] the Trench was mightier (lit. more virtuous) than the affairs of Thaqalayn," and the likes of these great fights done by His Majesty, all the Banī Hāshem being his followers —Abu Bakr was wretched [and weak], with incomparably few followers.

Now why didn't ʻAlī prevent them and why did he forfeit his own right? Apparently, *Nahj al-Balaghah* [*The Path of Eloquence*], the eloquent discourse of His Majesty, which is below the speech of the creator and above that of man, on which most of Sunnis have written

commentaries and taken [excerpts] from it to include in their [own] sermons, has not been seen by that ignorant, inwardly blind [person]; for his majesty has said, "Were it not for Moḥammad's will, I would not have left anyone on earth who disbelieves in God, hypocrites against the Messenger of God, and deniers [of God's religion]; 'but I complain of my grief and sorrow to God.'" On another occasion, 'Omar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, may he get what he deserves, was addressed and His Honor said, "O the son of Żaḥḥāk, the Abyssinian! Had it not been for a book from God that preceded and a covenant from the Messenger of God that came forth, I would have seen the weakest supporter[s], fewest in number." The Shaqshaqīyah Sermon [lit. 'roar of the camel'] and other complaints came forth from the marvelous tongue of the lord of the pious [i.e., 'Alī] about the oppression and tyranny of these inauspicious ones—they have not seen or heard [them]; hence, one should study *Nahj al-Balaghah*.

Elsewhere, he asserts that all the eloquent ones of the world are impotent in solving these words, that if the divine order had not been effective and the will of His Holiness, the refuge of prophecy [i.e., Moḥammad] did not take precedence, [as it pertains to the saying,] "I shall not draw the sword from the sheath after him, except in three cases, [i.e.,] the defectors, the deviants, and the apostates. He told me, 'O, 'Alī! After me, many execrable things will befall you and a group of my companions will not comprehend my intercession and will do injustice against you and you will reach me oppressed.' I said, 'You are afraid of me being killed, so you are preventing me from repelling them! He said: 'O, 'Alī! His Majesty the Creator informed [me] that if you draw your sword, they will fight against you and your helpers from Banī Hāshem and the old companions will be but a few: they will kill your people and [thus] Islam will be destroyed and the Qur'an and tradition [lit. *Hadith*] will be lost. It would be better that you waited for a while so you may succeed.'"

These passages are explicit in *Nahj al-Balagha* and have indeed come to pass. There are other corruptions done after the Prophet of God by this group of apostates and the enemies of religion, who are your leaders, against 'the lion who attacks relentlessly' [i.e., 'Alī] and the Household of the Chosen Master—what they have done is well-known all over the world and [indeed] mentioned in all histories; yet, apparently, they have not reached those deaf ears of yours—you ignoramus—and are kept hidden from you by [your] irreligious scholars and subservient morons. [The instances are] the usurpation of the imamate, the taking of the Fadak [Garden], drawing the blade on the face of the Commander of the Believers ['Alī], kicking the door, and explicit cruelty against Her Honor the Chief Lady Fāṭimah Zahrā (p.b.u.h.). [There is also] what was done by your vicious 'Ayshah, and what has come to pass because of the followers of those three treacherous tyrants, Mo'awiya, that accursed swindler apostate and his children and companions from Banī Omayyah and the 'Abbāsīd tribe, the wars they have waged against the Commander of the Believers, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (p.b.u.h.), the murder of the companions of the Prophet with deadly poison, the battle of Karbala, the murder of the Lord of the Martyrs [i.e., Ḥoseyn] and seventy two of the Household [of the Prophet] and Lord Mukhtār and his companions, the pillaging of the Household [of Moḥammad] and the city of the Prophet [i.e., Medina], the killing of [his] old companions, damaging the House of God [i.e., the Ka'aba], launching a catapult on the Ka'aba, [committing] murder [in] and plundering the Sanctuary of God, the killing of the rest of the Immaculate Imams – peace be upon them all – along with a few thousand pious believers and the partisans of the 'the lion who attacks relentlessly' and other such filthy acts, all of which is but a small part of what has been done by oppressors of the Household of Moḥammad and the killers of the Household, [that is] Banī 'Omayyah and Banī 'Abbās, who happen to be your imams and leaders.

Now you too are doing [as] the inauspicious tradition of those godless degenerates, therefore you shall be counted among them [on the Day of Resurrection]. There is no doubt

regarding the incredulity of those whose imam was the person who waged war with the soul brother of the Messenger of God (p.b.u.h.), decapitated the child [sic.] of the Prophet of God, and took the Household of the Prophet captive. Such are all the various invented proofs of yours. Never a virtuous, pious man anywhere has been allowed to argue and open his mouth to speak. This bunch is indeed famous for killing [such people], wherever they found them and heard of them. Wherever they found the books of these folks, they paid them no regard and burned them, wiped them away, and hid them from learned men. Since the times of Banī ʻOmayyah, Banī Marwān, and Banī ʻAbbās, they have invented transmissions of books, covering the eyes of the short-sighted with nonsensical absurdities that are [nothing but] fables and deceits, [saying] "such and such in alliance with such-and-such caliph, became so-and-so *amir*, and so-and-so came to a consensus with regards to imamate, and thus they are the most virtuous among all the people of the world."

They have invented arguments [based on] such chimerical tales and ill-intentioned accounts regarding doctrines of prophesy, prophethood, infallibility, purity, righteous angels, and verification [of] facts, and made them popular among common men, driving people thousands of miles away from the knowledge of God and [his] Messenger and Imam(s), placing them in "darkness upon darkness!" [24:40].

[Thus] most of your accounts and narrations have been transmitted by the oppressors of the Household of the Prophet and those who murdered them, who are the most corrupted of the corrupt and the most infidel of infidels. [Moreover,] most of the invented traditions have been transmitted and narrated by lying scoundrels and the tongues of sparrow-brained children (*az fāsedān-e kāẕeb va zabān-e kūdakān-e gonjeshk-bāz*). They have written the names of vile and corrupt ones as well as women and children among those who have narrated reports [of tradition] and *hadiths*.

They have made this or that saying popular among common men, attributing such-and-such hadith to so-and-so shaykh, who had [likewise] heard it from [so-and-so] shaykh. Or such-and-such shaykh is an authentic narrator of *hadith*. Or such-and-such unlearned shaykh is a great exegete of the Quran. Or that undiscerning ignorant one [sitting] in this or that porch [lit. angle, corner, stoa, i.e., of a religious edifice] owns a few [books of] *Forty Hadith*, [claiming that such person] is also among the great holy devout men of the time. Or so-and-so shaykh had seen such-and-such in a dream and heard so-and-so from the Messenger [himself]. In the same manner, undiscerning ignorant ones and uneducated imbeciles and the fools [sitting at] the thresholds of ignorance and the demons of the wilderness of misguidedness [have now become authentic] transmitters [of *hadiths*] from every corner of [every] town, big or small! They have [thus] based knowledge, the *Law*, and the path [of religion] upon fantasies and illusions [resulting from] such reports and narrations [by] such transmitters. [Now] the pleasure of these nonsensical [ideas] have lodged in the imagination of your immature and senseless common men and your subjects and [therefore, the minds of your] subjects and followers have been and will be made, [as they] inherit hatred and enmity towards the Household of the Messenger of God, his children, followers, and disciples, [and thus] they have been defying their ways.

[Moreover,] the oppressors of the Household of Moḥammad, who have, like ʻOmar, spent a lifetime worshiping idols, drinking wine, [shedding] innocent blood, and wrongfully detaining Muslim properties; [these are people] who. [like ʻOmar] had the anal itching disease [i.e., they sought submissive sexual intercourse – *marż-e obne*], as it is mentioned in your *Sahih al-Bukhari*, "'Omar b. al-Khaṭṭāb had the anal itching disease and was not fit for caliphate." You favor this bunch over the immaculate ones of the Household [of the Prophet] and give credence to narrations [of tradition] from the morally corrupt.

Things have gotten to a point where they do not give credence to the transmission of narratives [i.e., hadiths] from His Majesty, the Commander of the Believers [i.e., ʻAlī], the

most prominent of all the ladies [of the worlds, i.e., Fatimah], Imam Ḥasan and Imam Ḥoseyn, and the rest of the immaculate imams – may God's blessing be upon them all—who are, by consensus of all the people of the world, immaculate and pure—cited by some of them, friends and foes [alike], [who] were at the service of the Messenger of God all the time [even] in private, and had come to know the deeds and words of His Majesty [firsthand]. [Indeed, they] did not accept the words and actions of these people and do not trust their citations and transmission of hadith. [Instead,] their religion is based upon the transmitted accounts, traditions, and narratives of the Ayshah "the unjust," Anas [ibn] Malek "the leper," Abū Horayrah "the reject," Amr ibn al-'Āṣ "the accursed," Moawiyah "the wicked apostate," and their companions, each of whom was the worst of humans of their time, 'the basest and the lowest' of all apostates; it is [indeed] mandatory and necessary for everyone to curse them.

In the meantime, your misguided scholars and noblemen and your disgraceful ignorant pundits—"God curses such people and so do all the cursers" [2:159]—have chosen worldly desires over [things pertaining to] the house of permanence [i.e., the world to come, paradise], satisfying the flesh [instead of seeking to] please the Lord. They turned their own ill-intentioned deceptive utterances into forged hadiths.

As for the faith of the redeemed Qezelbāsh folks (*ṭāyefeh-ye nājīyeh-ye qezelbāsh*): most of them are adorned with the virtue of belief. They have acquired the knowledge of God, the Messenger, and the Imam. They have come to believe in resurrection and 'all that the Prophet had brought.' In all matters, they have made the Law of the prophet their motto [lit. banner], carefully observing [the obligatory acts that] the law commands: [ritual] prayer, fasting, *khums* [a fifth], *zakat* [almsgiving], the Hajj, and Jihad. They have abstained from all sins (lit. prohibitions), such as drinking wine, [shedding] innocent blood, adultery, and sodomy, all of which are permissible in your counterfeit [lit. invented] religion. At the time of 'Our' [i.e., under Ṭahmāsb] distinguished perennial reign [lit. fortune], they shunned and avoided all these things, [as] they are in [a state of] utter godliness and [moral] purity.

They do not consider [shedding] the blood and [seizing] the property of the people of faith and Islam to be lawful. They eat neither the meat of rabbits nor that of hyenas. They also consider [playing musical instruments, such as] *daf*, lyre, *ney*, *rubab*, and *tanbur* as well as [board games, such as] backgammon and chess unlawful. They consider [consuming] beer and wine and the like, be it in amounts large or small, filthy and unlawful. They do not pray [wearing] unclean or expropriated clothes and [those made of] any unclean thing whose meat they do not eat. They do not wash the face, the noblest of organs, with the left hand, for the Messenger (p.b.u.h.) has proclaimed: "The right [hand] is for the upper body, and the left for the lower parts." They do not [perform the ritual purification of] ablution when drunk. Instead of wiping their feet, they do not wash them. In [congregational] prayer, they do not pray behind a Jew [as the leader of the prayer] or any corrupt person [for that matter]. They do not prostrate before shaykhs. They do not become the disciples of every ignorant hypocrite and are not seduced by sorcery. Nonetheless, your adulterous, novice, debaucherous, wine-drinking, hashish-eating, imposter and cunning, uncreditable, impure, prayerless, godless, who eat [and seize] what is unlawful, promiscuous, hypocritical, and heretical muftis issued a *fatwa*, [announcing it lawful to shed the] blood and [seize] the properties as well as the wives and children of the redeemed Qezelbāsh folks and the inhabitants of the land of Iran, while most of your soldiers, who have come from European countries, did not utter and acknowledge that 'there is no God but Allah' and did not know the tenets of [the faith of] the people of Islam. [Therefore,] they have driven them once again into the wilderness of apostasy and perdition and the wasteland of lostness and desolation: "[indeed,] God will not guide the apostate" [5:67].

It is obvious that we consider your scholars, for various reasons, to be apostates, [who are] morally corrupt, miserable, and a disgrace, having thoroughly, not partially, studied their affairs: to most of them are attributed enmity towards the Household of the Messenger of God (p.b.u.h.). [Moreover,] they have given up all worship [rituals], committing all things prohibited. Every single one of them is [like] the worst People of Lot [i.e., they are sexually perverted, sinful, homosexual]. They socialize freely with all the infidels, including Europeans, Jews, Christians, and the heretics [zandiq], considering them clean and pure. They do not shun dogs and pigs, [but] consider them lawful and clean. True faith, godliness, ritual cleanliness, purity of birth, and righteousness are scarce among you. We have considered the virtues and merits of your scholars and those you have believed to be the most knowledgeable and virtuous [men]: if you allow the opportunity of [sincere] discussion and put stubbornness aside, [even] the spiders [alt. weavers] of barbarian lands will beat them in a scholarly debate. Praise be to God for during the time of 'Our' auspicious reign, there exist scholars and lawyers, numerous as the stars of heaven. Most of your "knowledgeable" scholars cannot [even] hold a candle to their absolute proofs and clear reasoning in the arena of debate [alt. disputation] and/or at the court of argumentation. When [it comes to] objecting to complexities, deducing wisdom, discovering the minute details of problems, making sense of things, deciphering languages, validating dicta, rectifying axioms [lit. erecting pillars], and difficulties of things [pertaining] to logic, meaning, rhetoric, and discourse, the exposition of the law, hadiths, histories, and recounts of tradition, they find out solutions in such manner that the [sound of] angels in heaven praising [them] reaches the High Heavens (*'illīyīn*).

If [only your scholars would] assume an impartial attitude and open-up the 'eyes of the mind,' [Our scholars] would solve their problems and difficulties in such a [brilliant] fashion; [but then] it would leave you utterly paralyzed [lit. make you go blind as your soul starts to dissipate]. However, the devil has placed the lock of misguidance upon your hearts so strongly and firmly that you have [utterly] neglected to ponder the meaning of [the verse], "Do they not then reflect on the Quran?" [4:82] and have ceased to follow the path of truth, the road of Islam, the alley of the *Law*, and the way of the people of certitude of the Household of the Prophet, [who are] the clean and pure ones—"Whoever Allah leaves to stray will be left with no guide" [39:36].

O apostate, if you seek salvation, give up on the black and the white!
Recognize the children of 'Alī as your Imams, do not fear your excessive sinfulness!
If you become a true servant of 'Alī, you will be a king in both worlds,
All the things in the universe are created of his seed: the birds of the air, the ants, and the fish,
When the angels, the Denied and The Denier, ask me about my religion, I will bear witness that
I am the servant of the owner Ẕū'l-fiqār, why should I fear the Kharijites?
O, enemy of the Family of Ḥeydar, do not you run away, for I shall teach you a lesson!

Despite the disgrace and ignominy of the Ottoman religion and law as well as [their] Marwanid leaders, [you] have called the Shi'ah community "the Rejecters" (*rāfiżī*) and referred to them [in your letter] as "reprehensible ones," not knowing that in the blessed time of the Lord of the Universe, none of these names and titles were well-known, except for the blessed name of "Shi'a." It was known among the companions and others, during the time of the Master of the Prophets. Several of [Moḥammad's] companions, such as Salmān the Persian, Abū Ẕarr Al-Ghifārī, 'Ammar b. Yassīr, Abū Ayyūb al-Ansārī, Ubayy b. Ka'b, Miqdād b. Aswād, Malik al-Ashtar, 'Abdullah b. al-Abbās, and others, the virtues and good deeds of every single one of them the Prophet had praised. In the book *For and Against*

(*muwāfiq wa mukhālif*), it is mentioned that this group was constantly present, at home and on the road, at the service of his Majesty the Commander of Believers, the Imam of the Pious, and the Chief of Religion, the Victorious Lion of God, ʻAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. For God, the Most High, informed Abraham, ʻthe Friend of God', (p.b.u.h.) about the eminence and superiority of ʻAlī. [So] he prayed, "O God, make me one of the followers [Shīʻāh] of ʻAlī!" And God the Most High answered his prayer and said, "I have made you one of his followers!" God recounted the story to the Messenger in the Glorious Quran: "And indeed, one of those who followed his way was Abraham" [37:83].

The appellation ʻthe Partisans of ʻAlī' has remained to this day and thus shall it remain. It is apparent to all [discerning] scholars of the world that the name Sunni became well-known when fights broke out between His Majesty the Imam of the Godly, ʻAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (p.b.u.h.), and Muʼawiya ʻthe misguided.' The [soldiers of the] army of the Commander of the Believers (p.b.u.h.) were known as "the Shiʻites [lit. the followers] of Ali" and [the soldiers of the] army of Muʼawiya came to be known as "the Sunnis" [lit. the followers of the tradition]. When two people from the two armies met, they would ask one another: "Are you a Sunni or a Shiʻites?" [If he answered], "I am a Sunni," [it meant he] was following the tradition of Muʼawiya and cursed His Majesty the Commander of the Believers, ʻAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

[Now] if the intention behind calling them Sunni was "following the traditions of the Prophet," then why wouldn't Shiʻites be Sunnis [as well]? Because the Shiʻites [perform] the Sunni [i.e., traditional] non-obligatory prayers exceedingly more! There are numerous daily non-obligatory prayers and during the blessed month of Ramadan, a thousand [such prayers]. [Whereas] before their enemies there are but a few and they call it "comforting sessions," which is the custom of ʻOmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, may he be cursed, not the tradition of the Messenger of God. [Now the question is:] do these people observe all the traditions of the Messenger of God [to the letter]?

Thus, it has become apparent that the intention behind the appellation "Sunni" is an enmity towards the Household of the Prophet and their followers; the Shiʻah [who are] the loyal ones. Know that you have found one name for us that you believe to be reprehensible, [while] we regard it as laudable. While you call us "the Rejecters," we call you "the enemies of ʻAlī," "Kharijites," "Yazidis," "Nazarene," "Qadiris," "Marwanids," hypocrites, the oppressors of the Family of Moḥammad, and the enemies of the Household [of the Prophet].

Now as for the nonsense that you have [written in your letter], "Abandon your religion, repent from cursing the companions [of the Prophet], and regret it, so that we make peace with you!"

When we raise our heads from the soil of the grave upon resurrection,
We shall curse ʻOthmān, Abū Bakr, and ʻOmar

Never has anyone heard and seen happen in any place that the Shiʻah [i.e., followers] of the Family of Moḥammad, even one of them, changed their religion or chose the way of opposition towards [this] Family. However, no year or month goes by during which a thousand people from the scattered faithless mistrustful Sunnis do not abandon their religion and faith and choose the straight path of the Household [of the Prophet]. The number of servants and followers of the Family of Moḥammad increases by the day, so much so that in the lands of Rūm, Transoxiana, and India, not even five hundred people were Shiʻah only a few years ago, whereas today, which is the year 961 [1553/4], their number exceed five hundred in each land and they are growing and increasing every day. Before long, God willing, all the people of the world are going to come to follow this splendid path and religion; [thus,] enmity with these people [i.e., the Shiʻah] is not auspicious and will not bring

good fortune. As the Commander of the Believers ʻAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (p.b.u.h.) has said, “No house showed us enmity without being ruined. No dog barked at us without getting mange. Whoever does not believe this, let them try.”

If you too doubt or dispute the saying, consider this as an example and see [for yourself] that the families [and followers] of Abū Sufyān, Marwān, the Barmakids, and the ʻAbbasids, which had seventy thousand golden cradles all over, each one of whom had thousands of *sayyids* of the Household [of the Prophet] and their friends put to death. Al-Mansūr the Caliph had a building erected outside of Baghdad and put the *sayyids* of [the tribe of] Banū Hāshim inside the walls instead of stones and bricks, in order to exterminate the progeny of the Master of all Apostles. They had thousands of the followers of the Relentlessly-Attacking-Lion [i.e., ʻAlī] killed in every corner, so as to wipe out any trace of this religion and its community. Yet, despite all the futile attempts, no trace or grave, no place of passage, no pilgrim or devotee, and no descendent or progeny has remained of any of them. They were all totally eradicated, their lineages have been exterminated by sultans and world-conquering kings. Every one of them was afflicted by various calamities, tribulations, and hardships, and ended up in hell. After their destruction and extirpation, [they] propitiated the *sayyids* and put an end to their travails.

Today, East and West, South and North, the *sayyids* of lofty stations are more numerous than the stars. All of them now live with fortune, dignity, power, and wealth. Whereas *taqiya* [i.e., precautionary dissimulation] was previously imperative due to the scarcity of righteous men and friends, and multitude of wicked men and adversaries, now, due to the abundance of helpers and companions, it is disapproved [and frowned upon] and even [downright] unlawful. Now [from] India, [to] the Arab and the non-Arab [lands], indeed, even from where the sun rises to where it sets, the banner of the amity of the Household [of the Prophet] and the *Sayyids* is unfurled and the sultans of Transoxiana, which were previously antagonistic and rebellious and insisted upon enmity, [provoking mutual] slaughter, and conflict, have, in the meantime, come to follow the orders and prohibitions of Our August Sovereign and are presently obedient.

Now Homāyūn, the ruler of India, who used to be a world-conquering king, a fortunate and invincible hero, and a king of great judgment, was vastly superior to you and all the sultans of the world, both in terms of multitude of lands and splendor. He followed the path of justice and the way of equity with tribes of subjects and frail creatures.

Upon the day that the troops were passing in review, he [i.e., Homāyūn] had five hundred thousand famed horsemen, which is to say half a million, recorded on his register. They say he had twelve thousand war-elephants under his command and that all the riches and hidden treasures of the sultans of India had been transferred to him. Eventually, the accursed devil aroused corrupt imaginations and vile thoughts in his mind and his arrogance and hubris reached such a level that he flew over the summit of sovereignty and majesty to the edge of grandeur and splendor. After a while, when it became possible for people to see him, they called him “Manifestation of the Holy.” (*jelveh-ye qoddūs*) In all the lands and camps that belonged to him, the *shariah* was obliterated, acts of devotion and worship became extinct, and deviation from faith reached such a level that they explicitly manifestly engaged in debauchery, in such a fashion that they would do in sinister Rūm.

Meanwhile, he had set up an assembly, gathering dignitaries of the lands and the noblemen of the court, and summoning soothsayers and astrologers, saying, “I have seen a dream [in which] the moon, the sun, and some of the stars descended upon my throne and stood before me at my service. My dream shall be interpreted!” Soothsayers and astrologers said, “[studying] the empyreal situation and heavenly bodies, we have ascertained what this truthful dream strongly suggests: the Sultan of Rūm, the Shah of Iran, the Ruler of Transoxiana, and all of the rulers of the world, are committed to submit to you and obey you.

They must present themselves before your August self and willingly choose to submit to you and obey you. This will soon become manifest. If you take heed, the pillars of their kingdom shall be rooted out by you and the foundation of rulership and greatness will be severed from their lineage." One of the princes of Transoxiana, who was the foremost amongst the rebels and insurgents of the group, stood up and said, "May the King of the World order, after the lands are conquered and the rulers of the world are captured, to designate a seat for every one of them in your paradise-like presence." He said, "The Lords of Transoxiana shall sit in such-and-such place, the kings of Iran in such-and-such place, and the sultan[s] of Rūm and Europe shall sit next to so-and-so."

As such corrupt imaginations [caused] by the temptations of the devil had made their way into his mind and haughtiness from the immensity of treasures and multitude of soldiers had lodged in his head, suddenly, the [angels], executing the preordained will of the Divine, took the garment of fortune and greatness off him at once and dressed him with the sackcloth of contempt, disgrace, and abasement. Despite all the vainglory, esteem, sacrosanct luster, Indian elephants (*fīlān-e mangalūsī*), countless soldiers, and untold treasures, he was defeated by Shīr Khān Afghān, one of his subjects. All the devices of [his] kingdom sank into the ocean of divine wrath, and thus all of the lands of his well-protected principalities were lost. His affairs reached a point where he could not stay in any of [his] lands [so] he came to Qandahar. Even there, his brother Kamrān, who was one of the greatest enemies of [his] dynasty, always exhibiting animosity towards him, mustered a large army and blocked his way, intending to kill him. Whence, he escaped with a group of his confidants and [managed to] reach to the borders of Khorasan before the ministers of our court and was [thus] saved.

The messengers [i.e., angels] of the world above brought to his ear of understanding that "boasting and bragging with haughtiness and conceit about battle formation is unacceptable in the divine court and one cannot raise the temperature [to his advantage] with unfounded speech and nonsensical, ill-intended stories in the heat of the battle and carnage. The conceited defiant ones and the proud haughty ones will suddenly be subdued by the blow [alt. slap] of chastisement."

Now the demon that had lodged in the mind of King Homāyūn is presently dwelling in your head! Have you now become so conceited and proud that you are intending to persist and remain on the throne of magnificence? Because of the extremity of debauchery and immorality, you are spreading corruption in the world and its inhabitants, and because of the abundance of rebelliousness and audacity, have you chosen the path of enmity and defiance, not fearing the awfulness of divine wrath and the rage of the True King?

King Homāyūn, who, in greatness and might as well as abundance and multitude of soldiers and treasures, was ten times, or perhaps even a hundred times, greater than you, by the grace of God and His Favor towards [Our] court, decided to be obedient to Us and girded the loins of his soul with submission, and was [thus] saved.

Our fortune in the world is on the rise day by day,
Behold the succor of the world and the benevolence of the universe!
Homāyūn came from India to become my servant,
Behold the lucky star and auspicious fate!

Now as befits the kings of the world, the rulers of the age, and the Lord of the time, 'We' treated him [i.e., Homāyūn] with [many acts of] kindness. 'We' provided him with treasures and multitudes and prepared for him the devices of rulership. [We] adorned his camp with a thousand swift and saddled horses and twenty thousand horsemen from the victorious army, gave him a huge retinue of servants, and dispatched him towards the land[s] of Ghaznayn and India. By the power of the victorious warriors, he defeated his wretched

brother Kamrān, captured him, and blinded him with a [red hot iron] rod. He conquered all the lands of Qandahar, Ghazna, Kabul, Multan, and Afghan[istan] by the blow of the blade, and then set off for India.

If renowned lords become supportive and obedient to one of the lofty sultans, this will be the turn of events, not the way it was manifested by you, taking three hundred thousand [soldiers with you], setting off towards the land of Iran with carts, canons, muskets, gears of war, and four [groups of] rear-guards, [relying on] the fortuitous help of Alqās, and then, when you reached the vicinities of this land, you could not stay [even] for one day! Eventually, you afflicted the poor with a hundred calamities and levelled him to the dark earth, and [then] retreated! As one Shi‘a has put it:

An Ottoman [rūmī] came to the gate of Tabriz, shat himself, and was gone,
Shat himself some more, turned away from the gate of Tabriz, and was gone!

Know that by virtue of ‘Our’ beautiful nature, pure faith in the Family of Prophet and [his] guardianship, steering clear from their enemies, and promoting the *sayyids*, scholars [as well as] righteous and godly ones, His Majesty ‘the granter of gifts’ [i.e., God] has raised the banner of our glory to the farthest reaches of the world. ‘Our’ magnificence and grandeur have taken over heaven and the earth. The enemies of religion have been and will be thrown into the well of anguish. All the sultans of the world, from among infidels and Muslims, European to Indian, from one- to seventy-year-olds, are sending kingly gifts and tribute to the feet of [Our] loftiest throne. They express [their] utter confidence, fidelity, loyalty, and benevolence. It will not be long before the people of the world come upon the straight path of the Household [of the Prophet], and, by ‘Our’ Auspicious Power, the song of detestation of the enemies of the Family of the Messenger and the adversaries of the Household is sung from the loftiest roof of the Most Magnificent Ka’ba.

Now as for the reply of what you have said, “[Having] assembled three-years-worth of weapons [alt. having prepared and equipped three rearguards], we have approached the land of Iran from four directions with a large army and we shall not stop anywhere until [we reach] the land of Khorasan. We shall extirpate you with our power and might and we shall reduce the land of Iran to nothing!”
Even though power belongs to God, Exalted be His Power, ‘Nay, [even] all matters are by God’s Will.’ [13:31], and despite the splendor of the Prophet of the tribe of Quraysh and the grandeur of his rank, and the Chief of All Guardians [i.e., ‘Alī] and his eminence, he always assumed a posture of submission and contrition at the time of prayer, saying, “O Allah, have mercy on me in my neediness, humiliation, helplessness, and distress!” But you, cowardly old priest, shut up in your fort, is flattering [to deceive] with your tongue!

These are the words of God, not the speech of some undignified miserable deceitful jackass! Five times you have set off to ruin and destroy this land with a three-hundred-thousand-strong army. Without having to engage you in a battle, you were defeated spontaneously and retreated like abject, distressed dogs, with a thousand humiliations and laments! Every time you came [around], a hundred thousand of your wretched soldiers were sent to hell. [Likewise,] you sacrificed several thousand horses, camels, treasures, canons, and rifles to Yazīd and Mo‘awiyeh, and fled. You did not have the power or strength to remain in one place even for five days, or to occupy even one village from the villages of the lands, save for the fortress of Van, which those treacherous scoundrels had surrendered to you! Had we wished to advance towards the territory of Van—many times we bombarded your forts, covered in snow in winter, with canons and rifle-fire, and razed them to the ground, and from each fortress, we decapitated quite a few [soldiers] of your valiant warriors,

who were among your trusted troops, and sent them to hell. Indeed, had we wished to take Van, we could have razed it to the ground in a matter of days.

It is only obvious that from now on fireworks and throwing stones will be of no use. On these few occasions that you have come here, it is apparent to all the people of the world that we did not allow our victorious soldiers to engage you in battle. Nonetheless, from every corner, 'Our' brutal fighters, great warriors, and vengeful gallant riders fled 'Our' auspicious camp, reached the vicinity of your camp, and killed two- [to] three-thousand people of your camp at once. Next time, the celestial army will not obey 'Us' in fighting, engaging, and slaughtering you. They will annihilate your army! They will follow you all the way to the banks of Euphrates and leave no trace of your army!

By God the Most High and the Most Magnificent, [if] it was not for the fear of the Divine, the *Law* of His Majesty, the refuge of prophethood [i.e., Moḥammad] (p.b.u.h.), and [if] he [that is, you] does not contemplate the righteous path of the religion of the people of the Household and [show] no compassion for the weak and the destitute, I shall so do [to every place] from the border of Van to Istanbul's house of apostasy that no trace of habitation [alt. civilization] will remain. This will very soon take place anyway. The verse, "destroy the crops and the progeny!" [2:205] [will destroy] the Armenian-like pagans who agree with you in [matters of] religion and faith, and when we have striven to eradicate and extirpate them, not even one soul shall be left [alive] from among them. These vain struggles and your conceit and hubris will bring afflictions upon your head, you accursed one from Rūm!

[It is] because wickedness, cruelty, and corruption of nature is instinctive and innate to such people. The devil has planted the sapling of enmity towards the lineage of Pure Ones as well as those who follow and obey them, in the wasteland of your heart. You shall soon reap its fruit [and see its effects] in the world and [taste it with] your very accused nature.

Because in your godless, European-like nature, there is no concern for the common folk, the weak, and the destitute of both sides, who are trampled by cruelty and injustice, and there is no fear [concerning] the ramification of [the verse], "See then what was the end of the wrongdoers!" [10:39].

O tyrant, fear the consequence of oppression and mischief!
O Kharijite, fear the sigh of the disturbed heart!
O enemy of 'Alī, fear the heartache of the hopeless!
If you do not fear man, fear the wrath of God!

Know that [it was a] false claim you had made and [it was] nonsense you had woven into impertinent words, namely, "This time, we shall raze the lands of Iraq, Azerbaijan, Fars, Kerman, and Khorasan to the ground and [then we shall] return." These tropes and metaphors were like a pond without water, a lantern without oil, a word with no sense, and a body with no soul. When the inhabitants of Azerbaijan heard them, they derided you and laughed at you [alt. you made yourself a laughingstock].

Because [from] a place where Alqās was born and bred [lit. educated], you had set off for Azerbaijan with four hundred thousand [soldiers] and [then] entered the vicinity of Tabriz. The people of Tabriz unfurled the flag of unity and good-will towards this illustrious house of high station and did not fear even one bit of the multitude of the Ottoman army and tribe of Marwān. They blocked the water to you from four sides and did not sell to you even three kilograms of any goods, so much so that a jug of water was sold for one gold coin in your camp. They barricaded and fortified the [city] gates and the [gates of] streets; and they got ready to engage you in battle. It occurred to you to take advantage of the situation and exact revenge and planned to pillage [the city] and attack them.

Eventually, Alqās cast out the demon of conceit from that haughty head of yours and warned you that, "[Even] if all your soldiers [could] enter the city, none of them would come out alive: each one would be consigned to the abyss in one corner and by the blades and arrows of brave horsemen and the skilled dagger-wielders of Azerbaijan, your army would be completely destroyed."

Thus, you became regretful and repentant and fled Tabriz in the middle of the night and like dogs you skipped every other inn [on the way] and reached the vicinity of Van, while each one of your wrenched soldiers was fleeing in different directions. In turn. 'Our' Royal Highness, with a hundred thousand flesh-ripping, vengeful, tiger-like, Qezelbāsh horsemen, armored from the head of the rider to the hoof of the horse, all roared and growled like lions. Like the fish of the sea that plunge into water [or frogmen] who dive into the ocean, they ripped the pearl[s] of life out of the shells of the hearts of the enemies; [like] leviathans that spring from side to side on the shore of the sea of warfare, they pierce the hearts of lions of battlefield with one strike.

The valiant, warrior youths that overthrow lions, All accustomed to war like lions

We hunted you down with all the army. You deemed it prudent to send [your] army to Baghdad. Out of fear of the blows of the blades of the warriors, who are the disciples of religion of the victorious Qezelbāsh [lit. *ke-aṣḥāb-e al-dīn-e qezelbāsh*], you fled to Istanbul and spread the rumor among the people that Alqās had taken an army and set off for [the lands of] Iran via Kurdistan. Our warriors got anxious that he might come upon their encampments and lay his hand on some [of their] treasures.

High-ranking commanders pleaded with 'Our' Royal Highness incessantly and [eventually] made 'Us' change 'Our' mind. [Thus,] 'We' sent the renowned auspicious brother Abū al-Naṣr Bahrām Mīrzā, with some of the soldiers, against him. For ten days, they made the idiot Alqās run [until he reached] the vicinity of Baghdad, struck down the majority of his army with [the blade of] the tempered swords, and [then] returned. Otherwise, it would have been impossible for 'Our' Royal Highness to return, unless 'We' struck you down with the swords of the soul-hunting warriors. We would have hunted you down all the way to Istanbul and 'We' would not have allowed you to rest [in a caravanserai] even once.

Despite all that has come to pass between you and 'Us,' which is quite well-known among all the people of the world, you are [still] writing such nonsense, boasting about your greatness and glory, pretending to 'Us' that you are capable of doing such-and-such!

Let it not remain concealed from you that in the eyes of the people of the world, you have become insignificant, undignified, and disqualified. The character of your cruelty, corruption, apostasy, and wretchedness, which are so widespread among you all, have become manifest to the people of the world. When, in the meantime, those who looked up to you for years and agreed with you in [matters of] religion and faith, became aware of all these, they now loathe you and are cursing and mocking you.

Who called you just? A dog from hell!
Cursed be the one who esteemed you!

The angels from the hidden realm brought to ['Our'] attention that soon that fraudster, who deceives people, will take off his borrowed garment of sultanate and kingship with a hundred humiliations and laments, [which is] due to his utter cruelty and corruption as well as his enmity towards the family of the Chosen Master [i.e., Moḥammad]. Just as Yıldırım Bayezıd was captured by the World-Conquering King, the Lord of the Auspicious Conjunction, Commander Taymūr-e Gorkānī (may God teach him his argument and proof),

you too shall be captured and sorely distressed by the great warriors, just as you have been rejected at the court of the creator and have become a disgrace to mankind.
The Tabarr‘iyan shall smash [and split] your head with heavy clubs and axes and they shall [thus] utterly destroy you. “And awaiting them are clubs of iron” [22:21] is implied here. Instead of sumptuous black robes, which are the clothes of the ‘Omayyad and the Marwanids, they shall pour jugs of rock oil upon your head and body, implied [by the verse] “with garments of tar” [14:50]. You shall be set on fire amid the calamitous open space of the square. The Tabarr‘iyan, the warriors, the Shi’ah, the servants, and the loyalists will line up in your attendance with iron skewers and address you politely, “O Suleiman Khan, O leader of unbelieving Sunnis, O leader of Kharijites, O patron of Ashʿarites and the heretics, let your station be execrable! Let the angels of tribulation, by the order of the God of the gods, send you upon a fiery throne from the [surface of the] earth to the infernal depths! To honor you, they will prepare a place for you in the deepest level of hell! “The lowest depths of the Fire” [4:145] is implied here.

Then, foolish commanders, ministers, and scholars as well as the common folks, slaves, masters, traders, as well as dervishes and ascetics, from Istanbul’s places of mischief, with fiery belts on their waists, carrying fiery trays on their hands, will offer you [their gifts of fire]. They will come to felicitate you in the deepest level of hell. “Let me land at a blessed landing place, and you are the best to accommodate [us]” [23:29] is implied here.

You should [indeed] examine your written response of inferior quality, strive to [perform] your duties of servitude before His Majesty the Almighty Lord, may He be glorified and exalted, abandon your ignorance, vanity, and enmity, and make the obedience of the *Law* of the Prophet and the path of ‘Alī ‘the One Pleasing to God’ the medium for the acceptance of your servitude. [You should] put away haughtiness and conceit and stop embarrassing yourself [in the eyes of] the people of the world. [You should] choose the path of the people of Islam and abandon bigotry and enmity. [Then], you shall enjoy and benefit from the intercession of the immaculate Imams and [thus] be blessed. “And salvation will be for whoever follows the [right] guidance” [20:47].

Written in the month of Ṣafar al-Moẓaffar, Year 961 AH [Jan.-Feb. 1554]

Two Persian Editions

The Five Stories, the Urtext: Persian Composite Edition

A note on the preparation of the edition:

It has already been pointed out that there currently exists *only one* published edition of the *M-Recension*, by K. Tabatadze, that is the core five stories accompanied by the preface framing the composition as the Shah's address to Ottoman ambassadors.[983] While this edition has remained less known outside of the Russophone scholarly circles (although recently two studies in English have somewhat rectified that oversight), this is not its only shortcoming. Of much greater consequence is the fact that in preparing the Tbilisi edition the Georgian scholar merely had access to two manuscripts – *MS. KIM: No. 12/46* and *MS. NLR: Dorn, No. 302*. The latter is the much referred to and discussed ***Saint Petersburg Codex***, the personal copy of Shah ʻAbbās, whereas the former is a 1266 AH (1849/50) copy of an older manuscript containing Eskander Bēg Monshī's *Tārīkh-e ʻĀlam-ārā-ye ʻAbbāsī*. That older manuscript, currently kept in the National Library of the Islamic Republic of Iran – *MS. NLIRI: No. 814216* – dated 1086 AH (1675/76), and partly discussed in the first chapter, remains unstudied yet relevant text in it likely descends from the ***SPC***. All three belong to what we have referred to as the *Naqqāsh* stemma containing the less complete textual variant of the *M-Recension* (see Chapters One and Two). Nevertheless, while the ***SPC*** has several folios misplaced (these are clearly indicated in the edition below) and many instances where the text is illegible, due to damage caused by water/moisture, the text in *MS. KIM: No. 12/46* used by Tabatadze is largely intact, rendering his edition much more complete than what had been available to V. Zhukovsky or W. Hinz.

At the same time, as has been demonstrated in Chapter Two, since the *Kāteb* stemma manuscripts have remained virtually unstudied, the associated eponymous textual variant

[983] Tabatadze, K., *Šah-Tʻamazis Saubari Osmaletʻis Elčebtʻan* (Tʻbilisi: Metʻniereba, 1976).

(significantly more complete and including a range of noteworthy differences) has been almost completely ignored by scholars. Consequently, despite its undeniable value and importance to the development of scholarship on the subject, it is possible and necessary to improve upon Tabatadze's achievement by producing a new edition which integrates the textual differences found in the *Kāteb* variant. Such an edition is therefore not only more complete and closer to the urtext but is captures a whole range of textual variations otherwise unknown. Moreover, in addition to the *Naqqāsh* and *Kāteb* textual variants, in preparing the new edition we have attempted to integrate, by way of footnotes, whenever possible, the noteworthy textual differences contained within Qobād al-Ḥoseynī's *Tārīkh*, edited by M.R. Nasiri and K. Haneda; these are accordingly labelled *Īlchī* in the footnotes.[984]

Let us outline how this edition has been prepared. First, since the ***SPC*** was the manuscript studied very early on, thus having produced a transcription of its text, supplemented by Tabatadze's edition whenever necessary, for the sake of convenience it has been used as a base for the current edition. Second, although we have been able to demonstrate that the oldest copy of the text, from which all the *Kāteb* stemma manuscripts likely descend, is contained within *MS. Bodl. Pers. D. 84* (**C1:3**), because we discovered the said manuscript very late, a later *Kāteb* copy – *MS. Dāneshgāh-e Tehrān: No. Adabīyāt 21b* (**C1:1**) – had been used here. Fortunately, however, there does not appear to be any significant differences between the two, in fact between any of the copies of the alternative textual variant. All in all, we have attempted to record as many noteworthy differences as possible, however minor, ranging from individual words to entire sentences, and even multiple verses of poetry. These have been recorded either in the footnotes, whenever the corresponding word/passage from the *Naqqāsh* base was present, or within the text itself, in

[984] Khūrshāh b. Qobād al-Ḥoseynī, eds. Muhammad Reza Nasiri and Koichi Haneda, *Tārīkh-e Īlchī-ye Neẓāmshāh* (Tehran: Anjoman-e Āthār va Mafākher-e Farhangī, 2000).

square brackets, whenever a corresponding passage/word was missing in the base text. All have been clearly marked and referenced.

Likewise, we have attempted to record some noteworthy textual variants contained in the *Īlchī*, that is the critical edition of five manuscripts of the *Tārīkh-e Īlchī*. This has proven a bit more challenging, for the author, despite relying on the Shah's text extensively, in some cases reproducing entire passages verbatim, often intermixes and enriches the narrative with his own additions, making it difficult to distinguish between the two and identify which belong to the Shah and which to the *Īlchī*. Nonetheless, as will be seen from the footnotes to this edition, the *Īlchī*'s overlap with the *Kāteb* text is often significant, as are its differences with the *Naqqāsh* text, confirming that the former two are closer to the urtext.

Finally, we have dropped all the prefaces found in the variants of the *M-Recension* thus arriving at the core five stories which, as has been argued, is the text composed by the Shah himself. Although it may technically speaking be described as a critical edition, the term composite seems much more appropriate. For the goal here is not necessarily to arrive at some perfect urtext but rather to produce a multilayered text which duly records and represents as wide a range of variants in circulation as possible. The lesser but still important consideration is to make it remain readable and accessible, punctuated, and with standardized orthography, in line with modern Iranian formatting.

[f.4v] فصل اوّل: حکایت [در باب یاغی شدن][985] اولامه تکلو

او در زمان حضرت خاقانی یساول زبونی بود و بعد از آن ایشیک آقاسی شده، [در زمان لَلگی جوهه سلطان][986] به رتبهٔ امارت رسیده [حاکم تبریز][987] و امیرالامراء آذربایجان شد. در تاریخی که ما متوجه خراسان شدیم مقرر شد که اولامه سیصد کس از مردم خود را به یساق [f.5r] فرستاده، خود در آذربایجان باشد.

در محلی که ما به اصفهان آمدیم و سام میرزا و حسین خان در سبزوار بودند، [دماغ او خلل یافته، داعیهٔ یاغیگری نمود][988] و [از وان][989] به تبریز آمده، ارادهٔ گرفتن داروغه نمود و اسب‌های خاصهٔ شریفه که در تبریز بود [تصرّف کرد][990] و کنیزکان خاصه که جهت طلادوزی به طلادوزان سپرده بودند ستانیده، به ملازمان خود داد و خیمهٔ منقش خاصهٔ شریفه را بر سر خود زد و اموال مردم [اردو][991] را که در تبریز بود صونک کرد. چون از او این اعمال سر زد و خبر آمد که به نزدیکی اردو رسیده است، ایلغار نمودیم که او را بدست آوریم. او فرار نموده، به جانب وان [f.5v] رفت. بعضی امرا در عقب او رفتند و به او نرسیده، بازگشتند. او از وان نیز فرار نموده، به روم رفت.

[اولامه][992] مردی مزور مُفَتِّن بود و [به غیر از][993] انبیاء و ائمهٔ معصومین، صلوات الله علیهم اجمعین، همه کس را بازی میداد. [در روم][994] میگفتند که با ابراهیم پاشا [که عمدهٔ پاشایان خواندگار روم بود][995] به غایت مصاحب شده است، چنانچه ابراهیم پاشا با او درد دل می‌کرده و میگفته است که از سلطان مصطفی به غایت ترسانم. اولامه گفته که دیار شرق خالی است و اکثر امراء قزلباش با من متّفقاند. اگر پاشا به آن جانب توجه نماید، من متعهّد میشوم که آن ملک را مسخّر کنم و پاشا در ملک آذربایجان، عراق، خراسان و فارس پادشاهی کند [f.6r] و هر سال جهت خواندگار پیشکشی بفرستد. حالا بتلیس را به من دهید که من پیشتر بروم و با مردمی که با من متّفقاند سخن بگویم و شما از عقب بیایید.

چون حضرت خواندگار از سخن ابراهیم پاشا تجاوز نمی‌کرد و اگر یک سخن او رد می‌شد، دیگری البته درجهٔ قبول میبافت، ابراهیم پاشا به سخن اولامه بازی خورده، بتلیس را به

---

[985] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.86r].
[986] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.86r].
[987] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.86r].
[988] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.86r].
[989] ایلچی [p.112].
[990] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.86r]: «صاحبی کرد».
[991] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.86r].
[992] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.86r]: «او».
[993] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.86r]: «بعد از».
[994] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.86r].
[995] ایلچی [p.112].

او داد و لشکر همراه او کرده، بر سر شرف بیگ [کُرد که والی مملکت بتلیس بود][996] فرستاد. شرف بیگ فرار نموده، پیش ما آمد.

با وجود آن که هابیل بیگ مهماندار [و] ایلچی ما در خدمت حضرت خواندگار بود، لشکر به اولامه داده، فرستادند. و بعد از آنکه سه منزل [f.6v] به جانب فرنگ رفته بودند، هابیل بیگ را رخصت داده، روانهٔ این جانب کردند و نوشتند که شرف بیگ را گرفته، بفرستید. امراء گفتند که اگر حضرت خواندگار را لطفی و شفقتی با ما میبود، اولامه را در آن طرف آب الکاء داده، در برابر ما به بتلیس نمیفرستاد؛ زیرا که از تربیت کردن نوکر ما و در برابر ما داشتن او بوی دشمنی میآید.

صلاح در آن دیدند که ایلچی دیگر فرستاده، تحقیق نمایند که آیا حضرت خواندگار در مقام لطف هست یا نه. حسین خان و منتشا سلطان و عبدالله خان ایل الدی آقای حاجیلو را، که اول وکیل دوروک سلطان [تکلو][997] بود و آخر لَلهٔ [f.7r] اسماعیل میرزا شده بود، فرستاده و نوشتند که اولامه از پیش ما گریخته نزد شما رفت و شرف بیگ از پیش شما گریخته نزد ما آمد. شما اولامه را بفرستید و ما نیز شرف بیگ را بفرستیم. چرا جهت اولامه و شرف بیگ میان پادشاهان اسلام نزاع شود؟

ایشان قبول نکردند و در جواب نوشتند که اولامه پناه به ما آورده، او را نمیتوان داد. شما شرف بیگ را بدهید و بعد از این تاریخ، اگر کسی از جانب شما نزد ما آید، ما نیز بدهیم. معلوم شد که حضرت خواندگار را لطفی نیست: آخر یا خود بر سر ما میآید یا لشکر میفرستد. منتشا سلطان گفت که لازم نیست ما با رومیان جنگ کنیم؛ [f.7v] تا حوالی ارجیش میرویم، ایشان خود بر میگردند. به صلاح او عمل نموده، متوجه ارجیش شدیم.

چون به حوالی قرانقو درّهٔ خوی رسیدیم، ولد یادگار روژکی از قلعهٔ بتلیس آمد و خبر آورد که فیل پاشا توپها را انداخت و گریخت. بعد از آن، با امراء و یوزباشیان و قورچیان و سایر مردم جانقی کردیم. بعضی گفتند که حضرت خواندگار به فرنگ رفته است، به الکاء او میباید رفت. فیل پاشا که فرار نموده به دیار بکر خواهد رفت، ما به سیواس برویم، تا اکثر مردم آن محال به جهت نهب و غارت بر سر ما جمع شوند، ما آن محال را غارت کرده در الکاء مرعش توقف نماییم و [لشکر جمع [f.8r] کنیم][998]. و چون حضرت خواندگار به استنبول آید، تمامی آن حدود را سوخته، چول کنیم. هر کس که همراه ما آید کوچانیده، همراه بیاوریم و هر که نیاید قتل و غارت نماییم. و در دیار بکر چندان توقف نماییم که خواندگار به چوزُم و عماسیه بیاید. بعد از آن، دیار بکر را نیز سوزانده و غارت کرده، به بغداد آییم و از آب موصل گذشته، زمستان را در حوالی بغداد قشلاق نماییم. اگر حضرت خواندگار در بهار بر سر ما آید، ما از راه شهرزور به تبریز آییم و اگر خواندگار به طرف تبریز رود، ما از دیاربکر به سیواس رویم. در جواب گفتم که اگر حضرت خواندگار [f.8v] به غزا رفته است، مناسب

---

[996] ایلچی [p.112].
[997] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.86r].
[998] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.86v]: «مردم بر سر خود».

نیست که ما به الکاء او رویم. اگر او برادر و فرزند مرا هم کشته باشد، چون به غزا رفته است، به الکاء او نمیروم و دین را به دنیا نمیفروشم. بعضی گفتند که اگر او بر سر ما آید، حال چون خواهد شد؟ منتشا سلطان سیبی در دست داشت، به هوا انداخت و گفت: تا پایین آمدن سیب هزار [صورت متصور][999] است، مصلحت آن است که ما به الکاء خود رفته، قشلاق کنیم. بلکه بهار حضرت خواندگار نیاید؛ از آنجا معاودت نموده و از راه چخورسعد به تبریز برآییم.

در این اثناء خبر آمد که عبید اوزبک شهر هرات را محاصره کرده است. او مردی بود به غایت ظالم: [f.9r] مسلمان و کافر پیش او یک حال داشت. یک نوبت، سیدی را پیش او آورده بودند که سیاست کند. جمعی شفاعت کردند که این شخص سید است. در جواب گفت: بهواسطهٔ آن که سیّد است او را میکشم. نوبت دیگر، در مجلس او میگفتهاند که هر کس یک جو بغض حضرت امیرالمؤمنین، علیه الصّلوة و السّلام، در دل نداشته باشد مسلمان نیست. آن ملعون نارنجی در دست داشت، گفت: الحمدلله که من برابر این نارنج بغض آن حضرت در دل دارم. در آن وقت، بهرام میرزا در هرات بود. کسِ او آمده، عرضه داشت آورد که کار مردم هرات به جایی رسیده [f.9v] که گوشت سگ و گربه میخورند. فیالحال متوجه خراسان شدیم. عبید ملعون از توجه ما واقف شد و فرار نمود.

در آن سال قشلاق در هرات واقع شد و امراء و لشکر را به هر محل فرستادیم که قشلاق نمایند. در این اثنا خبر آمد که اولامه بر سر شرف بیگ و میراحمد سلطان و امراء دیگر، که رفیق او بودند، آمده، میان ایشان جنگ شده و شرف خان در جنگ کشته شده است. ما به این خبر ملتفت نشده، در هرات قشلاق کردیم و گفتیم که اگر اولامه کاری کرده باشد، حضرت خواندگار بر سر ما نخواهد آمد؛ حالا که قشلاق کردهایم باشیم، تا ببینیم که خدا چه میخواهد. در بهار القاس را [f.10r] با بعضی امراء به مرو فرستادیم. القاس به مرو رفت و منتشا سلطان، حسین جان سلطان، امیر بیگ روملو و بعضی از قورچیان را به غرجستان فرستادیم و خود به طواف مشهد مقدّس معلّی، علی شرفه الف صلوة و السلّم و الف الف ثناء، رفتیم. ایشان فتح [مرو و][1000] غرجستان کرده، به هرات آمدند. و من نیز طواف کرده، به هرات معاودت نمودم. یک ماه در شهر هرات نشستیم. و روز یازدهم ذیالحِجّه از آن بیرون آمدیم که مدّت چهل روز در چمن النگنشین توقف کرده، جمعیّت نماییم و بعد از جمعیّت لشکر کوچ کنیم و بر سر بلخ رویم.

چون از شهر هرات بیرون آمدم، [روز دیگر][1001] تب کردم و چند روز مریض بودم. اتفاقاً شب چهاردهم [f.10v] ذیالحِجّه در دیوانخانه خوابیده بودم، حضرت امیرالمؤمنین، علیه الصلوة و السّلام، را در خواب دیدم که در قزوین در خانهٔ زینل خان، که آن زمان دولتخانه بود، نشسته و دو جوانِ محاسنسیاه و تخمیناً بیست و پنج ساله در پس سر آن حضرت

---

[999] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.86v]: «فرج».
[1000] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.86v].
[1001] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.86v]: «فردای آن روز».

ایستاده بودند. من پیش آن حضرت رفته، زمین را بوسیده، به دو زانوی ادب نشستم و سؤال کردم که بدان طرف آب میروم، آیا میان من و اوزبک جنگ واقع میشود یا نه؟ آن حضرت فرمودند که تا غایت کدام مهمّ تو به جنگ ساخته شده که دیگر شود؟ باز سؤال کردم که یا امیرالمؤمنین در آن طرف [f.11r] آب حال ما چون میشود؟ فرمودند که در آن طرف آب هیچ نیست و هرچه هست در همین طرف است. دو سه بار این سؤال را تکرار نمودم و آن حضرت همین جواب میفرمودند. سپس آن حضرت سه سخن فرمودند: یکی آن که نهر علقمی از یادت نرود. دیگر آن که نذر کن که گنبد مرا همچون گنبد حضرت امام رضا، صلوات الله علیه، بسازی جهت فتح سمرقند! و دیگر سفارش فتحی بیگ، پروانچی حضرت شاه، که آخر متولّی آستانهٔ مقدسهٔ اهر کرده بودیم، را نمودند. پس از خواب بیدار شدم. چون اعتقاد ما این است که هر کس انبیاء و ائمهٔ معصومین، صلوات الله علیهم اجمعین، را در خواب بیند چنان است که [f.11v] ایشان را در بیداری دیده است و هر چه ایشان گویند البته چنان میشود و در این شکی نیست، مرا از این خواب امیدواری بسیار حاصل شد. صباح خواب را با یاران گفتم. [هرکس تعبیری کرد و][1002] بعضی گفتند که در این طرف آب با اوزبک جنگ واقع خواهد شد.

بعد از مدت بیست روز، روزی احمد بیگ [وزیر][1003] پریشان به مجلس من در آمد. من از او پرسیدم: شراب نمیخوری تا [مخمور باشی]،[1004] چرا مکدری؟ گفت: کاش میمردم و این روز را نمیدیدم؛ اولامه به تبریز آمده و تمامی اهل و عیال قزلباش را اسیر کرده است. پرسیدم که ابراهیم پاشا همراه هست یا نه. گفت: همراه نیست. احوال حضرت [f.12r] خواندگار را پرسیدم. گفت: در استنبول است. گفتم: خدای تعالی جزای اولامه و ابراهیم پاشا را، که جهت پادشاه خود دعای بد حاصل میکنند، خواهد داد. و این حکایت را به مثل آوردم که در میان بنیاسرائیل سی هزار کس قائم اللیل وصائم النهار بودند. سه کس در میان ایشان زنا میکرد. بعد از آن که [عذاب][1005] الهی بر ایشان نازل شد، سی هزار کس به تمامی هلاک شدند. حضرت موسی (ع) مناجات کرد که خدایا سه کس در میان این سی هزار کس فاسق بودند، باقی مردم چه گناه داشتند؟ خطاب رسید که ایشان [f.12v] قادر بودند بر منع آن سه کس و منع نکردند! ابراهیم پاشا چون جانب حق را نگاه نداشت و اولامه را رخصت داد که باعث این مقدار خون ناحق و نهب و غارت مال و ارض مسلمانان باشد و اسیر و زنا و انواع فسق و فجور کرد. غیرت الهی، جلّ شأنه، چنان کرد که خاطر مبارک حضرت خواندگار با او متغیر شده، باز به قهر و غضب او گرفتار شد و به جهنم [پیوست].[1006] و این ابیات مناسب حال او واقع گشت:

فریدون وزیر پسندیده داشت / که روشن دل و دوربین دیده داشت

[1002] ایلچی [p.116].
[1003] ایلچی [p.117]: «نوری کمال اصفهانی».
[1004] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.87r]: «خمار داشته باشی».
[1005] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.87r]: «غضب».
[1006] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.87r]: «رفت».

رضای حق اول نگه داشتی / دگر پاس فرمان شه داشتي[f.13r]
نهد عامل سفله بر خلق رنج / که تدبیر ملکست و توفیر گنج
اگر جانب حق ندارد نگاه / گزندش رساند هم از پادشاه

بعد از آن، به بهرام میرزا و غازی خان گفتم که شما در هرات میمانید یا نه؟ غازی خان گفت: مردم ما پریشانیِ بسیار کشیدهاند و اوقات به خوردن چرم گاو گذرانیدهاند؛ ایشان را قوت آن نیست که دیگر حصارداری کنند. آغزیوار خان قبول کرد و گفت که سام میرزا را به من دهید، [من هرات را نگاه میدارم].[1007] [چون در آن ایام زمام اختیار در کف اقتدار حسین خان بود و آن جناب نیز از طایفهٔ شاملو بود، ایالت ولایت خراسان به سام میرزا و آغزیوارخان مفوّض گشت و در آن اثناء بعضی از امرای استاجلو مثل][1008] منتشا سلطان و امیر بیگ روملو و غازیخان ذوالقدر، حاکم شیراز، و سلیمان سلطان روملو در خلوت آمده، گفتند که [f.13v] مصلحت نیست که سام میرزا را به آغزیوار خان داده، در هرات بگذاریم. من گفتم که هرگاه کِرم در میان درخت باشد، به درخت نقصان میرساند و هرگاه که در بیرون باشد، مضرّتی به درخت نمیتواند رسانید. اولی آنست که از هرکس دغدغه باشد او را در هرات بگذاریم. سپس حکایت دارا که در جنگ اسکندر به ضرب دو سرهنگ خود هلاک شد را به مثل آوردم. [امراء ساکت شده، دیگر هیچ نگفتند.][1009] و هر کس که محل اعتماد نبود در هرات ماند، غیر از حسین خان که همراه بود. از جانب ذوالقدر اغلی و غازی خان خاطرمان جمع بود.

بعد از آن، [f.14r] خلیفه محمد قورچی باشی را با بعضی از قورچیان و منتشا سلطان پیش فرستادیم [که تحقیق نمایند][1010] و خود از عقب متوجه شدیم. چون به اسفراین رسیدیم، تیمور کُرد، که در آن محل میرآخورِ خلیفه محمد [قورچی باشی][1011] بود و خلیفه محمد و منتشا سلطان [و امراء][1012] که به ری رسیده بودند او را از ری پیش من فرستاده بودند، رسید و خبر آورد که ابراهیم پاشا به تحقیق آمده، کتابتی به بیگم نوشته، به یکی از ملازمان شمسالدین خان، ولد شرف خان، داده و فرستاده است. مضمون آنکه از یراق و مرصّع آلات حضرت شاه اسمعیل آنچه مانده باشد را بفرستید، تا من [آنها را به رسم تحفه][1013] به خدمت حضرت خواندگار فرستاده، التماس [f.14v] صلح نمایم و نگذارم که بدین دیار آید و چنان کنم که باز [به قاعدهٔ مقرّر][1014] این ملک را بر شما مسلّم دارد و ما نیز برگردیم.

اولامه نیز عرضهداشتی در همین باب به بیگم نوشته، فرستاده بود. بعد از استماع این خبر، قنبر اغلی گفت که ما به چه کار میآییم؟ چرا کس نمیفرستی که برود و از ابراهیم پاشا

[1007] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.87r]: «که در هرات باشم»؛ ایلچی [p.117] : «متعهد می‌شوم مملکت خراسان را حسب المقدور ضبط نموده، از آسیب اوزبکان نگاه دارم».
[1008] ایلچی [p.117].
[1009] ایلچی [p.117].
[1010] ایلچی [p.117].
[1011] ایلچی [p.118].
[1012] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.87r].
[1013] ایلچی [p.118].
[1014] ایلچی [p.118].

و اولامه خبر محقّق بیاورد؟ من از روی قهر گفتم که تو برو! قنبر اغلی از اسفراین با دو نوکر متوجه شده به مراغه آمده و با رومیان جنگ کرده بود. یک نوکر او، ولیخان تکلو، را گرفته، قنبر اغلی را نیزه زده و جیقهای که از دُم گاو داشت همراه با دستارش که از سر افتاده بوده پیش ابراهیم پاشا [f.15r] برده بودند؛ و او سربرهنه از جنگ بیرون آمده بود.

بعد از رسیدن خبر اولامه، مدت [بیست][1015] روز دیگر توقف کردیم و سپس [از النگ-نشین کوچ کردیم].[1016] القصه، ما از نواحی هرات به بیست و یک کوچ به کبودگنبد ری رسیدیم. الاغان [و اسبان و شتران][1017] ما همه لاغر و زبون شده و اکثر شتران فرو مانده بودند. به هر حال، از آنجا به قزوین آمدیم و قنبر اغلی در قزوین به ما رسید. و چون بر حقیقت حال اطلاع حاصل شد، شاهقلی خلیفه [مهردار][1018] و شاهقلی سلطان افشار را فرستادیم که بروند و در عراق، [در نواحی سلطانیه و همدان][1019] از مردم الوسات و اویماقات هر کس که [بر اسب][1020] سوار تواند شد را بیاورند. و سوندوک بیگ [افشار][1021] را نیز فرستادیم تا خانهکوچ که در قم و آن حدود بود را بیاورد که چون حضرت خواندگار همراه نیست، با ابراهیم پاشا [f.15v] به سر میتوان برد.

بعد از آن، چون به شهر قزوین آمدیم، یک روز به حمام رفته بودم و از حمام بیرون آمده، در خانهٔ زینل خان در باغچه نشسته بودم. و مردم قزوین طعام پخته، آورده بودند و من طعام میخوردم. در اثناء طعام خوردن از پیش القاس میرزا و بهرام میرزا و حسین خان و سلیمان سلطان و امیر سلطان روملو، که ایشان را از موضع کَرَهرود پیشتر فرستاده بودم، خبر رسید که ابراهیم پاشا از اوجان کوچ کرده، بازگشته است. من باز قنبر اغلی را نزد القاس میرزا و بهرام میرزا، که در رودخانهٔ زنجان بودند، فرستادم که اگر ابراهیم پاشا رفته باشد، منتشا سلطان و امرای دیگر که همراه بودند در [f.16r] چرخهبند جمعیت نموده و در عقب ابراهیم پاشا بروند که من نیز [متعاقب][1022] میرسم. قنبر اغلی در کاروانسرای نیکپی به القاس میرزا و بهرام میرزا میرسد و از آن طرف ایلغار مردم روم نیز میرسد. قنبر اغلی پیش رفته با ایشان جنگ میکند و در جنگ شمشیری بر سر او میزنند و او نیز یکی را به نیزه میزند. آخر از جنگ بیرون آمده، نزد من آمد و کندوز اغلی و برادرزادهٔ او، که گریخته و نزد ذوالقدر اغلی آمده بودند، را همراه آورد و خبر آمدن حضرت خواندگار را آوردند و امرایی که پیش بودند نیز [خبر آمدن خواندگار را گرفته بودند][1023] کس به تحقیق فرستادند. حضرت خواندگار به زنجان آمد؛ من در ابهر بودم. [اردو را جدا کرده، به اصفهان فرستادم][1024] تا [با

[1015] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.87r]: «هفت هشت روز»؛ ایلچی [p.117]: «بیست».
[1016] ایلچی [p.118].
[1017] ایلچی [p.118].
[1018] ایلچی [p.119].
[1019] ایلچی [p.119].
[1020] ایلچی [p.119].
[1021] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.87v].
[1022] ایلچی [p.119].
[1023] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.87v].
[1024] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.87v].

ابراهیم پاشا جنگ و مقابله بنمایم].[1025] [f.16v] نزد امرا کس فرستادم که من به عقب آق داغ سلطانیه میآیم، شما نیز آنجا بیایید.

بعد از آن، امیر بیگ و چراغ سلطان و ذوالقدر اغلی را به قراولی تعیین نموده، [به خبرگیری][1026] فرستادم. خلیل آقای کنگرلو را فرستادم که حسین خان و منتشا سلطان و [غازی خان ذوالقدر حاکم شیراز][1027] هر کدام با ده کس بیایند که مشورت کنیم که چه میباید کرد. بعد از آنکه خلیل آقا ایشان را آورد، حسین خان گفت که اسبان ما [به سبب طی مسافت بعید][1028] لاغرند؛ ما با [ایشان][1029] جنگ نمیتوانیم کرد. و من گفتم که با ایشان جنگ روبهرو نخواهیم کرد که از لاغری اسبها [و پریشانی لشکر][1030] اندیشه باشد.

بعد از آن، اردو را جدا کرده، به اصفهان [f.17r] فرستادیم و خود از ابهر کوچ کرده، به منزلی که [قرا بلاغ][1031] گویند فرود آمدیم. من با سی نفر قورچی به بالای بلندی رفتم تا ببینم که اردوی حضرت خواندگار از زنجان کوچ کرده یا نه. از بالای بلندی یک ساعت نگاه کردم و دیدم که خیمههای امرای ما تمام فرود آمده، از سلطانیه خود را به طرف کوه کشیدهاند. دانستم که رومی آمده و به ایشان نزدیک شده است. از آن جا باز گشته، به اردو آمدم و قنبر اغلی را باز فرستادم که القاس و بهرام میرزا را با امراء نزد من آورد که دیگر جدا نشوند و [در سرِ کوچ دستبردی به آن گروه انبوه نمایند].[1032] قنبر اغلی آن شب رفت و صباح امرا را نزد من آورد. [در آن اثناء،][1033] گفتند که ذوالقدر اغلی [که از نفاق باطنی خالی نبود و بنابر ضرورت کمر اطاعت بر میان بسته بود، در این وقت، آن ناسپاس حقناشناس حقوق ایادی و احسان شاهی فراموش کرده، در وقتی که به قراولی رفته بود][1034] با هزار کس [f.17v] گریخت.

در وقتی که منتشا سلطان با بعضی امراء در چرخهبند بودند و هنوز حضرت خواندگار به اوجان نیامده بود، صدرالدین بیگ [و] ذوالقدر [اغلی] از چرخهبند به قراولی رفته بودهاند که به قراولان رومی، که موازی پانصد ششصد کس بودهاند، دُچار میشوند. اول میخواستهاند که جنگ کنند، امّا چون ذوالقدر اغلی و مردم او [اُلجَه بوده][1035] هر چه داشتهاند گذاشته، گریختهاند و گفتهاند که مردم ایشان در عقب بسیارند.

در آن اثنا، سه کس از مردم صدرالدین بیگ به درون کاروانسرا میروند [که از رومیان کسی بگیرند][1036] که به یکبار مردم رومی میرسند. ایشان بیرون میآیند که [f.18r] جنگ کنند.

[1025] ایلچی [p.119].
[1026] ایلچی [p.119].
[1027] ایلچی [p.119]: «سایر امرای بزرگ».
[1028] ایلچی [p.119].
[1029] ایلچی [p.119]: «اعدای وافر».
[1030] ایلچی [p.119] .
[1031] ایلچی [p.120]: «قراآغاج».
[1032] یلچی [p.120].
[1033] ایلچی [p.120].
[1034] ایلچی [p.120].
[1035] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.87v].
[1036] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.87v]: «که از رومی آدم بستانند».

اسب قورچی باشی در مضمار میافتد. او را گرفته، پیش حضرت خواندگار میبرند. حضرت خواندگار او را خلعت داده، کتابتی به من نوشته، فرستاد. مضمون آنکه پدر تو با پدر من جنگ کرد. تو نیز پادشاهی و دعوی شجاعت میکنی، بیا تا جنگ کنیم و اگر جنگ نمیکنی، دیگر دعوی شجاعت مکن! در جواب نوشتم که بزرگتر از خواندگار کسی دیگر هست، به سخن او عمل میکنم و آن کس حضرت حق، سبحانه و تعالی، است. حضرت حق، سبحانه و تعالی، فرموده: «وَلَا تُلْقُوا بِأَيْدِيكُمْ إِلَى التَّهْلُكَةِ» یعنی در جهاد و غزا که با کفار میکنید خود را در مخاطره و مهلکه میندازید. جایی که از انداختن خود در مهلکه با کفار منع واقع شده باشد، [f.18v] من چگونه با مسلمانان [که اضعافاً مضاعفة زیاده بر لشکر من باشند][1037] جنگ کنم و خود را در مخاطره و مهلکه اندازم؟ و نیز حضرت حق، سبحانه و تعالی، فرموده که یک مسلمان از دو کافر فرار نکند، ولی از جنگ کردن با مسلمانان منع فرموده است. و نیز لشکر ایشان به حسب تخمین ده برابر لشکر ما خواهد بود و بلکه بیشتر. پس چرا با ایشان جنگ باید کرد و بر خلاف امر خدای تعالی خود را به آتش باید زد؟ دیگر آنکه پدر من با پدر تو جنگ کرد بسیار نامعقول واقع شد به جهت آنکه دورمیش خان و باقی امراء و تمامی لشکر [شاه اسمعیل در آن جنگ][1038] مست بودهاند؛ شب تا صباح شراب میخوردهاند و صباح جنگ کردهاند. از آن تاریخ تا غایت، هرگاه حکایت جنگ چالدران [مذکور میشود][1039]، من دورمیش خان را دعای بد میکنم [f.19r] که شاه اسمعیل را برد که بر آن وجه جنگ کند. من کاری خلاف امر خدای تعالی نمیکنم: دیوانه یا مستی باید که بیصرفه جنگ کند و در محلی واقف شود که در معرض تلف [بیاید].[1040] الحمدلله و المنة که تمامی لشکر و رعایای قلمرو من از [شراب][1041] و جمیع مناهی توبه کردهاند و از تمامی ممالک جمیع شرابخانهها و بوزهخانهها و قمارخانهها و بیتاللطفها و سایر نامشروعات بالتمام [برافتاده][1042] است.

در وقتی که [از خراسان مراجعت نموده][1043] طواف مشهد مقدس نمودیم و به بسطام رسیدیم، امیر سیّد محمدِ پیشنماز حضرت پیغمبر (ص) را در خواب دید که به من میفرماید که [f.19v] از مناهی بگذر که [تو را نجات و][1044] فتحهای ممالک خواهد شد. چون خواب را به من تقریر کرد، احمد بیگ وزیر و بعضی از امراء حاضر بودند. بعضی گفتند که از بعضی منهیّات بگذریم، فامّا از بعضی دیگر مثل شراب خوردن نمیتوان گذشت که ضروری سلطنت است. هر کس حکایتی میگفت. آخر من گفتم که امشب هر چه در خواب بینم صباح بدان عمل کنیم. همان شب در خواب دیدم که در بیرون پنجرهٔ پایین پای حضرت امام رضا، علیه-السلام، دست میرهادی محتسب را گرفته، از شراب و لواط و زنا و جمیع منکرات توبه

[1037] ایلچی [p.121].
[1038] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.87v].
[1039] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.87v]: «بمیان در میآید».
[1040] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.88r]: «افتاده باشد».
[1041] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.88r]: «خمر».
[1042] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.88r]: «برطرف شده».
[1043] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.88r]: «از هری کوچ کرده».
[1044] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.88r].

کردم. صباح خواب را به امراء گفتم و به همان [f.20r] طریق که در خواب دیده بودم توبه کردم. و الحمدلله و المنة که از آن تاریخ که توبه کردهایم فسق و فجور برطرف شده و روز به روز به توفیق الله تعالی [کار ما][1045] پیش آمده و میآید، چنانکه شکر شمهای از آن به صد هزار زبان بیان نمیتوانیم کرد.

اگر هر موی من گردد زبانی / شود هر یک تو را تسبیح خوانی
هنوز از بیزبانی خفته باشم / زصد شکرت یکی ناگفته باشم

منتشا سلطان با قورچی باشی، که در مضمار افتاده و [از نزد خواندگار آمده][1046] بود، عتاب کرد که من تصوّر کردم تو خبر صلح آورده باشی، اما تو خود کاغذ جنگ آوردهای! او را بیرون برد و فرمود که گردنش زدند. [f.20v] در آن وقت موازی هفت هزار کس همراه ما بود و دو سه هزار اسب داشتیم که به کار میآمد. باقی اسبها، به جهت آنکه از هرات ایلغار کرده بودیم، تمامی فرو مانده بودند. و حسین خان و غازی خان و ملك خویی و اتباع و موافقان ایشان در میان لشکر ما یاغی بودند. من به غایت مضطر شده، کار خود را به خدا حواله کردم و [التجا][1047] به دعای مضطر که «أَمَّن يُجِيبُ الْمُضْطَرَّ إِذَا دَعَاه؟» نمودم. به خانه که آمدم، حکایت [حضرت خلیل الرحمن علی نبینا السلام][1048] را [بر زبان الهام بیان آوردم][1049] که آن حضرت را چون در منجنیق نهاده و در آتش میانداختند، حضرت جبرئیل، علیهالسلام، نزد او آمد و گفت [f.21r] که اگر میخواهی، تو را مدد نمایم. حضرت خلیلالله [الرحمن][1050] فرمود که آری، مدد میخواهم، فامّا از تو نمیخواهم! در آن زمان دریای رحمت الهی به جوش درآمده، امر فرمود که «قُلْنَا يَا نَارُ كُونِي بَرْدًا وَسَلَامًا عَلَى إِبْرَاهِيم». [در آن حال، رقت بر من غلبه کرده][1051] و این ابیات را نیز [در آن وقت][1052] [خواندم][1053]:

ای همه هستی ز تو پیدا شده / خاک ضعیف از تو توانا شده
زیر نشین علمت کاینات / ما به تو قائم چو تو قائم به ذات
ذات تو را صورت و پیوند نه / تو به کس و کس به تو مانند نه
آنچه تغیّر نپذیرد تویی / و آنکه نمرد است و نمیرد تویی
ما همه فانی و بقا بس ترا / ملک تعالی و تقدّس ترا
چارهٔ ما ساز که بیاوریم / گر تو برانی به که رو آوریم؟
قافله شد واپسی ما ببین [f.21v] / ای کس ما بیکسی ما ببین!

حضرت خواندگار اگر مدد نکرد، حضرت حق، سبحانه و تعالی، مدد فرمود:

[1045] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.88r]: «فتحها».
[1046] کاتب: کتابدار [f.229v].
[1047] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.88r]: «و مناجات».
[1048] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.88r]: «علیهما السلام».
[1049] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.88r]: «بزبان آوردم».
[1050] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.88r].
[1051] ایلچی [p.121].
[1052] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.88r].
[1053] ایلچی [p.121]: «بر زبان من جاری گشت».

که حق در جهانده مددکار اولان / [قولینه یمان گونده][1054] غمخوار اولان

[بعد از تضرّع و زاری که به درگاه حضرت باری، جلّ ذکره و عظّم برهانه، نموده بودم]،[1055] از نواحی سلطانیه کوچ نموده، به طرف درجزین روان شدیم. [و خواندگار روم با سپاه قضا هجوم در چمن سلطانیه نزول نموده، آن حوالی و نواحی را به جاروب نهب و غارت پاک برُفتند].[1056] در همان شب که شب پنجم عقرب بود برف عظیمی باریدن گرفت، چنانکه اردوی ما نیز در میان برف ماند. کوچ کرده، به درجزین رسیدیم.

در آن اثناء حاکم کوه گیلویه با هزار کس آمد و دو طویله اسب آورد. قرا محمود اوجی باشی را با پنجاه کس از قورچیان و ملازمان امراء، با جمعی از ساریلو و تکلو، به زبان‌گیری فرستادم و از آن اسبهای تازهروز که آورده بودند به ایشان دادم. [f.22r] در کلنگین خرقان جماعت ساریلو و تکلو به رومیان دچار شده، جنگ کردند و رومیان دست حسین بیگ فتح اغلی را در جنگ انداختند و مردم ما سی و پنج نفر از رومیان را گرفته، آمدند. ایشان گفتند که جانقی شد که حضرت خواندگار به بغداد رود و اولامه و ذوالقدر اغلی را جدا کرده، به تبریز بفرستند. [چون خبر توجه خواندگار به صوب بغداد رسید، دانستم که امرای تکلو در نگاه داشتن حصار بغداد با محمد خان شرف الدین اغلی موافقت نخواهند نمود. بنابراین][1057] رجب ابدال و حمزه بیگ غزال اغلی را به سرعت تمام پیش محمد خان شرف الدین اغلی فرستادم که آذوقه آنچه [در حصار بغداد][1058] باشد تمامی را در آب [شط][1059] ریخته، از آب بگذرد و از راه حویزه بیاید. امراء گفتند که از عقب خواندگار برویم و [هر صبح و شام از اطراف اردوی او][1060] دستبردی نماییم. گفتم: [f.22v] مرا با حضرت خواندگار کاری نیست، مرا کار با اولامه است که هر چه شد از جانب او شد. [قراقایتمز][1061] و منتشا سلطان گفتند که غازی خان را نیز میباید کشت. من چون با او در [هرات][1062] سوگند خورده بودم که مادام که لشکری در برابر من نیاید که گویند غازی خان در میان این لشکر است، من او را نکشم، بناء بر سوگندی که خورده بودم تجویز کشتن او نکردم.

شب غازی خان گریخت. مردم گفتند که [به روم][1063] نزد خواندگار رفت و الا ایلغار می‌کردیم و او را [میگرفتیم].[1064] [بعد از آنکه محقّق شد که غازی خان از راه تبریز پیش اولامه رفته]،[1065] ما جهت اولامه به جانب تبریز ایلغار نمودیم. غازی خان روز شنبه به تبریز رسیده و

[1054] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.88r]: «غریبلر کو بنده».
[1055] ایلچی [p.122].
[1056] ایلچی [p.122].
[1057] ایلچی [p.124].
[1058] ایلچی [p.124].
[1059] ایلچی [p.124].
[1060] ایلچی [p.124].
[1061] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.88v]: «قراقایتمش»؛ ایلچی [p.125]: «قراقایمز».
[1062] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.88v]: «تبریز».
[1063] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.88v].
[1064] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.88v]: «بدست می آوردیم».
[1065] ایلچی [p.125].

اولامه را خبردار کرده بود [و هر دو به اتفاق یکدیگر فرار کرده بودند].[1066] ما یک روز به جهت آنکه راه گل بود [f.23r] چهار فرسخ زیاده نتوانستیم رفت، چرا که شتران اردو فرو مانده بودند. قنبر اغلی گفت که شتران را گذاشته، ایلغار کنیم. صباح روز یکشنبه به تبریز رسیدیم. اولامه و غازی خان گریخته بودند. مدت بیست روز آنجا توقف کردیم. بعد از آن، [از تبریز کوچ کرده][1067] به [وان][1068] رفتیم. روزی که به وان رسیدیم هزار و چهارصد کس از امرا و قورچیان همراه بودند؛ از جمله [سیصد و بیست کس][1069] قورچی، باقی مردم امراء بودند. وان را [که در آن اوقات رومیان گرفته بودند][1070] محاصره کردیم و نزدیک بود که فتح قلعه شود که قباد آقا، ملازم حسن بیگ یوزباشی داروغهٔ تبریز، آمد و من در حمام بودم. از او خبر پرسیدم و کس فرستاده، منتشا سلطان و امیر بیگ را طلبیدم. مردم از قلعه ایشان را در وقت آمدن دیدهاند [f.23v] و فریاد کردهاند که سام میرزا یاغی شده و خواندگار او را پسرخوانده است [و مملکت عجم را بدو ارزانی داشته است].[1071] گفتم که ذوالقدر اغلی را من نیز پسر خوانده بودم، او با من چه کرد که سام میرزا با خواندگار چه کند؟ من با او نیکی کردهام و او قطع صلهٔ رحم کرده، در مقابل بدی میکند. او را به خدا حوالـه میکنم. بعد از آن از وان کوچ کردیم، [به طرف تبریز روان شدیم].[1072]

فصل دوم: حکایت [در باب][1073] غازی خان

غازی خان مردک شیطان صفت مکار و پرحیلهٔ دروغگویی بود و این بیت مناسب حال اوست:

روبهی [از][1074] کجی و غمّازی / چرخ را داده از حیل بازی

او به بغداد رفت و ابراهیم پاشا را به آمدن ترغیب و تحریص نموده [f.24r] و گفت که سام میرزا یاغی شده [و مخالفت میان امرای قزلباش روی نموده، مناسب آن است که][1075] شما در ممالک جار بزنید که خواندگار [مُلک شاه اسمعیل][1076] را به سام میرزا داد و او را پسر [خود][1077] خواند. [چون این خبر در اطراف ولایات انتشار یابد،][1078] من او را پیش خواندگار می-

---

[1066] ایلچی [p.125].
[1067] ایلچی [p.125].
[1068] ایلچی [p.125]: «وسطان».
[1069] ایلچی [p.125]: «ششصد و بیست نفر قورچی».
[1070] ایلچی [p.126].
[1071] ایلچی [p.126].
[1072] ایلچی [p.126].
[1073] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲)[f.88v] .
[1074] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲)[f.88v] : «کز».
[1075] ایلچی [p.127].
[1076] ایلچی [p.127]: «مملکت عجم».
[1077] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲)[f.88v].
[1078] ایلچی [p.127].

آورم. شما حالا متوجه عراق شوید! حضرت خواندگار با وجود آنکه بغداد را گرفته بود، بدین محقر [ولایت][1079] ما نیز طمع کرده، آمد.

شنیدم که در روزگار قدیم / شدی سنگ در دست ابدال سیم
مپندار کین قول [او اندک است][1080] / چون قانع شدی سیم و سنگت یکیست
گدا را کند یک درم سیم سیر / فریدون به ملک عجم نیم سیر

در تبریز خبر به ما رسید که حضرت خواندگار میآید. من به حضرت حق تعالی توکّل نمودم [f.24v] و از تبریز سیّد عبدالله لاله را از جانب بیگم و امیر شهسوار کُرد را از جانب منتشا سلطان به ایلچیگری نزد ابراهیم پاشا فرستادم که در میانه صلحی واقع شود. ابراهیم پاشا مردی [تریاکی][1081] بود. در وقت نشئهٔ تریاک میگفته که خواندگار منم، هر چه میخواهم میکنم! خواندگار در دست من است: اگر میخواهم میگشایم، اگر میخواهم میبندم. و در وقت عدم نشئه میگفته: من چهکارهام؟ من غلام عاجز فقیریام [از جملهٔ غلامان خواندگار].[1082] از دست من چه کار میآید؟ امر امر خواندگار است! و چون از تبریز به اوجان رفتیم، کتابت ابراهیم پاشا، که از روی تهدید نوشته، فرستاده بود، رسید. [مردم][1083] [از مطالعهٔ آن بسی درهم شده]،[1084] میگفتند [f.25r] که سام میرزا از آن طرف یاغی شد و حضرت خواندگار از این طرف میآید؛ حالِ ما در این میانه [چون][1085] خواهد شد؟ من [امراء را تسلّی داده][1086] گفتم که خدا کریم است! و این ابیات را که شیخ سعدی در گلستان آورده خواندم:

فراموشت نکرد ایزد در آن حال / که بودی نطفهای مدفون و مدهوش
روانت داد و طبع و فهم و ادراک / کمال و فضل و رای و [خبرت][1087] و هوش
ده انگشتت مرتّب کرد در کف / دو بازویت مرتّب کرد بر دوش
کنون پنداری ای ناچیز همّت / که روزی خواهدت کردن فراموش؟

از اوجان کوچ کرده، متوجه سلطانیه شدیم. چون به زنجان رسیدیم، کچل پیر علی قورچی [f.25v] حاجیلو را با بعضی تحفهها و پیشکشها به ایلچیگری پیش حضرت خواندگار فرستادیم که شاید بر سر [لطف][1088] آید. [کچل پیر علی چون به اردوی والی روم رسید و مقصودی که داشت به عرض رسانید، اصلاً به درجهٔ قبول نیفتاد بلکه][1089] خواندگار خود از رفتن ایلچی در غضب شده بود. ما از زنجان کوچ کرده، متوجه عراق شده، [از راه

[1079] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲)[f.88v] : «ولایات». در ایلچی [p.128]: «آذربایجان و عراق عجم».
[1080] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲)[f.88v] : «اندک کسیست».
[1081] ایلچی [p.127]: «افیونی متلوّن مزاج».
[1082] ایلچی [p.127].
[1083] ایلچی [p.127]: «امرا».
[1084] ایلچی [p.127].
[1085] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲)[f.88v]: «چگونه» ؛ایلچی [p.127]: «چه».
[1086] ایلچی [p.128].
[1087] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲)[f.88v] : «دانش» ؛ایلچی [p.128]: «طینت».
[1088] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲)[f.88v] : «رحم» ؛ایلچی [p.128]: «ترک عناد کرده در مقام صلح درآید».
[1089] ایلچی [p.128].

سلطانیّه][1090] به درجزین رسیدیم. در درجزین بودیم که پیر علی آمد [و گفت این است][1091] که خواندگار [رسید][1092] [که صلح کند و صلح است][1093]. گفتم: اگر صلح میبود، حضرت خواندگار خود نمیآمد! تمام غلّهٔ درجزین و آن حدود را سوخته، اردو را به اصفهان فرستادیم و خود به جانب همدان رفتیم. حضرت خواندگار تا درجزین آمد و خدا رحم کرد: از آنجا برگشت! ما نیز از عقب کوه الوند متوجه تبریز شدیم. [f.26r]

در سال اوّل که [جهت][1094] گرفتن اولامه به جانب تبریز ایلغار کردیم و غازی خان گریخت، شخصی حضرت سلطان شیخ صدرالدّین (قده) را در خواب دیده بود که به او گفته که به شاه بگو که به طواف [آستانهٔ خطیره][1095] بیاید و دوازده چراغ نذر بیاورد و [مشایخ صفویه][1096] را [زیارت][1097] نموده، بعد از آن به هر جا که خواهد برود! فامّا در آن مرتبه طواف میسّر نشد و از این جهت کاری از پیش نرفت و اولامه را نتوانستیم گرفت و فتح نشد. در این مرتبه، چون حضرت خواندگار به تبریز رفت، ما از راه کاروانسرای عباس به اردبیل رفتیم و دوازده شمعدان نذر کرده، بردم و شب آنجا خواب کرده، حضرت سلطان [f.26v] شیخ صدرالدّین را در خواب دیدم که به من گفتند که بعد از بیست و سه روز ظهور [نمیدانم][1098] یا خروج خواهد کرد؛ یکی از این دو کلمه را فرمودند. چون بیدار شدم با خود گفتم که ظهور مخصوص صاحب الزّمان (ص) است، [آیا][1099] خروج چه معنی داشته باشد؟

بعد از آن، از اردبیل کوچ کرده، به سراب آمدیم و به اردو ملحق شدیم. حضرت خواندگار از تبریز کوچ کرده، برگشت و ما از آنجا متوجه مرند شدیم. و چون به مرند رسیدیم، خبر آوردند که حضرت خواندگار به اخلاط رفت. ما متوجه قرانقو درهٔ خوی شده، شکار ماهی میکردیم که دو نفر کُرد آمدند و خبر آوردند که اولامه در وان نشسته است. [f.27r] من گلآلود شده بودم. به آب سرد خود را شستم و سوار شدم و [از خوی][1100] ایلغار کردم. چون به حوالی زاویهٔ [مولانا][1101] حسن رسیدم، تب کردم. خیمه زدند و من فرود آمده، تکیه کردم و استاد محمود قصّهخوان نشسته، حکایت میکرد. قباد بیگ قاجار و شیرحسن قورچی را با سی کس فرستادم که خبری بیاورند. وقت عصر بود که دو نفر قورچی آمده، خبر آوردند که اولامه وان را گذاشته، فرار نموده است.

[1090] ایلچی [p.128].
[1091] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲)[f.88v] .
[1092] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲)[f.88v] : «آمد».
[1093] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲)[f.88v] .
[1094] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲)[f.88v] : «از عقب».
[1095] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲)[f.89r] : «آستانه».
[1096] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲)[f.89r] : «مشایخ».
[1097] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲)[f.89r] : «طواف».
[1098] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲)[f.89r] .
[1099] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲)[f.89r] : «اما».
[1100] ایلچی [p.129].
[1101] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲)[f.89r] : «ملا».

ما فیالحال [از آنجا][1102] کوچ کرده، به وان رفتیم. غازی خان، حاکم شیراز، و یعقوب سلطان قاجار و [سیصد][1103] نفر قورچی را همراه کوپک قران و حسن بیگ یوزباشی کرده و آنها را با موازی چهار پنج هزار کس از مردم فرستادم [f.27v] که الکاء سید محمد را غارت کنند. **و از خوی بهرام میرزا و منتشا سلطان و امیر بیگ و شاهقلی خلیفه و بوداق خان و صدرالدین خان سفرهچی را فرستادم**. و یساولان و قاپوجیان و قیجاجیان را بالتمام همراه بهرام میرزا کردم که تا ارجیش از عقب خواندگار بروند. ایشان بوداق خان و صدرالدین خان را به قراولی فرستاده بودنداند. قراولان به حاجی بیگ دچار شده، جنگ کردهاند و او را شکسته، دویست و پنجاه [کس][1104] او را گرفتهاند و او تنها گریخته. اخترمه و سرها را فرستادند.

و روزی که اخترمه و سرها را نزد من آوردند، [روز دیگر][1105] سلیمان سلطان روملو به کنار دریا رفته [f.28r] و نماز گذارده، [بعد از نماز][1106] وقت عصر بود که نزد من آمد و گفت که کنار دریا چمن است و هوای خوب دارد، چرا گشت نمیکنید؟ و [غرض][1107] او این بود که میانهٔ عادل جواز و ارجیش گردی دیده بوده به من [نماید].[1108] [چون من سوار شدم و به جانب دریا متوجه گشتم،][1109] گفت که این گرد را میبینید؟ جزم و تحقیق، لشکر خواندگار است که بر سر بهرام میرزا میرود.

در این اثناء، شاهوردی خلیفه سوکُلان اغلی را، که حالا علمدار است و در آن [وقت][1110] قورچی بود، در حال پیش بهرام میرزا و منتشا سلطان و [امیر سلطان][1111] و شاهقلی خلیفه و باقی امراء [فرستادم][1112] که این است: گرد پیدا شد و [تخمیناً سی هزار کس خواهد بود!][1113] [از خود [f.28v] با خبر باشید و هرگاه ظاهر شود که بر سر شما می-آیند،][1114] [مرا اعلام نمایید][1115] [تا خود را به شما رسانم.][1116]

[1102] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [F.89r].
[1103] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [F.89r]: «ششصد».
[1104] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [F.89r]: «نفر لشکر».
[1105] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [F.89r]: «بعد از آن».
[1106] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [F.89r]: «از نماز که فارغ شد».
[1107] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [F.89r]: «مدعای».
[1108] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [F.89r]: «بگوید».
[1109] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [F.89r]: «من که آمدم».
[1110] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [F.89r]: «محل».
[1111] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [F.89r]: «امیر بیگ».
[1112] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [F.89r]: «دواندم».
[1113] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [F.89r]: «هر کس که دید، تخمین کرده، گفتندی کمتر از سی هزار کس نیستند و لشکر بر سر شما آمد».
[1114] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [F.89r]: «تحقیق کنید که اگر لشکر باشد».
[1115] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [F.89r]: «به من خبر کنید».
[1116] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [F.89r]: «که به مدد شما بیایم».

بعد از آن، به منزل آمدم و مترصّد خبر دیگر بودم. [شب شد، هیچ خبری از جایی نیامد].[1117] صباح روز دیگر میخواستم که به جانب وسطان [توجه نمایم؛][1118] فامّا به جهت آنکه خبر محقّق به ما نرسید، [توقف نمودیم.][1119] چون وقت پیشین شد، هلهل بهادر عرب گیرلو و کورشیخی قورچی چمشگزکی هر دو به کنار دریا به گشت رفته بودهاند. آمدند و یک رومی همراه آوردند که از اولامه گریخته، آمده بود. گفت: اولامه و پاشاءِ دیاربکر به وسطان آمدند و یک یساول القاس را گرفتند. [او گفت][1120] که شاه در وان است، ایشان گریخته، رفتند. من تأسف بسیار خوردم که کاش آن روز سوار [f.29r] میشدم که [به اولامه دچار میگشتم]. آخر هشتاد نفر از قورچیان ترکمان را به وسطان فرستادم که خبر تحقیق بیاورند. بعد از ساعتی، غازی خان، حاکم شیراز، و امراء از ایلغار بازگشتند.][1121] به ایشان گفتم که حیف! اولامه به نزدیکی ما آمده بوده و از دست ما [بیرون رفته][1122] است. سلیمان سلطان گفت: بیایید که تا به کنار دریا رویم، ببینیم آنکه مینمودگرد بود یا صحرا! رفتیم و [ملاحظه کردیم.][1123] معلوم شد که گرد بوده که گذشته است. کس نزد قورچیان ترکمان فرستادم که از آب وسطان بگذرند و معاودت نمایند که به جانب ارجیش به مدد بهرام میرزا میرویم.

هنوز به خیمه نیامده بودم که قرا اسماعیل قورچی و کور شهسوار هر دو آمدند. یکی سر آورد [f.29v] و دیگری آدم زنده. [از آن شخص پرسیدم][1124] که ملازم چه کسی است؟ گفت که غلام خواندگارم. گفتم که خواندگار کجاست؟ گفت که در اخلاط است. گفتم که شما اینجا چه میکردید؟ گفت: خواندگار اولامه را به وان فرستاده. من چون نام اولامه شنیدم، [مضطرب][1125] شدم. به خانه رفته، بکتر بالای زره پوشیدم و [فرمودم که هفت مشعل روشن کنند و روان شدیم].[1126]

قورچیان ترکمان هفده نفر رومی دیگر گرفته، آمدند. اولامه چون مشعلها را میبینند، میگریزد. ما موازی سیصد کس از قورچیان ترکمان و ذوالقدر چرخچی کرده، از عقب او رفتیم. بعضی مردم از پل و بعضی از گذر گذشتند. در این اثناء، [f.30r] عبدالله خان و گوکچه سلطان و یادگار سلطان و یعقوب سلطان و حسن بیگ یوزباشی، که از الکاء سید محمد بازگشته بودند، با ششصد نفر از قورچیان و شش هفت هزار مردم امراء میرسند. چون عبدالله خان و مردم امراء بر سر پل میرسند، آتش از دور میبینند و تصور میکنند که ما فرود آمدهایم و اسبها را جو میدهیم. همانجا فرود آمده خواب می‌کنند. ما به ایشان ملتفت ناشده

[1117] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [F.89r].
[1118] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [F.89r]: «رویم».
[1119] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [F.89r]: «نرفتیم نشسته بودیم».
[1120] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [F.89r]: «او خبری گرفت».
[1121] در کاتب ذکر نشده است.
[1122] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [F.89r]: «به در رفت».
[1123] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [F.89r]: «دیدیم».
[1124] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [F.89r]: «آن شخص گفت».
[1125] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [F.89r]: «بیتاب».
[1126] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [F.89r]: «هفت مشعل روشن کردم و روانه شدم».

راندیم. و اولامه گریخت و قورچیان [مردم بسیار از رومیان گرفتند][1127] و مـا بـا [دو هـزار][1128] کس از عقب ایشان رفتیم تا آنکه دلو پروانه را زنده گرفته، آوردند. او گفت که ابـراهیم پاشـا بر سر بهرام میرزا ایلغار کرد. چون این خبر را [f.30v] شـنیدیم و دانسـتیم، مـراجعت نمـودیم. وقت عصری بود که به رودخانهٔ کواش آمدیم و شب آنجا [نزول نموده،][1129] صباح روز دیگر به وسطان رسیدیم. از پیش بهرام میرزا و امراء کس آمـد. [آن کس را آوردنـد و گفتنـد][1130] کـه هفت کس از مردم ابراهیم پاشا [گرفتیم][1131] و پاشا بازگشت. و آن روز بیسـت و سـه روز از خوابی که در اردبیل دیده بودم گذشته بود که اولامه را شکستم و به لطف خدای تعالی الکـاء وان و ارجیش فتح شد.

چو آید بکوشیدنت کار پیش / ز تأیید حق دان نه از سعی خویش!

در آن اثناء، ابراهیم پاشا [که خمیرمایهٔ شور و شرّ بود، به سوء اعمال خویش گرفتـار شده، به دست خواندگار][1132] کشته شد و فتنهها فرو نشست و اگرچه در میانـه دوسـتی نبـود، امّا نزاع و [جنگ][1133] نیز نبود و امنیّت تمام [f.31r] بود و مسلمانان به فراغت بودنـد، تـا زمـانی که القاس یاغی شد.

فصل سوم: حکایت القاس

هرگاه تاریخ تیموری میخواندم و به این بیت میرسیدم که

شده شاهرخ همرهش در مصاف / بسان دو شمشیر در یک غلاف

میگفتم که من و القاس این حال داریم. و من او را از [جمیـع][1134] بـرادران و فرزنـدان [بیشتر دوست][1135] میداشتم. چنانکه [قبل از آنکه القاس یاغی شود،][1136] مبلغ دویست و پنجاه تومان به سادات و صلحاء و اتقیاء که در مشهد مقدّس معلّی ساکن بودنـد قـرض داده بـودم؛ مقرّر آنکه تا القاس زنده باشد، [آن وجه][1137] را از ایشان نگیرم [تا آن جماعت][1138] همیشه در آن آستانهٔ [f.31v] مقدسه به دعای درازیِ عُمر او [مشغول باشند].[1139]

فامّا او بیعقل بود. بیجهت و بیسبب یاغی شد. و بـه غـیر از این سـببی بـه خـاطر نمی‌رسد که با اُغورلو نام، پسری که حالا در روم است، عمل بدی داشته و [ترسیده][1140] که مبـادا

[1127] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [F.89v]: «بعضی آدم ستادند».
[1128] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.76v]: «دوازده هزار».
[1129] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [F.89v]: «خواب کردم».
[1130] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [F.89v].
[1131] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [F.89v]: «ستادیم».
[1132] ایلچی [p.130].
[1133] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [F.89v]: «غوغایی».
[1134] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.89v]؛ ایلچی [p.160]: «تمامی».
[1135] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.89v]؛ ایلچی [p.160]: «دوستر».
[1136] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.89v]؛ ایلچی [p.160].
[1137] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.89v]؛ ایلچی [p.160]: «زر».
[1138] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.89v]: «که ایشان».
[1139] ایلچی [p.160]: «قیام و اقدام نمایند».
[1140] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.89v]: «از ترس من».

من بشنوم و او را عقوبت کنم. و بیدولتی چند از نوکران او که شراب میخوردهاند، از ترس آنکه مبادا بشنوم و ایشان را سیاست کنم، او را بدآموزی کرده، یاغی [کردهاند].[1141]

[پیش از آنکه][1142] خبر یاغیگری او انتشار [یابد،][1143] علی آقای آغچه سقل را نزد او فرستادم که نصیحت کند او را که ترک مخالفت نموده، قطع صلهٔ رحم نکند و اگر سخن نشنود و در مقام [f.32r] یاغیگری باشد، من کار او را به خدای تعالی حواله میکنم. چون این سخن را به او رسانیدهاند، [هیچ جواب نگفته][1144] است. بعد از آن، امراء را نزد او فرستادم و پیغام کردم که من هرگز با تو بدی نکردهام، حالا نیز نمیکنم. فامّا [چون تو در مقام بدی آمدهای،][1145] من آقایی دارم؛ تو را به او میسپارم که جزای تو بدهد! [دستی که در از خیبر کند]،[1146] سر سرکش تو را [نیز میتواند کند].[1147]

با «یَد اللَّه فَوْق أیْدِیهِمْ» / شد یکی دست قدرت حیدر
به دو انگشت از آن تواند کند / پنجهٔ قدر او در از خیبر

عقل او در این مرتبه بود که با آنکه میدانست که من در قوّت و لشکر بیست برابر او هستم، سوگند خورد که با من بدی نکند و مرا سوگند [f.32v] نداد و [در حضور][1148] امراء و قاضی عسکر و امیر ابراهیم صفوی و معصوم بیگ، که در آن وقت متولی آستانهٔ صفویّه (قده) بود، قسم یاد کرد که با من یاغیگری نکند. [و چون][1149] امراء بازگشتند، خطبه و سکّه به نام خود کرد. بعد از آن، من متوجه گرجستان شدم و از گرجستان به جانب قراباغ [رفتم].[1150] او از توجه من به قراباغ واقف شده، به چرکس رفت و چون از اهل بُغی بود، ملاحظهٔ رفتن او به سر کافر نکرده، امراء را به جانب شیروان بر سر او فرستادم.

امراء به دستوری که پاشاهای حضرت خواندگار در پاسین به سلطان بایزید عمل کردند ایشان نیز با القاس همان عمل نموده، [f.33r] او را نگرفتند تا آنکه او فرار نموده، به جانب کفه رفت. و از آنجا کتابتی نوشته، فرستاد که پیش حضرت خواندگار میروم، خواهید دید که بر سر شما چه خواهم آورد. گفتم که [بیحساب گفته! از خواندگار بزرگتری هست: خدا از همه بزرگتر است و قدرت او بزرگتر! حضرت خواندگار و من و تو پیش قدرت او چه چیزیم و چه نماییم؟][1151]

در آمد پشهای از لاف سر مست / دمی بر فرق کوه قاف بنشست
از آنجا بر پرید و درعدم شد / چه چیز افزود از آن کوه و چه کم شد؟

[1141] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.89v]: «ساختند».
[1142] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.89v]: «هنوز».
[1143] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.89v]: «نیافته بود».
[1144] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.89v]: «اصلا جواب نداده».
[1145] ایلچی [p.160].
[1146] ایلچی [p.160]: «همچنانکه در خیبر را به ید ولایت از جای برکنده به دور انداخت».
[1147] ایلچی [p.160]: «از تن جدا ساخت».
[1148] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.89v]: «پیش».
[1149] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.89v]: «بعد از آنکه».
[1150] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.89v]: «آمدم».
[1151] ایلچی [p.162]: «ما کار خود را به کارسازی گذاشتهایم که ما و تو و خواندگار در جنب قدرت او برابر پر پشّهای اختیار و اعتبار نداریم».

همه در جنب قدرت این چنینیم / اگر بر آسمان گر بر زمینیم
سعادت به بخشایش داورست [f.33v] / نه بر دست و بازوی زور آورست
خدا کشتی آنجا که خواهد برد / اگر ناخدا جامه بر تن درد؟

اینقدر میدانم که حضرت خواندگار میبایست که اوّل کسی نزد من میفرستادند و گناه او را میطلبیدند. اگر من امر حضرت خواندگار را قبول نمیکردم و الکاء او را به او نمیدادم، بعد از آن هر نزاعی که میکردند به محلّ خود بود. و اگر [چنین نمی‌کردند نیز][1152] میبایست که او را در استانبول نگاه میداشتند که روزی ایشان را به کار آید. رستم پاشا نیز تا غایت نسبت به ما بد نکرده بود؛ ما از او منّت داریم. بایستی که در این قضیه نیز رعایت حق نمک حضرت خواندگار [f.34r] نموده، بگفتی که صلاح در آن است که اوّل ما با قزلباش سخن کنیم، بعد از آن بر سر ایشان رویم تا سبکی واقع نشود.

هر که شاه آن کند که او گوید / حیف باشد که جز نکو گوید

القاس آنجا رفته، دروغ بسیار میگفته که قزلباش [با من متّفقاند و مرا میخواهند][1153] و بالتمام پیش من خواهند آمد [که چون خواندگار شروع در مملکت آذربایجان نماید، اکثر امراء و سران سپاه از حضرت شاه خلافتپناه روگردان شده، به ما خواهد پیوست.][1154] [حال آنکه][1155] قزلباش را اگر سر برود، تاج از سر نمیاندازد! در محلی که القاس تاج بر سر داشت هیچکس پیش او نرفت؛ [بعد از آنکه][1156] تاج از سر انداخت، چون پیش او میرفتند؟ حضرت خواندگار بایستی که اول عقل و فهم او را بیازمودی، بعد از آن به سخن او عمل کرده، بر سر ما آمدی. عقل و فهم و تدبیر او را ندانسته، [f.34v] به سخن او عمل کردند و [خود][1157] را سبک کرده، از هزار مرتبه صلابت و هیبت که از ایشان در دل مردم این ولایت بود، [به یکی آوردند].[1158]

ملک با دل خویش در گفتوگو / که خود مُلک ایران سپارد بدو
ولیکن بهتدریج [تا][1159] انجمن / بهسستی بخندید بر رأی من
به عقلش بباید نخست آزمود / به قدر هنر پایگاهش فزود
نهد بر دل از جور غم بارها / که ناآزموده کند کارها
چو یوسف کسی در صلاح و تمیز / چهل سال باید که گردد عزیز
به ایّام تا بر نیاید بسی / نشاید رسیدن به غور کسی
نگه کن چو سوفار داری بدست [f.35r] / نه آنگه که پرتاب کردی ز شست!
به تندی سبک دست بردن بتیغ / به دندان گزد پشت دست دریغ

[1152] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90r]: «اگر بر سر قهر و غضب هم می‌آمد».
[1153] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90r].
[1154] ایلچی [pp.164-165].
[1155] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90r]: «حقیقت آنست که».
[1156] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90r]: «در وقتی که».
[1157] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90r]: «خواندگار».
[1158] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90r]: «به ده آمد».
[1159] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90r]: «با».

فتنهای که بعد از مردن ابراهیم پاشا سالها در خواب شده بود [به سبب القـاس بیـدار شد.][1160] القاس همراه اولامـه پیشـتر از حضـرت خوانـدگار بـه سـیواس آمـد. از آنجـا کتـابتی طولانی به شاه علی سلطان چَپنی، حـاکم وان، نوشـت کـه کلیـد قلعـۀ [وان][1161] را برداشـته، [پیشواز برد].[1162] و در اول کتابت نوشته بود که حضرت خواندگار من را پسر خوانـد و [ملـک پدر را به من داد]ـ[1163] من گفتم که ملک نه از من است و نه از تو و نـه از حضـرت خوانـدگار؛ از حضرت حق، سبحانه و تعالی، است، به هرکه میخواهد میدهد. [f.35v] قُلِ اللَّهُمَّ مَالِكَ الْمُلْكِ تُؤْتِي الْمُلْكَ مَن تَشَاءُ [و تنزع الْمُلْك ممَّنْ تشاء][1164] [3:26].

کیست درین دایرۀ دیرپای / کو «لمن المُلْك» زند جز خدای؟

دیگر، نوشته بود که حضرت خواندگار [با هفت ساله یراق و چندین لشکر میآید][1165] و ده هزار راویه بر شتران بار کرده، [میآورد][1166] که اگر احیاناً [شاه و سپاه از بیم لشکرِ قیـامت-نهیب فرار نموده،][1167] به چول و بیابان [پناه برند،][1168] صد هزار آخنچی رومی که همراه آمده-اند با شتران راویه از عقب ایشان [بفرستد،][1169] تا اسـب و آدم را در چـول از راویه آب دهنـد [و تـا وقـتی کـه بـه مطلـوب خـویش فـایز نشـوند، بـاز نگردنـد]ـ[1170] گفتم: من هم میدانم کـه حضرت خواندگار شوکت و عظمت تمام دارد و تو را مدد خواهد کرد. [او را قدرت باشـد.][1171] ما را حضرت حق، سبحانه و تعالی، و حضرت رسالتپناه (ص) [f.36r] و حضرات ائمۀ معصومین (ع) مدد کنند.

پیر دُردیکش ما گرچه ندارد زر و زور / خوش عطابخش و خطاپوش خدایی دارد

دیگر، نوشته بود که حضرت خواندگار سوای اسباب و جهات و مرصّعآلات و اقمشـه و اسب و استر و شتر و خلعت موازی سی هزار اشرفی نقد به من [انعام کرد].[1172] [جـواب][1173] گفتم که [شما را این حکومت و سلطنت بالقوّه][1174] مبارک باشـد، امـا این نقـد در [دنیـا و][1175] آخرت به تو فایده نخواهد داد و [معلوم است که در دنیا از سی هزار اشرفی چه مقدار لشکر و ملک بهم رسد، با آنکه فایدۀ دنیا اعتباری ندارد][1176] که «الدُّنْيَا جِيفَةٌ وَطُلَابُهَا كِلابٌ».

[1160] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90r]: «بیدار کردند».
[1161] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90r].
[1162] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90r]: «آورد» ؛ایلچی [p.165]: «کلید حصار وان را برداشته به استقبال مرکب گیتی ستان بشتابد».
[1163] ایلچی [p.165]: «مملکت عجم را [او] آن مرز و بوم به من ارزانی داشته است».
[1164] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90r].
[1165] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90r]: «تا هفت ساله یراق و چندین لشکر آورده».
[1166] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90r]: «همراه آورد».
[1167] ایلچی [p.165].
[1168] ایلچی [p.165].
[1169] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90r]: «میفرستند» ؛ایلچی [p.165]: «روان شوند».
[1170] ایلچی [p.165].
[1171] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90r].
[1172] ایلچی [p.165]: «امداد نموده».
[1173] کاتب: نسخۀ دانشگاه (۲) [f.90r].
[1174] ایلچی [p.165].
[1175] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90r].
[1176] ایلچی [p.165]: «بر ارباب خرد این معنی بسیار ظاهر است که از سی هزار اشرفی در دنیا امر سلطنت انتظام نمیپذیرد و کار پادشاهی از پیش نمیرود».

این نقد دو روزه را دلا باز گذار / کز نقد دو روزه بر نمیآید کار! [f.36v]
زان سان نقدی گزین که در روز شمار / با آن گیری قرار در دار قرار

اگـر تـو را این نقـد دادنـد، من را نـیز در درون [جـان][1177] نقـدی هسـت کـه در دنیـا و [آخرت][1178] [مرا فایده میدهد:][1179] آن نقد محبت [آقای من][1180] است، [نه زر و نـه لشـکر].[1181] تو را به او سپردهام! خواهی دید که نقد تو به تو زیاده فایده خواهد رسانید یا نقد من به من.

نقدیست مرا درون جانم / مانندهٔ کیمیای احمر
نقدیست که آدم صفی را [f.37r] / بی آن نبود عمل میّسر
نقدیست که چون خلیل بر خواند / یک موی نسوختش در آذر
نقدیست که علم و زهد موسی / بی [آن][1182] [نرود][1183] به نیم جو زر
نقدیست که مصطفیی مرسل / میکرد به خود وِرا برابر
نقدیست عزیز و بس گرامی / آن نیست به جز ولای حیدر

[ظاهر است که][1184] آقای من نزد حضرت حق، سبحانه و تعالی، از آقای تو عزیزتـر [و مکرّمتر][1185] است. او کی خواهد گذاشت که من به حالی گرفتـار شـوم کـه من را از ده هـزار راویه بترسانی؟ من غلام آن امامم که حضرت حق، جلّ و علا، در شأن او این آیات [فرستاده که][1186] «أَنْفُسَنَا وَ أَنْفُسَكمْ» [3:61] و [f.37v] «إِنَّما يُرِيدُ الله ليذهب عَنْكُمُ اَلـرِّجْسَ أَهْـلَ اَلْبَيْتِ وَ يُطَهِّرَكُمْ تَطْهِيراً» [33:33] و [يوفون بالنذر][1187] [76:7] «وَيطْعِمُونَ الطَّعَامَ عَلَى حُبِّهِ مِسْـكِينًا وَ يَتِيمًا وَأَسِيرًا» [76:8] «وَسَقاهُمْ رَبُّهُمْ شَراباً طَهُوراً» [76:21]. صد هزاران تشنه لب مثل آقای تو در روز قیامت [در کنار][1188] حوض کوثر از آقـای من آب خواهنـد طلبیـد و او بـه هـر [کس کـه لایق دانـد][1189] آب خواهـد داد و حضـرت پیغمـبر (ص) کـه حـق، سـبحانه و تعـالی، در شـأن او فرموده که «لولاك لمّا خلقت الأفلاك».

محمد درّ دریای جلالت / که بر وی ختم شد حکم رسالت
شهنشاه سریر «قابِ قوسین» / حبیب ایزد و سلطان کونین [f.38r]
سوار چابک میدان اسری / شجاع عرصهٔ «انّا فتحنا»
امین و محرم اسرار اوحی / نسیم گلشن «یس» و «طه»

[1177] ایلچی [p.165]: «خزانه دل».
[1178] ایلچی [p.165]: «عقبی».
[1179] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90r]؛ ایلچی [p.165]: «بکار من میآید».
[1180] یلچی [p.165]: «امیرالمؤمنین علی بن ابی طالب (ع) ».
[1181] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90r]: «نه لشکرست و نه مدد».
[1182] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90r]: «هارون» ؛ایلچی [p.166]: «بی وی».
[1183] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90r]؛ ایلچی [p.166]: «نخرد».
[1184] ایلچی [p.166].
[1185] ایلچی [p.166].
[1186] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90v]: «فرموده‌اند».
[1187] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90v].
[1188] ایلچی [p.166]: «بر لب».
[1189] ایلچی [p.166].

شفیع اولین و آخرین اوست / خدا را رحمة للعالمین اوست
درود مصطفی از اصل دین است / سعادتهای دیگر فرع این است
[درود او ز دل][1190] ورد زبان کن / به جان هر دم ثنای خاندان کن!
غلام خاندان مصطفی باش / ز راه دین علی را خاک پا باش!
سزاوار درود و نعت بیحد / محمد باشد و آل محمد

و نیز حق، سبحانه و تعالی، در شأن آن حضرت و سخنان او فرموده که «وَ مَا يَنطِقُ عَنِ الْهَوَى إِنْ هُوَ إِلا وَحْيٌ يُوحَى» [4-53:3]. و حضرت [محمد (ص)][1191] [f.38v] در شأن آقای من این احادیث می فرماید که «مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلاهُ فعليٌّ مَوْلاهُ» و «أَنْتَ مِنِّي بمَنْزِلَةِ هَرونَ مِن مُوسَى» و «أنا مدينة العلم و عليّ بابها». و نیز آن حضرت آقای من را بر دوش مبارک خود برداشت، تا آنکه بُتانی که بر بام خانهٔ کعبه بود شکست.

[پای بر کتف پیمبر او نهاد / هیچکس بالاتر از بالا نشد
خانهٔ حق کعبه را گویند لیک / جز علی آنجا کسی پیدا نشد][1192]

و نیز آن حضرت مرغ بریان که جبرئیل (ع) جهت او از بهشت آورده بود را نخورد و مناجات کرد که [خدایا][1193] کسی را که دوستترین [خلق][1194] باشد به تو و تو او را دوست داری و او تو را دوست دارد بفرست تا من این مرغ را با او بخورم. در ساعت آقای من، حضرت امیرالمؤمنین علی (ع)، حاضر شد و آن مرغ را با پیغمبر (ص) خورد. و نیز آفتاب [f.39r] مطیع آن حضرت شد تا نماز [عصر][1195] را در وقت ادا به جای آورد. و نیز عمرو بن عبدود را ضربت زد و پیغمبر (ص) در شأن آن حضرت این حدیث فرمود که «لمبارزة علي ابن ابي طالب يوم الخندق افضل من اعمال امّتی الی یوم القیامة». و نیز آن حضرت [به ید ولایت][1196] در از خیبر کند و حق، سُبحانه و تعالی، ذوالفقار به آن حضرت داد و ناد علی در شأن آن حضرت نازل گشت.

[تا امیرالمؤمنین پیدا نشد / مشکلات باب خیبر وا نشد][1197]

من تو را [به آقای خود سپردم،][1198] تو نیز مرا به آقای خود سپار [تا هرچه خواهند آقایان ما در حق ما بکنند][1199].

بعد از آن، خبر آمد که حضرت خواندگار به سیواس رسید و سه هفته مینشیند که شتران را روغن مالند. من کدخدایان [f.39v] و رعایای هر محل را طلبیده، گفتم که غلّهٔ شما را اگر ما نخورانیم، لشکر حضرت خواندگار خواهند خورانید. پس اولی آن است که ما بخورانیم

[1190] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90v]: «درودش را ز دل».
[1191] ایلچی [p.166]: «رسالت پناه (ص) ».
[1192] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90v].
[1193] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90v]: «الهی».
[1194] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90v]: «بندهٔ تو».
[1195] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90v].
[1196] ایلچی [p.167].
[1197] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90v].
[1198] ایلچی [p.167]: «به این چنین آقایی حواله کرده‌ام».
[1199] ایلچی [p.167]: «تا بنگریم که آقایان ما چه کار می‌کنند».

و آنچه نتوانیم خورانید، بسوزانیم و در عوض آن سه سال مـال شـما را معـاف کـنیم. غلّـه را سوختیم و کاریزها را خراب کردیم.

کار و بار جنگ حکم بازی دارد: به هـر نـوع کـه میّسـر شـود، میبایـد کـه این کس [بـر حریف غالب شود.][1200] «و [الحرب خدعة». در جنگ نیز، خـواه جنـگ کنـد و خـواه گریـزد،][1201] دشمن را فرصت نمیباید داد. و چون دشمن در مقام جنگ کردن باشد و [لشکر بیشتر داشـته باشد،][1202] تا ممکن است با او جنگ روبهرو نمیباید کرد.

[دیگر آنچه در باب «یراق هفت سـاله و ده هـزار راویـه و اسـتعداد سـفر و شـوکت و حشمت خواندگار» مرقوم ساخته بودند، عقلاً از امثال این حکایات واهیة لاغیه نمیترسند؛ زیرا که][1203] ما بارها حساب کردهایم که حضرت خواندگار تخمیناً سیصد هـزار سـوار جنگی سـوای قلقچی همراه دارد. و اگر [f.40r] هر کدام یک قلقچی داشته باشند، ششصد هزار آدم میشود و در لشکر ایشان [غیر از][1204] ینگچری [پیاده نمیباشد].[1205] بر این تقدیر، اگر هر کـدام یـک رأس [اسب یا استر][1206] داشته باشند، ششصد هزار [اسـب یـا اسـتر][1207] میشـود. هـر الاغی را هـر شب دو من جو [به وزن تبریز][1208] میباید؛ [چنانچه در شبی][1209] دوازده هـزار خـروار صـد مـنی جو میشود. و از ششصد هزار آدم هر کس را هر روز نیم من [آذوقـه میبایـد،][1210] ؛ سـه هـزار خروار صد منی آذوقه میشود. چنانچه در شبانروزی مجموع پانزده هزار خروار صـد مـنی غلّـه صرف میشود. [و در مدت بیست روز سیصد هزار خروار میشود.][1211]

احتمال دارد که در سر کار حضرت خواندگار یکصد و پنجاه هزار خروار صد منی غلّـه موجود باشد و در لشکری نیز یکصد و پنجاه هزار خروار غلّه [f.40v] موجود باشد. چنانچه پانصد هزار شتر باید که این سیصد هزار خروار غلّه آذوقه را بردارد، سوای شتری که یراق و اسباب جنگ و توپخانه و سایر اسباب سـفر را بـر میدارد. و سیصـد هـزار خـروار غلّه مجمـوع آذوقـهٔ بیست روزه ایشان میشود. [بعد از آنکه ما همهجـا را سـوخته و خورانیـده][1212] باشـیم و جنـگ روبهرو با ایشان نکنیم [و در گرد ایشان میگشته باشیم، ایشان چه خواهند کرد؟][1213] و غـیر از

[1200] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90v]: «بحریف ببازد».
[1201] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90v].
[1202] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90v].
[1203] ایلچی [p.167].
[1204] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90v]: «سوای».
[1205] ایلچی [p.167]: «پیاده کم می‌باشد».
[1206] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90v] ؛ایلچی [p.167]: «الاغ».
[1207] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90v] ؛ایلچی [p.167]: «الاغ».
[1208] ایلچی [p.167].
[1209] ایلچی [p.167].
[1210] ایلچی [p.167]: «مأکول خواهند».
[1211] ایلچی [p.167].
[1212] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90v]: «و هر جا که سوخته و خورانده» ؛ایلچی [p.167]: «ما جمیع مزروعات و غلات این ولایت را بسوزانیم و بخورانیم».
[1213] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90v]: «و خود را بجایی کشیم ایشان مکث نمی‌توانند کرد».

بازگشتن چه علاج دارند و دیگر آذوقه از کجا [پیدا میکنند]؟[1214] [و هرگاه که در این ولایت از جنس خوردنی چیزی یافت نشود،][1215] [زری که داشته باشند ایشان را چه فایده میدهد؟][1216]

گر همه زرّ جعفری دارد / مرد بیتوشه بر نگیرد کام
در بیابان [غریب][1217] گرسنه را / [f.41r] شلغم پخته به ز نقرهٔ خام
گوش تواند که همه عمر وی / نشنود آواز دف و چنگ و نی
[دیده شکیبد ز تماشای باغ / بی گل و نسرین به سر آرد دماغ][1218]
ور نبود بالش آکنده پر / خواب توان کرد حجر زیر سر
ور نبود دلبر همخوابه پیش / دست توان کرد در آغوش خویش
وین شکم بیهنر پیچپیچ / صبر ندارد که بسازد به هیچ!

و چون ما جنگ روبهرو نخواهیم کرد، اگر ایشان [یکجا][1219] بنشینند و آذوقهٔ بیست روزه را بخورند، بعد از آن [عاجز خواهند شد][1220] و [در برگشتن پریشان خواهند گشت].[1221] و [چون ما غلّهٔ آن حدود را][1222] تمام سوخته باشیم و [در هیچ محل یک من غلّه بدست [f.41v] نیاید،][1223] چگونه به الکاء خود معاودت خواهند نمود؟ و اگر [از اول یکجا][1224] بنشینند و به همان آذوقه که آوردهاند برگردند، چه دولت بهتر از آن؟

القصه، چون خواندگار به خوی آمد، من کس نزد عبدالله خان و امرایی که در مرند به قراولی رفته بودند فرستادم که اصلاً خود را منمایید و در روز بازگشته، در ییلاق اشکنبر نزد من آیید؛ که چون خواندگار به تبریز رود، ما ده هزار کس پیش فرستاده، ایلغار نماییم و اولامه را در پای قلعهٔ وان [بگیریم].[1225] امراء [مشارالیهم][1226] یک روز تعلّل کردند. [منشأ][1227] آن بود که پیش لشکر خواندگار به ایشان رسیده و چون تاب مقاومت نداشتهاند، نزد ما آمدند. و در وقتی [f.42r] که خواندگار به تبریز رسید، هنوز آن جماعت از امراء و لشکریان نیامده بودند و در پنج فرسخی تبریز بودند. بعضی [لشکریان][1228] گفتند که صلاح در آن است که ما به اهر رویم و آنجا بنشینیم تا امرای مذکور به ما ملحق شوند. چون ما از آنجا که بودیم کوچ کردیم، روز اول، چراغ سلطان و چرنداب سلطان و علیقلی رسیدند و روز دوم که به

[1214] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90v]: «بدست می‌آورند»؛ ایلچی [p.167]: «دیگر غله از کجا به دست ایشان خواهد آمد».
[1215] ایلچی [p.167].
[1216] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.90v]: «زر چه فایدهٔ ایشان می‌کند»؛ ایلچی [p.167]: «زر و اسباب به چه کار می‌آید».
[1217] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91r]: «فقیر».
[1218] در کاتب ذکر نشده است.
[1219] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91r]: «ملجأ شده».
[1220] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91r]: «چه خواهند کرد».
[1221] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91r]: «از برگشتن حال ایشان چون می‌شود».
[1222] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91r]: «ما پیش ایشانرا».
[1223] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91r]: «یکمن غلّه در هیچ محل نمی‌گذاریم».
[1224] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91r]: «در همان روز برگشته».
[1225] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91r]: «به دست آوریم».
[1226] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91r]: «مذکور».
[1227] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91r].
[1228] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91r].

اهر رسیدیم، ابراهیم خان، حاکم شیراز، با سیصد کس آمد و الله قلی بیگ نـیز در همـان روز آمد.

[تفصیل امراء مذکوره و آدم ایشان بر این موجب است:][1229] بهرام میرزا کـه صـاحب هزار کس بود. چراغ سلطان کـه صـاحب پانصـد کس بـود. علیقلی بیـگ ترکمـان کـه صـاحب سیصد کس بود. الله قلی بیگ، حاکم دارابجرد، که صاحب پانصد کس بـود. چرنـداب سـلطان [شاملو،][1230] حاکم ایج و نیریز [و فسا،][1231] که صـاحب پانصـد کس بـود. ابـراهیم خـان، حـاکم شـیراز، کـه صـاحب [دو هـزار و پانصـد کس][1232] بـود. شـاه قلی سـلطان [افشـار،][1233] حـاکم کرمان، که صاحب هزار کس بود. کوپک سلطان، حاکم کازرون، که صاحب سیصـد کس بـود. محمود خان [افشار،][1234] [حـاکم][1235] کـوه کیلویـه، کـه صـاحب هـزار کس بـود. قورچیـان[f.42v] قزوین که سیصد و پنجـاه کس بودنـد. و جمـاعت سـوکلان و تاتـار سـوای نـوکران در قـزوین دویست کس بودند. مجموع لشکریان ایشان هشت هزار و یکصد و پنجاه نفر.

چون حضرت خواندگار به تبریز آمد، ما در اهر بودیم و به زیارت حضرت شـیخ شـهاب-الدین [اهری][1236] (قده) رفتیم و بعد از زیارت آنجا مناجات کردم که خدایا تو فرمودهای که دل-های شکسته را دوست میدارم [f.43r] و در دلهای شکستهام. محـل رحم است کـه [بسـیار][1237] دلشکسته شدهام و غیر از تو از هیچکس امید مدد ندارم! حق، سُبحانه و تعالی، دعـای من را مستجاب کرد؛ و اگرچه خوانـدگار رحم نکـرد، حضـرت ارحم الـرّاحمین رحم کـرد و خوانـدگار چهار روز در تبریز بود و نتوانست نشست و بازگشت.

تو با خدای خود انداز کار و دل خوش دار / که رحم اگر نکند مدّعی خدا بکند

قبل از آنکه خواندگار باز گردد، من در اهر به امراء گفتم که شما سه هزار کس تعیین کنید که اردو را برداشته، از راه [جوشین دزمار][1238] بـه جـانب اردوبـاد برنـد، بعـد از آن بـا ده هزار کس پیشتر بر سر اولامه ایلغار کنند [و پنج هزار کس بـه قـارص رود][1239] و [من از عقب شـما [f.43v] متوجـه میشـوم تـا اولامـه را بـه دسـت آوریم.][1240] و در وان هـر جـا غلّـه باشـد [بسوزانیم][1241] و اگر خواندگار از عقب مـا آیـد، مـا از آنجـا [بـه جـانب چخورسـعد رویم][1242] و

[1229] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91r].
[1230] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91r].
[1231] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91r].
[1232] ایلچی [p.170]: «هزار و پانصد».
[1233] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91r].
[1234] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91r].
[1235] ایلچی [p.170]: «والی».
[1236] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91r].
[1237] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91r]: «به غایت».
[1238] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91r]: «رشین دزمار».
[1239] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91r].
[1240] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91r]: «که من از عقب شما کوچ کنم و عقب شما را داشته باشم اولامه را بستانید».
[1241] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91r]: «بسوزانید».
[1242] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91r]: «زده بچخورسعد آئیم».

[جمعی][1243] را به قارص فرستیم تا [مردمی][1244] که [جهت عمارت آنجا رفته باشند] را[1245] [به قتل آورند.][1246] امراء گفتند که تا بهرام میرزا و باقی امراء که نیامدهاند به ما ملحق نشوند، رفتن ما صلاح نیست. و مقرّر کردیم که در اهر بنشینیم و عبدالله خان را با سه هزار کس به قراولی فرستادیم.

در این اثناء، دویست و پنجاه خروار یراق قورخانه را بر شتران عرب بار کرده، از عراق آوردند. همان شب، عربان شتران را برداشته، گریختند و پانصد صندوق یراق قورخانه بر زمین ماند و آنقدر شتر که [f.44r] آنها را بردارد حاضر نبود و [ما اگر کوچ میکردیم، در یورت میماند].[1247] من گفتم که یک منزل پس نشینیم و [این یراق را به هر وجه که باشد به آن منزل برده،][1248] بر لشکریان قسمت نماییم. بعد از آن، باز کوچ کرده به اتفاق پیش آییم. [چون چهار فرسنگ برگشته، فرود آمدیم][1249] و یک روز آنجا نشسته، به یراق پخش کردن مشغول شدیم. خبر آمد که خواندگار برگشت. و ابراهیم خان چون در هشت فرسخی تبریز بود، از عقب خواندگار تا طسوج رفت. ما نیز از عقب ایشان روان شدیم. چون به چالدران رسیدیم، گفتند که خواندگار رفت و قلعهٔ وان را حصار کرد. شاه قلی سلطان و محمود خان، حاکم کوه کیلویه، و کوپک سلطان در آن روز به اردو [ملحق شدند].[1250] [F.44v] [بعضی گفتند که بر سر لشکر خواندگار شبیخون میبریم].[1251] من گفتم که از اینجا به ارض روم میرویم تا آنکه چون خواندگار بشنود که ما به الکاءِ او رفتهایم، [از گِرد وان برخیزد.][1252] و [خاطر][1253] بر این قرار داده، اسمعیل میرزا را با هفت هزار کس بر سر قلعهٔ قارص فرستادم که برود و مردم آن قلعه را به قتل رسانیده، از آنجا متوجه ارض روم شود. و خود کوچ کرده، یک روز در میان به ارجیش رفتیم.

و آواز توپ و تفنگ از کنار قلعهٔ وان به آنجا میآمد. چون منقطع شد، [دانستم][1254] که شاه علی چَپنی [از غایت وهم و هراس امان طلبیده،][1255] قلعهٔ وان را تسلیم رومیان نموده است. از آنجا متوجه خنوس و پاسین شدیم. و چون در مرتبهٔ اوّل قرار داده بودم که [f.45r] پیش از آمدن حضرت خواندگار، قلعهٔ وان را خراب کنم و در آذربایجان یک قلعهٔ آبادان نگذارم و در آن مرتبه بعضی مردم نگذاشتند که آن داعیه به فعل آید. در این دفعه که قضیّهٔ

[1243] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91r]: «بعضی لشکر».
[1244] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91r]: «آنجماعت بنا».
[1245] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91r]: «بعمارت آنجا آمده‌اند».
[1246] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91r].
[1247] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91r].
[1248] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91r]: «این یراق را به پس باز آورده».
[1249] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91r]: «ما که چهار فرسنگ پیش رفتیم».
[1250] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91v]: «رسیدند».
[1251] ایلچی [p.171]: «زمره‌ای به عرض رسانیدند که صلاح در آن است که شبیخون بر سر اردوی رومیّه بریم و ایشان را از پای حصار برخیزانیم».
[1252] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91v]: «البته از وان کوچ خواهد کرد» ؛ایلچی [p.171]: «چون این خبر به خواندگار رسد که ما به ولایت او رفتیم به سرعت از عقب ما خواهد آمد».
[1253] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91v]: «رای».
[1254] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91v]: «معلوم کردم».
[1255] ایلچی [p.171].

القاس و گرفتن وان واقع شد، من را از روی غیرت به خاطر رسید که تا القاس در دست ایشان باشد، نزاع برطرف نخواهد شد و علاجی به غیر از این نیست که هر جا که از الکاء خواندگار بدست ما در میآید، خراب کنیم و غلّهها و خانههای ایشان را بسوزانیم و متعرّض [مردم][1256] و رعایا نشویم، تا میانهٔ ما و ایشان چول شود و آمد و شد ایشان متعذر گردد. [از این جهت،][1257] خنوس و پاسین را سوختیم و در پاسین نشستیم تا اسبها را فربه کنیم و ببینیم که حضرت [f.45v] خواندگار چه میکند. خبر آمد که خواندگار به خنوس آمد و ما [همچنان][1258] در پاسین نشسته بودیم. چون اسبهای ایشان [زبون شده بود][1259] و در میان مردم ایشان قحط افتاده بود، از آنجا برگشتند. ما نیز کوچ کرده، به الکاء موش رفتیم.

خبر آمد که حضرت خواندگار از بتلیس گذشت. ما نیز [پیش رفتیم].[1260] قورچیان چمشگزکی، که جهت زبانگیری پیشتر رفته بودند، دو چاوش را در راه گرفته، آوردند. ایشان گفتند که خواندگار به اولامه و پاشا حکم نوشته بود که ما به حمید رفتیم، شما در ترجان بنشینید تا برف ببارد، بعد از آن در ارزنجان قشلاق کنید. ما نیز علی سلطان تاتی اغلی را با دوازده هزار کس فرستادیم که اخلاط و بتلیس و موش را بسوزانند [f.46r] و خود بر سر اولامه ایلغار کردیم. [و مردم گفتند که اولامه در آنجا نشسته، صلاح نیست که بر سر اولامه رویم، اما ایلغار کردیم.][1261] اتفاقاً، دو روز پیش از آنکه ما به ترجان برسیم، [پاشای بایبرد][1262] و اولامه به ارزنجان رفته بودند.

فرمودیم که تمامی الکاءِ ترجان و بایبرد را سوختند و خراب کردند. و مقرّر کردیم که هر جا مسجدی باشد یکی از اعیان لشکر آنجا [نزول نموده،][1263] [یک دو روز تا][1264] نگذارد که کسی متعرّض مسجد شود و [سوای مساجد تمامی خانهها را سوختند].[1265] و با وجود آنکه ایشان در هر مرتبه که بر سر ما میآمدند، مال ما را حلال میدانستند، ما هرگز مال ایشان و رعایای ایشان را حلال ندانستیم و چیزهای حلال از مرغ و گوسفند و برنج و روغن و سایر اجناس حلال برداشته، همراه میبردیم. و در این مرتبه نیز به دستور، اجناس حلال همراه داشتیم و مقرّر کرده بودیم که هر روز سه قاب [f.46v] طعام صباح و سه قاب شام جهت من ترتیب میکردند.

در آن اثناء، یک روز در ماه رمضان سوار شده، به کنار آب رفتم که ماهی جهت خوردن شکار کنم که [در حلّیت آن سخنی نیست].[1266] دیدم که بیست نفر پیاده میآیند. [f.47r] شاطری را فرستادم که از ایشان تحقیق نماید که چه مردماند. گفتند که ما مردم خنوسیم.

[1256] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91v]: «مردم و رعایا».
[1257] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91v]: «بنابرین».
[1258] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91v]: «همان».
[1259] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91v]: «لاغر بود».
[1260] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91v]: «آنجا نشسته پیش نرفتیم».
[1261] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91v].
[1262] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91v]: «پاشای پاسین».
[1263] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91v]: «رفته بنشیند».
[1264] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91v].
[1265] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91v].
[1266] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91v]: «حلال باشد».

رومیان ما را غارت کردهاند و اگر آنجا میماندیم، از گرسنگی هلاک میشدیم؛ [لاجرم جلا کرده به دیاربکر میرویم].[1267] من بالای اسب القاس را نفرین کردم و بر حال ایشان گریه کردم. و از آنجا کوچ کرده، به حوالی آب توزلی [رفتم].[1268] آنجا دو جاسوس چمشگزکی نزد ما آمدند و گفتند که جزم و تحقیق القاس را به همدان فرستادند و این است خواندگار به خَرْپِرت آمد و احمد پاشا را با ده هزار سوار و دو هزار تفنگچی پیش فرستاده و به کیغی رسیدهاند. در آن وقت، امراء بالتمام در بایبرد و ارزنجان بودند و غیر از قورچیان هیچکس نزد من نبود. [f.47v] [من با قورچیان گفتم که صلاح چیست؟][1269] ابراهیم آقای بوربور گفت که صلاح آن است که کوچ کنیم و به ماماخاتون [برویم][1270] و از آنجا کس بفرستیم که امرایی که در بایبردند بیایند و امرایی که در ارزنجاناند ارزنجان را سوخته، ایشان نیز بیایند. و ده کس پیش فرستیم که اگر احمد پاشا به کیغی آمده باشد، به او دستبردی نمایند.

جلودار محمد یوزباشی روملو و مقصود بیگ اینال اغلی گفتند که [این حکایت][1271] از تدبیر رومیان دور است که القاس را از دست بگذارند که به عراق رود. ظاهر آن است که او را [به جانب بغداد][1272] فرستادهاند که تا در تنگ خانقین و قزل رباط برود. و چون خبر به ما رسد که القاس به عراق رفته، [f.48r] ما بازگردیم و بعد از برگشتن ما باز کس فرستاده، القاس را نزد خود آورند. و نیز محمد آقا و اینال اغلی گفتند که چون ما به دو فرسنگی ارزنجان رسیدهایم، چرا کوچ کرده به ارزنجان نرویم و غلّهٔ آنجا را نسوزانیم و [از احمد پاشا چرا رو بگردانیم؟][1273] آری، اگر خواندگار بیاید، از راه بایبرد [بیرون رویم].[1274] [به این سخن عمل نموده،][1275] به ارزنجان رفتیم و آنجا عثمان پاشا پیش آمده، با قورچیان ذوالقدر که [به قراولی فرستاده بودیم،][1276] جنگ کرد و شکست یافت. بعد از آن از ارزنجان کوچ کرده، به بایبرد [رفتیم][1277] و در بایبرد جمعی از اطفال [ارمنی][1278] را اسیر کرده بودند. فرمودم که همه را در پنبه پیچیدند و در سبدها نهادند و به عبدالله خان [f.48v] دادم که به پای قلعه [برد و بگذارد].[1279] بعد از آن، به ارض روم آمدیم. اغلان قاسم پازوکی یکی از جماعتی که از قلعه به جنگ بیرون آمده بودند را گرفته، آورد. او نیز خبر رفتن القاس به همدان را گفت. گفتم که

[1267] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91v] : «آمده‌ایم که بدیار بکر رویم».
[1268] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91v]: «نشستیم».
[1269] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91v]: «بعد از آن با قورچیان صلاح دیدیم که چه کنیم».
[1270] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91v]: «فرود آییم».
[1271] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.91v].
[1272] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92r]: «نزد پاشای بغداد».
[1273] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92r]: «بمجرد همین که احمد پاشا پیش آمد چرا بعقب واگشته بنشینیم».
[1274] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92r]: «زده بیرون آئیم».
[1275] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92r]: «بنابرین».
[1276] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92r]: «که قراول گذاشته بودیم».
[1277] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92r]: «آمدیم».
[1278] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92r]: «رومی».
[1279] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92r]: «آورده گذاشت».

این حکایت از تدبیر رومیان به غایت دور است [که القاس را از خود جدا کرده، گذارند که برود] [1280] و این بیت به خاطر رسید که

بسا دولت که آید بر گذرگاه / چو مرد آگه نباشد گم کند راه

و از آنجا به [ابنیک/انمسک/تنگ][1281] آمدیم. آنجا نیز لشکریان [جمعی][1282] از اطفال را اسیر کرده بودند. چون خبر یافتیم، ایشان را نیز به همان دستور به پای قلعه فرستادیم و متوجه چخورسعد شدیم. و هنوز باور نمیکردیم که القاس را از دست گذاشته باشند. [F.49r] اسمعیل میرزا را به شیروان فرستادم که آنجا را ستاده، متصرف شود و قورچی باشی را با هزار و پانصد نفر قورچی فرستادم که شکّی را بگیرد و بهرام میرزا و ابراهیم خان و امراء عراق و فارس و کرمان را رخصت دادم که هر کدام به الکاء خود روند و من به قراباغ رفتم که آنجا قشلاق کنم.

در آن اثناء، متعاقب خبر آمد که القاس به عراق آمد و خانه کوچ بهرام میرزا و چراغ سلطان را غارت کرد و کنیزکان ایشان را به [مردم خود][1283] قسمت نمود و [پسر بهرام میرزا][1284] را همراه برد. [بعد از آن، به خاطر او رسیده][1285] که اگر من پسر بهرام میرزا را نزد حضرت خواندگار برم، امر خواهد کرد که من [ایشان را][1286] بکشم [و هرگاه که][1287] [f.49v] من [پسر بهرام میرزا][1288] را بکشم، [او][1289] نیز در عوض [پسران][1290] مرا خواهد کشت؛ [پس مرا نزد خواندگار نباید رفت].[1291] و چون خبر توجه ما به جانب او در قم به او رسیده، پسر بهرام میرزا را با اموال و اسبابی که غارت کرده بود برداشته، به جانب شیراز گریخت. و آنجا نیز از غایت اضطراب توقف ننموده، از راه شوشتر به بغداد رفت. و از شوشتر کتابتی نوشته، به ما فرستاد و استدعاء صلح و [عفو از][1292] گناه خود کرد. من نیز پروانچهای [مشتمل بر] استمالت [و دلجویی برادر][1293] به او نوشته، فرستادم.

فامّا [در آن وقت][1294]، مردم میگفتند که فردا القاس از [آن جانب][1295] میآید و خواندگار [از این جانب]؛[1296] معلوم نیست که احوال چون خواهد شد. و بعضی صلاح [f.50r] در آن مي-

---

[1280] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92r]؛ ایلچی [p.172]: «در ابتدا تعجب نموده فرمودند که از تدبیر و رأی خواندگار به غایت بعید است که القاس [میرزا] را در وقت چنین از خود جدا سازد».
[1281] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92r].
[1282] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92r]: «چند نفر».
[1283] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92r]: «بملازمان».
[1284] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92r]: «بدیع الزمان میرزا ولد بهرام میرزا».
[1285] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92r]: «و او با مردم خود می‌گفته».
[1286] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92r]: «پسر او را».
[1287] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92r]: «بعد از آنکه».
[1288] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92r]: «پسر او را».
[1289] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92r]: «بهرام میرزا».
[1290] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92r]: «پسر».
[1291] ایلچی [p.173]: «و از وفور خجالت نزد خواندگار نتوانست شد و نیز به خاطر رسانید که اگر پسر بهرام میرزا را خواندگار از من بگیرد و بکشد، بهرام میرزا در عوض پسران مرا خواهد کشت».
[1292] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92r]: «درخواه».
[1293] ایلچی [p.173].
[1294] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92r].
[1295] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92r]: «ازین جانب»؛ ایلچی [p.173]: «از جانب بغداد».
[1296] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92r]: «آن طرف»؛ ایلچی [p.173]: «از طرف آذربایجان».

دیدند که شیروان را به القاس میباید داد تا او متوجه شیروان شده و این نزاع برطرف شود. من را از این سخن گریه آمد. و چون القاس را به حضرت امیرالمؤمنین (ع) [حواله کرده بودم،][1297] به این مناسبت این ابیات از هفت بند مولانا حسن کاشی (ره) به خاطر رسید. گریان گریان میخواندم:

ای معظم کعبه اصل از بیان مصطفی / قبلهٔ دنیا و دین [جسم و روان][1298] مصطفی!
[از نقود گوهر معنی لبالب شد دهانت / تا نهادی لب به صورت بر دهان مصطفی
ای باستحقاق بعد از مصطفی غیر از تو کس / نانهاده پای تمکین بر مکان مصطفی!
تیغت آن ابریست دریادل که فتحالباب او / تازه کرد از آب نصرت بوستان مصطفی][1299]
تا سپهر شرع ازو پرنور شد هرگز نتافت / از تو روشنتر مهی بر آسمان مصطفی
[رهروان عالم تحقیق را نابوده راه / بی زمینبوس درت بر آستان مصطفی
رفعتت بالای امکان صورتی ناممکن است / ور بود ممکن بود قدر توان مصطفی][1300] [f.50v]
گرچه در عالم به اقبال تو شاها کردهام / آنچه [حسّان][1301] کرد وقتی در زمان مصطفی
[لاف مداحی درین حضرت نمیآرم زدن / ای ثنا خوان تو ایزد بر زبان مصطفی!
از زبان خلق برناید صفات ذات تو / ور برآید نبود الّا از بیان مصطفی][1302]
[عرض][1303] حاجت بر تو حاجت نیست میدانی که چیست / [حال اخلاص][1304] من اندر خاندان مصطفی!
منّت خلقم به جان آورد لطفی کن مرا / وارهان از منّتِ خلقم به جان مصطفی!
روی رحمت بر متاب ای [آفتاب][1305] روی من / حرمت جان پیمبر را نظر کن سوی من!

رستم پاشا کتابتی به محمد پاشا، حاکم بغداد، نوشته، فرستاد که [f.51r] کشتن القاس در آن حدود مصلحت نیست. کس بر سر او بفرستید [تا او را گرفته به قتل آورند][1306] یا از الکاء ما بیرون کنند که دیگر به این طرف نیاید. القاس [چون این خبر را از افواه و السنة انام بشنید، از بغداد][1307] گریخته، [به طرف کردستان رفت و][1308] نزد بگه اردلان [، که یکی از حکام آن دیار بود،][1309] آمد و بدیعالزمان میرزا، [پسر][1310] بهرام میرزا، را [وسیلهٔ صلح

[1297] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92r]: «سپرده بودم»؛ ایلچی [p.173]: «من حوالهٔ القاس را به کسی کرده‌ام که عن قریب گریبان اختیار او را گرفته، کشان کشان نزد من خواهد آورد».
[1298] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92r]: «جان و جهان».
[1299] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92r].
[1300] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92r].
[1301] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92r]: «حنّان».
[1302] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92r].
[1303] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92r]: «رفع».
[1304] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92r]: «صدق و اخلاص».
[1305] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92v]: «کام جان».
[1306] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92v]: «که اگر او را تواند گرفته بکشد» ؛ایلچی [p.174]: «کشتن القاس میرزا در این جانب مصلحت نبود او را بدان حدود فرستادیم، جمعی را بر سر او نامزد کنند یا او را بکشند یا از ولایت محروسه اخراج نمایند که دیگر بدین طرف نیاید».
[1307] ایلچی [p.174].
[1308] ایلچی [p.174].
[1309] ایلچی [p.174].
[1310] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92v]: «ولد».

ساخته،][1311] با خواجه میرک، ملازم خود، همراه کرده، نزد من فرستاد. و بعد از سه چهار روز خبر رسید که رومیّه بر سر او آمده، او را شکستهاند و او گریخته، نزد سرخاب سلطان [، که او نیز یکی از حکّام کردستان بود،][1312] آمده است. بهرام میرزا [و ابراهیم خان][1313] با بعضی امراء ایلغار کرده، بر سر او رفتند. سرخاب سلطان او را [به قلعهٔ مشیله برد][1314] و [کس][1315] فرستاد که شاه نعمتالله را بفرستید که بیاید و قسم یاد کند که قصد او نکنید، من او را [نزد شما [f.51v] فرستم].[1316]

شاه نعمتالله با بعضی امراء رفته، او را آوردند. الحمدلله و المنة که حضرت امیرالمؤمنین (ع) که القاس را به آن حضرت سپرده بودم، باز به من سپرد و به او گفتم که دیدی که آقای من تو را چون پیش من آورد؟ و [این ابیات را خواندم:][1317]

چراغی را که ایزد برفروزد / هرآنکس پف کند ریشش بسوزد

حکایت کنند از بزرگان دین / حقیقتشناسان [عین الیقین][1318]

که صاحبدلی بر پلنگی نشست / همیراند رهوار و ماری به دست

یکی گفتش ای مرد راه خدای / بدین ره که رفتی مرا ره نمای

چه کردی که درنده رام تو شد / نگین سعادت به نام تو شد [f.52r]

بگفت ار پلنگم زبونست و مار / و گر پیل و کرکس شگفتی مدار

تو هم گردن از حکم داور مپیچ / که گردن نپیچد ز حکم تو هیچ

چو حاکم به فرمان داور بود / خدایش نگهبان و یاور بود

دیگر گفتم که وقتی که با من دوست بودی شراب نمیخوردی و فسق نمیکردی. [چون][1319] یاغی شدی، بنیاد فسق کردی! ظاهراً با حضرت حق، سبحانه و تعالی، نیز یاغی [شدی]![1320]

هر که را کوشش از برای خداست / همه کارش ز ایزد آید راست

کارها جز خدای نگشاید / به خدا گر ز خلق هیچ آید

بعد از آن، او را به ابراهیم خان و حسن بیگ یوزباشی [سپردم که][1321] [f.52v] به قلعهٔ [قهقهه][1322] [برند][1323] و حبس نمایند. ایشان او را به قلعه بردند و بند کردند و برگشتند. بعد از پنج شش ماه جمعی که در قلعه او را نگاه میداشتند، [دو سه کس از ایشان][1324] خونی او

[1311] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92v]: «بوسیلهٔ صلح فرستاده».
[1312] ایلچی [p.174].
[1313] ایلچی [p.174].
[1314] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92v]: «برداشته باز بقلعه برد» ؛ایلچی [p.174]: «مشیله / شبله».
[1315] ایلچی [p.174]: «رسولی سخندان چرب زبان».
[1316] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92v]: «بدهم».
[1317] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92v].
[1318] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92v]: «راه یقین».
[1319] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92v]: «اکنون که».
[1320] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92v]: «شده بودی».
[1321] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92v]: «داده».
[1322] ایلچی [p.175].
[1323] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92v]: «فرستادند».
[1324] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92v]: «دو کس».

بودند که پدر و برادر[ان][1325] ایشان را کشته بود. ایشان نیز به قصاص خون پدر و برادر[ان] خود او را از قلعه انداختند و کشتند. بعد از مردن القاس که عالم امن شد، با خود قرار دادم که بر سر چرکس و گرجی روم و [همین با کفار نزاع می‌کرده باشم][1326] و دیگر با مسلمانان نزاع نکنم. ناگاه اسکندر پاشایی در میانه پیدا شد و مضمون این ابیات سمت وقوع یافت:

اگر زآنکه خواهد کسی ز اهل دل / که یک لحظه بی زاء زحمت زیَد

[f.53r] مگس را پدید آورد روزگار / که تا بر سر راء رحمت ریَد!

فصل چهارم: حکایت اسکندر پاشا

در آن وقت که او پاشای ارض روم بود چیزها به خاطر قرار داده، همیشه تحریک سلسله و فتنه و نزاع میکرد و هر چند امراء ما به او کتابات فرستاده، نصیحت مینمودند، قبول نمی‌کرد و در جواب تهدید [زیاده میکرد].[1327]

یمایان کشی یاد الیندن طپنجه / دمردن دور سانور اوزینده پنجه

[و چون در اصل غلام و بداصل بود، جوهر ذات خسیس خود را مینمود.][1328] یک نوبت، کتابتی به حسین جان سلطان [روملو][1329] فرستاده بود که من قلعهٔ آردنوج گرجستان را حصار کرده-ام. اگر شاه بر سر من آید، جنگ خواهم کرد. اگر من ایشان را شکست دهم، پادشاه مشرق را [f.53v] شکسته باشم و اگر ایشان مرا بشکنند، غلامی را شکسته باشند. به حسین جان سلطان پیغام فرستادم که در جواب بنویسد که آنچه تو نوشته بودی سخن مردم عاقل نیست؛ جاهلان از این مقوله حکایات میگویند! و او [همیشه][1330] از روی جهل و نادانی میگفته که پاشای شیروان و گرجستان منم! بعد از آنکه شاه قلی سلطان حاکم چخورسعد شد، این ابیات را نوشته، به او فرستاد:

دو عاقل را نباشد کین و پیکار / نه دانا میستیزد با سبکبار

اگر نادان به وحشت سخت گوید / خردمندش به نرمی دل بجوید

[دو تا عاقل نگه دارند مویی / گر آید سرکشی ور نرمخویی][1331]

[f.54r] وگر از هر دو جانب جاهلانند / اگر زنجیر باشد بگسلانند

و نیز به او نوشت که [تو پسر کافری؛ تو را نمیرسد که به اولاد حضرت امیرالمؤمنین علی (ع) بیادبی کنی!][1332] هر کس که بدین خاندان دشمنی کرد، جزای خود دید: تو نیز خواهی

[1325] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92v]؛ ایلچی [p.175].
[1326] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92v]: «هر نزاعی که باشد با کفار داشته باشم».
[1327] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92v].
[1328] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92v]؛ ایلچی [p.177]: «چون اصل آن بداصل از کفرهٔ فرنگ بود و بر حسب ضرورت در ربقهٔ اسلام در آمده بود».
[1329] ایلچی [p.177].
[1330] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.92v]: «پیوسته».
[1331] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [ff.92v/93r]: «دو عاقل گر نگه دارند مویی / همیدون سرکشی آزرمجویی».
[1332] ایلچی [p.177]: «تو پسر کافری، تو را چه بار است که نسبت با اولاد امجاد مصطفی و مرتضی (ع) بیادبی کرده، سخنان نالایق بر زبان آوری».

دید! آن روز که ملاعین بنیامّیه [علیهم اللعنة][1333] حضرت امام مظلوم، [امـام حسـین (ع)،][1334] را شهید کردند [غیر][1335] از حضرت امام زینالعابدین (ع) از مردانِ ایشان کسی نمانده بود و از بنیامیّه در آن روز [چهارده][1336] هزار طفل، که گهوارهٔ ایشان قبّهٔ طلا داشت، موجود بود. حـالا [ملاحظه کنند که][1337] از ایشان [یکی نمانده][1338] و از طبقـهٔ سـادات چنـدین هـزار [کس در هر شهری][1339] موجودند.

و هر چند امراء مـا کس بـه وزراء اعظم خوانـدگار میفرسـتادند، او مـانع شـده، [f.54v] نمیگذاشت. و بیادبی را به جایی رسانید که سلب سیادت ما کرد و آیهٔ کریمهٔ «لَيْسَ مِنْ أَهْلِكَ إِنَّهُ عَمَلٌ غَيْرُ صَـالِحٍ» [۱۱:۴۶] را نوشـته، [در جـواب][1340] فرسـتاد. و شـاه قلی سـلطان نـیز [در جواب،][1341] این حدیث را، که از حضرت امامِ بهحقِ ناطقِ [حاذق،][1342] جعفر بن محمد الصـادق (ع)، منقول است، نوشته به او [فرستاد:][1343] «ما عادانا بیتٌ إلا و قد خَرِبَ و ما عادانا کلبٌ إلّا وقد جَرِبَ و مَن لم یُصَدِّقْ فَلَیُجَرِبْ». چـون دیـدیم کـه بـهیچوجـه کـار مـا بـا او پیش نمیرود، گفتیم که بالضّروره او را گوشمالی دهیم.

[کاری که به عقل بر نیاید / دیوانگیای درو بباید][1344]

[تا آنکه][1345] سفر ارجیش و اخلاط [f.55r] واقع شد و ماه رمضان در اخلاط به سر بردیم و باغ ملک شمسالدین خان را از او خریده، آنجا روزه گرفتیم. در آن اثناء، مـوازی نهصـد نفـر از [مردم خورچینلوی قراباغ][1346] و سیصـد نفـر گـرجی که قبـل از آن بـه [داوایلی/دادایلی][1347] رفته بودند. اسکندر پاشا [از آمدن آن جماعت واقف شده،][1348] با هشت هـزار کس غافـل بـر سر ایشان رفته است. با آنکه اکثر ایشان به شکار رفته و جمعی که حاضر بودهاند خورچینلـو و گرجی بودهاند، سوار شدهاند، با او جنگ روبهرو کردهاند. آخر [بر سر آن گروه اندک میتازد و دستبردی مینماید،][1349] بعضی از ایشان را به قتل آورده، این معـنی [را «فتح عظیم» تصـور نموده؛][1350] و چندان عجب و [تکبّر][1351] [بیش از پیش][1352] به خود راه داده بود که شـرح نتـوان

[1333] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.93r].
[1334] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.93r].
[1335] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.93r]: «بعد».
[1336] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.93r].
[1337] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.93r].
[1338] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.93r]: «که مانده».
[1339] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.93r].
[1340] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.93r].
[1341] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.93r].
[1342] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.93r].
[1343] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.93r]: «ارسال داشت».
[1344] ایلچی [p.178]: «به نصیحت چو بر نیاید کار / سر به جنگ و جدل کشد ناچار».
[1345] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.93r]: «در آن اوقات».
[1346] ایلچی [p.178]: «مردم قراباغ که به خرچنلو موسوماند».
[1347] ایلچی [p.178]: «ولایت سرحد».
[1348] ایلچی [p.178].
[1349] ایلچی [p.178].
[1350] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.93r]: «این معنی قصورش نبوده بازگشت».
[1351] ایلچی [p.178]: «نخوت».
[1352] ایلچی [p.178].

کرد، [زبان به لاف و گزاف برگشوده، همواره از خویشتن میگفت.][1353] بناء بر این، مقدمات گوشمال دادن او لازم شد و به خاطر رسید که اگر من خود بر سر او [f.55v] روم، از قلعه بیرون نخواهد آمد. اسمعیل میرزا را با جمعی از امراء فرستادم. اوّل [با سپاه بسیار][1354] بیرون آمد که جنگ کند. چون تیب ایشان را دید، گریخت و [فیالحال][1355] به قلعه [در آمد].[1356]

چتگ پنچه سین کیم اوره اصلا نه / دری گر قابورسه واره اُصلا نه

گوگرجین که دوغان سانه کندوزین / عجب دور که گورسه یواسی یوزین

شغال چنگل ایجرده هژبرم دیر / پیشک دا ارالیقده ببرم دیر

بیابنده سیچان دیر که شیرم ولی / برابر گلنده ایتورور یولی

سانارسان ار سوزینه دایانمه گیل / مخنث دیوارینه دایانمه گیل

بعد از آن، امراء برگشته، نزد ما آمدند و ما متوجه نخجوان شدیم و این [حکایتها][1357] را [f.56r] به شرح نوشته، به قلم در آورده و مصحوب محمود بیک، حاکم بیغا، که در جنگ ارض روم گرفتار شده بود، به درگاه خواندگار فرستادم. بعد از آن، در همان ایّام، کتابت حضرت خاصّگی سلطان و حضرت [مهرماه] سلطان، دختر حضرت خواندگار، که به همشیرهام نوشته بودند، با کتابت رستم پاشا، که به امراء نوشته بود، رسید. مضامین کتابات مذکوره آنکه شما آدم معتبر خود به درگاه خواندگار بفرستید [که ما به میان در آمده از صلح و صلاح سخن بگوییم و بساط فتنه و نزاع که گسترده شده در هم نوردیم].[1358]

ما نیز بناء بر نوشته، [به مصلحت][1359] ایشان سیادتپناه، میرشمسالدین، را به ایلچیگری [به طرف روم][1360] فرستادیم. میرشمس باز آمده، کتابت حضرت خواندگار آورد. مضمون آنکه علماءِ روم فتوی دادهاند که خون و مال و اهل و عیال تمامی اهل شرق، از سپاهی و رعیت، خصوصاً [f.56v] مسلمان و ارمنی و [یهود]،[1361] مباح و حلال است و جنگ با ایشان غزا است. گفتم این حکایت بسیار [طُرفه][1362] است! با آنکه ما نماز و روزه و زکات و حجّ و تمامی ضروریات دین را میدانیم و به عمل میآوریم، [علمای روم][1363] ما را کافر میدانند! حضرت حق، سبحانه و تعالی، میان ما و ایشان حکم فرماید!

در آن اثناء، که اواخر شهر رجبالمرجّب سنهٔ تسع و خمسین و تسعمایه و ایام جودرو بود، شبی در خواب دیدم که ماهی در میان آسمان ایستاده و ماه دیگر از جانب مشرق پیدا میشود و ماهی دیگر از جانب مغرب. ماهی که از جانب مغرب است بهغایت بزرگ است. به من میگویند که ماه مشرق از دین محمد اوزبک است [f.57r] و ماه مغرب از خواندگار و ماه

[1353] ایلچی [p.178].
[1354] ایلچی [p.178].
[1355] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.93r].
[1356] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.93r]: «رفت».
[1357] ایلچی [p.179]: «کیفیّت فتنهانگیزی و خونریزی اسکندر پاشا».
[1358] ایلچی [p.179].
[1359] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.93v].
[1360] ایلچی [p.179].
[1361] ایلچی [p.180]: «نصرانی».
[1362] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.93v]: «خوب».
[1363] ایلچی [p.180].

میان از تو است. اوّل، ماه مشرق مرتبه مرتبه پیش میآید و چون یک نیزهدار به ماه میان [نزدیک میشود][1364] و بهطریق ستاره از آسمان میافتد و راست در زمین فرو میرود. بعد از آن، ماه مغرب نیز به همین دستور میآید و در زمین فرو میرود و ماه میان آسمان بهطریق کاغذی که در هوا باشد آهسته آهسته میآید و بر بالای صُفّهٔ شاهنشین که جای مرا انداختهاند مینشیند و در جای من قالیچه انداختهاند و دوشکی بر بالای آن.

بعد از این واقعه، در تاریخ شهر صفر سنهٔ احدی و ستین و تسعمائه، هم در نخجوان در خواب دیدم که بر آسمان، از طرف قبله و [در موضعی][1365] که آفتاب [f.57v] در وقت عصر به آنجا میرسد، خطّی پیدا شده که بر صفحهٔ آسمان نوشتهاند بهطریق خطّ عبری و رنگ خط [نزدیک][1366] به رنگ آسمان است. فامّا، خط از بوم که آسمان باشد شفافتر است. بهطریق خطّ تمغایی که بر کاغذ فرنگی میباشد، سیر و نیمسیر، [بهشکل][1367] محرابی بزرگ که تخمیناً دو ذرع و نیم پهنای آن باشد و سه ذرع و نیم طول آن نوشته شده است. و [خط را میخوانم][1368] آیهٔ کریمهٔ «فَسَيَكْفِيكَهُمُ اللَّهُ وَ هُوَ السَّمِيعُ الْعَلِيمُ» [۲:۱۳۷] [است.][1369] از مشاهدهٔ آن خط لرزه و اضطراب در من میافتاد و [در حال][1370] میبینم که این خطّ به طریق موج آب [تموّج پیدا میکند][1371] و پارهای از آسمان که دور خطّ است به جانب غرب در لرزه میآید، چنانکه گویا میخواهد که آسمان که شکافته شود. و چنین می [f.58r] بینم که این خطّ و محراب به لرزه در آمد و دری از آسمان گشاده شد. و من از غایت اضطراب [چنان میبینم که مکرر از خواب بیدار شدم][1372] و در خلال آن حال باز خود را در ییلاق خوی میبینم. بادی عظیم از جانب وان میوزد و مردم میگویند که لشکر روم بر سر [شما][1373] میآید و دغدغه میشود که اگر آن باد به اردوی ما رسد، تمامی خیمهها را خواهد کند. من به قورچیان حرم و ایغوت آقای یوزباشی حرم میگویم که پریخان سلطان و سلطان ابراهیم میرزا، [که] هر دو کودکاند، ایشان را برداشته، بگریزند که ما سوار شده، پیش میرویم. میبینیم که باد مرتبه مرتبه پیشتر میآید و چون به کنار چمن و منزلی که اردوی ما آنجا نشسته میرسد، هنوز [f.58v]به کنار اردو نرسیده برطرف میشود و اصلاً خاک و غبار به ما نمیرسد و یکبارگی محو میشود. و [از عقب گرد و غبار][1374] گاو کوهی و قوچ بسیار پیدا میشود، همه دنبهدار بهطریق دنبهٔ گوسفند. و من به امراء میگویم که شما هر کدام که میل شکار دارید از عقب اینها بروید! ایشان میروند و من سه گاو کوهی و یک قوچ را [زخم زده میآورم][1375] و میگویم که اسب من خام است: پیش

[1364] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.93r]: «میرسد».
[1365] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.93v]: «محلی»؛ ایلچی [p.180]: «جایی».
[1366] ایلچی [p.180].
[1367] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.93v]: «بهدستور».
[1368] ایلچی [p.180]: «چون ملاحظه و مشاهدهٔ خط مسطور نمودم».
[1369] ایلچی [p.180]: «به نظر در آمد».
[1370] ایلچی [p.180].
[1371] ایلچی [p.180]: «در تموّج آمد».
[1372] ایلچی [p.180]: «پندارم که این حالت را در بیداری میبینم».
[1373] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.93v]؛ ایلچی [p.180]: «سر ما آمده».
[1374] ایلچی [p.181]: «چون گرد و غبار فرو نشست».
[1375] ایلچی [p.181]: «صید کرده بازگشتم».

نمیروم. به سلطان ابراهیم میرزا و أطفال دیگر میگویم که شما اینها را کباب کنید تا امراء بیایند و من در خیمه مینشینم. بعد از آن، هر کس میآید [سی سی و چهل چهل][1376] از آنها گرفته، میآورند.

[در این اثناء،][1377] باز در خواب میبینم که بیدار شدم، امّا هنوز در خوابم. [f.59r] و میبینم که همشیرهام در چهار کنج زیرانداز دوشک من در هر کنج یک زن صاحب حسن و خوششکل، هر یکی در نهایت بلندی و غنج و دلال، نشانده است و اصلاً زیب و آرایش ندارند. فامّا، چنان خوش شکلاند که در میان مردم [آن نوع شکل کم میباشد].[1378] از همشیرهام میپرسم که اینها کیستند [که اینجا نشستهاند؟ او در جواب][1379] میگوید که اینها را از گرجستان برای تو آوردهاند. یکی خواهر وَرَزا است که در خانهٔ ما بود و سه دیگر را حالا آوردهاند. من میگویم که خواهر ورزا [این شکل نداشت،][1380] کی این چنین شد؟ میگوید که حالا چنین شد!

[در این اثناء،][1381] از خواب بیدار شدم خود را در همان هیبت و اضطراب، در خواندن آیهٔ کریمهٔ «فَسَيَكْفِيكَهُمُ اللَّهُ» [f.59v] دیدم. [چون شب باقی بود،][1382] باز در خواب شدم. خواب اوّل را به [همان کیفیت][1383] دیدم که باز همان آیهٔ «فَسَيَكْفِيكَهُمُ اللَّهُ» میخوانم و حیرت میکنم که این آیه جهت دفع دشمن است، از مشاهده و مطالعهٔ آن این همه اضطراب چیست و چرا واقع شود. باز به خاطر میرسد که چون پرتو نور الهی ظهور نموده، سبب اضطراب و لرزه [آن خواهد بود][1384] [و در خواب میگویم که][1385] حضرت [پیغمبر][1386] (ص) چون در پس پردهٔ حجاب با [حضرت حق][1387] جلّ و علا در سخن آمد، هیبت و صولت الهی در آن حضرت اثر کرد. [یقین است][1388] که چون من این آیه را به این نوع بینم، هیبت آن در من اثر خواهد کرد. بعد از آن، از خواب بیدار شدم و [چون از خواب بیدار شدم دانستم که واقعهٔ مهیبی روی خواهد نمود و باز به اسهل وجوه برطرف خواهد شد و به منطوق «عسى أَن تُحبّوا شَيئاً وَهُو شرٌّ لكُم» [۲:۲۱۶] در ضمن آن فتوحات غیرمترقّب دست خواهد داد.][1389]

در آن اثناء، خواندگار متوجه این جانب شد [f.60r] و چون به پاسین رسید، آنجا توقف نمود تا نزول برسد و ملازم اولامه را نزد ما فرستادند که [سخن صلح در میان آورد.][1390] من

[1376] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.93v]: «سی چهل»؛ ایلچی [p.181]: «سی رأس و چهل رأس».
[1377] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.93v]: «و بعد از آن».
[1378] ایلچی [p.181]: «امثال ایشان در بنی نوع انسان کم دیده شده».
[1379] ایلچی [p.181].
[1380] ایلچی [p.181]: «هرگز این صورت نداشت».
[1381] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.93v]: «در این مرتبه»؛ ایلچی [p.181]: «در آن حال».
[1382] ایلچی [p.181].
[1383] ایلچی [p.181]: «کیفیت مذکور».
[1384] ایلچی [p.181]: «از آن است».
[1385] ایلچی [p.181]: «مگر نشنیدهای که».
[1386] ایلچی [p.181]: «رسالتپناه».
[1387] ایلچی [p.181]: «ربّالارباب».
[1388] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.93v]: «دلیل است»؛ ایلچی [p.181]: «هیبت و صولت الهی در آن حضرت چه نوع کار کرد. هرگاه که در آن حضرت اثر کرده باشد، من که این آیه را بدین هیبت بینم، در من زیاده اثر خواهد کرد».
[1389] ایلچی [p.182].
[1390] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.93v]: «در میانه صلح واقع شود»؛ ایلچی [p.182]: «که از صلح و جنگ حکایت کند».

بهیچوجه راضی نمیشدم که [بهوسیلهٔ اولامهٔ یساول][1391] با حضرت خوانـدگار صـلح کنم و مي-گفتم که باری، اگر یکی از پاشاهای خواندگار وسیله شود، [دور نیست].[1392]

ترک احسان خواجه اولیتر / کاحتمال جفای بوّابان
به تمنّای گوشت مردن به / که تقاضای زشت قصّابان

بعد از آن، به بازارچـای رفـتیم و آنجـا نشسـتیم. خـبر بـه لونـد گـرجی رفتـه بـوده کـه خواندگار آمد و بعضی [امراء][1393] را شکستند و شاه را [عاجز گردانیدنـد][1394] و دسـت پسـر او را در جنگ [f.60v] انداختند. چون پسر او همراه بود، تزلزلی پیدا کرده، کس فرستاد که خـبری تحقیق نماید و احوال پسرش را معلوم کند. و به پسرش و خواجه تاج وکیل خـود نوشـته بـود که این نوع اخبار رسید، کیفیت احوال را کما هی نوشـته بفرسـتید. من در جـواب [این ابیـات را][1395] نوشته، فرستادم که:

ای که گویی کار دهر آخر چهسان خواهد شدن / آنچه دلخواه محبّانست آن خواهد شدن
این علاماتی و [آثاری][1396] که میبینیم ما / چون ز اوّل گفتهاند آخر همان خواهد شدن
حکمتی [زینگونه][1397] رخ خواهد نمود از سرّ غیب / [F.61r] [کاندران][1398] حیران دو چشم نکتهدان خواهد شدن
دست دست خاندان مصطفی و مرتضی است / آنچه میخواهند ایشان آنچنان خواهد شدن

بعد از آن، خواندگار به نخجوان آمد و کتابتی به دست سـاروقپلان، ولـد سـیدی حسـن ابداللو، ملازم جامی که گرفته بودند، فرستادند. مضمون آنکـه [چـون صـلح نمیکنیـد،][1399] پس بیایید تا جنگ [روبهرو][1400] کنیم! حسن بیگ یوزباشی گفت: [صلاح در آن است][1401] کـه شـتر و اسباب اردو را بالتّمام به کوهها و بیشههای گنجه و آن حوالی بفرستیم و خیمه و خرگاه [را به حال خود بگذاریم][1402] و [سپاه را مستعد ساخته،][1403] بر سر کوهها بـرویم و راه را بپـاییم. هـر گاه که خواندگار از عرابه جدا بیرون آید و متوجّـه اردوی مـا شـود، [f.61v] مـا از راه دیگـر بـه اردوی ایشان تازیم. آنچه ایشان در اردوی ما یابند و ببرند نـذر خوانـدگار باشـد و آنچـه مـا در اردوی ایشان یابیم و به دست آوریم ردّ مظالم و عوض نمـاز [گذشـته][1404] و روزهٔ خوانـدگار و

[1391] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.93v]: «به منت اولامه».
[1392] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.93v]: «جای آن داشت»؛ ایلچی [p.182]: «من به وساطت اولامه که یساول زبون این درگاه بوده هرگز صلح نمیکنم، اگر خواندگار با ما در مقام صلح میبود، چرا یکی از پاشایان معتبر را به میان نمیآورد».
[1393] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.94r]: «مردم».
[1394] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.94r]: «زبون کردند».
[1395] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.94r].
[1396] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.94r]: «اماراتی».
[1397] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.94r]: «زانگونه».
[1398] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.94r]: «کندرو».
[1399] ایلچی [p.182].
[1400] ایلچی [p.182].
[1401] ایلچی [p.182].
[1402] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.94r]: «باشد»؛ ایلچی [p.182]: «در همین موضع بگذاریم».
[1403] ایلچی [p.182].
[1404] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.94r]؛ ایلچی [p.182].

پدرش باشد. گفتم که خواندگار جزم بر میگردد و [مدّعای او از این نوشته][1405] آن است که به امراء و سپاه خود بگوید که من [به ایشان نوشتم که بیایید تا جنگ کنیم!][1406] ایشان نیامدند، [از این جهت برگشتم].[1407] فردای آن روز خبر رسید که خواندگار برگشت.

بعد از آن، شاهویردی سلطان [زیاد اغلی][1408] گفت که صلاح در آن است که من پیشتر بروم و نزولی که در ارض روم جمع شده و اسباب و جهاتی که آنجا باشد را [بدست آورم][1409] و تا آمدن خواندگار پاسین و ارض روم را بسوزم و غارت کنم. او را رخصت دادیم که با پنج هزار [f.62r] کس از آق منقان متوجه پاسین و ارض روم شود. و ما یک روز دیگر در آنجا [توقف نموده][1410] بعد از آن به جانب چخورسعد کوچ کردیم.

روزی که به قِرخ بلاغ رسیدیم، اول ماه مبارک رمضان بود [و امراء و سپاه ارادهٔ آن داشتند که به اطراف و اکناف ولایات رومی به رسم نهب و غارت بتازند].[1411] این روایت به خاطر رسید که روزی حضرت رسالتپناه محمدی (ص) بر سر منبر میرفت تا خطبه فرماید. چون پای مبارک بر [پایهٔ][1412] اول نهاد، فرمود که «آمین». چون بر پایهٔ دوم نهاد، نیز فرمود که «آمین» و همچنین در پایهٔ سوم فرمود که «آمین». و چون بعد از ادای خطبه از منبر فرود آمد، اصحاب سبب آن سه آمین را پرسیدند. فرمود که «در مرتبهٔ اول که پای بر پایهٔ اول نهادم، جبرئیل (ع) بر جمعی که نام مرا بشنوند [f.62v] و صلوات نفرستند نفرین کرد. من آمین گفتم. و در مرتبهٔ دوم، بر جمعی که ماه رمضان را دریابند و حق او را نگاه ندارند نفرین کرد. من باز آمین گفتم. و در مرتبهٔ سوم، [بر جمعی که مادر و پدر خود را دریابند و حرمت ایشان را نگاه ندارند نفرین کرد].[1413] من باز آمین گفتم». [به این روایت عمل کرده،][1414] گفتم که [چون ماه رمضان است، بر سر الکاء مسلمانان نمیرویم،][1415] به گرجستان میرویم و الکاء شوشاد را، که کافر حربیاند، غارت میکنیم. و در الکاء قرقره مینشینیم تا اسبهای ما فربه شود. در این روز لشکر کوه کیلویه رسید و مدت یک ماه در الکاءِ شوشاد و [قدنت][1416] گرجی و قرقره نشستیم تا عید رمضان شد.

در این اثناء، آرزبار، ملازم عیسی خان، نزد بسبات گرجی [f.63r] رفته بود. بسبات بدو [گفته بود][1417] که خواندگار در ارض روم است و ایاز پاشا تنها در قلعهٔ الطی نشسته، بر سر

[1405] ایلچی [p.182]: «غرض او از ارسال این مکتوب».
[1406] ایلچی [p.183]: «من ایشان را به جنگ طلب کردم».
[1407] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.94r]: «بالضّروره بازگشتیم»؛ ایلچی [p.183]: «اکنون ما را ضرورت است معاودت کردن».
[1408] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.94r].
[1409] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.94r]: «بستانیم».
[1410] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.94r]: «بودیم».
[1411] ایلچی [p.183].
[1412] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.94r]: «بزینه».
[1413] ایلچی [p.183]: «بر زمرهای لعن میکرد که حرمت والدین را رعایت نکنند».
[1414] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.94r]: «به واسطهٔ این روایت».
[1415] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.94r]: «بر سر الکاء مسلمانان نمیتوان رفت»؛ ایلچی [pp.183/4]: «اکنون ما نیز حرمت ماه صیام را نگاه داشته، مزاحمت به الکای مسلمانان نمیرسانیم».
[1416] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.94r]: «قرنت».
[1417] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.94r]: «سفارش کرده بود».

او میباید رفت، [شما جمعی را بفرستید شاید کاری از پیش برود!][1418] ما نیز از حوالی قلعهٔ بِتِهرِک، شاه قلی خلیفهٔ مهردار و محمّدی بیگ مصلّو و ادهم بیگ رومِلو و [ترخان بیگ][1419] را با بعضی دیگر از امراء فرستادیم و ولد [قرقره][1420] یوثام و وَرَزا چَرخْچی ایشان شده، با موازی پنج هزار کس بر سر ایاز پاشا رفتند. در یکی از شبها که میرفتهاند امیرِ خان، ولد محمدی بیگ مصلّو، با دویست سوار از دست چپ قراول شده بودند که [چون][1421] از قلعهٔ [کامخیرِ و پلنگ][1422] کسی [بیرون آمد،][1423] خبردار شوند. اتفاقاً، به سنان بیگ [رومی که جمعی همراه او بودند][1424] دچار میشوند. او را شکست داده، زنده گرفتهاند و نزد امراء برده-اند. چون از او خبر ایاز پاشا را پرسیدند، سنان بیگ به ایشان گفته که [f.63v] [ایاز پاشا در پای قلعهٔ الطی نشسته، اما][1425] تمامی لشکر [خواندگار][1426] به الطی آمدند و خواندگار نیز از عقب میآید. امراء از آنجا برگشته، به قانلو چمن آمدند و سنان بیگ را نزد من فرستادند و من او را به قلعهٔ [قدرت][1427] فرستادم که نگهدارند. بعد از آن، ما نیز از اردو جدا شده، سبای شدیم و [بر سر کتل][1428] قانلو چمن رفته، به امراء ملحق گشتیم که اگر [لشکر بیاید، بر سر کتل][1429] جنگ کنیم.

در این اثناء، ولد دلو افندی و پسر بشارت کله و کلوی، ملازم القاس، هر دو گریخته [آمدند و گفتند که پاشایان گریخته][1430] رفتند. ما نشستیم و جانقی کردیم. محمدی بیگ گفت که خواندگار در ارض روم نشسته، ما بر سر قلعهٔ وان برویم و کردستان را غارت کرده و آنجا بنشینیم تا اسبهای ما فربه شوند. و تا خواندگار در ارض روم باشد، ما در آنجا توقف کنیم و اگر خواندگار بر سر ما آید، ما به بغداد رویم و اگر ازعقب ما [f.64r] به بغداد آید، ما به دیاربکر رویم و اگر به دیاربکرِ آید، ما به ارزنجان رویم و اگر خواندگار بر سر ما نیاید و به سیواس رود، باید به دیاربکرِ رویم و اگر به دیاربکر رود، ما به ارزنجان رویم و آن ولایت را تمام خراب کنیم. و بعد از آن که این ولایت را تمام خراب کرده باشیم، خواندگار در بهار بر سر ما نمیتواند آمد. من گفتم که [زمان فتنه و آشوب ممتد میشود و بندگان خدای تعالی از تکوتاز ما خراب میگردند،][1431] صلح میکنیم و اگر خواندگار بدی کرد، ما بدی نمیکنیم و [به

[1418] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.94r].
[1419] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.94r]: «تیمورخان بیگ».
[1420] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.82r]: «قرقره».
[1421] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.94r].
[1422] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.94r]: «کام خسروبیگ»؛ کتابدار [f.231r]: «کام خروسک»؛ ایلچی [p.184]: «کامخیر».
[1423] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.94r]: «به در آیند».
[1424] ایلچی [p.184].
[1425] ایلچی [p.184].
[1426] ایلچی [p.184].
[1427] ایلچی [p.184]: «قلعهای از قلعههای سرحدّ».
[1428] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.94r].
[1429] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.94r].
[1430] ایلچی [p.184]: «که ایازپاشا با جمیع امراء و سپاه که همراه او بودند، از موضع الطی کوچ کرده به طرف ارض روم رفتند».
[1431] ایلچی [p.185].

مؤدّای «الصُّلحُ خَیر» [۴:۱۲۸] از در صلح و صلاح در آمده، بساط منازعات را بـر میچیـنیم].[1432] و این ابیات به خاطر رسید:

ز خاک آفریدت خداوند پاک / پس ای بنده افتادگی کن چو خاک
حریص و جهانسوز و سرکش مباش / ز خاک آفریدت چو آتش مباش
چو شعله کشید آتش هولناک / به بیچارگی تن فرو داد خاک [f.64v]
چو او سربلندی نمود این کمی / از آن دیو گردید از این آدم
یکی قطره باران ز ابری چکید / خجل شد چو پهنای دریا بدید
که «جایی که دریاست من کیستم / گر او هست حقّا که من نیستم»
چو خود را به چشم حقارت بدید / صدف در کنارش به جان پرورید
سپهرش به جایی رسانید کار / که شد نامور لؤلوی شاهوار
بلندی از آن یافت کو پست شد / در نیستی کوفت تا هست شد

بعد از آن، جامی را فرستادم که سنان بیگ را، که در قدرت قلعه مقیّـد بـود، آورد و او را با شاه قلی آقا همراه کردم، و در باب صلح کتابت به حضـرت خوانـدگار نوشـته، فرسـتادم که اگر حضرت خواندگار [f.71r] با ما بدی کرد، ما نیکی میکنیم و صلح میکنیم. و این ابیات [به خاطر رسید:][1433]

جوانمردا جوانمردی بیاموز / ز مردان جهان مردی بیاموز
درون از کین کینجویان نگهدار / زبان از طعن بدگویان نگهدار
نکویی کن به آن کو با تو بد کرد / کز آن بد رخنه در اقبال خود کرد
چو آئین نکوکاری کنی ساز / نگردد بر تو جز آن نیکوئی باز

کار خود گر به خدا بازگذاری حافظ / ای بسا عیش که با بخت خداداده کنی

سنان بیگ و شاه قلی را روانه کرده، خود متوجـه گرجسـتان لوارصـاب شـدیم و اکـثر قلاع آنجا را فتح نموده، موازی سی هزار اسیر گرفـتیم. و از آنجـا بـه قراباغ [ارّان][1434] آمـده، فرخزاد بیگِ [ایشک آقاسی][1435] را نیز بـه ایلچیگـری فرسـتادیم [f.71v] و از عقب او تبت آقا را نیز فرستادیم. ایشان رفته مهمّات صلح را به مدّعای طرفین قرار دادند و الحمدلله کـه صـلح واقع شد و چند سال است که مسلمانان به فراغت اوقات میگذرانند.

فصل پنجم: حکایت سلطان بایزید

[1432] ایلچی [p.185].
[1433] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.94r]: «به خاطر آمد، خواندم».
[1434] ایلچی [p.186].
[1435] ایلچی [p.186]: «یساول باشی».

از واردان آن صوب، از تجّار و متردّدین، هرکس که میآمد میگفت که سلطان بایزید در عماسیه نشسته، لشکر جمع میکند که با سلطان سلیم [جنگ][1436] کند. من میگفتم که ایشان چه حد دارند که، با آنکه حضرت خواندگار به صحّت و [سلامت][1437] بر تخت نشسته باشد، [با هم][1438] جنگ و نزاع کنند؟ آخر، کس پیش یادگار بیگ [کرد][1439] پازوکی فرستادم که او کس به سرحدها فرستاده، خبر تحقیق نماید.

ملازم او آمد و دو نوکر القاس که با سلطان بایزید میبودهاند را آورد. [f.65r] ایشان گفتند که رفتیم و در قونیه با سلطان سلیم جنگ کردیم و شکست خوردیم. باز به عماسیه آمدیم و سلطان بایزید ما را [طلبید و گفت][1440] که بهصورت بازرگانان نزد شاه روید و بگویید که یک هزار و پانصد تومان زر جهت من بفرستد [f.65v] [و بعد از آنکه من به جای حضرت خواندگار بنشینم،][1441] یکی را در ده عوض بفرستم. من گفتم که این مردک بسیار سفیه و ابله بوده، زیرا که اولاً من با حضرت خواندگار دوستم، زر به او چرا بدهم؟ دیگر آنکه اینقدر نمیداند [که با هزار و پانصد تومان با حضرت خواندگار دشمنی نمیتوان کرد!][1442] هر دو را به حسن بیگ یوزباشی سپردم که نگاه دارد تا ببینیم که بعد از آن چه خبر میآید.

بعد از مدت [یک ماه تقریباً][1443] که اینجا بودند، از یادگار بیگ پازوکی خبر رسید که سلطان بایزید با چهار پسر از پدر روگردان شده و با خیمهای چند در پاسین فرود آمده است. بعد از آن، کس شاه قلی سلطان با علی چاوشباشی، که سلطان بایزید فرستاده بود، آمدند. چاوشباشی [گفت][1444] که سلطان بایزید به پاسین آمد و مرا فرستاد که [مرا با پدر و برادران این نوع صورتی دست داده.][1445] اگر به نزد شاه آیم، مرا نگاه میدارد یا نه؟ [بعد از آن، [f.66r] به دو روز][1446] خبر رسید که پاشاها بر سر سلطان بایزید آمدند و او شکست یافته، [فرار نموده،][1447] به چخورسعد نزد شاه قلی سلطان آمد. من به امراء گفتم که چون به الکاء ما آمد، او را [نمیباید][1448] گذاشت که به [جای][1449] دیگر رود. هرجا که رود، خواندگار از ما خواهد

[1436] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲)[f.94v] : «نزاع».
[1437] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲)[f.94v] : «سعادت».
[1438] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲)[f.94v] : «ایشان با یکدیگر».
[1439] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲)[f.94v] .
[1440] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲)[f.94v] : «فرستاد».
[1441] ایلچی [p.192]: «چون پادشاهی ولایت روم بر من قرار گیرد».
[1442] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲)[f.94v] : «او درین مرتبه ابله است که به هزار و پانصد تومان میخواهد با حضرت خواندگار دشمنی کند»؛ ایلچی [p.192]: «که به امداد هزار و پانصد تومان، سلطنت روم را چون به دست میتوان آورد؟ دیگر من با پدرش عهد کردهام که با او مخالفت نکنم و فرزندی که از پدر عاصی شده باشد چگونه او را امداد نمایم؟ »
[1443] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲)[f.94v] : «یک ماه [یا] چهل روز»؛ ایلچی [p.192]: «بعد از چند روز».
[1444] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲)[f.94v] : «خبر آوردند».
[1445] ایلچی [p.192].
[1446] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲)[f.94v] : «دو روز بعد از این» ؛ایلچی [p.192]: «در آن اثناء».
[1447] ایلچی [p.193].
[1448] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲)[f.94v] : «نمیتوان».
[1449] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲)[f.94v] : «محل».

[دید].[1450] [آقا ملای وزیر قزوین][1451] و میر شمسالدّین ایلچی و الله ویردی آقای مهماندار را با زر و یراق فرستادم که او را به تبریز رسانند.

و چون شاه قلی سلطان نوشته بود که سلطان بایزید از شما میترسد، کس فرستاده، او را تسلّی نمایید. از این جهت، [من نیز][1452] حسن بیگ یوزباشی را فرستادم که او را تسلّی دهد و سوگند خوردم که او و فرزندان او را به حضرت خواندگار ندهم. و نزد علی آقا چاوشباشی نیز [f.66v] به این مضمون سوگند خوردم و او را همراه حسن بیگ فرستادم. حسن بیگ نزد او رفت و سوگند خورد و او را تسلّی داده، [بهاتفاق متوجه قزوین شدند].[1453]

از تبریز به من پیغام کرد که شاه بدینجا آید تا دو بلوک شویم: یک بلوک به جانب بغداد رویم و یک بلوک دیگر به وان رویم. سلطان سلیم در برابرِ یک بلوک خواهد آمد، بلوک دیگر [هرچه خواهد میتواند کرد.][1454] و تمامی لشکر الْجَهاند و خواندگار در استنبول است. اکثر لشکر به ما باز خواهند گشت. من در جواب نوشته فرستادم که به قزوین آید. [بعد از آن،][1455] هر چه صلاح باشد، چنان کنیم. پیش از آنکه سلطان بایزید به قزوین آید، سنان بیگ از جانب حضرت خواندگار به ایلچیگریِ آمد [f.67r]و امر و فرمان حضرت خواندگار آورد و دوراق آقا نیز از جانب سلطان سلیم آمد. [ماحصل رسالت مشارالیهما آنکه شما به سخن بایزید از راه مروید و خلل در بنیان عهد و میثاق میافکنید که کار او را مداری و سخن او را اعتباری نیست.][1456] من به ایشان گفتم که سلطان بایزید بیاید، بعد از آن هر چه مصلحت باشد به عمل آورم.

بعد از آن، سلطان بایزید به من پیغام فرستاد که پیش از آمدن من، شاه ایلچیان را نبیند که مبادا دوراق شاه را بازی دهد. من گفتم که بیحساب [کرده که جواب گفته][1457] است! با وجود آنکه سه مرتبه ایلچیِ ما به خدمت حضرت خواندگار رفت و در هر مرتبه تحفهٔ درویشانه برد، [ایشان را اصلاً][1458] نوازشی و تفقّدی نفرمودند. چه جای دیگر انعامات و تفقّدات دارد؟

نظر کردن به درویشان منافیّ بزرگی نیست / سلیمان با چنان حشمت نظرها بود با مورش [f.67v]

[1450] ایلچی [p.193]: «که این پسر اکنون که به الکاء ما آمده باشد، او را گذاشتن که به طرفی دیگر بیرون رود، خواندگار حمل بر خُلف عهد ما س کرد و باز به تجدید فتنهای حادث خواهد شد. صلاح در آن است که او را تسلّی داده، بدین جانب آوریم و ببینیم که از روزگار چه سانح میشود».
[1451] ایلچی [p.193]: «آقا ملا گرک یراق».
[1452] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83v].
[1453] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83r]: «به قزوین آورد».
[1454] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83r]: «را کس در برابر نمیآید».
[1455] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83r]: «تا».
[1456] ایلچی [pp.193/4].
[1457] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83r]: «گفته».
[1458] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83r]: «درین سه مرتبه ما را».

و چون القاس از نزد ما [بدان جانب][1459] رفت، آن حضرت به سخن او عمل کرده، برخاستند و بر سر ما آمدند و [ما به سبب][1460] سلطان بایزید اصلاً [از جا نرفتیم][1461] و [به دستور سابق][1462] طریق حرمت و ادب را نگاه داشتیم. اگر چه از دست ما [کاری][1463] نمیآید، اما اینقدر میتوانستیم که به الکاء ایشان رفته، [بعضی ولایات ایشان را خراب کنیم][1464] که بعد از این عبور ایشان از آنجا میسر نمیشد. و چون در آن وقت حضرت خواندگار در استنبول بود، میتوانستیم که ارزنجان و دیاربکر و ارض روم و وان را چنان کنیم که اثر آبادانی نماند [تا آنکه باز] [1465] القاس نزد ما آمد، [صلح کرده][1466] و در مقام بدی نشدیم.

و بعد از آن که سلطان بایزید به قزوین آمد، مبالغه میکرد که چون القاس بدانجا آمد، خواندگار جهت [f.68r] خاطر او خود لشکر کشیده، به تبریز آمد. شما چرا ملاحظه نموده، مدد من نمیکنید؟ دو پسر من همراه شما باشد و دو پسر همراه من. شما به ارض روم روید و من به جانب بغداد روم! من گفتم که خواندگار کار خوبی نکرد که به سخن القاس بر سر ما آمد و ما همیشه ایشان را عیب میکنیم و میگوییم که حضرت خواندگار به سخن رستم پاشا عمل نمود و سبکی کرد. [خود چون مرتکب این کار شویم؟][1467] [چون تو به ما توسّل نموده-ای،][1468] صلاح در آن است که ایلچی فرستاده، درخواست گناه تو کنیم. اگر حکم شود که مردم تو را گرفته، تو را نگاه داریم یا بفرستیم، دیگرباره کس فرستاده [درخواست][1469] نماییم تا [از سر][1470] گناه تو بگذرند و بر سر [لطف آیند].[1471]

و با خود گفتم که او با ولی [f.68v] نعمت خود عاق شده و حقوق والدین را، که به موجب آیات و احادیث رعایت آن واجب است، رعایت نمیکند و حضرت جبرئیل (ع) به حضرت پیغمبر (ص) در این باب [مبالغه نموده][1472] که حضرت حق [سبحانه و تعالی][1473] بر آن کس که حق والدین نگاه نمیدارد رحمت [نمیکند].[1474] [بر او رحم نمیباید کرد].[1475] و نیز من با خواندگار صلح کردهام و او با خواندگار، که والد و ولی نعمت اوست و حقوق ایشان بر او واجب است که نگاه دارد، مخالفت میکند. پس من چگونه معاونت او نمایم؟

[1459] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83r]: «بدانجا».
[1460] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83r]: «ما از آمدن».
[1461] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83r]: «از جای خود نشدیم».
[1462] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83r]: «همان».
[1463] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83r]: «چیزی».
[1464] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83r]: «این میانها را [تمام] خراب کنیم و چول سازیم».
[1465] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83r]: «با آنکه القاس».
[1466] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83r]: «نکرده».
[1467] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83r]: «ما چون این کار کنیم»؛ ایلچی [p.194]: «خواندگار خوب نکرد که به سخن القاس لشکر بر سر ما کشید و خود را سبک ساخت و من همیشه او را مذمت میکردم، به سبب این حرکت اکنون خود چون این کار کنم».
[1468] ایلچی [p.194].
[1469] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83r]: «درخواه».
[1470] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83r]: «که از».
[1471] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83r]: «بر سر مهر و صفا».
[1472] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83r]: «فرموده».
[1473] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83r]: «جل و علی».
[1474] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83r]: «نمینماید».
[1475] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83r].

یکی دیگر از جملهٔ بدیها و بیعقلیهای او آنکه با وجود آنکه بـه من التجاء آورده بـود مـرا «شاه طهماسب» نوشته بود و [حضـرت سـلطان سـلیم خـان، کـه بیگانـه بـود، انـواع تعظیم نموده، پدر نوشته بود].[1476] از اینجا دانستم [f.69r] کـه این مـردک [بـهغـایت بیعقـل و نـادان][1477] است.

هوائی کیمسه سلطانلیق باشارماز / نه سلطانلیق که چوپانلیق باشارماز

و سلطان سلیم مرد عاقل و دانا است.

طلب کردم ز دانایی یکی پند / مرا گفتا که با نادان مپیوند

که گر دانای دهری خر بباشی / و گر نادانی ابلهتر بباشی

او خود ابله و نادان است، [چرا][1478] من هم نادانی کرده با او متفق شوم؟ بنـاء بـر این مقدّمات، علی آقای آقچه سقل یوزباشی را به ایلچیگری به خـدمت حضـرت خوانـدگار تعـیین نموده و ارشتی آقا را [به جانب][1479] سلطان سلیم خان فرستادم و او را به زبان نگاه داشتم.

و چون اراده نموده [f.69v] بود که جهت امرای سرحدها، مثل مشهد مقدس و هـرات و قندهار و سیستان و شیراز و کرمان و گیلان و مازندران، سوغات فرستد و فرخ بیگ گفته بود که میخواهم به گیلان روم و ساز زیتون را بشنوم و با او چند فصل ساز بنـوازم. در این اثنـاء، به آقایان خود تحفهها داده، جهت امراء سرحدّ به ممالک فرستاد. و فرخ بیگ بـه گیلان رفت و خاطر نشان او کرد که یک روز با پنج شـش هـزار کس بـه طریـق شـکار بـیرون میرویم و میگریزیم. ایشان بعد از یک روز واقف [خواهند][1480] شـد و در عقب مـا خواهنـد آمـد. و چـون مـا یکروزه راه در پیش [خواهیم بود،][1481] به ما نخواهند رسید. غایتش آنکه از مـردم مـا جمعی را که اسب [f.70r] ایشان مانده باشد بگیرند، ما با یک دو هزار کس خود را به میان ترکمانان یقه میاندازیم و از آنجا به کشتی نشسته، به اغریچه [بیرون میرویم][1482] و به میان حاجی ترخـان و قزان در آمده، به پادشاه اروس کس فرستاده، میگوییم که ما دشـمن خوانـدگاریم. از ایشـان مدد گرفته، چرکس را [نوکر][1483] خود [میگردانیم].[1484] و در آنجا نشسته مردم نقـای و چـرکس و قرم را نیز نوکر خود میکنیم. بعد از آن، مدد از اروس گرفته، به هـر جـا کـه [خـواهیم][1485] از الکاء خواندگار میرویم و غارت میکنیم. و اگر خواندگار لشکر بر سر ما فرستد، ما به چـول در [میآییم].[1486] خواندگار به ما چه میتواند کرد؟[1487]

[1476] ایلچی [p. 193]: «از آنجا کتابتی به حضرت شاه عالمپناه نوشته، آن حضرت را به شاه طهماسب خطاب نمود و سلطان سلیم، که در روم به اعزاز و احترام نشسته بود، به حضرت شاه دینپناه مکتوبی در نهایت ادب نوشته بود و آن حضرت را پدر خوانده».

[1477] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83r]: «بیعقل و بیدانش»؛ ایلچی: «که این پسر چندان عقلی ندارد».

[1478] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83r]: «مرا چه لایق که».

[1479] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83r]: «به خدمت».

[1480] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83v].

[1481] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83v]: «رفتهایم».

[1482] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83v]: «به در میرویم».

[1483] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83v]: «ملازم».

[1484] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83v]: «ساخته».

[1485] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83v]: «دست ما میرسد».

[1486] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83v]: «میرویم».

قرا اوغورلو و مصطفی نشانچی و محمود بیگ چرکس [که از جمله ملازمان سلطان بایزید بودند][1488] از این معنی واقف شده، [از بیم آنکه مبادا سلطان بایزید با نزدیکان فرار نمایند و ایشان در قزوین بمانند،][1489] به حسن بیگ گفتهاند که سخنی داریم و میخواهیم [f.70v] به شاه عرض کنیم. حسن بیگ قبول نموده که ایشان را نزد من آورد تا سخن خود بگویند. سلطان بایزید از این معنی واقف و خبردار شده، ایشان را طلبیده، هر سه را به قتل رسانید.

بعد از چند روز، عرب محمد از مازندران آمد و بعد از سه روز از آمدن او در باغ مهمانی شد. عرب محمد پیش من آمد و گفت که حکایتی دارم و میخواهم که در خلوت عرض کنم. گفتم: بعد از آنکه به دیوانخانه روم بیا و بگو. چون سلطان بایزید مطلع شد که عرب محمد از اندیشهٔ او [وقوف یافته][1490] و میخواهد که [حقیقت حال او را][1491] به من بگوید، شب او را طلبیده، به قتل رسانید. و علی آقای سگبانباشی، همراه عرب محمد، دانسته بود که [ایشان][1492] در چه فکر و اندیشهاند، آمد و [شرح][1493] به من گفت که [F.72r] جانقی و خیال ایشان این است و [قدوز][1494] فرهاد نقل کرد که فردا شب میخواهند که فرار نمایند و به استرآباد روند. دانستم که واقعی بوده از این جهت او را به مجلس طلبیده، گرفتم. و هر کس که با او در این کار متّفق بود به قتل [رسانیدم].[1495] و بعضی را برهنه کرده، گذاشتم که به هر [جا][1496] خواهند بروند.

بعد از آن، مرا عارضهای روی نمود و علی آقا از خدمت خواندگار آمد. و فرزندان و امراء و مردم ما، هر کس که تحفهٔ درویشانه فرستاده بود، در برابر تحفههای ایشان تحفهها آورد، غیر از تحفهٔ ما که در این مرتبه نیز درجهٔ قبول نیافته بود.

حالا هر پنج را جهت خاطر حضرت خواندگار و سلطان سلیم خان گرفته نگاه داشته-ام. [این است اسامی آن پنج کس که نگاه داشتیم: سلطان بایزید در دولتخانه محبوس بود. اورخان نزد حسن بیگ یوزباشی بود. سلطان محمود نزد سوندک بیگ قورچیباشی افشار بود. سلطان محمد نزد معصوم بیگ وکیل بود. سلطان عبدالله نزد میر سیّد شریف شیرازی بود. و پنج نفر تفصیل نسل قیصر روماند.][1497] و چون سوگند خوردهام [f.72v] که سلطان بایزید را

[1487] ایلچی [pp.196/7]: «در آن اثناء، به خاطر رسانید که از قزوین با پنج شش هزار سوار جرّار فرار نموده به طرف استرآباد ایلغار کند و از آنجا به میان ترکمانان اترک رود و از والی خوارزم و اویماقاتی که در آن حدودند استدعای مدد نموده، از راه دشت قبچاق به سلاطین چرکس و روس متوسّل گردد و به استصواب و استعانت ایشان ولایت روم را بتازد و فتنه در آن دیار اندازد».

[1488] ایلچی [p.197].

[1489] ایلچی [p.197].

[1490] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83v]: «واقف گشته».

[1491] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83v].

[1492] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83v]: «سلطان بایزید و مردمش».

[1493] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83v].

[1494] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83v]: «قدّوس».

[1495] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83v]: «درآوردم».

[1496] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83v]: «محل».

[1497] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83v].

بـه خوانـدگار نـدهم، [منتظـر آنم][1498] کـه چـون امـر و اشـارت حضـرت خوانـدگار برسـد و فرستادگان سلطان سلیم خان [بیایند،][1499] ایشان را تسلیم فرستادهٔ سلیم خان نمایم.

[پاشا حضرت لری][1500] و حسن آقا، شما خوش آمدید و صفا آوردید! آنچه امر حضـرت خواندگار است، چنان می‌کنم و از حکم و اشارت آن حضرت تجاوزی نداریم. و به هـر خـدمت که فرمایند ایستادگی دارم، امّا در برابر این نوع خدمت [شایسـته][1501] از حضـرت خوانـدگار و سلیم خان جایزه و جلدویی که لایق [شأن][1502] ایشان باشد میخواهم و [السّلم].[1503]

[خوش کرد یاوری فلکت روز داوری / تا شکر چون کنی و چه شکرانه آوری
در کوی عشق، شوکت شاهی نمیخرند / اقرار بندگی کن و اظهار چاکری
آن کس که اوفتاد خدایش گرفت دست / گو بر تو باد تا غم افتادگان خوری
ساقی بمژدگانی عیش از درم درآ / تا یکدم از دلم غم دنیا به در بری
در شاهراه جاه و بزرگی خطر بسیست / آن به کزین گریوه سبکبار بگذری
سلطان و فکر لشکر و سودای گنج و تاج / درویش و امن خاطر و کُنج قلندری
یک حرف صوفیانه بگویم اجازتست / ای نور دیده صلح به از جنگ و داوری
حافظ غبار فقر و قناعت ز رخ مشوی / کین خاک بهتر از عمل کیمیاگری][1504]

The T-Recension*: *Persian Composite Text

A note of the preparation of the edition:

The existing modern editions of the *T-Recension* of the text – Tehran, Strasburg, Calcutta, and Berlin – are characterized by several deficiencies and problems which have already been discussed in the relevant sections of this dissertation. To briefly recap briefly the key issues:

[1498] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83v]: «موقوف همین است».
[1499] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83v]: «برسند».
[1500] ایلچی [p.197]: «خضر پاشا».
[1501] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83v]: «نمایان».
[1502] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83v].
[1503] کاتب: دانشگاه (۱) [f.83v]: «و فیالواقع صله و جایزه دارد».
[1504] کاتب: دانشگاه (۲) [f.95r].

(i) the Tehran lithographed text is incomplete due to the several lacunae in the *GPL* manuscript, on which the edition is based; (ii) the Calcutta and Berlin editions are based on three copies of the *BL* manuscript – two of which are kept at the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in Calcutta, and one in der Staatsbibliotek zu Berlin, and catalogued as D. 101, D. 53, and Sprenger 205, respectively – of the *BL* manuscript, with its *marginalia* integrated into the main body of the text of these copies and thus in the printed editions as well, while also not having been compared against the *GPL* text, with from which several noteworthy differences exist; (iii) the Strasburg edition is something of a chimera based on a very poor-quality transcription of the Tehran lithograph, only made worse by the editor's further mis-readings of the transcription, as well as on the aforesaid Berlin copy of the *BL* manuscript where the marginalia from the original had likewise been integrated into the main body of the copy, not to mention a variety of other minor issues.[1505]

Thus, a whole range of mis-readings and scribal errors made over centuries of transmission, orthographical mistakes introduced by modern editors, and various other issues across the four modern editions notwithstanding, the Tehran edition is the only one based on the original manuscript, and not a copy, leaving us without a decent text overall or rather with what we have called the accidental *fourth edition*, that is the expanded *T-Recension* (See Chapter Four). To address these problems, our goal here is to produce the closest possible approximation to the *T-Recension / Third Edition* while also preparing a modern, accessible, and readable text, with standardized orthography and punctuation throughout, first and foremost to use in the relevant sections of this thesis, but also for the benefit of students of history and literature as well as, perhaps to a lesser degree, for linguists.

[1505] From the Calcutta edition – Phillott, D.C., ed., *Memoirs of Shāh Ṭahmāsp* (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1912) – some noteworthy mis-readings of geographical and personal names, as well as proper nouns, include but are certainly not limited to such instances as '*choqur saʿd*', said to be 'not traceable' (p.20), rather than *chokhūr-saʿd* – a Safavid province roughly corresponding with the borders of modern day Republic of Armenia; '*qāṣer khān*', also said to be 'not traceable' (p.35), but is in fact a scribal error for *qāżī khān* – itself an odd *third-edition* rendering of *ghāzī khān*; or '*zabān-e kīrī*' (p.57) instead of *zabān-gīrī* – with the latter meaning intelligence-gathering.

To accomplish this goal, we have put together a composite text based on the two oldest manuscripts containing the young/longer *T-Recension* (from which *all the known copies* descend) – *MS. Golestān Palace Library: No. 831* and *MS. British Library: Or. 5880* – and complemented by another manuscript – *MS. Majles: ID: 1216700, Rec. No. 13213, Doc. No. IR10-53230*. The *Majles*, as has been discussed in Chapter Three, is almost certainly a copy of the *GPL* manuscript, made prior to its loss of several folios, and therefore contains virtually the same text *in its entirety*, that is including the folios missing in the latter manuscript.

As has been demonstrated in the relevant sections of this dissertation, i.e., Chapters Three and Four, both the *GPL* and the *BL* manuscripts were produced towards the end of the seventeenth century while all the known copies (apart from the aforesaid D. 101, dating to 1212 AH ~ 1797/98) were made in the nineteenth century, in Qajar Iran or Mughal India. Moreover, we have also argued that neither of the two manuscripts is a copy of the other, but instead both appear to have been made from a draft text which was probably never bound into a stand-alone codex. We believe it is most appropriate to call our edition composite, for it combines, by way of footnotes, not only the noteworthy textual variations in the main body but also all the *scholia* (these are reproduced in the footnotes) of both manuscripts complemented, to fill the *GPL* manuscript lacunae, by the *Majles* copy (both which belong to the same stemma, with the latter as noted above, being having almost certainly having been copied from the former prior to its loss of several folios). This way, a reader will have the most complete and closest-to-the-original text, as well as gain insights into its transmission, readership as well as the stages of paratextual evolution it went through prior to the publication of the four editions.

The transcription of the *GPL* text, the royal copy and likely the older of the two, is taken as the base. Since the *GPL* codex contains several lacunae (that is entire folios) – f.16v

to f.21v and f.45v to f.53r – these have been filled based on the text of the *BL* and the *Majles* manuscripts. These have been clearly marked and colour coded, with red for *GPL*, blue for *BL*, and green for *Majles*. Furthermore, when compared against the *BL* text, everything deemed important and noteworthy, though consciously excluding trivial variations in spelling, ligatures, demonstratives (i.e., this vs. that), and/or minor stylistic aspects, is recorded by way of footnotes. Such variations include but are not limited to (i) uses of different words; (ii) words and phrases, usually providing additional information, found in the *BL* text while absent in the *GPL*; (iii) passages found in the *GPL*, absent in the main body of the *BL*, and subsequently added on the margins of the latter; (iv) phrases and sentences found in the *GPL* and entirely missing from the BL text.

Inconsistencies in speelling, mainly though not exclusively of Arabic as well as Turkic words – i.e., months, personal, and geographical names, etc. – have not been recorded, opting instead for standardized modern spellings wherever possible or, in certain cases, for the spellings deemed by the present editor to be widely attested in Safavid-era texts. For instance, the name of the city of Herat appears in three different spellings across the two texts: *Harī*, *Herāt* with *tāʾ*, and/or *Herāt* with *tāʾ marbūṭah*. For the sake of simplicity, consistency, and readability we have opted for the use of the modern standard Persian spelling – *Herāt* – throughout. The *Hijrī* months, on the other hand, have been rendered in their proper Arabic spelling throughout; for example, the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjat (with *tāʾ marbūṭa*) is used instead of the Persianized ‘Dhū al-Ḥijjah’ or ‘Dhū Ḥijjah’.

Proper names, such as Alqāṣ or Ghāzī Khān, which in these two manuscripts oftentimes, possibly being scribal errors in the case of the latter, are spelled as Alqāṣeb / Alqāseb and Qāżī Khān have been corrected to their proper spellings – Alqāṣ and Ghāzī. The former name, it is worth pointing out, when spelled this way – Alqāṣeb / Alqāseb – and read out loud would sound identical to the word *al-ghāseb*, i.e., ‘the usurper’ in Arabic, which is

exactly what how the Shah's brother would have been presented as across all the variants, whether early or late, of our text. As for the name of the archvillain of these stories, Olāmeh Tekkalū, his name too appears in several different spellings, e.g., Ūlāmeh, Ūlameh, Olāmeh, and Olameh. The most widely attested variant throughout both manuscripts (plus the Majles copy) that we have consulted, that is Olāmeh, has been selected and will be used throughout. Lastly, in Safavid historiography, Ottoman rulers are conventionally referred to as *khwāndgār* (i.e., lord, master, king). This appears in two different spellings in our text – *khavāndegār* and *khūndgār* – with the latter being somewhat closer to the Ottoman/Turkish pronunciation – *hünkâr* – and may reflect the scribe's Turkic background, although this is merely a speculation. It has been decided to follow the most widely attested spelling of the word, that is *khūndgār*, throughout the present edition.

The text is minimally punctuated. The illegible and/or mis-transcribed words, mainly personal names, found in the two manuscripts are corrected, albeit without recording every single instance when the scribes' writings are either inaccurate and/or indecipherable, that is to keep footnotes to a minimum. For these names are largely well known to students of Safavid history and thus indicating every single instance of illegible spelling and referencing a correct one in some other text, a chronicle, a letter, or a decree, seems redundant.[1506]

'Abd al-Ḥoseyn Navā'ī's edition of *Takmīlat al-Akhbār*, from which much of the historical section of the preface to this edition is derived, has been used as one of the main references for the illegible words/terms. The Arabic passages, the Quran, and the Hadiths, are

[1506] Names of Georgian aristocrats and localities, a lot of which are mentioned in the fourth story, that of Eskander Pasha, are inaccurately transcribed in virtually every manuscript of both recensions, and thus in all four modern editions, that I have consulted. However, thanks to the efforts of a Georgian scholar, Karlo Tabatadze, most of these inaccuracies have been rectified as he had tracked down and identified practically all the individuals mentioned in this text. Oddly enough, the transcription of the *second edition* of the text included in his *Šah-T'amazis Saubari Osmalet'is Elčebt'an* (T'bilisi: Met'niereba, 1976) does not contain these corrections and preserves the scribal errors whereas the Georgian translation, admittedly produced later, which accompanies the Persian original, does. The current edition includes the accurate spellings of these names made possible thanks to the hard work of Lali Gvelukashvili, who has prepared the English translation of Tabatadze's text for me to consult.

all fully vocalized and accompanied by full references whenever possible. All in all, it is worth acknowledging that even though the stated goal of this effort was to produce a text which approximates that of the original *third edition*, that is the version produced around the last quarter of the seventeenth century, or what some would call a critical edition of it, given the series of corrections and alterations throughout, it might be more appropriate to call the final product the *fifth edition*. Yet, at the same time, we believe that the following is on all counts superior to anything published up until now and is as close to the *third edition* as it can possibly be.

[نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ کاخ گلستان : f.1v]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

کلام الملوک و ملوک الکلام

سپاس بیقیاس حضرت پادشاهی را سزاست که دولت خسروان مظفر و منصور بتأیید عنایت اوست و رفعت منزلت پادشاهان روزگار بمرحمت و شفقت حمایت اوست. و این طبقه را از کل افراد انسان بعنایت خاص مخصوص و ممتاز نمود و در میان امثال و اقران بمزید شوکت و حشمت و ازدیاد جاه و دولت بلند پایه **[f.2r]**[1507] و سرافراز فرمود تا اسباب و مقدمات وقایع نظام مقاصد عالم که صلاح و سلامت همه در آن است ترتیب و تمهید نمایند **و نفوس و طباع بشری را از شوائب میل بتسلط و تغلب برین نوع تجرید فرمایند**[1508]

نظم

بی‌چشمه سار تیغ سلاطین کامکار / سر سبزی ریاض شریعت طمع مدار

بی‌سایهٔ سیاست شاهان فتنه سوز / کس در سرای امن نیابد دمی قرار

و درود و صلوات بیشمار نثار حضرت خاتم النّبیین محمّد، صلّی الله علیه و آله، که دیباچهٔ «کُنْتُ نَبِیّاً و آدَمُ بَیْنَ الْماءِ وَ الطِّینِ» را بخاتمهٔ ولکن رسول الله و خاتم النّبیین مکمل گردانید **[f.2v]** و حجة «إِنَّمَا بُعِثْتُ لِأُتَمِّمَ مَکَارِمَ الْأَخْلَاقِ» را به بیّنهٔ «لا نَبِیَّ بَعْدِي» مسجّل و مطرّز کرد و بر وصی بر حق و جانشین بلافاصله مطلق آن حضرت اعنی حضرت امیر المؤمنین و امام المتقین و یعسوب الدّین اسدالله الغالب و مظهر العجائب و مظهر الغرائب،

[1507] **دَخَلَ فی نوبتی و انا العبد العاص فرهاد ابن ولیعهد طاب ثراه فی ۷ جمادی الثانیة من شهور سنهٔ ۱۲۸۹هجری علی هاجرها الف الف سلام.**

[1508] در نسخهٔ بریتانیا ذکر نشده است.

آن سرافراز بخطاب مستطاب «إِنَّمَا وَلِيُّكُمُ اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ» و آن تاجدار سورهٔ هل اتی و مبارز میدان لافتی که یکی از جمله احادیث نبوی، صلی الله علیه و آله، که در شان او وارد شده اینست که «لو اِجْتَمَعَ النّاسُ على حُبِّ عليّ بن أبي طالب لَما خَلَقَ الله النّارَ». آن امامی که زبان عالمیان از وصف شمه‌ای از صفاتش قاصرست. اگر بحر **حِبْر**[1509] گردد و **[f.3r]** اشجار قلم و هفت آسمان ورق شود و جنّ و انس تا حشر نویسند، از هزار یک وصفش نتوانند نوشت. درِ مدینهٔ علم رسول الله، صلّی علیه و آله، ابوالحسنین، علی بن ابی طالب و حضرات ائمه معصومین، صلوات الله علیهم اجمعین.

اما بعد، بندهٔ ضعیف حضرت باری تعالی، جلّ شانه، و امّت نحیف حضرت ختمی پناهی، صلّی الله علیه و آله، غلام باخلاص حضرت سیّد الوصیین و اولاده، صلوات الله علیهم اجمعین، طهماسب بن اسمعیل بن حیدر الصّفوی الحسینی را به خاطر شکسته خطور کرد که از احوالات و سرگذشت خود تذکره‌ای به قلم آورم که از ابتدای جلوس **[f.3v]**[1510] الی یومنا هذا احوالم بچه نوع گذشته، تا از من بر سبیل یادگار در روزگار بماند و دستورالعمل اولاد امجاد و احباب شود، تا هر وقتی که بنظر محبّان رسد بدعای خیر یادآوری نمایند. چون بی‌تکلف نوشته شده، از درخرده گیری در نیایند و از شایبهٔ کذب و ریا مبّرا دانند و الله الموفّق و المعین.

به تاریخ نهصد و سی **از هجرة**[1511] در محل چاشت، روز دوشنبه نوزدهم شهر رجب، موافق پیچین ئیل، جلوس بر سریر جهانبانی واقع شد در سن ده سالگی. و مولود در بیست و ششم شهر ذی الحجة سنهٔ عشرین و تسعمائة بوده، موافق ایت ئیل ترکی، و ظلّ تاریخ است. و دیو سلطان روملو لَلِه‌ام **[f.4r]** بود و مصطفی سلطان مشهور بکپک سلطان، که بجای برادرش چایان سلطان سمت وکالت یافته بود، در امیر الامرائی او را با دیو سلطان شریک کردم. و قاضی جهان قزوینی را، که از سادات سیفی است و به شرف علم و فضل و حسن خط و انشاء و آداب و رسوم عدیل نداشت، به جای میرزا شاه حسین وزارت و صاحب دیوانی دادم. و منصب صدارت را به میر جمال الدین استرابادی و میر قوام الدین حسین نقیب اصفهانی دادم. چون منصبی عالیست، با یکدیگر به راه برند؛ چرا که منصبی بزرگست و مبلغ‌های کلّی می‌شود که می‌باید به مستحقان برسد. **[f.4v]** و خود نیز به هر ایام به مداخل و مخارج آن وامی‌رسیدم که مبادا، العیاذ بالله، اگر اندک تقصیری واقع شود، در این امر

[1509] در **[f.2v]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا : «**مرکب**».

[1510] **در کتاب احسن التواریخ حسن بیگ روملو و عالم آرا و حبیب السیر و جهان آرا ولادت شاه طهماسب را در روز چهارشنبه بیست ششم ۲۶ ذی الحجّة الحرام سنهٔ ۹۱۹ نوشته‌اند در قریهٔ شاه آباد از توابع اصفهان و یک سال با آن روزنامه تفاوت دارد – فرهاد؛ هو، مادهٔ تاریخ است؛ طهماسب شاه عالم کز نصرت الهی / جا بعد شاه غازی بر تخت زر گرفتی / جای پدر گرفتی کردی جهان مسخّر/ تاریخ سلطنت شد جای پدر گرفتی – ۹۳۰؛ ایضًا، شرف بندگی شاه نجف / یافته چون ز بدایت طهماسب / نقش مهرش شده تاریخ جلوس / بنده شاه ولایت طهماسب، ۹۳۰.**

[1511] در **[f.3r]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا ذکر شده است.

موجب عقاب و مستحق عذاب الیم شوند. و خواجه جلال الدّین محمد، بنابر بعضی قبائح که ازو صادر شده بود، مؤاخذه گشت و آخر سوختندش. و در محل سوختن این بیت می‌خوانده:

بیت

گرفتم خانه در کوی بلا در من گرفت آتش / کسی کو خانه در کوی بلا گیرد چنین گیرد

و مولانا ادهم منشی خیارچی قزوینی هم به قتل رسید. و قشلاق در تبریز شد. و چوهه سلطان تکلو را الکاء اصفهان داده، بدانجا فرستادم. چون شش ماه ازین مقدمه گذشت، دورمیش خان شاملو، که لَلِهٔ **اخوی**[1512] سام میرزا بود، در هرات **[f.5r]** وفات یافت. و حسین خان برادرش را، که از عمه‌ام متولد شده بود، قائم مقام او کردم. و در تخاقوی ئیل، احدی و ثلثین تسعمائه، به ییلاق سهند و اوجان رفتیم. و روزی چند به عیش و کامرانی می‌گذرانیدیم که درین اثناء خبر آمدن اوزبک به خراسان رسید. بنابرین داعیهٔ توجه بدانصوب کردیم. چون داخل تبریز شدیم، نزول در باغ علقان تبریز افتاد. امراء را جمع نموده، درین باب جانقی زدیم. دیو سلطان، که در امیر الامرائی مقدم بر کپک سلطان بود، دفع اوزبک را متعهد شد، به شرط آن که امراءِ عراق و فارس در ییلاق لاریجان، سرحد طبرستان، بدو ملحق گردند. و درین باب **[f.5v]** احکام به او دادم که چوهه سلطان تکلو، حاکم اصفهان، و **علی سلطان**[1513] ذوالقدر، والی شیراز، و قراچه سلطان تکلو، حاکم همدان، و برون سلطان تکلو، حاکم مشهد، در ییلاق **مذکور**[1514] پیش او جمع شوند و دفع اوزبک از خراسان نمایند. چون جماعت مذکور را جمعیت رو می‌دهد، مقدمهٔ اوزبک را موقوف کرده، دفع استاجلو را پیش نهاد. خاطر کرده به خراسان نرفته، باز گردیدند. چون این خبر به ما رسید، کپک سلطان، به اعتقاد آن که بملایمت رفع آن شود، از روی تعظیم استقبال ایشان کرده، در ترکمان کندی به ایشان می‌رسید و به اتفاق نزد ما، که در خارج تبریز در چرنداب بودیم، آمدند. بعد از آن که **[f.6r]** پابوس کردند، در همان روز به بهانهٔ دفع فتنه قرانجه بیگ استاجلو و نارین بیگ قاجار را به قتل رسانیدند. و قاضی جهان را گرفته، به قلعهٔ لری فرستادند و **منصب**[1515] او را به میر جعفر ساوجی، که به سلسلهٔ دیو سلطان مربوط بود، دادند. چون کپک سلطان صحبت را چنین دید، متوجه الکاءِ خود شد **و چوهه سلطان به جای او مهر بر احکام نهاد و دیو سلطان را ملک الامراء**[1516] و چوهه سلطان را رکن السلطنت نوشتند. و در این سال امیر جمال الدین صدر و میر محسن رضوی قمی به خلد برین شتافتند «ادْخُلُوهَا بِسَلَامٍ آمِنِینَ» **[15:46]** تاریخ وفات ایشان است.

چون دورمیش خان شاملو، که لَلهٔ سام میرزا بود، در هرات فوت **[f.6v]** شده بود و جای او را به حسین خان بن عبدی بیگ شاملو، که برادرش بود، داده بودم، جناب خواجه حبیب الله ساوجی، که وزیر دورمیش خان بود، فرصت یافته، خواجه صاحب را با دو پسرش

[1512] در **[f.4r]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا ذکر شده است.
[1513] در **[f.4v]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا در حاشیه اضافه شده است.
[1514] در **[f.4v]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا : «مزبور».
[1515] در **[f.5r]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا : «وزارت».
[1516] این بخش در نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا نیست.

و دیگر معارف مثل میرزا قاسم میرکی با موازی هفتاد نفر به قتل **آوردند**.[1517] این مقدمه به سعی طائفهٔ شاملو و احمد سلطان افشار شده بود و احمد خوزانی اصفهانی به جای او نشسته بود. بر این مقدمات مذکوره صبر می‌کردم تا ببینم در میانه خواستهٔ کردگار چیست که در این وقت علی سلطان ذوالقدر، حاکم شیراز، در تبریز متوفی شده، قشون و الکاءِ او را به مراد سلطان، برادرزاده **اش،**[1518] نامزد کردند. **امّا**[1519] بر او قرار [f.7r] نگرفت، به حمزه سلطان چمشلو ذوالقدر مقرّر شد.

و در ایت ئیل، سنهٔ اثنی و ثلثین و تسعمائه، کپک سلطان استاجلو، که در غیبت او الکاءش را قطع کرده بودند، به قصد مقابلهٔ جماعت روملو و تکلو در اوائل شهر رجب از طرف خلخال به سلطانیه آمده، بعضی امرای استاجلو مثل قیلچ خان بن خان محمد و منتشا بیگ شیخلو، برادر زادهٔ ساروپیرهٔ قورچی باشی **سابق**[1520]، و بدر بیگ که قورچی باشی بود و کرد بیگ بدو پیوسته، متوجه اردو شدند. و در چاشت روز شنبه، چهاردهم ماه شعبان، در مقام هشتاد جفت که ترکان سِکسَنجِک گویند شروع در جنگ می‌نمایند. و درین اثناء، [f.7v] قراچه سلطان تکلو از همدان می‌رسد. رسیدن همان و کشته شدن همان می‌شود و برون سلطان تکلو هم به قتل آمد. امّا، قورچیان و امرای روملو و تکلو زور می‌آورند و امرای استاجلو گریخته، به ابهر می‌روند. و در آن جا نیز ایلغار جماعت تکلو به ایشان می‌رسند، بالضروره به طارم رفته، به مظفر سلطان گیلانی، حاکم رشت، متوسل می‌شوند. در این وقت عبدالله خان **استاجلو**[1521]، ولد قراخان که برادرزادهٔ خان محمد بود، قاضی جهان قزوینی را از قلعهٔ لَری خلاص کرده، به ما رسانید و اظهار مخالفت جماعت روملو و تکلو کرد. احمد سلطان صوفی اغلی استاجلو، حاکم کرمان، هم به ایشان ملحق می‌شود و بار دیگر [f.8r] میان این طوائف و استاجلو در الکاءِ خرزویل جنگی عظیم می‌شود. و پیادهٔ بسیار که از گیلان به مدد آورده بودند کشته می‌شوند و شکستی عظیم به استاجلو و گیلانیان می‌رسد. در قزوین بودم که خبر این فتح به من رسید و سر بسیاری از آن جماعت آوردند، چنانکه از سرهای ایشان مناری در قزوین ساختند. و ایشان باز به رشت می‌روند و احمد سلطان و غیره به ری و خوار. و این قشلاق اوّلین بود که در قزوین شد.

و هم چنین فتحی روی داد و در این سال میرشاهی بن میر عبد الکریم بن میر عبدالله، از سادات مرعشیه قوامیه که ابًا عن جد فرماندهٔ مازندران بوده‌اند، نبیرهٔ امیر قوام الدین، [f.8v] المشهور به میر بزرگ **مرعشی**[1522] که در تاریخ شهر محرم سنهٔ احدی و ثلثین و سبعمائه وفات یافته و در آمُل مازندران مدفون است، و ایشان از سادات صحیح النسب‌اند. برین موجب که میر قوام الدین و هو ابن سیّد صادق بن سید ابی صادق عبدالله

[1517] در [f.5v] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا : «رسانیدند».
[1518] در [f.5r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا : «او».
[1519] در [f.5v] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا ذکر شده است.
[1520] در [f.5v] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا ذکر شده است.
[1521] در [f.6r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا ذکر شده است.
[1522] در [f.6v] نسخهٔ بریتانیا «**المرعشی**» ذکر شده است و در حاشیه «**ذکر نسب سادات مرعشیه مازندران**» اضافه شده است.

بن سید ابو هاشم بن سید علی بن سید ابو محمد بن سید حسن بن سید علی المرعشی بن سید عبد الله بن سید محمد الاکبر بن الحسن بن الحسین **جعفر بن امام علی بن الحسین**[1523] الاصغر ابن امام علی بن الحسین زین العابدین علیه السلام. و او را چند پسر بوده، از آن جمله: سید نصرالدین، والی آمُل، و سید فخرالدّین، سردار بعضی از رستمدار، و سید کمال حاکم ساری بوده، و بعد از ایشان در الکاءِ مذکوره فرمانفرما **[f.9r]** بوده‌اند. با هدایای بسیار در قزوین خود را به ما رسانید و از آقا محمد روزافزون و بنی اعمام خود شکایت نمود. و به مبلغ کلّی بقایای مازندران را متعهّد شد که سامان داده، به درگاه فرستد و تحصیل آن را به علی خان بیگ تکلو، نبیرهٔ برون سلطان، رجوع کردم و فرمودم که بنی اعمام او میر عبدالله و سید زین العابدین را به نزد ما آورد و آقا محمد روزافزون را دیگر دخلی در مهمات مازندران **نباشد**.[1524]

در شب جمعهٔ پنجم شهر شوّال، سنهٔ اثنی ثلثین و تسعمائه، میر شاهی مذکور را لقب خانی داده، با خلاع فاخره به اتفاق علی خان بیگ تکلو روانهٔ آن جانب نمودم. بعد از چهار ماه میر عبدالله **[f.9v]** و سید زین العابدین را به قزوین آوردند و میر عبدالله را با میر مراد خان شریک نمودم. چون اعمالش مرضی طبع نمود، معزول شد و تریاک خورده در شهر ربیع الثانی، سنهٔ ثمان و ثلثین و تسعمائه، وفات یافت. مردی به غایت شارب الخمر و سفّاک بود، اما برادرش سید زین العابدین مردی متّقی و عالم است. تولیت امامزادهٔ واجب التعظیم و التکریم، امام زاده حسین بن سلطان علی بن موسی الرضا، **علیهم**[1525] السّلام، با نقیب الاشرافی به او ارزانی داشتم. و الحال اراده آن است که چون مردی عالم و دیندار است، به ایلچیگری نزد حضرت خوندگار به استانبول روانه نمایم.

در تنگوز ئیل، سنهٔ ثلث و ثلثین و **[f.10r]** تسعمائه، خبر غوغای اوزبک و محاصرهٔ هرات در میان آمد. خود عازم خراسان شدم. در ساوج بلاغ خبر رسید که اخی سلطان تکلو و دمری سلطان شاملو در بسطام با عبید اوزبک جنگ کرده، کشته شدند. و خبر دیگر از آذربایجان رسید که امرای استاجلو از رشت به اردبیل رفتند و بادنجان سلطان روملو حاکم آن جا بوده است. احمد آقای چاوشلو، تواچی کُپَک سلطان، کشته شد. و از آن جا متوجه چخورسعد، که اردوی دیو سلطان در آن جا مقام و مسکن داشت، شده. دیو سلطان و چوهه سلطان این خبر شنیده، در روز جمعه بیست و نهم شهر رمضان المبارک در آریه چای نخچوان به ایشان **[f.10v]** رسیده، جنگی می‌کنند و شکست بر استاجلو افتاده، کپک سلطان کشته می‌شود و محمدی بیگ، ولد بهرام بیگ قرامانلو، گرفتار شده، به قتل می‌رسد.

[1523] در حاشیهٔ نسخهٔ بریتانیا **[f.7r]** اضافه شده است.
[1524] در **[f.7v]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «نبوده باشد».
[1525] در **[f.7v]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «علیه السّلام».

در تاریخ بیست و ششم **ماه**[1526] شوّال، این اخبار را چون شنیدم، باز گردیده، به قزوین آمدم. تا مُنهیان آمده این اخبار مشخص **شد**.[1527] و درویش بیگ و حمزه بیگ حاجلو ترکمان ایشک آقاسی، که از درگاه رو گردان شده بودند، با یکدیگر منازعه نموده، هر دو کشته می‌شوند. الحق این مقدمات فتوحاتی بزرگ است که از جانب اللـه تعالی رو می‌دهد. در قزوین در این وقت به حقیقت پادشاه شدم و بعضی از متمرّدین، که در هر محل بودند، هر یک را به نوعی از میان برداشتم. و در تاریخ **[f.11r]** روز پنجشنبه دوازدهم شهر ذی الحّجة به ساعتی نیکو به دیوانخانهٔ پدرم، که در قزوین است، آمدم. و جار فرمودم که تا از امراء و سپاهی و اکابر و اهالی هر کس که بود حاضر گردیدند. اولاً، اخی سلطان تکلو و دمری سلطان شاملو، که در جنگ عبید اوزبک کشته شده بودند، بی‌رضای من رفته بودند و می‌خواستند که رشید و صاحب داعیه باشند و ندانستند که کار به کوشش نیست.

نظم

ای بکوشش فتاده از پی بخت / بخت و دولت بکاردانی نیست
هر که را جاه و مال و حشمت هست / جز بتأیید آسمانی نیست

جای اخی سلطان تکلو را و الکاءِ او، که در قزوین بود، به محمد بیگ **[f.11v]** شرف الدین اغلی تکلو دادم و او را لقب محمد سلطان نهادم. و جای دمری سلطان را به محمد بیگ روملو، که هم از ملازمان او بود، دادم. و هم چنین، وکالت و حکومت هر بلاد و دیار به هر کس که قابلیت آن داشت ارزانی داشتم.

در این وقت، رسول آقای جلودار آمد. ازو احوال پرسیدم. گفت که زینل خان، حاکم استرآباد، و چِکِرگِه سلطان شاملو، صاحب سبزوار، و مصطفی سلطان، تیولدار ساوه، در فیروزکوه با زانیش بهادر اوزبک جنگ کرده، هر سه به قتل آمدند و اوزبک قوت تمام گرفت. من **کارسازی**[1528] به هر که می‌بایست کردم، با لشکری آراسته در ابتدای سیچقان ئیل، **اربع و ثلثین و تسعمائه**[1529]، متوجه **[f.12r]** خراسان شدم.

در طهران خبر به من رسید که ذوالفقار بیگ بن علی بیگ، مشهور به نُخود سلطان که در آن وقت حاکم کلهران بود، بر سر عمّش ابراهیم خان موصلو، که قشون امیر خانی به او منصوب گشته بود و به حکومت بغداد و عراق عرب رسیده، در آن حین در ییلاق ماهی دشت بوده، ایلغار کرده، عمّ خود را با اکثر بنی اعمام خود در بغداد به قتل رسانیده، خصوصاً مَرجومَک سلطان بن امیر خان را **بکشت**[1530] و والی تمام عراق عرب گردید. گفتم: حالا وقت آن نیست، هر چه خواست پروردگار است چنان خواهد شد. و الحق این معنی هم فتحی بود و حالا در حساب بغداد از ما شد و به دیگر چیزها **[f.12v]** مقید نشده و متوجه دفع اوزبک شدم.

[1526] در **[f.8v]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «شهر».
[1527] در **[f.8v]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «شود».
[1528] در **[f.9v]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «کارسازی‌ها».
[1529] در **[f.9v]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا ذکر شده است.
[1530] در **[f.10r]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «کشته».

در بردویهٔ جام مصاف روی داد. اول مرتبه دهله از جانب اوزبک بر قزلباش آمد. یعقوب سلطان قاجار و اولمه سلطان تکلو و دیگر امراء دست راست شکست خورده، پشت برگردند و اوزبکان به کسیب افتادند. توکّل به ذات پروردگار و توسّل به محبّت حضرات ائمهٔ معصومین، صلوات الله علیهم اجمعین، کردم و قدمی چند پیشتر رفتم. قضا را، قورچی‌ای از قورچیان ما به عبید رسیده، ناشناخته شمشیری بر او می‌زند و از او در گذشته، به دیگری مشغول می‌گردد. و قلیچ بَهادُر و دیگر جانداران اوزبک عبید را زخمدار از میان به در **می‌برند**.[1531] [f.13r] و کوچکونجی خان و جانی بیگ خان چون از این حال آگاه می‌شوند، هزیمت کرده تا به مرو نایستادند. و مردمی که از لشکری ما گریخته بودند باز در آن روز به ما ملحق گردیدند. و آن شب در آن صحرا به سر بردیم و نمی‌دانستیم که احوال عبید اوزبک به کجا رسیده. باز به خاطر می‌رسید که مبادا اینها را از مکر و آل کرده باشند. در آن شب آقا و مولای خود، حضرت امیرالمؤمنین و امام المتقین و یعسوب الّدین اسدالله الغالب، علی بن ابی طالب، علیه السلام، را در واقعه دیدم که بر روی من تبّسم فرمود و گفت فتحی نیکو، الحمدلله، تو را میسر شد. چون صباح شد دانستم که اوزبک شکست خورده، گریخته‌اند. [f.13v] تا به نشابور متعاقب رفتم. هر که مانده بود کشته شد و خراسان را از لوث وجود و خبث جنود اوزبک پاک کرده، به نشابور آمدم. و به واسطهٔ خبر بغداد توقف نکردم و به قزوین آمدم و لشکری را فرمودم که در قم قشلاق نمایند.

و در قزوین به تهیّهٔ عراق عرب مشغول شدم و در این زمستان آن چه لازمه بود مهیا کردند و بعضی مناصب که موقوف مانده بود به جمعی که لایق **بودند**[1532] دادم. چنانکه منصب صدرات را به امیر نعمت الله حلّی، که دعوی اجتهاد می‌کرد، با میر قوام الدین حسین نقیب اصفهانی شریک کردم، به ساعتی نیکو در نوروز اود ئیل، سنهٔ خمس و ثلثین و تسعمائه، از قزوین بجانب بغداد روانه کردیم. هوا به غایت [f.14r] گرم بود و مدّت محاصره بسیار طول یافت و فتح حصار به غایت مشکل بود. مرحمت الهی و شفقت حضرات ائمهٔ معصومین، علیهم السّلام، شامل گردیده، قضا را علی بیگ بکتاش اغلی، نبیرهٔ صوفی خلیل موصلو، و برادرش احمد بیگ بر ذوالفقار بیگ دست یافته، به شمشیرش گرفتند و سرش را در روز پنجشنبه سیوم **ماه**[1533] شوال نزد من آوردند و بغداد مفتوح شد. محمد سلطان شرف الدّین اغلی تکلو را محمد خان لقب کرده، حاکم بغداد کردم. و نسق مهمات قلعه و لشکری و قورخانه و آذوقهٔ قلعه را درست کردم و به همگی خود وارسیدم و به امید دیگران نگذاشتم و به عراق عجم باز گشتم. و در حوالی فارسجین [f.14v] ابهر میر قوام الدین حسین وفات یافت. چون به قزوین رسیدم، جای او را به میر غیاث الدین منصور شیرازی دادم و با میر نعمت الله حلّی شریک شدند. و بعد از فوت میر نعمت الله صدرات برو قرار گرفت.

[1531] در [f.10v] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «بردند».
[1532] در [f.11r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «بود».
[1533] در [f.11v] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «شهر».

در پارس ئیل، سنهٔ ست وثلثین و تسعمائه، بقیهٔ امراء استاجلو که در گیلان بودند چون بدرخان و منتشا سلطان و حمزه سلطان، برادرِ چایان سلطان، در قزوین به عزّ بساط بوسی رسیدند. و برای هر یک الکائی تعیین کردم و گفتم که آن روزگار که پیش ازین دیده بودید رفت. الحال، بدانید که به چه طریق سلوک خواهید نمود. چرا که به تحقیق دانستم که دولت را [f.15r] خدا می‌دهد و به جدّ و جهد و قوت امراء سوای زیان به کس چیزی نمی‌رسد. پس در این صورت رضای الهی را منظور داشتن و در رفاه حال عجزه و رعایا کوشیدن اولیست. به خاطری جمع به دفع اوزبکان، که در مرو جمع شده بودند، روانهٔ آن صوب شدیم. چون قبل از این سام میرزا و حسین خان هرات را گذاشته، از راه سیستان به فارس رفته بودند، بهرام میرزا را به حکومت هرات تعیین نمودم و غازی بیگ، پسر چرکِن حسن تکلو، را لَلهٔ شاهزاده کردیم. و ما از راه بیابان طبس و یزد به اصفهان آمدیم و قشلاق در آنجا کردیم. اما چون اوزبک از آمدن ما آگاه شده بودند، مرو را گذاشته، به ماوراءالنّهر گریخته بودند. [f.15v] اما در این وقت میانهٔ مجتهد الزمانی، شیخ علی عبدالعالی، و میر غیاث الدّین منصور صدر مباحثات علمی صدور یافت. با آن که مجتهد الزمانی غالب بود، اذعان اجتهاد او نکردند و مدار بر عناد داشتند. طرف حق را منظور داشته، اجتهاد را به او ثابت کردیم.

در توشقان ئیل، سنهٔ سبع و ثلثین و تسعمائه، حسین خان و سام میرزا که خودسر هرات را گذاشته، به شیراز رفته بودند، امراء شفاعت نموده، در ییلاق کندمان اصفهان ایشان را با قشون و حشر به درگاه آورند. سام میرزا تا به خدمت آمدن چند مرتبه پیشانی اخلاص بر زمین سوده، درغایت شرمندگی بود. [f.16r] نوازش بسیارش نمودم و امیدوارش کردم و او را همراه خود به درون حرم بردم تا بیگم را، که به منزلهٔ مادر او بود، دیده. همشیره‌ها به دیدن سام میرزا مسرور گردیدند. این معنی بر حسین خان شاق آمده، وقت سحری حسین خان مکمّل و مسلّح گردیده، با حشر و لشکرش بر سر دولتخانه آمدند و غوغا بلند کردند. قورچیان ذوالقدر و قورچیان شاملو، که در کشیک بودند، جنگی مردانه کردند و بقیة السیف با حسین خان از راه اصفهان به فارس گریختند. و بعد از آن، چون جای چوهه سلطان را به پسر بزرگش، شاه قباد، **داده بودم**[1534]، جای او را به برادر کوچک‌تر او علی بیگ دادم و هر دو را به سلطانی موسوم [f.16v] گردانیدم.

امرای استاجلو و ذوالقدر و افشار، چون مدت‌ها تسلّط طائفهٔ تکلو را کشیده بودند، تاب نیاورند و بنیاد عربده در خفیه می‌کردند. پسرانِ چوهه سلطان بی آن که با من صلاح ببینند یک دو سه نفر از جماعت استاجلو و ذوالقدر و افشار را کشته بوند. و بالکلّیه طائفهٔ تکلو مکمل و مسلح **گردیده**،[1535] به در دولتخانه جمع شده بودند. این معنی بسیار بسیار بر خاطرگران آمده، حکم قتل جماعت تکلو کردم. امراء معتبر ایشان مثل پروانه بیگ قورچی باشی و ابراهیم خلیفهٔ مهردار به قتل آمدند و امیرزاده‌های تکلو را یک یک و دو دو بسته به درگاه می‌آوردند. و همان شربتی که اندک روزی پیش از این ایشان [نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا

[1534] در [f.13v] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا ذکر شده است.
[1535] در [f.13v] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا ذکر شده است.

[f.14r] :[1536] به غازیان شاملو در واقعهٔ حسین خان چشانیده بودند می‌چشیدند. «آفت تکلو» تاریخ این واقعه شد و بقیة السیف فرار کرده، خود را به محمد خان شرف الدّین اغلی، حاکم بغداد، رسانیدند. و محمد خان بعضی را که مادهٔ فتنه و فساد بودند کشت، مثل شاه قباد سلطان، پسر چوهه سلطان، و قُدُرمُش سلطان، که خمیرمایهٔ فتنه بودند، کشته شدند. سرهای ایشان را بنابر یکجهتی به درگاه فرستاده و حکم استمالت **نامه**[1537] برای حسین خان شاملو به فارس فرستادم. و او به درگاه آمد. با او بر سر لطف آمده، امیرالامرائی را به او و عبدالله خان استاجلو [f.14v] دادم. چون حسین خان از میر جعفر ساوجی قهری در دل داشت، التماس عزل او نموده، به واسطهٔ خاطر او از **وزارت**[1538] عزلش کردم. و جای او را به احمد بیگ نورکمال اصفهانی دادم. چون رفع فتنه تکلو شد، بزرگ زادگان اویماقات را به مناصب عالیه فراخور حال سرافراز گردانیدم و بعضی را که رتبهٔ امارت نداشتند به امارت رسانیدم.

حکایت تکلو

و عالمی امن و امان شده بود که در این وقت، در لوی ئیل، سنهٔ ثمان و ثلثین و تسعمائه، اولمه تکلو که در زمان حضرت خاقانی، پدرم، یساول **دیوانی**[1539] بوده و بعد از آن ترقی نموده ایشک آقاسی بوده و من او را مرتبه امارت داده بودم و در پارس ئیل که به سفر طراز خراسان می رفتیم **او را**[1540] امیرالامرای آذربایجان کردم. و مقرّر فرمودم که سیصد کس به یساق خراسان [f.15r] فرستد و او در آن جا باشد. دراین وقت که معاملهٔ عصیان و قتل جماعت تکلو روی داده، اولمه به دارالسلطنهٔ تبریز رفته، ارادهٔ گرفتن داروغه می کند و اسبان خاصهٔ ما که در آن ولایت بودند متصرف شده و کنیزانی که به جههٔ طلادوزی به زردوزان تبریز سپرده بودیم ستاده، به ملازمان خود قسمت نموده، خیمهٔ منقش خاصهٔ ما را که در فراشخانه تبریز بود صاحب گردیده، مردم متموّلی که در آن حدود بودند هر یک را به بهانه‌ای گرفته اموال ایشان را متصرف شده، از تبریز بیرون می رود. با بعضی از مردم سارولو، که به الحاد و زندقه معروفند و از غایت وقاحت و اباحت مناکح خود را از یکدیگر دریغ نمی‌دارند و ایشان را اموال و اسباب داده، [f.15v] جمعی کثیر به هم رسانیده بودند. وزراء این خبر را بعد از چند روز که مشخص شود به من عرض کردند. جمعی از غازیان شیر شکار را به قصد او فرستادم. این جماعت در راه جانقی می‌کنند که در شب بی‌خبر بر سر اردوی اولمه بریزند و تمامی اموال و اسباب او، که به ظلم و ستم به‌هم رسانیده، صاحب شوند. آن حرامزاده خود از این معنی آگاه می‌گردد و در شب اردو را گذاشته، به جانب وان می‌گریزد. و در شبی که غازیان بر سر اردویش می‌ریزند غیر از میرآخور و کنیز و خدمتکاران

[1536] انتهای [f.15v] نسخهٔ مجلس.
[1537] در [f.16r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ مجلس ذکر شده است.
[1538] در [f.16r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ مجلس: «منصب».
[1539] در [f.16v] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ مجلس ذکر شده است.
[1540] در [f.16v] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ مجلس ذکر شده است.

کس دیگر نبوده: چون پیمانه عمرش هنوز پر نشده بود بـه دررفت. امـوال و اسـباب تمـام به جای ماندهٔ او را متصرف شدند و جمعی بگرفتن او رفتند که او را به دست آورند.

امـا او در اصـل مـردی مفتن و مـزوّر بـود؛ بغـیر از حضـرات ائمـهٔ معصـومین، [f.16r] صلوات الله علیهم اجمعین، هر کس دیگـر را بـازی می داد. از وان نـیز فـرار نمـوده، بـه روم رفت. می‌گفتند که با ابراهیم پاشا به غایت مصاحب شـد، چنانکـه ابـراهیم پاشـا بـا او درد دل می‌گفته که از سلطان مصطفی به غایت ترسانم. اولمه در جواب گفته که دیـار شـرق خـالی است و اکثر امرای قزلباش با من متّفقند. اگر پاشا به آن جانب متوجـه گـردد، **من**[1541] متعهـد می‌شوم که آن ملک را مسخّر سازم و پاشا در ملک آذربایجان و عراق و فارس پادشاهی کنـد و هر سال جهة خوندگار پیشکش فرستد. و حالا بِتلیس **را**[1542] بمن دهـد کـه پیشـتر بـروم و بـا مردمی که با من متّفق‌اند سخن بگویم و شـما از عقب بیاییـد. چـون **حضرت**[1543] خونـدگار از سخن ابراهیم پاشا تجاوز نمی‌کرد و اگـر یـک سـخن او رد می‌شد، البتـه دیگـری درجـهٔ قبـول می‌افتاد، **[f.16v]** ابراهیم پاشا به سخن اولمه فریب خورده، بِتلیس را به او داد و لشکر همراه **او**[1544] کرده، بر سر شرف‌بیگ کُرد فرستاده، و شرف‌بیگ تاب مقاومت نیاورده، پیش مـا آمـد. و با این که هابیل بیگ مهماندار، که از نزد ما به ایلچیگری رفته بود، در خـدمت خونـدگار بـود، لشکر به اولمه دادند، فرستادند. بعد از آن که خوندگار سه منزل به‌جانب فرنـگ رفتـه بودنـد، هابیل بیگ را روانه کردند و نوشته بودند کـه شـرف‌بیگ را گرفته، بفرسـتید. امـراء گفتنـد کـه حضرت خوندگار را اگر لطفی با مـا می‌بـود، اولمـه را در آن طـرف الکـاء داده، در برابـر مـا نمی‌فرستاد. و از تربیت کردن نوکر ما و در برابر داشتن بوی دشمنی می‌آید. صلاح دیدنـد کـه ایلچی دیگر فرستاده، تحقیق نمایند که آیا حضرت خوندگار **[f.17r]** با ما سر لطف هست یا نه. حسین خان شاملو و منتشا سلطان و عبدالله خان و ایل‌الدی آقای حـاجیلو را، کـه اول وکیـل دُروک سلطان بود و آخر لَلِهٔ اسمعیل میرزا شد، او را فرستاده نوشـتم کـه اولمـه از پیش مـا گریخته نزد شما آمده و شرف بیگ از نزد شما گریخته نزد ما آمده. شما اولمه را بفرستید تـا ما **نیز**[1545] شرف‌بیگ را بفرستیم. چرا باید جهة اولمه و شرف بیگ میان پادشاهان اسلام نـزاع شود؟ ایشان قبول نکردند و در جواب نوشتند که اولمه پناه بـه مـا آورده، او را نمی‌تـوان داد. شما شرف بیگ را بدهید **و بعد از این،**[1546] اگر از پیش شما کسی آید، ما نیز بفرستیم.

از این اخبار معلوم شد که خوندگار بر سر پرخاش است: آخر خود بـر سـر مـا خواهـد آمد یا لشکری **[f.17v]** خواهد فرستاد. **خدام**[1547] منتشا سلطان گفت که لازم نیسـت مـا را بـا رومیان جنگ کردن؛ تا حوالی ارجیش می رویم، ایشان که خـبر آمـدن مـا را می شـنوند خـود گریخته، خواهند رفت. به‌همین حرف کوچ کرده، روانهٔ آن صوب شدیم. چون به حوالی قرانقو

[1541] در **[f.18r]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ مجلس ذکر شده است.
[1542] در **[f.18r]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ مجلس ذکر شده است.
[1543] در **[f.18v]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ مجلس ذکر شده است.
[1544] در **[f.18v]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ مجلس ذکر شده است.
[1545] در **[f.19r]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ مجلس ذکر شده است.
[1546] در **[f.19v]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ مجلس: «من بعد».
[1547] در **[f.19v]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ مجلس ذکر شده است.

درّۀ خوی رسیدیم، ولد یادگار روژکی از قلعۀ بِتلیس آمده، خبر آورد که فیل پاشا توپ‌ها و اسب‌ها را انداخته و گریخت. امراء و یوزباشیان و قورچیان و عقلاء را طلب نموده، مصلحت دیدیم که اکنون ما را چه باید کرد. جماعت جانقی کرده، گفتند که خوندگار به فرنگ رفته ما به الکاءِ او می رویم. [f.18r] **فیل پاشا فرار نموده در دیار بکرست، ما به سیواس برویم، اگر مردم آن محال بواسطۀ نهب و غارت بر سر ما جمع می‌شوند، آن محال را**[1548] غارت کرده، در مرعش توقف نمائیم و مردم را بر سر خود جمع کنیم. خوندگار که به استنبول آید تمامی آن جا را سوخته، چول کنیم. و هر که همراه ما آید کوچانیده، همراه بیاوریم و هر که نیاید قتل و غارت کنیم. و در دیار بکر چندان باشیم که خوندگار به الکاءِ چورُم و عماسیه بیاید. ما دیار بکر را نیز سوخته و غارت کرده به بغداد رویم و از آب موصول گذشته، زمستان در حوالی بغداد قشلاق نماییم. اگر در فصل بهار خوندگار بر سر ما آید، از آن جا از راه شهرزور به تبریز آییم و اگر خوندگار به تبریز رود، ما از دیاربکر به جانب سیواس رویم.

چون حرف ایشان تمام شد من در جواب گفتم که یاران حضرت خوندگار به غزا به جانب فرنگ رفته. ما که به الکاءِ او رویم کار ما پیش [f.18v] نخواهد رفت و اگر چنانچه او برادر و فرزند من را کشته باشد، چون به غزای کفار رفته، به الکاءِ او نمی‌رویم و دین را به دنیا نمی‌فروشیم. بعضی گفتند اگر او بر سر ما آید، حال ما چون می‌شود؟ منتشا سلطان سیبی در دست داشت، به هوا انداخته، گفت: تا پایین آمدن **سیب**[1549] هزار فرجست و مصلحت این است که ما به الکاءِ خود رویم و قشلاق کنیم. بلکه بهار خوندگار نیاید؛ از آن جا معاودت نموده، از راه چخورسعد به تبریز آمدیم.

به توفیق الله تعالی در آن اثناء خبر آمد که عبیدالله خان اوزبک بر سر هرات آمده و هرات را حصار کرده. و او مردی در غایت ظالم بود: کافر و مسلمان در پیش او یک حال داشت. تا یک بار، سید عالمی را پیش او می‌آورند و به کشتن او فرمان می‌دهد. جمعی شفاعت می‌کنند که این شخص سید است و بی‌گناه. [f.19r] او در جواب می‌گوید: به واسطۀ همین که سیّد است و **بیگناه دو**[1550] عالم من او را می کشم. لعنة الله علیه ... و دیگر، در مجلس او می‌گفته‌اند که هرکس یک جو بغض حضرت امیرالمؤمنین، علیه الصّلوة و السّلام، ندارد مسلمان نیست. آن ملعون نارنجی در دست داشته است، گفته: الحمدلله که من برابر این نارنج بغض آن حضرت را در دل دارم.

در آن محل، بهرام میرزا در هرات بود. کس او آمده، عرضه داشت آورد که کار مردم **[نسخۀ کتابخانۀ کاخ گلستان : f.22r]** هرات به جایی رسیده که گوشت سگ و گربه می‌خورند. بالضّروره متوجه خراسان شدیم. عبید ملعون از توجه ما واقف شده، فرار نموده، به جانب الکاءِ خود رفت. در آن سال قشلاق در هرات واقع شد. امراء و لشکری را به هر

[1548] در [f.20r] نسخۀ کتابخانۀ مجلس ذکر شده است.
[1549] در [f.20v] نسخۀ کتابخانۀ مجلس ذکر شده است.
[1550] در [f.21r] نسخۀ کتابخانۀ مجلس ذکر شده است.

محل فرستادم که قشلاق نمایند. خبر آمد که اولمه بر سر شرف بیگ و میراحمد سلطان و امرائی که با او بودند آمد و میانهٔ ایشان جنگ شد و شرف بیگ در جنگ کشته شد. ما نیز چون محل مقتضی آن نبود، تغافل نموده، بدان مقید نگردیده، در هرات قشلاق کردیم و گفتیم: آن چه خواستهٔ حضرت پروردگارست آن خواهد شد. اولمه کاری [f.22v] به طرّاری و دزدی کرده باشد ما را از **جای به در نباید آمد.**[1551] از جانب خوندگار این معامله نشده است و او بر سر الکاءِ ما نیامده است.

دیگر در بهار این سال برادرم، القاص، را با بعضی امراء همراه نموده به جانب مرو فرستادم و منتشا سلطان و حسین خان و امیربیگ روملو را با بعضی از قورچیان به غرجستان فرستادم. و من به طواف مشهد مقدس، ملائک آشیان، حضرت امام الثّامن و الضّامن، ابوالحسن علی بن موسی الرّضا، علیه السلام، رفته؛ ایشان همگی فتح مرو و غرجستان کردند، به هرات آمدند. و من نیز زیارت نموده به هرات معاودت نمودم. و مدت یک ماه در شهر هرات نشستم. و [f.23r] در یازدهم شهر ذی الحجّة الحرام از هرات بیرون آمده، تا چهل روز در چمن النگ نشین توقف کردم که لشکر جمعیت نموده بر سر بلخ رویم.

اعتقاد بندهٔ ضعیف، طهماسب الحسینی الصفوی الموسوی،[1552] این است که هر کس که حضرت امیر المؤمنین، صلوات الله علیه، را در خواب ببیند، آن چه ایشان فرمایند همان می‌شود و در این شک نیست. در شب چهاردهم شهر ذی الحجّة مذکور که از هرات سه منزل بیرون آمده بودیم، تب کردم و چند روز مریض بودم. شب در واقعه دیدم که حضرت امیر المؤمنین، علیه السلام، در خانهٔ زینل خانی، که در قزوین است و در آن محل دولتخانه بود، نشسته‌اند و جوان محاسن [f.23v] سیاهی که تخمیناً بیست و پنج ساله بوده باشد در عقب سر آن حضرت بر سر پای ایستاده بودند. من پیش آن حضرت رفته، زمین خدمت بوسیدم و به دو زانوی ادب نشستم و سوال کردم که یا حضرت به قربانت شوم، بدان طرف آب می‌روم، آیا مرا با جماعت اوزبک جنگ می‌شود یا نه؟ حضرت امیر المؤمنین، علیه السلام، فرمودند که: ای طهماسب، تا غایت کدام مهمّ تو به جنگ ساخته شده که دیگر باره شود؟ مرتبهٔ دیگر سوال کردم که قربانت شوم، بفرمای که حال ما در آن طرف آب چون خواهد شد؟ جواب فرمودند که در آنطرف آب هیچ نیست، هر چه هست در این طرف آب است. [f.24r] سه مرتبه تکرار این سخن کردم، همین جواب فرمودند. بعد از آن، حضرت علی، علیه السلام، مرا پیشتر طلبید و می‌فرمود که سه چیز به تو می‌فرمایم، نظر کن که در آن جهد نمایی: اوّل، آن که نهر علقمی از یادت نرود. دویم، آنکه بعد از فتح سمرقند گنبد مرا تو یا اولاد تو مثل گنبد امام ثامن ضامن امام رضا، علیه السلام، بسازید. سیوم، سفارش فتحی بیگ، که پروانچی حضرت شاه **بابام**[1553] بود، **کرده،**[1554] فرمودند که او را متولی آستان

[1551] در [f.19v] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «از جای در نباید آمد».
[1552] در حاشیهٔ [f.20r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا اضافه شده است.
[1553] در [f.21r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا ذکر شده است.
[1554] در [f.21r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا ذکر شده است.

مقدس گردان که او از ماست. علی الصّباح بیدار گردیده، خوشحال بعد از نماز صباح او را و یاران را جمع نموده، خواب را شرح کردم و گفتم که در این طرف آب ما را با اوزبک [f.24v] جنگ خواهد شد.

بعد از بیست و یک روز، احمد بیگ وزیر آمد پریشان و آزرده‌خاطر. از او پرسیدم که شراب نمی‌خوری که خمار باشی، چرا مکدّری؟ گفت: کاشکی می‌مردم که این روز را نمی‌دیدم؛ اولمهٔ نمک‌به‌حرام به تبریز آمده، تمامی اهل و عیال قزلباش را اسیر کرده است. پرسیدم که ابراهیم پاشا همراه اوست؟ گفت: نه. احوال حضرت خوندگار را پرسیدم. گفت: در استنبول است. گفتم که حضرت پروردگار، جلّ شأنه، جزای اولمه و ابراهیم پاشا را بدهد که جهة ولی نعمت خود دعای بد حاصل می‌کنند و خواهد داد. و این حکایت را تمثیل آوردم که در میان قوم بنی اسرائیل [f.25r] سی هزار کس قائم اللّیل و صائم الدّهر بودند. سه کس در میان سی هزار کس که زنا و فسق می کردند. چون غضب حضرت الهی بر ایشان نازل شد تمامی سی هزار کس هلاک شدند. حضرت کلیم به درگاه الهی، جلّ شأنه، مناجات کرد که الها سه کس بودند در میان این قوم گناهکار، مابقی چه گناه داشتند؟ خطاب حضرت **ایزد تعالی**[1555] در رسید که این قوم قادر بر منع این سه کس بودند و نکردند تا اثر گناه ایشان به همگی ایشان رسید. حالا ابراهیم پاشا جانب حضرت الهی، جلّ شأنه، را نگاه نداشته، اولمه را رخصت داد که باعث این همه خون و نهب و غارت [f.25v] عرض و مال و سیرت و همه انواع فسق و فجور ازین مقدمه به هم رسیده و خواهد رسید. بعد از اندک زمانی، غیرت حضرت پروردگار چنان کرد که خاطر مبارک خوندگار از او رنجیده، به قتل رسانید و به جهنم پیوست. و این ابیات مناسب حال بود:

نظم

فریدون وزیری پسندیده داشت / که روشن دل و دوربین دیده داشت
رضای حق اوّل نگه داشتی / دگر پاس فرمان شه داشتی
نهد عامل سفله بر خلق رنج / که تدبیر ملکست و توفیر گنج
اگر جانب حق ندارد نگاه / گزندش رساند هم از پادشاه

بعد از استماع این، بهرام میرزا و غازی خان را گفتم: شما در هرات می‌مانید یا نه؟ غازی خان [f.26r] گفت که مردم ما پریشان‌اند و محنت و جفای بسیار درین مدت کشیده‌اند، چنانچه اوقات بچرم گاو گذارنیده‌اند؛ ایشان را قوّت و قدرت آن نیست که دیگر حصارداری توانند کرد. و در این جا بودن را آغزیوار خان قبول کرد که سام میرزا را به من دهید، من هرات را نگاه می‌دارم. منتشا سلطان و امیربیگ روملو و غازی خان ذوالقدر، حاکم شیراز، و سلیمان سلطان در خلوت آمده، گفتند که صلاح نیست سام میرزا را به آغزیوار خان داده، در هرات بگذارید. من گفتم: **هر گاه ایشان**[1556] در محل اعتماد نباشند همراه ما نیز نباید باشند.

[1555] در [f.21v] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «الهی».
[1556] در [f.23r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «ایشان چون».

اگر چنانچه محل دغدغه‌اند، در هرات [f.26v] بودن ایشان بهتر است. و حکایت دارا را که در جنگ اسکندر به دست ملازمان خود کشته شد به تمثیل آوردم.

بعد از خبر اولمه، بیست و هفت روز دیگر در هرات ماندیم. بعد از آن، خلیفه محمد قورچی باشی را با بعضی از قورچیان و منتشا سلطان پیش فرستادیم و خود از عقب ایشان روانه شدیم. در اسفرائین تیمور کرُد، که در آن محل میرآخورِ قورچی باشی بود، باز گردانیده با جاسوس ما که آمده بود در حوالی تربت جام به ما رسیدند و خبر آوردند که ابراهیم پاشا بتحقیق آمد و کتابت ابراهیم پاشا که به بیگم نوشته بود و به شخصی از ملازمان شمس الدّین خان، ولد شرف خان، داده، فرستاده بودند. [f.27r] مضمون کتابت آنکه از یراق و مرصّع آلات که از حضرت شاه اسمعیل، علیه الرّحمة و الرّضوان، مانده چیزی چند به تحفه بفرستید، که من آنها را به خدمت حضرت خوندگار فرستاده، التماس صلح نمایم و نگذارم که خود متوجه این دیار شود و باز این ملک را به شما مسلم دارد و ما نیز بازگردیم. اولمه نیز دراین باب عرضه داشتی به بیگم نوشته، فرستاده بود.

القصّه، ما از تربت بده کوچ به کبود گنبد ری آمدیم. مرکبان و شتران ما تمامی لاغر و زبون شده بودند و بسیاری در راه مانده بودند. در آن وقت که من به اسفرائین رسیدم و قنبر اغلی در مجلس حرفی زد که یک مرتبهٔ دیگر کس [f.27v] بفرستید که خبر مشخص از جانب ابراهیم پاشا و اولمه بیاورد. بر طبیعت من گران آمده، از روی قهر گفتم که از تو بهتر کسی از کجا بیاورم! این کار از دست تو بر می‌آید. او از اسفرائین با دو نفر از ملازمان روانهٔ آن صوب می‌شوند. چون به مراغه می‌رسند، در حوالی اُردوی ابراهیم پاشا به جمعی از رومیان می‌رسند. سه کس را کشته و یک نفر را زنده گرفته، روانه می‌شوند. قضا را، جمعی به ایشان برخورده یکی از ملازمانش سرها را با رومی زنده‌ای برداشته، فرار می‌نماید و قنبر اغلی با یک نفر ملازم خود دو کس را زخم دار کرده، می‌بینند که از عهده برنمی‌توانند آمد، جنگ به گریز می‌نمایند. یکی از رومیان نیزه به او می‌رساند، جقهٔ **دُمِ گاو**[1557] [f.28r] که در سر داشته با دستارش افتاده بود برداشته؛ و او سر برهنه از چنگ رومیان خلاص شده، جقّه و دستارش را نزد ابراهیم پاشا برده بودند- اولمه شناخته بود.

چون به شهر قزوین رسیدیم، او به قزوین آمده،[1558] احوالات را بالتّمام از رومی‌ای که زنده آورده بودند معلوم کردیم. بعد از آن شاهقلی خلیفه و محمد سلطان افشار را فرستادم که بروند و از مردم الوسات و اویماقات هر کس که ارادهٔ ملازمت دارد نوکری **نموده،**[1559] همراه بیاورند. و سَوِندُک بیگ را فرمودم که برود خانه کوچ را که در قم بودند به قزوین بیاورد، که چون خوندگار همراه نیست، معدودی چند با ابراهیم پاشا همراه‌اند؛ [f.28v] از ایشان چه اندیشه باشد. تا روزی در قزوین به حمّامی که خود در ابتدای محلهٔ جعفر آباد ساخته‌ام رفتم و از حمّام بیرون آمده، در باغچهٔ زینل خان نشستم. کدخدایان قزوین طعامی

[1557] در [f.24r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «گاو دم».
[1558] در [f.24r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «چون به شهر قزوین آمده».
[1559] در [f.24v] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «گرفته».

پخته، آوردند. بعد از خوردن طعام، از نزد القاص و بهرام میرزا، که در رودخانهٔ زنجان نشسته بودند، کسی آمد که ابراهیم پاشا اراده رفتن دارد. در ساعت، منتشا سلطان را با صد نفر دیگر فرستادم که بروند و بالقاص و بهرام میرزا و لشکری دیگر که در چرخه بند بودند متفق گردیده، از عقب ابراهیم پاشا و اولمه بروند شاید که اولمه را به دست آورند. و گفتم که من نیز به زودی از عقب شما می‌آیم.

چون [f.29r] لشکری بالتّمام در کاروانسرای نیک پی بهم **ملحق می شوند**[1560] و یک منزل به ایلغار می‌روند، قضا را، به جمعی از رومیان می‌رسند؛ بعضی را کشته و چند نفر را زنده گرفته، احوال از ایشان **معلوم می نمایند.**[1561] می‌گویند ابراهیم پاشا مکر کرده بود و این است که حضرت خوندگار خود داخل تبریز شد و **روز شنبه**[1562] از تبریز بیرون آمده، متوجه این جانب می‌شود. ذوالقدر اغلی آن جماعت را برداشته، نزد من آورد. و خبر آمدن حضرت خوندگار روز به روز گرم‌تر می‌شد؛ از قزوین کوچ کرده، به جانب ابهر رفتم. امراء و لشکری پیش لشکر خوندگار را گرفته، مردم را به هر جانب کوچانیده و منازل را خراب نموده تا زنجان آمدند. در ابهر خبر رسید که [f.29v] به تحقیق حضرت خوندگار داخل زنجان شد و لشکری ما در سلطانیه بودند. و حرم را از **جانب**[1563] ابهر به قم فرستادم و خود از ابهر کوچ کرده، به منزلی که قراآغاچ می‌گویند فرود آمدیم. نزد امراء کس فرستادم که من به سلطانیه می‌آیم، شما هم در آن جا باشید و امیر بیگ و چراغ سلطان و ذوالقدر اغلی را به قراولی مقرّر کردم. خلیل آقای کنگرلو را فرستادم که حسین خان و منتشا سلطان و غازی خان ذوالقدر، حاکم شیراز، هرکدام با **ده کس**[1564] از مردم کاردیده بیایند تا مشورت کنیم که چه می‌باید کرد. بعد از آن که خلیل آقا ایشان را آورد، حسین خان گفت که اسبان ما لاغراند؛ در برابر رومی و لشکرش [f.30r] نمی‌توانیم رفت.

من گفتم: مگر ما اراده کرده‌ایم که با رومیان جنگ روبه رو نکنیم که تو این حرف می گویی و از لاغری اسبان اندیشه داری؟ و قرار بر این دادیم که اردو را چند بخش کرده، حوالی رومیان را بایر و خراب کنیم. من با سی نفر از قورچیان بر بالای **بلندی**[1565] رفتیم که ببینم اردوی خوندگار از زنجان کوچ کرده یا نه. ساعتی که ملاحظه نمودم دیدم که خیمه‌های لشکری بالتّمام فرود آمد و خود را از سلطانیه به طرف کوه می‌کشند. دانستم که رومی آمد و بایشان نزدیک شد. از آنجا به زیر آمده، به اردوی خود **آمدم**[1566]. قنبر اغلی را فرستادم که القاص و بهرام میرزا و امراء را [f.30v] نزد من بیاورد که بعد از این از هم جدا نباشیم. قنبر اغلی آن شب رفت و صباح ایشان را آورد. و گفتند که ذوالقدر اغلی با هزار کس گریخت و به اردوی رومیان داخل شد. پیش از این مقدمات، در وقتی که منتشا سلطان و لشکری در

[1560] در [f.25r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «به هم می‌رسند».
[1561] در [f.25r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «گرفته».
[1562] در [f.25r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «روز سه شنبه».
[1563] در [f.25v] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «راه».
[1564] در [f.25v] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «دو سه کس».
[1565] در [f.26r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «تلی».
[1566] در [f.26r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «رفتیم».

چرخه‌بند بودند و هنوز حضرت خونـدگار بـه اوجـان نیامـده بـود، ذوالقـدر اغلی را بـه قـراولی فرسـتاده بودنـد- در حـوالی چرخه‌بنـد بـه قـراولان رومی، کـه پانصـد کس بـوده انـد، دچـار می‌شوند. صدرالدین بیگ ارادهٔ جنگ می‌کند و قورچیان جمعیّت می‌کنند. چـون این حـرام‌زاده از اوّل الجـه بـوده، نگذاشـته بـود؛ کـه مـردم رومی در عقب پشـته بسـیارند، مـا را دسـتگیر می‌کنند. [f.31r] سه کس از مردم صدرالدین بیگ به اندرون کاروان سرا می‌روند که زبانی از رومی بگیرند- مردم رومی که می‌آیند ایشان از کاروان سرا بیرون آمده، جنگ می‌کنند. اسـب یکی از ایشان در مضمار می افتد. او را رومیان گرفته، پیش خوندگار می‌برند.

خوندگار او را خلعتی داده، کتابتی به من نوشته، فرستاده بود. مضـمونش آن کـه پـدر تو، حضرت شـاه اسـمعیل، علیـه الرّحمة و الرّضـوان، بـا پـدر من جنـگ کـرد. تـو نـیز دعـوی شجاعت می‌کنی، بیا جنگ کنیم و اگر جنگ نمی‌کـنی، دیگـر دعـوی شـجاعت مکن! در جـواب کتابت او نوشتم که بزرگ‌تر از جمیع **خلایق**[1567] حضرت پروردگار، جلّ و جلالـه و عظم شـانه، است و در [f.31v] کلام شریف فرموده که در جهاد و غزا که با کفار نماییـد خـود را بـه تهلکـه میندازید، قوله تعالی: «وَلَا تُلْقُوا بِأَيْدِيكُمْ إِلَى التَّهْلُكَةِ» [2:195]- جایی کـه در غـزای کفّـار از تهلکه انداختن منع فرموده باشد، من چگونه دو لشکر مسـلمان را کـه در عـدد برابـر ده کس یک کس نبوده به جنگ فتوی دهم و این مسلمانان را در تهلکه اندازم؟ پـدر من در آن روز کـه با پدر شما جنگ کرد، دورمیش خان و سائر امراء بلکه تمامی لشکر او مست بـوده اند؛ شـب تا صباح شراب خورده و صباح آهنگ جنگ نموده بودند و این مقدمـه بـه غـایت نـامعقول و بـد واقع شده بـود. از آن تـاریخ هرگـاه کـه حکـایت جنـگ چالـدران [f.32r] بـه میـان می‌آیـد، من دورمیش خان را دعای بد می‌کنم که پدرم، حضرت شاه اسمعیل، را فریفته، برد و جنگ کرد.

دیگر آن که حضرت الهی، عزّ اسمه، فرموده که یک مسلمان با دو کـافر جنـگ نکنـد و ما خود به حسب تخمین یـک کس در برابـر ده کس زیـاده چـه کـنیم؟ پس چگونـه خلاف امـر خدای تعالی، جلّ شانه، باید کرد و خود را دانسته بر آتش باید زد؟ دیوانـه بایـد یـا مسـتی کـه جنگ بی‌صرفه کند و خود را به هرزه و غرور و جهـالت در معـرض تلـف انـدازد- الحمـد للـه و المنة کـه لشـکر قلمـرو من از شـراب و فسـق، بلکـه جمیـع منـاهی، توبـه کرده‌انـد و در کـل مملکت من شرابخانه‌ها و بوزه‌خانه‌ها و بیت‌اللّطف و سایر نامشروعات برطرف شده است.

[f.32v] و من خود در وقتی که از هرات کـوچ کـرده بـه زیـارت مشـهد مقـدس ملائک آشیان، حضرت امام ضامن، امام رضا، علیـه السـلام، می‌رفتم، شـب مـیر سـید محمـد، پیش نماز مدینهٔ مبارکه حضرت **رسالت پناه محمّد،**[1568] صلّی الله علیه و آله، را در واقعـه دیـدم که به من می‌فرماید از مناهی بگذر که تو را فتوحات خواهد شد. در صباح به احمد بیگ وزیـر و بعضی از امراء که حاضر بودند این خواب را بیان کردم. بعضی از ایشان گفتند که از بعضی منهیّات بگذریم و از بعضی دیگر مثل شراب، که ضروری سلطنت است، نمی‌توان گذشـت. و هر کس حرفی در این باب می‌فرمودند- آخر من گفتم که امشب [f.33r] بدین نیّت می‌خوابم،

[1567] در [f.27r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «موجودات».
[1568] در حشیهٔ [f.28r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا «امام رضا» اضافه شده است.

به هر طریق که می‌نماید بدان عمل خواهم کرد و حدیث حضرت رسالت پناهی، صلّی الله علیه و آله و سلم، است: «الرّؤیا الصّالحة التی تریهَا المؤمنُ الصالحُ او یری» و قال صلّی الله علیه و آله و سلم: «الرؤیا جُزءٌ مِن سِتّةٍ و أربَعینَ جُزئاً مِن النبوّةِ صدق» و قال صلّی الله علیه و آله و سلم: «لم تنقطع المبشراة.» و باز همان شب در واقعه دیدم که در بیرون پنجرهٔ پایین پای حضرت امام ضامن، امام رضا، علیه الف الف التحیّة و الثّناء، دست سیادت پناه میرهادی محتسب را گرفته، از شراب و زنا و جمیع مناهی توبه کردم.

صباح این خواب را نیز **[f.33v]** به جماعت بیان کردم. به قدرت و توفیق حضرت باری، جلّ شانه، به همان طریق که در خواب دیده بودم در همان موضع سید مذکور حاضر شد. دستش را گرفته از جمیع مناهی توبه کردم[1569]. الحمد لله و المنة که از آن تاریخ که این سعادت میّسر شده از کلّ مملکت من فسق و فجور بر طرف شده، روزبه روز به توفیق الله تعالی فتوحات گوناگون روی نموده به طریقی که هرگز در خاطر ما شمه‌ای از آن نمی‌رسید. و جمیع عقلاء در این مقدمات حیران‌اند و من هر چند مردانه باشم در عمر خود از عهدهٔ شکر شمه‌ای از این مقدمات بیرون نمی‌توانم آمد.

نظم

اگر هر موی من گردد **[f.34r]** زبانی / شود هر یک تو را تسبیح خوانی
هنوز از بی‌زبانی خفته باشم / زصد شکرت یکی ناگفته باشم

بعد از آن، منتشا سلطان و قورچی باشی با رافع مکاتبت عتاب کردند و قصد قتل او داشتند. من منع ایشان کردم. و در آن وقت موازی هفت هزار کس همراه من بودند. زیاده از سه هزار کس که به کار آید نداشتند. همهٔ مرکبان چون از هرات ایلغار کرده بودیم، مانده و زبون شده بودند. و از لشکریان ما نیز جمعی بودند، مثل حسین خان و غازی خان و ملک بیگ خوی و اتباع ایشان، که به دل دشمن و به زبان دوست بودند و دائم الاوقات منتظر فرصت بودند که **شکستی**[1570] در کار ما **[f.34v]** واقع شود. و در این قسم محلی من به غایت مضطر شده، به حضرت پروردگار پناهیدم و کار بدخواهان دین و دولت را بدو حواله کردم و مداومت به دعا و آیهٔ کریمه قوله تعالی «حَسْبُنَا اللَّهُ وَ نِعْمَ الْوَکیلُ» **[3:173]** «نِعْمَ الْمَوْلی وَ نِعْمَ النَّصیرُ» **[8:40]** کردم.

و در آن وقت حکایت حضرت خلیل الرحمن، علی نبیّنا و علیه السلام، به خاطرم رسید که در محلی که آن حضرت را در منجنیق گذاشتند که در آتش اندازند حضرت جبرئیل، علیه السلام، نزد او آمد گفت: یا خلیل الرّحمن مدد میخواهی؟ آن حضرت فرمودند که مدد می خواهم امّا از تو نه. در زمان دریای رحمت حضرت الهی، عزّ اسمائه، به جوش آمد و امر

[1569] این قسمت در حاشیهٔ **[f.29r]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا اضافه شده است: «**و در سن بیست سالگی که این سعادت نصیب شد این رباعی را انشا کردم: یک چند پی زمرد سوده شدیم / یکچند به یاقوت تر آلوده شدیم / آلودگی بود به هر رنگ که بود / شستیم به آب توبه آسوده شدیم**.

[1570] در **[f.29v]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «شکستگی».

شد به آتش که «یا نَارُ کُونِي بَرْدًا وَسَلَامًا [f.35r] علی ابـراهیم» **[21:69]**. و این ابیـات شـیخ نظامی را به خاطر رسانیده، مکرر می خواندم:

نظم

ای همه هستی ز تو پیدا شده / خاک ضعیف از تو توانا شده
زیر نشین علمت کاینات / ما به تو قائم چو تو قایم بذات
هستی تو صورت و پیوند نی / تو به کس و کس به تو مانند نی
آن‌چه تغیّر نپذیرد تویی / آن که نمردست و نمیرد تویی
ما همه فانی و بقا بس تو راست / ملک تعالی و تقدّس تو راست
قافله شد، واپسی ما ببین / ای کس ما بی‌کسی ما ببین
چارهٔ ما ساز که بی‌یاوریم / گر تو برانی به که رو آوریم

اما حضرت خوندگار کم فرصتی نموده و در این قسم [f.35v] محلی که از سفر هرات و حرب اوزبک برگشته‌ایم به الکاء ما آمد که ممنون ناکسان باید بود[1571]. حضرت پروردگار به ما مدد کند و این بیت بدیهه بخاطرم رسید:

بیت

که حق در جهانده مددکار اولان / قولینه یمان کونده غمخوار اولان

قضا را، منزل به منزل ما در پیش و ایشان یک منزل فاصله می‌آمدند تا به حوالی قزوین رسیدیم. از مدد حضرت الهی، جلّ شانه، و توفیق حضرات ائمهٔ معصومین، صلوات الله علیهم اجمعین، چنانچه خواجه حافظ گفته:

بیت

کار خود گر به خدا بازگذاری حافظ / ای بسا عیش که با بخت خداداد کنی

و در ابتدای تحویل عقرب در شب سه شنبه، سیزدهم شهر [f.36r] صفر، برفی عظیم بارید، به مرتبه‌ای که اردوی خوندگار در میان برف ماندند و بعد از یک هفته، به صد هزار محنت روانه به جانب درجزین شدند. درین اثناء حاکم کوه‌کیلویه با هزار کس آمد و طوایل بسیار از اسبان چاق آورد. در شب قرامحمود آوچی باشی را طلب کردم و اسب‌ها دادم و او را با پنجاه نفر از قورچیان به زبان‌گیری فرستادم.

حوالی خرقان به جماعت ساریلو تکلو دُچار شده، جنگی کرده بودند و یک دست حسین بیگ قلیچ اغلی را در آن جنگ انداختند. سی و پنج نفر از رومیان را گرفته، با هفتاد سر آوردند و یک نفر از رومیان که مردی دانا و خوش محاوره بود [f.36v] احوالات را معلوم کردم. بالتّمام احوالات را کما هو حقّه به راستی بیان کرد و گفت که حضرت خوندگار با وزراء اعظم جانقی کردند که به بغداد روند و اولمه و ذوالقدر اغلی را با جماعت ایشان و جمعی از مردم بلوک متفرقه از میان لشکری خود جدا کردند، دانسته و فرمودند که به جانب تبریز روند.

[1571] در [f.30v] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «شد».

چون حال را بدین منوال دیدم و ارادهٔ خاطر ایشان معلومم شد، رجب ابدال و حمزه بیگ غزال اغلی را پیش محمد خان شرف الدّین اغلی فرستادم که آذوقه آن چه در آن محال باشد تمامی را در آب ریخته، از آب بگذرد و از راه جزیره با جماعت خود بیایند.

امراء و قزلباش جمعیت نموده نزد من آمدند [f.37r] که از عقب خوندگار برویم و دست برد بنماییم. گفتم که مرا با حضرت خوندگار کاری نیست، کار من با اولمه است؛ تمامی این فتنه و آشوب که واقع شد به سبب او شده و انتقام اینها را از او می‌باید کشید که نقصان کلی از او به خوندگار و به ما رسید. قرا قنبر و منتشا سلطان گفتند که اکنون خاطر ما از جانب رومیان جمع شد، غازی خان را، که به زبان شیعه شعار است و به دل مروانی، می‌باید کشت. چون با او در هرات سوگند خورده بودم که مادام که لشکری یاغی به قصد ما در برابر نیایند که گویند غازی خان در میان این لشکر است و به جنگ آمده، من او را نکشم، بنابرین تجویز کشتن او نکردم.

دو سه روزی [f.37v] که بر این گذشت، یک شب غازی خان با چند نفر از ملازمان قدیمی خود گریخت. اگر از دنبال او ایلغار می کردیم، به دست می‌آوردیم. مردم گفتند: نزد خوندگار خواهد رفت. ترک او کرده، از عقب اولمه ایلغار کردیم. قضا را، غازی خان نیز پیش او می‌رفت. او در روز هشتم شهر ربیع الثّانی داخل تبریز شده بود، اولمه را خبردار کرده بود که ما بر سر او خواهیم آمد و ما به واسطهٔ این که راه گل بود و شتران ما لاغر و زبون بودند یک روز بعد از او در یکشنبه داخل تبریز شدیم. در همان شب اولمه و غازی خان گریخته بودند.

بیست روز در تبریز توقف کردیم. بعد از آن کوچ کرده، روانه به جانب وان شدیم. پنج هزار و [f.38r] چهار صد کس از لشکری ما همراه بودند؛ یک‌هزار و شش صد از قورچیان و مابقی مردم امراء بودند. قلعهٔ وان را محاصره کردیم. نزدیک بود که فتح شود که قباد آقا، ملازم حسین بیگ یوزباشی داروغهٔ تبریز آمد و من در حمّام بودم. و منتشا سلطان و امیر بیگ او را در حمام نزد من آوردند. احوال پرسیدم. گفت که سام میرزا یاغی شده و خوندگار او را پسر خود گفته؛ کار ملک متزلزل شده است. گفتم که ذوالقدراغلی را من نیز پسر گفته بودم، او با من چه کرد که سام میرزا با خوندگار چه کند؟ من با او در مقام بدی نبوده‌ام و دائم نیکی کرده‌ام. او چون قطع [f.38v] صلهٔ رحم نموده با من در مقام بدی در آمده، کار او را به آقای خود، حضرت شاه ولایت پناه، حضرت امیر المؤمنین، علیه السلام، حواله می کنم. مردم قلعهٔ وان از این معامله آگاه شدند، راضی به دادن قلعه شده، به زینهار آمده بودند. پشیمان شدند چون مقدمات بر این منوال روی داد. لاعلاج از پای **قلعه**[1572] برخاسته، کوچ کردیم.

[1572] در [f.33v] نسخهٔ بریتانیا ذکر شده است.

فصل دیگر شمه ای از احوال غازی خان

امّا غازی خان مردکی پرمکر و شیطان صفت و حیله باز و دروغ گوی بود و این بیت مناسب حال اوست:

بیت

روبهی در کجی و غمّازی / چرخ را داده از حیل بازی

از تبریز با اولمه فرار نموده، به جانب بغداد می رود [f.39r] و ابـراهیم پاشـا را می‌گویـد کـه سام میرزا یاغی شده، اکنون صلاح در آن است که شما باز متوجه ولایت قزلباش شـوید و در آن مملکت جار کنید کـه حضـرت خونـدگار سـام مـیرزا را پسـرخوانده و ملـک حضـرت **شاه اسماعیل**[1573] را به او داده، من او را به خدمت خوندگار بیاورم. و ابراهیم پاشا را فـریب می دهد که او با وجود آن که حضرت خونـدگار بغـداد را **ستاده**[1574] بـود و تـرک این ولایت کـرده، بازش به آمدن ترغیب و تحریص نموده، دیگر باره بدین مختصر ولایت طمع کـرده، روانـهٔ این جانب شد.

نظم

شنیدم که در روزگار قدیم / شدی سنگ در دست ابدال سیم

مپندار کاین قول معقول نیست/ چو قانع [f.39v] شوی سنگ و سیمت یکیست

گدا را کند یک درم سیم سیر / فریدون به ملک عجم نیم سیر

امّا چون به تبریز خبر آمد که حضرت خوندگار عود نموده آمد، توکّل بذات بی‌چون حضرت الهی، جلّ شانه، نمودم و مقرّر فرمودم که سیادت پناه، سـیّد عبداللـه لَلِـه، از جـانب بیگم و میرشاهسوار کُرد از جانب منتشا سلطان به ایلچیگری نزد ابراهیم پاشا روند که شـاید به جهة آسایش عجزه و رعایا، که ودایـع الهی انـد، فتنـه و آشـوب بـر طـرف شـده، در میـان صلحی واقع شود. چون نزد پاشا می‌رونـد و مکتـوب را می‌دهنـد، ابـراهیم پاشـا مـرد تریـاکی بوده؛ در محلی که نشئه داشته می‌گفتـه کـه معاملـهٔ حضـرت خونـدگار [f.40r] در دسـت من است: اگر خواهم می‌گشایم و اگر خواهم برعکس می‌بندم. امّا در عـدم نشـئه می‌گفتـه: چـه کاره‌ام؟ من مرد غلام عاجز فقیری‌ام. از دست من چه کار می‌آید؟ امر امر حضرت خونـدگار است. آخر الامر آن ناپاک راضی به صلح نشده، کتابتی به تهدید تمام نوشته، فرستاده بود. در اوجان به ما رسید. مردم می‌گفتند که سام میرزا یاغی شده است، از آن طرف خونـدگار آید؛ آیا در این میانه جنگی خواهد شد؟ در جواب این ابیات را که از شیخ سعدی است خواندم:

نظم

فراموشت نکرد ایزد در آن حال / که بودی نطفهٔ مدفون و مدهوش

ده انگشتت مرتّب کرد بر کف / [f.40v] دو بازویت مرتّب کرد بر دوش

روانت داد و فهم و هوش و ادراک / کمال رأی و عقل و صورت و هوش

[1573] در [f.34r] نسخهٔ بریتانیا ذکر شده؛ در [f.39r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ کاخ گلستان و در [f.37v] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ مجلس پاک شده است.

[1574] در [f.34r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «ستانده».

کنون پنداری ای ناچیز همّت / که روزی خواهدت کردن فراموش

من استعان به غیر الله ذلّ توکّل به ذات حضرت الهی ، جل شأنه، کرده، از اوجان کوچ کرده متوجه سلطانیه شدیم. و چون به زنجان رسیدیم، کچل پیر علی حاجیلو را باز نیکی خود را به جای آورده تحفه و هدایا و پیشکش داده، به ایلچیگری نزد خوندگار فرستادیم که شاید منازعه بر طرف شود که «الصُّلْحُ خَيْرٌ» **[4:128]**. امّا اولمه و ذوالقدراغلی او را باز بر سر غضب آورده، از اوجان کوچ کرده، باز متوجه عراق شد. **[f.41r]**

ما در درجزین آمدیم و و دو سه روز ماندیم. پیر علی آمد که این است خوندگار آمد و نزاع برطرف شده، صلح است. من گفتم که اگر صلح می بود، خوندگار چرا کوچ کرده می‌آید؟ غلّهٔ درجزین و آن حوالی را تمام سوخته، اردو را به اصفهان فرستادیم و خود به جانب همدان رفتیم. و حضرت خوندگار تا درجزین آمد. چون مقدمات را به نوع دیگر دید و لشکرش از آب و آذوقه و علیق دواب عاجز و زبون می‌شدند، ازآن جا بازگشت. ما نیز از عقب کوه الوند متوجه تبریز شدیم.

در سال اوّل که از عقب اولمه به تبریز ایلغار کردیم و غازی خان گریخت، شب در واقعه حضرت امیرالمؤمنین، علیه السلام، را دیدم که گفت: **[f.41v]** ای فرزند به طواف آستانه بیا و مشایخ را طواف کن و دوازده شمع نذر بیار و بعد از آن به هر جا که خواهی برو. و چون در آن مرتبه این فیض میسر نشد، بلاشبهه کار ما از آن از پیش نرفت و فتوحی واقع نشد. و اولمهٔ نمک به حرام گرفتار نگردید. در این مرتبه چون حضرت خوندگار داخل تبریز شد، ما از راه کاروانسرای عباس به اردبیل رفتیم و دوازده شمع که فرموده بودند با نذری دیگر هم که خود کرده بودیم برده، بعد از طواف مشایخ و نماز در حوالی آستانه در خانهٔ حضرت سلطان حیدر ، علیه الرحمة و الرّضوان، خوابیدم. باز حضرت شیخ صفی الدّین، علیه الرحمة، را در خواب دیدم که فرمود: **[f.42r]** بعد از بیست روز، ظهور نمیدانم فرمود یا خروج خواهی کردن... از این دو کلمه یک لفظش را فرمودند. چون از خواب بیدار شدم با خود گفتم که ظهور مخصوص حضرت امام الهمام، حجة الله فی ارضه المنتظر قائم آل محمد، علیهم الصلوة و السلام، است. امّا خروج چه معنی داشته باشد؟

از اردبیل کوچ کرده، به سراب آمدیم و به اردو ملحق شدیم. چون حضرت خوندگار از تبریز کوچ کرد، ما از سراب به مراغه آمدیم. خبر آوردند که حضرت خوندگار به اخلاط رسید. ما متوجه قرانقو درهٔ خوی شده، شکار ماهی می‌کردیم که دو نفر از جاسوسان ما آمدند و خبر آوردند که حضرت خوندگار در اخلاط توپخانه **[f.42v]** و عرابه‌ها و آمیراخور را گذاشته، به ایلغار به جانب استنبول رفت و حالا اولمه در وان نشسته است. من نیز برهنه در آب شکار ماهی می‌کردم و گل آلود شده بودم. به آب سر خود را شستم و همان لحظه به تعجیل تمام سوار شدیم، تا زاویهٔ ملا حسن به ایلغار رفتیم. چون به زاویه رسیدیم، تب کردم و فرود آمدیم و خیمه زدند و خوابیدم. و ملا محمد قصّه خوان و بعضی از امراء نشسته بودند، حکایت می‌کردند و از غایت اضطراب با وجود تب من را آرام نبود.

قباد بیگ شکر اغلی و شیر حسن قورچی باشی را با جمعی مقرّر کردم که سوار شده، بر سر وان بروند. روز دیگر محّل عصر بود که دو نفر قورچی آمدند و خبر آوردند که اولمه وان را گذاشته، [f.43r] فرار نموده است. ما نیز از آن جا کوچ کرده به وان رسیدیم و دو روز در وان بودیم. غازی خان، حاکم شیراز، و یعقوب سلطان قاجار را با جمعی کثیر از قورچیان و کپک قران را با حسن بیگ یوزباشی همراه نمودم. پنج هزار کس از مردم امراء را فرمودم بروند و الکاءِ سید محمد را غارت و تاخت کنند. و از خوی بهرام میرزا و منتشا سلطان و امیر بیگ روملو و شاهقلی خلیفه و بوداق خان و صدرالدّین خان سفره چی و یساولان و قاپوچیان و قپچاچیان و همهٔ مردم کارخانه‌ها را فرمودم تا از عقب رومیان بروند. ایشان بوداق خان و صدرالدّین خان را به قراولی [f.43v] فرستاده بودند. به حاجی بیگ دچار می‌شوند و جنگ می‌کنند. او را شکسته، دویست و پنجاه آدم او را زنده و یک هزار کشته. او با چند نفر می‌گریزد و از آن جا اخترمه و سرها را با رومیان زنده فرستادند.

روز دیگر سلیمان سلطان روملو به کنار دریا می‌رود و نماز می‌گزارد. چون از نماز فارغ می‌شود محل عصر بود. پیش من آمد و گفت: کنار دریا چمن است و هوای خوب دارد، چرا گشت نمی‌کنید؟ و مدعای او آن بود که در میانهٔ عَدِل جِوَز و ارجیش گردی دیده بود به من بنماید. من که آمدم گفت که این گرد را می‌بینید؟ جزم و تحقیق که لشکر خوندگاراند که ابراهیم پاشا و اولمه را آورده‌اند؛ [f.44r] بر سر بهرام میرزا بروند. در این اثناء، شاهویردی خلیفه سوکُلان اغلی، که حالا علمدار است و در آن محل قورچی بود، در حال پیش امراء و بهرام میرزا فرستادم که این است که گردی نمودار است به احتیاط باشید؛ مبادا از جوانب سر راهی بر شما بگیرند یا غافل بر سر شما بریزند. و این گرد را هر کس که دید تخمین کرد، گفت: از سی هزار کمتر نیست. تحقیق خبری بفرستید، اگر حاجت باشد، ما نیز به مدد شما بیاییم.

در آن روز و شب هم خبری از جایی نیامد. صباح می‌خواستیم که کوچ نموده به جانب سلطانیه برویم. از جهة همین گرد مشوش خاطر بودیم و تکاهل نمودیم. وقت ظهر نشسته بودیم که هلهل بهادرعرب گیرلو [f.44v] و کورشیخی چمشگزکلو هر دو به کنار دریا به سیر رفته بودند. آمدند و یک نفر رومی زنده را همراه آوردند با دو سر که از مردم اولمه بودند، از پیش او گریخته به وطن خود می‌رفته‌اند، به اینها دچار شده بودند. از رومی احوال پرسیدم. گفت که همراه اولمه و احمد پاشا بودم. ایشان به وسطان آمده بودند، می‌خواستند که به وان بیایند و آذوقه و لشکر همراه داشتند و **آن را قائم کنند.**[1575] شنیدند که شاه در وان است نیامدند و به جانب دیاربکر رفتند. من تاسّف بسیار خوردم که کاش آن روز سوار شده به اولمه دچار می‌شدیم. بعد از آن، **هشتاد**[1576] نفر از قورچیان را فرمودم که به وسطان بروند. چند روز که گذشت امرایی [f.45r] که به ایلغار رفته بودند آمدند. با ایشان گفتم که حیف که اولمه به نزدیک ما آمده بود و از دست ما به در رفت. سلیمان سلطان گفت: بیایید

[1575] در [f.39r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا ذکر نشده است.
[1576] در [f.39r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «هفتاد».

تحقیق نماییم که این چه گروه بودند. کس فرستادیم که قورچیان ترکمان از وسطان بازگردند و لشکر جمعیّت نموده، به جانب ارجیش به مدد بهرام میرزا برویم.

در این اثناء، قرا اسمعیل قورچی و کور شهسوار هر دو آمدند و یک سر و یک رومی زنده آوردند. از رومی احوال پرسیدم، گفت: غلام خوندگارم، و در اخلاط نشان حکومت وان را به من داده به جهة اولمه آورده بودم. دیروز خبر اولمه را در آن جانب وسطان گرفته‌ام که نشسته است و منتظر این است که شما از وان کوچ نمایید؛ او بر سر وان [f.45v] آید. من نام اولمه را شنیده، بی‌تاب شدم. فرمودم که لشکری سوار شدند و من یراق و اسلحه پوشیده، در همین شب مشعل‌ها روشن کرده، **روانه شدیم.**[1577]

از قورچیان ترکمان و ذوالقدر و استاجلو سیصد کس را چرخچی کرده پیشتر فرستادیم و ما نیز از عقب به ایلغار روانه شدیم. بعضی مردم از پل و بعضی از آب گذشتند. اما در این وقت عبدالله خان و گوکچه سلطان و یادگار محمد سلطان و یعقوب سلطان و حسن بیگ یوزباشی، که از الکاءِ سید محمد باز گشته بودند، بر سر پُل که می‌رسند آتشی از دور می بینند. تصور می‌کنند که اردوی ما است که فرود آمده‌ایم. ایشان نیز در همان [نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا f.40r :] محل فرود آمده، می‌خوابند که وقت صبح نزد ما بیایند. قضا را، [f.40v] اولمه و احمد پاشا بوده‌اند که در آن محل فرود آمده بودند. القصه، تا جایی که نشان اولمه گرفته بودیم رفته. اولمه باز خبردار شده، فرار نمود. از عقب او قورچیان و بعضی از مردم امراء رفتند و ما نیز به اثر ایشان با دو هزار کس دو منزل رفتیم.

جمعی کثیر از مردم او که در عقب مانده بودند بعضی را زنده گرفته و بسیاری را به قتل رسانیده. پروانه را زنده گرفته آورده بودند. از پروانه احوال پرسیدم، گفت که ابراهیم پاشا لشکری بسیار برداشته، اراده نموده که بر سر بهرام میرزا ایلغار کند. هم این که این خبر شنیدم چون در این جا فتح خوبی شده بود، بازگشته، به مدد بهرام میرزا و امراء روانهٔ آن صوب [f.41r] شدیم. چون به رودخانهٔ گواش آمدیم و شب آن جا خوابیدیم، در صباح داخل وسطان شدیم. از نزد بهرام میرزا و امراء آدم آمد و مژده لق آورد که ابراهیم پاشا با جمعی کثیر بر سر ما می‌آمد. جاسوسان ما خبر آوردند و ما در بُسو بودیم و خود را غافل بر ایشان زده، آدم بسیاری کشته، زیاده از صد نفر زنده گرفته‌ایم. و ابراهیم پاشا بازگردیده به جانب دیاربکر رفت. روز بیستم بود از خوابی که در اردبیل دیده بود که این فتوحات واقع خواهد شد و ارجیش بلا ممانعت احدی به تصرف ما درآمد.

بیت

چو آید بکوشیدنت کار پیش / ز تایید حق دان نه از سعی خویش

ابراهیم پاشا [f.41v] در دیاربکر بود که از حضرت خوندگار چاوشی آمده، او را به قتل رسانید. فتنه و آشوب بالکلیّه برطرف شد و آتش نزاع فرو نشست. اگرچه مدّتی در میان

[1577] در [f.40r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «سوار شدیم».

دوستی نبود، اما غوغا و نزاعی هم نبود. مسلمانان بـه فـراغت و امـنیت بودنـد تـا زمـانی کـه القاص میرزا از جهالت با ما یاغی شد.

فصل دیگر در احوال القاص میرزا

هربار[1578] که تاریخ تیمور می‌خواندم و به این ابیات می رسیدم:

بیت

شدی شاه رخ همرهش در مصاف / به سان دو شمشیر در یک غلاف

می‌گفتم من و القاص این حال داریم. من او را از تمـامی بـرادران و فرزنـدان خـود دوست‌تر **می‌داشتم**[1579]، چنانچه فرموده بودم که در مشـهد **[f.42r]** مقـدس حضـرت امـام رضا، علیـه السّلام، دویست و پنجاه تومان به سادات و صلحاء و اتقیاء به قرض داده بودند کـه تـا القـاص زنده باشد از ایشان نگیرند که ایشان همیشـه در آن آسـتانهٔ مقـدس در دعـای مزیـد عمـر او باشند.

او خود کم عقل بود، بیجهة و بی‌سبب یاغی شد. و در باب یاغی شدن او دو چـیز بـه خاطرم می‌رسد و به غیر از اینها سبب دیگر به خاطرم نمی‌رسد. اول، آن که بـا اغورلـو نـام، پسری که حالا در روم است، عمل بدی داشته، از ترس آن که مبادا من بشنوم و او را ایذاء و عقوبت کنم. **دویم، آنکه**[1580] بی‌دولتی چند از نوکران او که با او شـراب می‌خورده‌انـد، از بیم سیاست **[f.42v]** من او را چیزهای بد آموزانیده و فریب داده بودند، بدنام و یاغی کردند. دویم، پیش از آن که یاغیگری او انتشار یابد و به دهن عام افتـد، علی آقـای اقچـه سـقال را پیش او فرستادم که نصیحت او کند که ترک مخالفت نموده، **ترک**[1581] صـلهٔ رحم نکنـد کـه این مقدمـه نتیجهٔ خوبی ندارد و زیان دنیا و آخرت او است، شاید استغفار نموده از این جهالت بازگردد. و من نیز قسم یاد نمایم که از این ادای او نرنجم و در صدد آزار و انتقام او نباشم. قبـول نمایـد فبهـا و نعم، والّا کـار او را حوالـه بـه حضـرت الهی، جـل شـأنه، می‌کنم. چنـدان کـه علی آقـا نصیحت او کرده بود، مطلق جواب نداده بود. مرتبهٔ دیگر **[f.43r]** چند کس از امرای معتـبر را فرستادم و پیغام کردم که من هرگز با تو بدی نکرده‌ام، در این مقدمـه شـرم از آبـاء و اجـداد خود بدار که از جانبین بدی بد نما است و این بدنامی تا قیامت می‌ماند. و اگـر از این عمـل و خیال بیهوده برنگردی، آقای من که در از خیبر کَند سر از بدن تو بـه یـد قـدرت «یَدُاللـهِ فَـوقَ أیدِیهِم» **[48:10]** برخواهد کَند و این بیت به خاطرم رسید:

بیت

هر که بدی کرد و به بد یار شد / هم به بد خویش گرفتار شد[1582]

[1578] در **[f.45r]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ مجلس: «هرگاه».
[1579] در **[f.45r]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ مجلس: «پنداشتم».
[1580] در **[f.45v]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ مجلس ذکر شده است.
[1581] در **[f.45v]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ مجلس: «قطع».
[1582] در **[f.46v]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ مجلس ذکر شده است.

هر که او نیک می‌کند یا بد / نیک و بد هرچه می‌کند یابد

عقـل او در این مرتبـه بـود کـه در حضـور امـراء و قاضـی عسـکر و مـیرزا ابـراهیم اصفهانی، که در آن اوقات متوالی آستانهٔ صفوی بود، قسـم یـاد نمـود کـه تـرک این مقـدمات نموده به حال خود باشد [f.43v] و به مرور نوعی نماید که تدارک این قبح کرده شـود. بعـد از آن کـه امـراء بازگشـتند، خطبـه و سـکه بـه نـام خـود کـرد. در آن ایـام من متوجـه بـه جـانب گرجستان بودم که از لوند بعضی اداهای ناخوش سرزده بود، او را گوشـمالی دهم. امـا چـون ما به قراباغ رسیدیم، او از راه دربند به جانب چرکس رفت و معدودی چند با او همراه بودند. مردم چرکس اراده می‌نمایند که او را به تقریبی گرفته، نزد ما فرستند. او از این معنی واقف گردیده، فرار نموده، به در رفت. و از آن جا کتابتی به ما نوشـته، فرسـتاده بـود کـه من پیش حضرت خوندگار رفتم. ببینید که بر سر شما چه خواهم آورد. گفتم هیچ با خود **اندیشه**[1583] این نکرده [f.44r] که از خوندگار بزرگ‌تری هست که عالمُ السـرّ والخَفیـات اسـت و سـر پنهـانی جمیـع بنـدگان را خـوب می‌دانـد و بـه هـر کس فراخـور نیّت و عملش جـزاء **خواهد داد.**[1584] خوندگار و من و تو در پیش قدرت او چه چیر و چه نمود داریم و این ابیات را خواندم:

بیت

در آمد پشه از لاف سرمست / دمی بر فرق کوه قاف بنشست
از آن جا بر پرید و در عدم شد / چه چیر افزود از آن کوه و چه کم شد
همه در جنب قدرش این چنینیم / اگر بر آسمان گر بر زمینیم
سعادت به بخشایش داور است / نه بر دست و بازوی زورآور است

امّا چون از کفّه به جانب استنبول روانه می‌شـود، رسـتم پاشـا، کـه او هم در بـد ذاتی مثل ابراهیم پاشا بود، احوال او را [f.44v] نوع دیگر به حضرت خوندگار بیان می‌نمایـد و او را به اعزاز و احترام تمام به استنبول می‌برند. و او در آن جا دروغی چند به هم آورده، می‌گویـد که تمامی قزلباش با من س و خواهان من هستند و من را می‌خواهنـد. حقیقت آن اسـت کـه اگر قزلباش را سرشان برود که تاج را از خود جدا نمی‌سازند! در محلی که القاص تاج بر سر داشت هیچ کس پیش او نمی‌رفت که در راه صـوفیگری مرشـد یکی را می‌داننـد. و اگـر صـد هزار پادشاه زاده باشد که نگاه به روی‌شان نمی‌کنند، چون تاج از سر انداختند معلوم که چـه قدر اعتبار دارد.

و حضـرت خونـدگار اوّلاً فهم و عقل [f.45r] او را می‌بایسـت بیازمایـد و بعـد از آن بـه سخن او عمل نماید و اراده این جانب نماید. دیگر آن که، اول می بایست که حضرت خوندگار کسی را پیش من بفرستد و گنـاه او را بطلبـد. اگـر قبـول نمی کـردم و الکـاءِ او را نمی‌دادم، حجت بر ما تمام کرده بودند؛ بعد از آن، هر نزاعی که می‌کردند معقول بود. و اگر بر سر قهر و غضب هم می‌آمدند، حق به جانب ایشان بود. دیگر آن که، می‌بایست او را در استنبول نگاه دارند که شاید روزگاری به کار ایشان آید. اما رستم پاشا نسبت به ما بد کـرد و مـا از او منّت

[1583] در [f.47r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ مجلس: «فکر».
[1584] در [f.47r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ مجلس: «می‌دهد».

داریم. نمک حضرت خوندگار را خورده بود. می‌بایست بگوید که اول در این باب سخن با قزلباش کنیم و مجهولی معلوم نماییم. [f.45v] بعد از آن که صدق قول او ظاهر گردد، برخاسته بر سر ایشان برویم که مبادا حرف‌های این وقوعی نداشته باشد و در میانه **جنگی**[1585] واقع شود.

بیت

هر که شاه آن کند که او گوید / حیف باشد که جز نکو گوید

عقل و فهم صدق و کذب او را نیازموده، برخاسته، متوجه این صوب شدند. خود را سبک و خفیف نموده، از هزار صلابت و هیبت که از ایشان در دل مردم هر ولایت بود همگی هیچ و پوچ شده؛ گویا هرگز این ابیات بگوش ایشان نرسیده بود و مطالعهٔ سیر و تواریخ و قصص نمی‌نمایند:

نظم

ملک با دل خویش در گفتگو / که خود ملک ایران سپارد بدو
به عقلش بباید نخست آزمود / به قدر هنر پایگاهش فزود [f.46r]
نهد بر دل از جور غم بارها / که نا آزموده کند کارها
چو یوسف کسی در صلاح و تمیز / چهل سال باید که گردد عزیز
به ایام تا برنیاید بسی / نشاید رسیدن بغور کسی
نگه کن چه سوفار داری به دست / نه آن گه که پرتاب کردی ز شست
به تندی سبک دست بردن به تیغ / به دندان برد گزد پشت دست دریغ

بعد از مردن ابراهیم پاشا فتنه‌ای که سال‌ها در خواب بود بیدار کردند. القاص همراه اولمه پیشتر به سیواس آمده، نامه‌ای طولانی به شاه علی سلطان چَپنی، حاکم وان، نوشته بودند که کلید قلعه را برداشته، نزد ما بیاور که ده برابر وان به تو در خراسان الکاء بدهم. **[نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ کاخ گلستان : f.53r] اول**[1586] نوشته بود من پسر خوندگارم و حضرت خوندگار مرا فرزند خود **خواند**[1587] و ملک پدرم را تمامی به من داده است. چون این نوشته به من رسید، دیوانگی و کم عقلی رومیان یک بارگی معلومم شد که به قول و فعلِ چه قسم جماعت عمل می‌نمایند. در جواب گفتم که مُلک نه از من است و نه از تو و نه از حضرت خوندگار؛ خداوندی هست که ملک از او است، به هر کس که می‌خواهد می‌دهد. قوله تعالی: «لِمَنِ الْمُلْكُ الْيَوْمَ لِلَّهِ الْوَاحِدِ الْقَهَّارِ» **[40:16]**[1588]

بیت

کیست در این دایرهٔ دیرپای / کو لِمَن المُلک زند جز خدای

[1585] در [f.48v] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ مجلس: «سبکی».
[1586] در [f.46v] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «دیگر».
[1587] در [f.46v] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «گفته».
[1588] در [f.46v] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «**تُؤْتِي الْمُلْكَ مَنْ تَشَاءُ**» **[3:26]**.

دیگر، نوشته بود که حضرت خوندگار با هفت ساله یراق و آذوقه و چندین هزار لشکر شجاع مکمّل و مسلّح می‌آید. و از آن جمله ده هزار [f.53v] **راویهٔ**[1589] آب کشی است که بر استران بار کرده، همراه آورده که اگر ایشان بر چول روند، آن صد هزار کس را از عقب ایشان می فرستد و در چول از ممرّ آب خاطر جمع کرده‌اند. گفتم: می دانم که حضرت خوندگار عظمَت و شَوکَت تمام دارد و به هر طریق که خواهد می‌تواند آمد. من مدد از حضرت رَبّ العالَمِینَ و مالِكِ یَومِ الدِّین، جلّ جلاله و عمّ نواله، می خواهم.

بیت

پیر دردی کش ما گرچه ندارد زر و زور / خوش عطابخش و خطاپوش خدایی دارد

دیگر، نوشته بود سوای اسبان و مرصّع آلات و اقمشه و استر و شتر سیصد هزار اشرفی به من انعام داده. در جواب نوشتم که اسباب و نقدینهٔ دنیوی [f.54r] به تو فائده نخواهد داد، که دین را به اینها فروختی. حدیث است که قوله «الدُّنْیَا جِیفَةٌ وَطُلَابُهَا کِلابٌ ». و عقلاء گفته‌اند در این باب:

نظم

این نقد دو روزه را دلا بازگذار / کز نقد دو روزه بر نمی‌آید کار

زانسان نقدی گزین که در روز شمار / با آن گیری قرار در دار قرار

این اسباب و تجمّلات که تو نوشته‌ای می‌دانی که هر یک از امراءِ **ما**[1590] زیاده از اینها دارند. و من به طریق تو ابلهی باشم که بر نقد دنیوی و ملک و اسباب او بنازم. من نقدی که دائم به **آن**[1591] نازیده‌ام و خواهم نازیدن و در درون جان و دل خود جای داده‌ام و از جان خود صد هزار بار و از جمیع دنیا و ما فیها عزیزتر و [f.54v] گرامی‌ترش می‌دارم که در هر دو عالم آن به کار من می‌آید: آن نقد مهر و محبت آقای من و جمیع مؤمنان است. تصور می‌کنم که من را نه لشکر هست و نه خزانه و اسباب و نه مددکاری از اهل عالم. خواهی دید که مددکار تو و نقدینه و اسبابی که به تو داده به تو چه فائده خواهد رسانید و نقدینهٔ من که مهر و محبت آقای من است و مددکار من به من چه خواهند رسانید.

قطعه

نقدیست مرا درون جانم / مانندهٔ کیمیای احمر

نقدیست که آدم صفی را / بی آن نشدش دعا موثّر

نقدیست که چون خلیل برخواند / یک موی نسوختش در آذر

نقدیست که علم و زهد موسی / بی آن نخرد به نیم جو زر [f.55r]

نقدیست که مصطفی مرسل / می‌کرد او را به خود برابر

نقدیست عزیز و بس گرامی / دانی چه بود ولای حیدر

[1589] در هر سه نسخه: «رابیه» که شاید گونه‌ای گویشی باشد.
[1590] در [f.47v] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «من».
[1591] در [f.47v] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «او».

آقای من نزد حضرت پروردگار از آقای تو عزیزتر است و اخلاصی که من را با او است بر او ظاهر است و اوصاف و قرب و منزلت و حرمت او به درگاه ربّ العزّت به مرتبه‌ای است که اگر صد هزار سال جن و انس کاتب شوند و اشجار قلم و **هفت آسمان**[1592] اوراق کاغذ و دریاها مداد، شرح شمّه‌ای از فضیلت او نتوانند نوشت.

بیت

کتاب فضل تو را آب بحر کافی نیست / که تر کنی سر انگشت و صفحه بشماری

و بیانی روشن بر صدق قول من از کلام شریف آیاتی است که فی الجمله از آنها را [f.55v] نوشتم: اول آیهٔ «قَالَ وَمِنْ ذُرِّيَّتِي قَالَ لَا يَنَالُ عَهْدِي الظَّالِمِينَ» **[2:124]** و دیگر آیهٔ وَ «ما يَعْلَمُ تَأْوِيلَهُ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَ الرَّاسِخُونَ فِي العِلمِ» **[3:7]** و دیگر آیهٔ «آلَ عِمْرَانَ عَلَى الْعَالَمِينَ» **[3:33]** و دیگر آیهٔ روز مباهله است، قوله تعالی: «قُلْ تَعَالَوْا نَدْعُ أَبْنَاءَنَا وَأَبْنَاءَكُمْ وَنِسَاءَنَا وَنِسَاءَكُمْ وَأَنفُسَنَا وَأَنفُسَكُمْ» **[3:61]** و دیگر آیهٔ کریمهٔ «وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولِي الْأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ» **[4:59]** و دیگر آیهٔ «اَلْيَوْمَ أَكمَلْتُ لَكمْ دينَكمْ وَ أَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيكُمْ نِعْمَتى وَ رَضيتُ لَكُمُ الْإِسْلامَ ديناً» **[5:3]** و دیگر آیهٔ «إِنَّما وَلِيُّكُمُ اللَّهُ وَ رَسُولُهُ وَ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا الَّذِينَ يُقِيمُونَ الصَّلوةَ وَ يُؤْتُونَ الزَّكاةَ وَ هُمْ راكِعُونَ» **[5:55]** و دیگر آیهٔ کریمهٔ «الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ طُوبَىٰ لَهُمْ وَحُسْنُ مَآبٍ» **[13:29]** و آیهٔ کریمهٔ که در غدیر خم نازل شد، قوله تعالی: « يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ [f.56r] بَلِّغْ مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ وَإِنْ لَمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ وَاللَّهُ يَعْصِمُكَ مِنَ النَّاسِ» **[5:67]** و دیگر آیهٔ کریمهٔ «قُلْ كَفى بِاللَّهِ شَهِيداً بَيْنِي وَ بَيْنَكُمْ وَ مَنْ عِنْدَهُ عِلْمُ الْكِتابِ» **[13:43]** دیگر آیهٔ «نَدْعُو كُلَّ أُنَاسٍ بِإِمَامِهِمْ» **[17:71]** دیگر آیهٔ «قُلْ لَوْ كَانَ الْبَحْرُ مِدَادًا لِكَلِمَاتِ رَبِّي لَنَفِدَ الْبَحْرُ قَبْلَ أَنْ تَنْفَدَ كَلِمَاتُ رَبِّي وَلَوْ جِئْنَا بِمِثْلِهِ مَدَدًا» **[18:109]** و آیهٔ کریمهٔ «إِنَّما يُرِيدُ اللَّهُ لِيُذْهِبَ عَنْكُمُ الرِّجْسَ أَهْلَ الْبَيْتِ وَ يُطَهِّرَكُمْ تَطْهِيراً» **[33:33]** دیگر آیهٔ کریمهٔ «إِنَّ اللَّهَ هُوَ مَوْلَاهُ وَجِبْرِيلُ وَصَالِحُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ» **[66:4]** و آیهٔ کریمهٔ «قُلْ لَا أَسْأَلُكُمْ عَلَيْهِ أَجْرًا إِلَّا الْمَوَدَّةَ فِي الْقُرْبَى» **[42:23]** و آیهٔ کریمهٔ «يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا إِذَا نَاجَيْتُمُ الرَّسُولَ فَقَدِّمُوا بَيْنَ يَدَيْ نَجْوَاكُمْ صَدَقَةً» **[58:12]** و در مذهبی قائل‌اند که ساقی حوض کوثر حضرت امیرالمؤمنین علی [f.56v] بن ابی طالب است به مقتضای آیهٔ کریمهٔ «إِنَّ الْأَبْرَارَ يَشْرَبُونَ مِنْ كَأْسٍ كَانَ مِزَاجُهَا كَافُوراً» **[76:5]** و دیگر آیهٔ کریمهٔ «يُوفُونَ بِالنَّذْرِ وَ يَخافُونَ يَوْماً كَانَ شَرُّهُ مُسْتَطِيراً» **[76:7]** وَ «يُطْعِمُونَ الطَّعامَ عَلى حُبِّهِ مِسْكِيناً وَ يَتِيماً وَ أَسِيراً» **[76:8]** «وَجَزَاهُم بِمَا صَبَرُوا جَنَّةً وَحَرِيرًا» **[76:12]** و دیگر آیهٔ کریمهٔ «عَمَّ يَتَسَاءَلُونَ عَنِ النَّبَإِ الْعَظِيمِ الَّذِي هُمْ فِيهِ مُخْتَلِفُونَ» **[78:1-2-3]** و دیگر **سورهٔ**[1593] «إِنَّا أَعْطَيْنَاكَ الْكَوْثَرَ» **[108:1]**

بیت

ثلث کلام وصف امامست بیشکی / آنکس که شک نمود بود **منکر و دغا**[1594]

[1592] در [f.48v] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا ذکر شده است.
[1593] در [f.51r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «آیهٔ».
[1594] در [f.51r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «منکر دعا».

دیگر احادیث حضرت رسالت پناه محمد، صلّی الله علیه وآله؛ قال رسول اللـه، صـلی الله علیه و آلـه، :«یـا علی لحمـك لحمی و دمـك دمی و جسـمك جسـمی و روحـك روحی» و حدیث «انت منّی بمنزلة هارون من موسی» [f.57r] «الا انّه لا نبّی بعدی» دیگـر حـدیث «من کنت مولاه فهذا علیّ مولاه» و دعایی که در حق آن حضرت فرموده «اللّهم وال من والاهم و عـاد من عـاداهم وانصـر من نصـرهم واخـذل من خـذلهم و العن من ظلمهم» و دیگـر حـدیث مروی از ابن مالک «اللّهم ائتنی باخصّ خلقـك الیـك یاکـل معی من هـذه الطّیر» و دیگـر «انّك شمس و علیّ قمر» و حدیث قدسی «لا فتی الّا علی لا سیف الا ذوالفقار» و دیگر «انـا مدینة العلم و علیّ بابها» و دیگر «یا علی لا یحبّك الا مؤمن تقی و لا یبغضك الا منافق شقی» و دیگر «انا و علیّ من نور واحد» و دیگر «انا و علی حجّة الله علی عبـاده» و حـدیث قدسـی «لو اجتمع النّاس علی حبّ علی بن ابی طالب [f.57v] لمّا خلق الله النار»

القصـه، در بیسـت و چهـارم شـهر جمـادی الاولی جاسوسـان آمـده، خـبر آوردنـد کـه حضرت خوندگار به سیواس آمد، سه هفته در آن جا می‌نشیند که شترها را روغن بمالند. و ما در قزوین بودیم. اکابر و اهالی و کدخدایان هر محل را طلبیـده، گفتم کـه جمعی از لشـکریان خود را تعیین نموده‌ام که در پیش **لشکر**[1595] رومیان باشـند و غلّـه و محصـولات را سـوزانیده، آن چه توانند بخورانند. خاطر خود را جمع دارید و دعای بد به ما مکنیـد کـه بـاعث این فتنـه و آشوب ما **نشده ایم.**[1596] آن چه نقصان شما می‌شود عوض به مال و جهـات شـما می‌نمـایم. غلّهٔ آن محل را خورانیده و سوزانیده، کاریزها را انباشته کردیم.

کار و بار جنگ بر عقلا و صاحبان هوش و [f.58r] رای واضح است که حکم بازی دارد. به هر نوع که میسّر شود و از پیش بـرود، می‌بایـد کـرد کـه غـنیم را زبـون خـود کـنی. و کلام حضرت امیر المؤمنین، علیه السّلام، است: «الحَرْبُ خُدَعَةٌ». در حرب، خواه بگریز و خواه به فریب، نـوعی می‌بایـد کـرد کـه فرصـت بـه دشـمن نـداد. والحـال، از مخـبران صـحیح القـول شنیده‌ام و تحقیق شده که تخمیناً سیصـد هـزار سـوار جنگی سـوای قُلّقچی همـراه حضـرت خوندگار آمده‌انـد. اگـر چنانچـه هـر کـدام را یـک خـدمتکار همـراه باشـد، ششصـد هـزار کس می‌شوند که الاغ دار باشند. هر آدم و الاغ را هر روز دو من آذوقه باید که هر روز پانزده هزار خروار صد منی می‌شود. و بر تقدیر وقوع پانصد هزار [f.58v] یا ششصد هزار شتر آذوقـه کـه همراه آورده باشند، یک ماه زیاده داد ایشان نخواهد داد.

ما خود همه جا را **خورانیدیم و سوزانیدیم**[1597] که جنگ روبرو با ایشان نکنیم. حـال ایشان چگونه خواهد شد؟ و اگر یک ماهه راه پیش آیند، محل برگشتن چه علاج دارنـد؟ دیگر، آذوقه از کجا به دست می آورند؟ و بارها من گفته‌ام در حضور امراء که لشکری روم به مثابهٔ مرض آتشک‌اند که اگر در ابتدای طغیان خواهی علاج کنی، مریض را می‌کشد و اگـر ملاحظـهٔ آن نمی‌کنی، به دست پس در ملاحظه باید بود. تا مدّتی که کـامرانی خـود بکنـد بعـد از آن بـه

[1595] در [f.52r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «لشکریان».
[1596] در [f.52r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «شده‌ایم».
[1597] در [f.53r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «خورانیده و سوزانیده‌ایم».

اندک وسیله علاجشان می‌شود و ایشان را سوای قلّت آذوقه به طریق دیگر چه سان عـاجز و زبون می‌توان کرد؟

قطعه

[f.59r] گر همه زرّ جعفری داری / مرد بی‌توشه برندارد گام
در بیابان غریب گرسنه را / شلغم پخته به که نقره خام

و درین باب نیز شیخ مصلح الدّین سعدی شیرازی گفته:

نظم

گوش تواند که همه عمر وی / نشنود آواز دف و چنگ و نی
دیده شکیبد ز تماشای باغ / بی گل و نسرین به سر آرد دماغ
گر نبود بالش آکنده پر / خواب توان کرد حجر زیر سر
ور نبود دلبر همخوابه پیش / دست توان کرد در آغوش خویش
این شکم بی‌هنر پیچ پیچ / صبر ندارد که بسازد به هیچ

غرض، علاج سپاه روم را دیگـر سـوای این چـاره نیسـت و اگـر چنانچـه در الکـای مـا بنشینند، علاج ما این است که **[f.59v]** از هر جانب راه آذوقهٔ ایشان را مسدود سازیم. جنگ با ایشان همین است و سوای این دیوانگی و بی‌صرفگی است که بی‌سـبب خـون مسـلمانان در میان ریخته شود و خود را دانسته به تهلکه انداختن خلاف امر حضـرت پروردگـار، جـلّ شـأنه، است.

چون حضرت خوندگار به خوی آمـد، کس نـزد عبداللـه خـان و جمعی از امـراء کـه بـه قراولی فرستاده بودیم فرستادم که حوالی ایشان را چول کـرده، اصـلاً خـود را منماییـد و در روز بازگشته، در ییلاق اشکنبر به نزد من بیایید؛ که چون حضرت خوندگار داخـل تـبریز شـود، ما ده هزار کس به ایلغار به پای قلعهٔ وان بر سر اولمه فرستیم که شاید آن نمک به حـرام را به دست **[f.60r]** آوریم. چون کس به امراء می‌رسد، یـک روز در آن جـا توقـف کـرده، بعضـی محال را که به جهة آذوقه خود نگاه داشته بودند سوختند و پیش لشکر خوندگار نیز به ایشـان رسیده، نزد ما آمدند.

امّا در وقتی که حضرت خوندگار به تبریز رسید، این جماعت از امراء در پنج فرسـخی تبریز بودند. اول بهرام میرزا را با یک هزار و هشتصد نفر و چراغ سلطان با یک هزار و پانصد نفر و علی قلی بیگ ترکمان با دو هزار نفر و الله قلی بیگ، حاکم دارابجـرد، بـا پانصـد نفـر و چرنداب سلطان، حاکم ایج و شبانکاره، با پانصد مـرد و ابـراهیم خـان، حـاکم شـیراز، بـا سـه هزار و پانصد مرد و شاه قلی سلطان، حاکم کرمان، با دو هـزار مـرد و کپـک سـلطان، حـاکم کازرون، **[f.60v]** با هشتصد نفر و محمود خان، حاکم کوه گیلویه، با سه هزار نفر. از افشـار و چریک و قورچیان قزوین یک هزار و ششصد و جماعت سوکُلان و اردبیل چهارصد و پنجاه نفر ساخته، با جماعت امراء و لشکریان جانقی کردیم که ما به اهر رویم و در آن جا بنشـینیم کـه

جماعت مذکوره نیز به ما ملحق شوند و بعد از این جمعیت در یک جا باشیم. در منزل اول که کوچ کردیم، چراغ سلطان و چرنداب سلطان و علی قلی بیگ رسیدند. در منزل دویم، بهرام میرزا و ابراهیم خان، حاکم شیراز، و الله قلی بیگ رسیدند.

حضرت خوندگار در تبریز و ما در اهر بودیم. به زیارت حضرت شیخ شهاب الدّین اهری بودیم. از غایت آزردگی القاص را نفرین کردم و [f.61r] مناجات بسیاری به درگاه حضرت پروردگار، جلّ جلاله، کردم و گفتم: پروردگارا، تو فرموده‌ای که دل‌های شکسته را دوست می‌دارم و در دل‌های شکسته‌ام. از پریشانی و سرگردانی عجزه و رعایا بسیار دل شکسته شده‌ام. محل رحمت است. سوای مرحمت تو، چیز دیگر مدد ما نمی‌تواند شد. و زاری بسیار کردم. در همان شب شیخ شهاب الدّین را در واقعه دیدم که فرمود که جمیع مشایخ با تو امروز در دعا بودیم، البته که مستجاب **شد**[1598]. بعد از این واقعه، حضرت خوندگار چهار روز در تبریز نشست؛ وهم و هولی در دلش به هم رسیده، بازگردید.

بیت

کار خود گر به خدا بازگذاری حافظ / ای بسا عیش که [f.61v] با بخت خدا داده کنی

و ایضاً خواجه حافظ، علیه الرّحمه، گفته:

بیت

تو با خدای خود انداز کار و دل خوش دار / که رحم اگر نکند مدعی خدا بکند

قبل از آن که خوندگار بازگردد، من در اهر بودم. با امراء گفتم که شما سه هزار کس تعیین نمایید که اردو را برداشته، از راه جوشین دیزمار به جانب اردوباد بروند و شما **ده هزار**[1599] کس به وان بر سر اولمه ایلغار کنید. و پنج هزار کس به قارص بروند که من از عقب شما کوچ کرده بُسوی شما را داشته باشم. شما جهد کنید که اولمه را بگیرید و حوالی وان و هر کجا که غله باشد بسوزانید که خوندگار اگر از عقب بیاید، از آن جا به طرف چخورسعد بیرون آییم. و جمعی از لشکری که به جانب قارص می‌روند جماعتی [f.62r] از رومیان که به عمارت آمده‌اند به قتل رسانند. امراء گفتند که تا بهرام میرزا با جماعت امراء که نیامده‌اند نیایند و به ما ملحق نشوند، رفتن ما به هیچ طرفی مصلحت نیست. بنا بر این مقرّر کردیم که در اهر باشیم و ابراهیم خان را با سه هزار کس به قراولی فرستادیم.

در این اثناء، شتران عرب آمده، دویست و پنجاه خروار یراق قورخانه بر زمین می‌ماند. اگر کوچ می‌کردیم، قرار دادیم که یک منزل پس بنشینیم و این یراق را با لشکری قسمت **نماییم.**[1600] بعد از آن، باز کوچ کرده باز آییم. ما که چهار فرسخ پس رفتیم یک روز آن جا نشستیم و به یراق پخش کردن مشغول شدیم. جاسوسان ما آمدند و خبر آوردند که خوندگار برگشت. [f.62v] ابراهیم خان در هشت فرسخی تبریز بود. از عقب رومیان تا تسوج

[1598] در [f.55v] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «است».
[1599] در [f.56r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «دو هزار».
[1600] در [f.56v] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «کنیم».

رفتند. ما نیز برگشته، از عقب ایشان روانه شدیم. به چالدران که رسیدیم گفتند که خوندگار رفت و قلعهٔ وان را حصار کرده. شاه قلی سلطان و محمود خان، حاکم کوه گیلویه، در آن روز به اردو رسیدند. بعضی مردم گفتند که بر سر رومیان شبیخون بزنیم. من گفتم که از این جا به ارض روم بیرون می‌رویم که چون خوندگار بشنود که ما به الکاءِ او رفته‌ایم، البته که از سر وان **برخواهد خاست.**[1601] با امراء به این گونه قرار دادیم و اسمعیل میرزا را با هفت هزار کس بر سر قلعهٔ قارص فرستادیم که برود و مردم قارص را **قتل و غارت نموده،**[1602] از آن جا متوجه ارض روم شود. و خود یک روز **[f.63r]** در میان به ارجیش رفتیم و آواز توپ و تفنگ رومیان منقطع شد. معلوم کردم، گفتند که شاه علی سلطان چپنی قلعه را سپرده. از این جهة به غایت ملول و آزرده خاطر شدم که سایه سار و قیا تمام آذربایجان را در پناه خود داشت. یک ستون الکاءِ آذربایجان افتاد. لاعلاج از آن جا متوجه خنوس و پاسین شدیم.

چون در مرتبهٔ اول که خوندگار به این جانب آمد، قرار داده بودم که قبل از آمدن ایشان قلعهٔ وان را خراب کنیم و در کل آذربایجان یک قلعه آبادان نگذارم، در آن مرتبه بعضی مانع شده، نگذاشتند. در این دفعه که حکایت گرفتن وان و القاص واقع شد، من را از روی غیرت بسیار تأثیر کرد. باز **[f.63v]** به خاطرم **می رسید**[1603] که تا القاص در دست ایشان است، نزاع و فتنه برطرف نخواهد شد. علاجی سوای این ندارم که تا هر کجا که از الکاءِ خوندگار است، که دسترس ما باشد، خراب کرده و محصولات ایشان را سوزانیده، تاخت و غارت کنیم؛ و یک روز در یک جا توقف ننماییم و آن سرحد را تمام چول و ویران کنیم که مطلق **آباد**[1604] ده روزه راه نباشد، تا آمد شد ایشان برطرف شود. همگی بر این تدبیر صلاح دیدند و پسندیدند.

القصه، خنوس و پاسین را سوختیم و در پاسین منتظر بودیم که خوندگار چه فکر خواهد کرد. خبر آمد که خوندگار به خنوس خراب آمد و ما در پاسین نشسته‌ایم که دانسته بودیم که مرکبان ایشان در کل لاغر **[f.64r]** و زبون شده، در میان اردوی ایشان قحط شده؛ بازگردیدند. ما نیز از آن جا کوچ کرده، به الکاءِ موش رفتیم. خبر آمد که خوندگار از بتلیس گذشت. ما نیز از آن جا که نشسته بودیم پیشتر **نرفتیم.**[1605] قورچیان چمشگزکلو، که به زبانگیری پیش رفته بودند، آمدند و دو جاسوس را گرفته، آوردند. احوال معلوم کردم. گفتند که خوندگار به اولمه و رستم پاشا حکم نوشته بود که ما به قراحمید رفتیم، شما در ترجان بنشینید تا محلی که برف ببارد، بعد از آن در ارزنجان قشلاق کنید. چون این خبر شنیدم، علی سلطان تاتی اغلی را با دو هزار کس فرستادم که اخلاط و موش را تمامی بسوزانند. مردم گفتند که اولمه در ترجان است، **[f.64v]** صلاح این است که بر سر اولمه برویم. چون حرفشان موافق مدعای من بود در روز ایلغار کردیم. اتفاقاً، دو روز پیش از آن که ما برسیم

[1601] در **[f.57r]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «بر می‌خیزد».
[1602] در **[f.57v]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «به قتل و غارت رسانیده».
[1603] در **[f.58r]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «رسید».
[1604] در **[f.58r]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «آبادانی».
[1605] در **[f.58v]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «رفتیم».

اولمه و رستم پاشا به جانب بایبُرد رفته بودند و اولمه در ارزنجان بود. فرمودم که تمامی الکاءِ بایبُرد و ترجان را سوختند و خراب کردند. مقرّر کردم که هر کجا مسجدی باشد یکی از اعیان لشکر رفته در آن جا بنشیند که کسی متعرض مساجد نشود و سوای مساجد تمامی خانه‌ها را می‌سوختند.

و چون در هر مرتبه که ایشان به الکاءِ ما آمدند، مال ما را حلال می‌دانستند، ما هرگز مال ایشان و رعایا را حلال ندانستیم و چیزهای حلال، از مرغ و گوسفند و روغن و آذوقه، همه چیزها را همراه می‌بردیم. در این مرتبه نیز **[f.65r]** به دستور اجناس حلال همراه داشتیم و مقرّر کرده بودیم که هر روز سی قاب طعام در صباح و پنجاه قاب در شب جهة من ترتیب می‌کردند. در این اثناء، یک روز از ماه مبارک رمضان سوار شده، به کنار آب رفتیم که ماهی جهة خوردن شکار کنیم که حلال باشد. دیدیم که بیست نفر پیاده می‌آیند. شاطری را فرستادم که از ایشان **تحقیق**[1606] نماید که چه مردم‌اند. گفتند که ما مردم خنوسیم. ما را غارت کردند. اگر در آن جا می‌ماندیم، از گرسنگی هلاک می شدیم؛ آمده‌ایم که به دیاربکر رویم. القاص را از بالای اسب نفرین کردم و بر حال ایشان گریه کردم. و از آن جا کوچ کرده به حوالی آب توزْلَی نشستیم. **[f.65v]** دو نفر جاسوس چمشگزکی ما آمدند. گفتند: جزم و تحقیق که القاص را به همدان فرستادند و لشکری ما و امراء در بایبُرد و ارزنجان بودند. و غیر از قورچی هیچ کس نزد من نبود. جاسوسان **گفتند**[1607] که این است خوندگار بازگردیده، به حَریِرد آمد و احمد پاشا را با دو هزار تفنگچی پیش فرستاده، این است که به کفّه رسیدند.

و بعد از آن، با قورچیان صلاح دیدم که چه باید کرد. ابراهیم اقای بوربور گفت که کوچ کنیم و به ماماخاتون فرود آییم و کس بفرستیم که امراء از بایبُرد بیایند و جمعی از امراء که در ارزنجان‌اند ارزنجان را **سوختند**[1608]، ایشان هم بیایند و دو هزار کس پیش بفرستیم که اگر احمد پاشا به کفّه آمده باشد، به او **[f.66r]** دستبردی بنمایند. جلودار محمد یوزباشی و مقصود بیگ اینان اغلی گفتند که این حکایت از تدبیر رومیان دور است که القاص را از دست خود بگذارند که به عراق رود. او را البته نزد پاشای بغداد آورده‌اند که در تنگ خانقین و قزلرباط برود؛ تا به ما خبر رسد که القاص به عراق رفت، ما بازگردیم و بعد از برگشتن ما باز کسی فرستاده، القاص را نزد خود آورند. محمد آقا و اینان اغلی گفتند که ما به ده فرسخی ارزنجان رسیده ایم، چرا کوچ کرده به ارزنجان نرویم و آن جا را نیز بالتّمام نسوزانیم؟ به مجرد همین که احمد پاشا پیش آمده چرا خود را معاف داریم؟ اگر چنانچه حضرت خوندگار باز خود بیاید، **[f.66v]** از راه بایبُرد **زده،**[1609] بیرون آییم. حرف ایشان را معقول دیدم، پسندیدم. کوچ کرده، به ارزنجان رفتیم. آن بود که عثمان پاشا به قورچیان ذوالقدر و استاجلو، که به قراولی گذاشته بودیم، برخورده، جنگ کرده بود و شکست یافته، به

[1606] در **[f.60r]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «تفحص».
[1607] در **[f.60r]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «آمدند».
[1608] در **[f.60v]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «سوختند».
[1609] در **[f.61r]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «برویم».

در رفته بود و جمع کثیر از رومیان کشته شده بودند. بعد از آن، از ارزنجان کوچ کرده، به بایبُرد آمدیم و در آن جا بسیاری از اطفال ارمنی را قزلباش اسیر کرده بودند. همگی را جمع کرده، در سبدها نشانده، بار کردیم و عبدالله خان را فرمودم که به پای قلعه برده، گذاشت و نزد ما آمد.

بعد از آن، به ارض روم آمدیم. اغلان قاسم پاژوکی را که از جماعتی که از قلعه به جنگ بیرون آمده بودند قورچی گرفته، آورد. او نیز [f.67r] خبر رفتن القاص را به همدان گفت. گفتم من از تدبیر رومیان این را به غایت دور می دانم که القاص را از خود جدا کرده، گذارند که برود. این بیت به خاطرم رسید:

بیت

بسا دولت که آید بر گذرگاه / چو مرد آگه نباشد گم کند راه

در آن جا نیز لشکریان چند نفر از اطفال اسیر کرده بودند. ایشان را نیز گرفته، به همان دستور به پای قلعه فرستادم و خود متوجه چخورسعد شدیم و هنوز باور نمی‌کردم که القاص را از دست گذاشته باشند. اسمعیل میرزا را به شیروان فرستادم که آن جا را متصرّف شود. قورچی باشی را با هزار و پانصد کس فرستادم که شکّی را بگیرد و بهرام میرزا و [f.67v] ابراهیم خان را با امراءِ عراق و فارس و کرمان رخصت کردم که همگی به الکاءِ خود روند و من به قراباغ رفتم که در آن جا قشلاق نمایم.

در این اثناء، متعاقب خبر رسید که القاص به عراق آمده، خانه کوچ بهرام میرزا و چراغ سلطان را غارت کرده، کنیزان ایشان را قسمت نموده و پسر بهرام میرزا را همراه خود برد. شخصی که از نزد القاص آمده بود از زبان او نقل می‌کرد که با مردم خود می‌گفته که اگر من پسر بهرام میرزا را نزد خوندگار ببرم، خواهد فرمود که من او را بکشم. بعد از آن که من پسر او را کشته باشم، بهرام میرزا در عوض پسران من را خواهد کشت؛ پس من را نزد حضرت خوندگار نباید رفت.

القصه، در قم خبر توجّه ما [f.68r] به او می رسد. پسر بهرام میرزا را با مال و اسباب که غارت کرده بود برداشته، به جانب شیراز گریخت و در آن جا از غایت اضطراب توقف ننموده، از راه شوشتر به جانب بغداد رفت. و از شوشتر کتابتی نوشته، فرستاد و استدعای صلح نموده درخواست خود کرد. من نیز پروانهٔ استمالت او نوشته، فرستادم. فامّا، در آن وقت مردم می‌گفتند که فردا القاص از آن جانب می‌آید و حضرت خوندگار از این طرف؛ معلوم نیست که احوال ما **چه**[1610] خواهد شد. و صلاح دیده بودند که شیروان را به او داده، این نزاع را برطرف سازیم که او متوجه شیروان گردد. من را در این حال دل درد کرد [f.68v] و به غایت آزرده شدم. چنانچه گریه‌ام دست داد و در اثنای گریه این ابیات از هفت بند مولانا حسن کاشی، رحمة الله، به خاطرم رسید و گریان گریان می خواندم:

نظم

[1610] در [f.63r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «چون».

ای معظّم کعبه اصل از بیان مصطفی / قبلهٔ دنیا و دین جان و جهان مصطفی
از نقود گوهر معنی لبالب شد دهانت / تا نهادی لب به صورت در دهان مصطفی
ای به استحقاق بعد از مصطفی نابوده کس / تا نهادی پای تمکین بر مکان مصطفی
تیغ تو ابریست دریا دل که فتح الباب او / تازه دارد ز آب نصرت بوستان مصطفی
تا سپهر شرع ازو پر نور شد دیگر نتافت / از تو روشن‌تر مهی بر آسمان مصطفی
[f.69r] رهروان عالم تحقیق را نابوده راه / بی زمین بوس درت بر آستان مصطفی
از زبان خلق برناید صفات ذات تو / ور برآید دور نبود از زبان مصطفی
لاف مداحی درین حضرت نمیارم زدن / ای ثناخوان تو ایزد از زبان مصطفی
عرض حاجت بر تو حاجت نیست میدانی که چیست / حال اخلاص من اندر خاندان مصطفی
منّت خلقم به جان آورده رحمی کن مرا / وارهان از منّت خلقم به جان مصطفی
روی رحمت برمتاب ای کام جان از روی من / حرمت روی پیمبر را نظر کن سوی من

القصه، رستم پاشا کتابتی به محمد پاشای حاکم بغداد نوشته، فرستاده بود که کشتن القاص در آن ولایت‌ها مصلحت نیست که مبادا فتنه‌ای به هم رسد. کس بر سر او تعیین نمایند که از الکاءِ ما به در رود و اگر قبول نکند، به قتلش رسانند [f.69v] یا از الکاءِ ما **بیرون کنند**[1611] که دیگر به این طرف نیاید. چون القاص احوال خود را به این منوال می بیند، یکه **و تنها**[1612] گریخته، نزد بگه آردلان **آمد**.[1613] و بدیع الزّمان، پسر بهرام میرزا، را شفیع خود ساخته، وسیلهٔ صلح می خواهد. بعد از چند روز بدیع الزّمان و میرزا باقر، که ملازم قدیمی القاص بود، نزد ما آمدند و احوالات را عرض کردند. من جوابش ندادم.

بعد از سه چهار روز خبر رسید که محمد پاشای حاکم بغداد لشکر بر سر او فرستاده، از آن جا نیز فرار نموده، نزد سرخاب سلطان آمده است. چون بهرام میرزا و امراء مطّلع شدند، ایلغار کرده، بر سر او رفتند. سرخاب سلطان[1614] او را برداشته به قلعهٔ مریوان برد و کس نزد ما فرستاد که سیادت پناه، [f.70r] شاه نعمت الله، را بفرستید بیاید و قسم یاد کند که قصد او نکنید، من او را بدهم. سیادت پناه مشارالیه به اتفاق امراء رفته، او را آوردند. در این اثناء، سجدهٔ شکر کردم که الحمدلله من القاص را به آقای خود حضرت امیرالمؤمنین و امام المتقیین، اسد الله الغالب، امیرالمؤمنین حیدرعلی بن ابی طالب، علیه الصّلوة والسّلام، سپرده بودم، او را گرفته به این حال به من سپرد. چون در برابر من آمد، گفتم که دیدی آقای من از مددکار تو قوی‌تر بود و تو را چون باز نزد من فرستاد و دیگر حرفی نزدم.

بیت

چراغی را که ایزد بر فروزد / هر آن کس پف کند ریشش بسوزد

[1611] در [f.64r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ مجلس: «به در رود».
[1612] در [f.64r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا ذکر شده است .
[1613] در [f.64r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «می‌آید».
[1614] در حاشیهٔ نسخه افزوده شده است: «**سرخاب سلطان در آن وقت حاکم کردستان اردلان بود**».

و از گفتار شیخ این ابیات را مناسب [f.70v] این مقال دیدم که فرمود:

نظم

حکایت کنند از بزرگان دین / حقیقت شناسان اهل یقین

که صاحب دلی بر پلنگی نشست / همی راند همواره ماری به دست

القصه، تا چند روز دیگر در برابر من نیاوردندش. روزی در توحیدخانه بودم، آن جا آمد. گفتم وقتی که با من دوست بودی شراب نمی‌خوردی و فسق و فجور نمی‌کردی. چون یاغی شدی، بنیاد فسق و فجور کردی! ظاهراً که با حضرت پروردگار، جلّ شأنه، نیز یاغی شده بودی!

نظم

هر که را کوشش از برای خداست / همه کارش ز ایزد آید راست

کارها جز خدای نگشاید / به خدا گر ز بنده هیچ آید

القصه، بعد از چند روز دیدم [f.71r] که از من ایمن نیست و دائم به تفکر است. او را همراه ابراهیم خان و حسن بیگ یوزباشی کرده، به قلعه فرستادم. ایشان او را به قلعهٔ الموت برده، حبس کردند و آمدند. بعد از شش روز، جمعی که در قلعه او را نگاه می‌داشتند غافل گردیده، دو سه نفر در آن جا بودند که القاص پدر ایشان را کشته بود. ایشان هم به قصاص پدر خود او را از قلعه به زیر انداختند. بعد از مردن او عالم امن شد. با خود قرار دادم که بعد از این بر سر چَرکَس و گرجی روم و سوای کفّار با مسلمانان نزاع نداشته باشند، تا آن که به یک بار اسکندر پاشا در میانه پیدا شده، مضمون این ابیات سمت وقوع یافت:

قطعه

اگر این که [f.71v] خواهد کسی ز اهل دل / که یک لحظه بی زای زحمت زید

مگس را پدید آورد روزگار / که تا بر سر رای رحمت رید

حکایت اسکندر پاشا

در آن وقت که پاشای ارض روم بود چیزها به خاطر قرار داده، تحریک فتنه و نزاع می‌کرد. هرچند امراء به او چیزها **نوشتند**[1615] و او را نصیحت **کردند**[1616] و کتابات **فرستادند**،[1617] قبول نمی‌کرد و در جواب تهدیدات می‌نوشت. یک نوبت کتابتی به حسین خان سلطان فرستاده بود که من قلعهٔ آرده نوج گرجستان را حصار کرده‌ام، اگر پادشاه شما بر سر من آید، جنگ خواهم کردن. اگر شکست دادم، پادشاه شرق را شکسته‌ام و اگر شکست خوردم، غلامی را شکسته باشد. به حسین خان سلطان پیغام **[f.72r]** فرستادم که در جواب او بنویس که این حرف‌های نامعقول از جهل و نادانی و کم عقلی است. مرد عاقل به حد گلیم خود پا دراز می‌کند و دائم الاوقات بر سر پرخاش و مفتّنی نباید بود. یک مرتبه شاهقلی سلطان، حاکم چخورسعد، این ابیات را نوشته نزد او **فرستاد:**[1618]

بیت

دو عاقل را نباشد کین و پیکار / ز نادانی ستیزد با سبکسار

القصه، تو مرد عاقلی هستی. به تو نسبت **ندارد**[1619] که با اولاد حضرت سیّد المرسلین، محمّد مصطفی، صلی الله علیه و آله و سلم، این چنین بی‌ادبی کنی. هر کس که به این خاندان دشمنی کرد، جزای خود دید: تو نیز خواهی دید که به چه بلیّه **مبتلا**[1620] خواهی شد. و در اخبار نخوانده ای که روزی که ملاعین بنی امیّه **[f.72v]** در کربلا با حضرت امام حسین و اولاد و اصحاب او، علیهم السلام، محاربه و مقاتله نمودند، سوای حضرت امام زین العابدین، علیه السّلام، دیگر کسی نمانده بود و از بنی امیّه در آن روز تا هزار طفل در گهوارهٔ قبّه طلا موجود بود. و حالا به قدرت حضرت ربّ العالمین ملاحظه می‌کنی که از ایشان آثار نمانده و چندین هزار سیّد از آن سلسله موجودند.

و هرچند امراء نزد وزراء قاپو کس می فرستادند، مانع شده، نمی‌گذاشت و مانع ایلچیان و تجار و متردّدین می‌شد و غارت می‌کرد. و از غایت غرور و نخوت کار به جایی رسانیده بود که سلب سیادت ما می‌کرده و در کتابتی که به شاهقلی سلطان نوشته بود آیهٔ کریمهٔ «لَيْسَ مِنْ أَهْلِكَ **[f.73r]** إِنَّهُ عَمَلٌ غَيْرُ صَالِحٍ» **[11:46]** را نوشته و مزخرفات بسیار گفته، و شاهقلی سلطان در جواب کتابتی مطوّل به او نوشته و این حدیث که از حضرت امام

[1615] در **[f.66r]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «می‌نوشتند».
[1616] در **[f.66r]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «می‌کردند».
[1617] در **[f.66r]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «می‌فرستادند».
[1618] در **[f.66v]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «فرستاده بود».
[1619] در **[f.66v]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «دارد».
[1620] در **[f.66v]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «گرفتار».

جعفر صادق، علیه السّلام، منقول است بـه او نوشـته، فرسـتاده بـود. و از این سـخنان متنبّـه نشده، ترک بـد ذاتی نمی‌کـرد. **دیدیم**[1621] کـه بـه هیچ وجـه کـار مـا پیش نمی‌رود، بالضّـروره گوشمال او واجب شد.

بیت

کاری که به عقل برنیاید / دیوانگی‌ای در او بباید

آخر الامر، لاعلاج سفر ارجیش و اخلاط را لشکری آراسته کردیم که بـه این وسـیله او را نیز تنبیه نماییم که یک به دو بر سر او رفتن کسر شأن ما بود. در ماه رجب المرجّب روانـهٔ آن صوب شدیم و ماه رمضان المبارک **[f.73v]** در اخلاط بودیم. و باغ ملکی شمس الدّین خان را خریده، در آن جا روزه داشتیم.

القصه، یک بـار پانصـد نفـر از مـردم خرچینلـوی قراباغ و گـرجی کـه قبـل از این بـه دادایلی رفته بودند. اسکندر پاشا خبردار گردیده، با ده هزار کس سر راه بر ایشان گرفتند- بـا وجودی که مردم خرچینلو بودند، با او جنگ روبرو کرده بودند و **مقرّر**[1622] است که پانصد کس در برابر ده هزار کس هنری نمی‌توانند نمود؛ فرار نموده، جمعی از ایشان را به قتل رسانیده، سرهای ایشان را به طمطراق هرچـه **تمام‌تر**[1623] بـه اسـتنبول فرسـتاد و این معـنی را فتحی عظیم نام کرده بود. بعد از آن، چندان عجب و تکبّر به خود راه داده بود که شرح نتـوان کـرد. بنابراین به خاطرم رسید که اگر من بـر سـر او **[f.74r]** بـروم، از قلعـه بـیرون نخواهـد آمـد و گرفتن قلعهٔ ارض روم در این وقت متعذر است. اسمعیل میرزا را با جمعی از امـراء بـر سـر او فرستادم، از قلعه بیرون آمده بود که جنگ روبرو **نماید**.[1624] چون تیب ایشـان را دیـده بـود، فی الحال باز به قلعه گریخته بود. امراء حوالی ارض روم را تاخت کرده، نـزد مـا آمدنـد و مـا متوجه نخچوان شدیم. و این **شرحها**[1625] را بالتّمام نوشته، مصحوب محمود بیـگ، حـاکم بیغـا، که در جنگ ارض روم گرفتار شده بود و مدّتی در نزد ما محبوس بود، خلاصش کردم و خلعت داده، نزد حضرت خوندگار فرستادم.

بعـد از مـدّتی کتـابت خاصّـگی حضـرت خونـدگار و سـلطان سـلیم و دختـر حضـرت خوندگار، که **[f.74v]** به همشیره‌ام نوشته بود، و کتابت رستم پاشا، که بـه امـراء نوشـته بـود، رسید. خلاصهٔ مضمون این که ایلچی بفرستید که در میانه صلحی واقع شـود و قـراری بـدهیم که بعد الیوم عجزه و مساکین در میان پایمال نشوند. ما نیز بنوشته و مصلحت ایشان سیادت پناه، امیر شمس الدّین، را به ایلچیگری مقـرّر کـردیم. بعـد از آن کـه بـه اسـتنبول رفتـه بـود، رسـتم پاشـا و جمعی از سـوختگان حرف‌هـای نـاخوش در میـان آورده، از جـوانب ردّ و بـدل بسیاری کرده بودند و نگذاشته بودند که کاری به خـیر سـاخته شـود. کتـابتی طـولانی نوشـته، مصحوب سیادت پناه مذکور فرسـتاده بودنـد کـه علمـای روم و مشـایخ این جـا بالتّمـام فتـوا

[1621] در **[f.67v]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «دیدم».
[1622] در **[f.68r]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «مشخص».
[1623] در **[f.68r]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «تمام».
[1624] در **[f.68r]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «کند».
[1625] در **[f.68v]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «شرح».

داده‌اند که [f.75r] خون و مال و اهل و عیال تمامی اهل شرق، از سپاهی و رعیت، مسلمان و ارمنی و یهودی، حلال است و جنگ با ایشان غزا است. گفتم: این فتوی بسیار خوب است! ما که نماز و روزه و حج و زکوة و تمامی ضروریات دین را می‌دانیم و به عمل می‌آوریم، ایشان ما را کافر می دانند! حضرت ربّ العالمین میانهٔ ما و ایشان حکم فرماید!

و در همان اثناء که ایّام جودرو بود، شب جمعهٔ بیست و هفتم شهر رجب المرجّب، سنهٔ سبع و خمسین و تسعمائه، پیش در واقعه دیدم که ماهی در میان آسمان ایستاده و یکی دیگر از جانب مشرق و دیگری از جانب مغرب پیدا می‌شود. و ماهی که از جانب مغرب بر آمد [f.75v] به غایت بزرگ است و از جانب مشرق کوچک. شخص نورانی ایستاده به من می‌گوید که ماه مغرب خوندگار است و ماه مشرق عبید اوزبک و ماه میانه از تو است. نگاه می‌کردم که اول مرتبه ماه مشرق چون نزدیک به میان آسمان رسید، کنده شد و افتاده و بر زمین فرو رفته، ناپدید شد. و بعد از آن، ماه مغرب به همان دستور افتاده، بر زمین فرو رفت. و ماه میانین به طریق کاغذی که در هوا باشد آهسته آهسته می‌آمد تا بر بالای صفّهٔ شاه نشین که در قزوین است می نشیند. و بر جای من قالیچه انداخته بودند و دوشک بر بالای آن و بر بالای دوشک من نشستم.

و مرتبهٔ دیگر، در شب هجدهم شهر [f.76r] صفر، سنهٔ احدی و ستین و تسعمائه، در نخجوان به خواب دیدم که بر آسمان به جانب قبله، در محلّی که آفتاب وقت عصر بود، خطّی پیدا شده که بر صفحهٔ آسمان نوشته‌اند به خطّ عِبری و رنگ خطّ به رنگ آسمان است. فامّا، خطّ از بوم که آسمان باشد شفاف‌تر است. به طریق خطّ تمغائي که بر کاغذ فرنگی باشد، سیر و نیم سیر، به دستور محراب بزرگ که دو ذرع و نیم پهنای آن باشد و سه ذرع و نیم طول آن. آن خطّ را خواندم این آیه نوشته بود «فَسَیَکْفِیکَهُمُ اللَّهُ وَ هُوَ السَّمِیعُ الْعَلِیمُ» [2:137]. از مشاهدهٔ آن خطّ لرزه و اضطرابی در من افتاد. دیدم که آن خطّ چون آب **موج**[1626] پیدا می‌کند و پاره‌ای از آسمان که دور خطّ است به جانب غرب [f.76v] در لرزه می‌آید، چنانچه می‌خواهد آسمان شکافته شود. و چنان می‌بینم که این خطّ و محراب به لرزه در آمد، چنانچه دری از آسمان گشاده شد و من از اضطراب در خواب می‌بینم که مگر از خواب بیدار **شدم**.[1627]

و خود را در ییلاق خوی می‌بینم و بادی عظیم از جانب وان پیدا می‌شود. مردم می‌گویند که مردم روم بر سر شما آمده اند و دغدغه می‌شود که اگر آن باد به دنیا برسد، تمامی خیمه‌های ما را خواهد کند. من به قورچیان **کشیکچی**[1628] حرم و ایقوت آقای یوزباشی حرم می‌گویم که پریخان **خانم**[1629] و سلطان ابراهیم میرزا را گردآوری کنید و ایشان را برداشته، بگریزید که ما سوار شده، پیش می‌رویم. می‌بینیم که مرتبه مرتبه باد پیش می‌آید [

[1626] در [f.70v] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «تموج».
[1627] در [f.70v] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «شده‌ام».
[1628] در [f.71r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا ذکر شده است.
[1629] در [f.71r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا ذکر شده است.

[f.77r] و به چمنی و منزلی که ما در آن جا نشسته‌ایم پیش می‌آید. هنوز به کنار اردو نرسیده بود که برطرف شد و اصلًا خاک و غباری به ما نرسیده، یک بارگی محو شد. و از عقب گرد و غبار گاو کوهی بسیاری و قوچ بسیاری پیدا شد، همه دنبه‌دار به طریق گوسفند. به امراء می‌گویم که هر کس می‌خواهد از لشکری شکار کند و از عقب برود. ایشان می‌روند و من سه گاو کوهی و یک قوچ را زده، می‌آورم و می‌گویم که اسب من خام است: پیش نمی روم. و به سلطان ابراهیم میرزا و اطفال دیگر می‌گویم که شما اینها را کباب کنید تا امراء بیایند و من در خیمه می‌نشینم. بعد از آن، هر کس می‌آید سی و چهل از آنها را گرفته، می‌آورند.

بعد از آن، در خواب [f.77v] می‌بینم که بیدار شدم، اما باز در خوابم. و من می‌بینم که همشیره‌ام در چهار کنج **خانه**[1630] زیرانداز و دوشک انداخته و در هر یک زنان صاحب جمال، در نهایت بلندی و حسن، نشسته و اصلا زیب و آرایش ندارند. امّا چنان خوش شکل‌اند که در میان آدمیان آن نوع شکل کم می‌باشد. از وی پرسیدم که اینها کی هستند؟ گفت: اینها را از گرجستان برای تو آورده اند، یکی خواهر وَرَزا است که در خانهٔ ما بود و سهٔ دیگر حالا آورده. من گفتم: خواهر وَرَزا این شکل نداشت، کجا این چنین شد؟ گفت: حالا چنین شد.... این مرتبه از خواب **حقیقةً**[1631] بیدار شدم. خود را در همان هیبت و خواندن آیهٔ «فَسَيَكْفِيكَهُمُ اللَّهُ» دیدم.

[f.78r] باز در خواب شدم. همان خواب اول را به همان طریق بالتّمام دیدم و باز آیهٔ کریمهٔ «فَسَيَكْفِيكَهُمُ اللَّهُ» می‌خواندم. گاه به خاطرم می‌رسید حیرت می‌کردم که این آیه جهة دفع اعداء است، از مشاهدهٔ آن این همه اضطراب چرا واقع شود و باز به خاطرم می‌رسید که چون پرتو نور حضرت الهی، عزّ اسمائَه، تجلّی کرده و ظهور آن شده بود، سبب لرزه و اضطراب آن خواهد بود. و در خواب می‌گویم که نور تجلّی با حضرت موسی کلیم الله، علی نبینا و علیه السّلام، در طور سیناء آن بود که در قصص و اخبار **مسطور**[1632] شده و حضرت خاتم النّبییّن محمد، صلی الله علیه و آله، در شب معراج در پس پرده حجاب با حضرت پروردگار عالم متکلّم شده، هیبت [f.78v] و صولت حضرت الهی، جلّ شأنه، در آن حضرت اثر کرده؛ یقین است که به این نوع عجایبات ببینم و به این طریق آیتی بر زبانم جاری شود و من گمان می**کنم**[1633] که حضرت خوندگار متوجه این جانب شد. و چنین بود.

و چون به پاسین آمد، توقف کرد که نزول و آذوقهٔ ایشان برسد تا آن که بایسنقر ملازم اولمه را فرستادند که در میانه صلحی واقع شود. **و من به هیچ وجه راضی نشدم که چرا به منّت اولمه صلح**[1634] شود که او یساول ما بود. الحال به رسالت او در میانه ما و خوندگار صلح واقع شود. اگر چنانچه یکی از پاشایان خوندگار وسیله می‌شد، به همه حال جای آن داشت که به جهة امنیت مسلمانان صلح نماییم.

[1630] در [f.71v] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا ذکر شده است.
[1631] در [f.72r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا ذکر شده است.
[1632] در [f.72v] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا : «واقع».
[1633] در [f.72v] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا : «میبرم».
[1634] این قسمت جا افتاده و سپس در حاشیهٔ [f.72r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا افزوده شده است.

قطعه

ترک احسان خواجه اولی‌تر [f.79r] کاحتمال جفای بوّابان
بتمنّای گوشت مردن به / که تقاضای زشت قصابان

در هفدهم شهر ذی القعدة کوچ کرده، به بازارچایی رفتیم و نشستیم. خبر به لوند خان گرجی رفته بود که خوندگار آمده و بعضی لشکر شاه را شکسته و زبون کرده و دست پسر او را، که همراه ما بود، در جنگ انداخته‌اند. تزلزلی در حالش افتاده، کتابتی به شخصی داده، نزد پسرش خواجه تاج وکیل خود فرستاده که این نوع اخبار رسید، کیفیت احوال را کما هو حقّه نوشته، ارسال دارند. هم این شخص را قراولان با نوشته نزد من آوردند، در جواب او نوشتم:

نظم

این که گویی کار دهر آخر چه سان خواهد شدن / آن چه دلخواه محبّانست آن خواهد شدن [f.79v]
حکمتی زانگونه رخ خواهد نمود از سرّ غیب / کاندر آن حیران دو چشم نکته دان خواهد شدن
این علاماتی و آثاری که می‌بینیم ما / هر چه ز اول گفته شد آخر همان خواهد شدن
دست دست خاندان مصطفی و مرتضی است / آن چه می‌خواهند ایشان آن چنان خواهد شدن

القصه، حضرت خوندگار به نخجوان آمد. کتابتی از ساروقاپلان، ولد سیدی حسن ابداللو، رسید که ملازم جامی را گرفته و چیزی نوشته، فرستاده بودند که بیایید تا جنگ کنیم. این مرتبه حسن بیگ یوزباشی به من گفت که شتر و اسباب را بالتّمام با اردو به پشته‌ها و کوه‌های گنجه و آن حوالی بفرستیم و خیمه و خرگاه ما باشد. ما بر سر کوه رفته، راه را بپاییم، خوندگار اگر جدا شود و بر سر ما بیاید، ما از راه دیگر به اردوی او [f.80r] برویم. آن چه ایشان در اردوی ما بیایند از ایشان باشد و ما نیز اردوی ایشان را قتل و غارت کرده، آن چه میسّر شود برداریم و آن چه نتوان برداشت سوخته و شکسته و خراب کنیم. قبول نکردم و گفتم: ایشان را هیچ دردی برابر این نیست که تغافل کرده، با ایشان جنگ نمی‌کنیم و داخل خون ایشان نمی‌شویم؛ به خودی خود به جهنم واصل می‌شوند. مشخص است که با لشکر کم جرأت نمی‌کنند که به الکاء ما بیایند و لشکر بسیار دشمن **علیق دواب**[1635] و خورش‌اند. و من را از این فرستادن ایشان که بیایید تا جنگ کنیم معلوم شده که اراده رفتن دارند، که بالضّروره بگویند که چند مرتبه نوشتیم، نیامدند و جنگ نکردند و گریختند و ما برگشتیم.

[f.80v] القصه، سه روز بعد از این مقدمه، خوندگار برگردید. بعد از آن، شاهویردی سلطان گفت که اگر می‌فرمایید ما پیشتر برویم و نزولی که در ارس جمع شده و **اسباب جمالت که در آن جا جمع شده**[1636] بستانیم و چون خوندگار به ارض روم شود، پاسین و

[1635] در [f.74v] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «علیق الدّواب».
[1636] در [f.74v] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا ذکر نشده است.

ارض روم را سوخته و غارت کرده، بیایم. قبول کردم و پنج هزار کس **را همراه او کرده**،[1637] از آق منقان متوجه پاسین شد و ما یک روز دیگر آن جا نشسته، بعد از آن به جانب چخورسعد کوچ کردیم. روزی که به قراباغ رسیدیم اول ماه مبارک رمضان بود. این روایت به خاطرم رسید که در اخبار آمده که روزی حضرت رسول، صلّی الله علیه و آله وسلم، بر سر منبر **[f.81r]** چون پای مبارک به زینهٔ اول نهاد، فرمودند: «آمین». و هم چنین که به زینهٔ **دویم**[1638] قدم مبارک نهادند فرمودند: «آمین». به واسطهٔ روایت گفتم: چون ماه مبارک رمضان است بر سر اُلکاءِ مسلمانان نمی‌رویم. قرار دادم که به جانب گرجستان رویم و الکاء شوشاد، که کافر حربی‌اند، غارت کنیم و در الکاء قرقره بنشینیم تا اسب‌های ما فربه شوند. و لشکر کوه گیلویه در این روز آمدند. برخواسته، متوجه گرجستان شدیم.

و تا مدت یک ماه در الکاء شوشاد و الکاء قدنت گرجی و قرقره نشستیم. تا بعد از عید رمضان المبارک، آرزبار، ملازم عیسی خان، نزد بسبات گرجی رفته بود. بسبات به او سفارش کرده بود که ابازه پاشا **[f.81v]** تنها در قلعهٔ آلطی نشسته و خوندگار در ارض روم است. ما نیز از حوالی قلعهٔ پَتَرەکْ شاهقلی خلیفه مهردار و محمدی بیگ موصولی و ادهم بیگ روملو و اُلغ خان بیگ سعدلو و ترخان بیگ را با بعضی از امراء فرستادیم. و ولد قرقره گرجی و یوثام و وَرَزا **گرجی**[1639] چرخچی ایشان شدند. تا موازی پنج هزار کس بر سر ابازه پاشا رفتند. یک شب امیرخان ولد شاه گلدی بیگ با دویست کس از **دست**[1640] چپ قراول شده بود که چون در قلعهٔ **کامخی** (؟)[1641] کسی به درآید خبردار شوند. اتفاقاً، به سنان بیگ دچار می‌شوند. او را شکست داده، گرفته، پیش من آوردند. احوال معلوم کردم. سنان بیگ گفت: تمامی لشکر سوای خوندگار به آلطی آمده‌اند **[f.82r]** و خوندگار نیز از عقب می‌آید. امراء از راه آلطی برگشته، به قانلوچمن رفتیم و به اردوی خود ملحق شدیم که اگر لشکر بیاید، بر سر کتل جنگ کنیم؛ که در این اثناء، ولد دلو افندی و پسر بشارت کُلهٔ، ملازمان القاص، هر دو گریخته، آمدند و گفتند که پاشایان گریختند. من نیز امراء را جمع نموده، جانقی کردیم که محمدی گفت که خوندگار در ارض روم نشسته، ما به قلعهٔ وان برویم و کردستان را غارت کرده، آن جا بنشینیم و اسبها را فربه **سازیم**.[1642] تا خوندگار در ارض روم باشد، ما نیز آن جا باشیم که اگر خوندگار بر سر ما آید، ما از آن جا به جانب بغداد رویم و اگر از عقب ما روانهٔ بغداد شوند، بازگشته، به دیاربکر رویم. احیاناً که به دیاربکر آیند، **[f.82v]** ما به ارزنجان رویم و بالتّمام آن ولایت را سوخته و غارت کرده و خراب کنیم. بعد از آن که آن ولایت‌ها را تمام خراب کرده باشیم، در بهار که خوندگار بر سر ما آید چه تواند ساخت، بلا شبهه عاجز **خواهد شد بر برگردیدن**[1643]. من استخاره کردم، **راه نداد. به صلح**

[1637] در **[f.75r]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «باو دادم».
[1638] در **[f.75r]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «دوم».
[1639] در **[f.76r]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا ذکر شده است.
[1640] در **[f.76r]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «جانب».
[1641] در **[f.76r]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ مجلس: «کامخرد ملک».
[1642] در **[f.76v]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «کرده».
[1643] در **[f.77r]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «برخواهد گردیدن».

استخاره کردم،[1644] خوب آمد. به امراء گفتم که اگر حضرت خوندگار به سخن جاهلان با مـا بدی کرد، ما در عوض بدی او نیکی می کنیم و این ابیات را خواندم:

نظم

ز خاک آفریدت خداوند پاک / پس ای بنده افتادگی کن چو خاک
حریص و جهانسوز و سرکش مباش / ز خاک آفریدت چو آتش مباش
چو شعله کشید آتش هولناک / به بیچارگی تن فرو داد خاک
چو او سربلندی نمود این کمی / ازو دیو **[f.83r]** کردند ازین آدمی
یکی قطره باران ز ابری چکید / خجل شد چون پهنای دریا بدید

القصه، بعد از آن احمد سلطان را فرستادیم که سنان بیگ را، که در قلعهٔ قـدرت آبـاد مقیّد بود، آورد و شاهقلی آقا را همراه سنان بیگ کرده، کتـابتی بـه خونـدگار نوشـتم کـه اگـر حضرت خوندگار به حرف جاهلان با ما بدی کـرد، مـا در عـوض نیکی می‌کـنیم و بـه مقتضـای حدیث عمل نموده، در آشتی می‌زنیم و این ابیات را خواندم:

نظم

جوانمردا جوانمردی بیاموز / ز مردان جهان مردی بیاموز
درون از کین کین جویان نگهدار / زبان از طعن بدگویان نگهدار
نکویی کن به آن کو با تو بد کرد / کزان بد رخنه در اقبال خود کرد
چو آیین نکوکاری کنی ساز / نگردد بر تو **[f.83v]** جز آن نیکویی باز

بیت

کار خود گر بخدا بازگذاری حافظ / ای بسا عیش که با بخت خدا داده کنی

و شاهقلی آقا و سنان بیگ را روانه ساخته، خود متوجه گرجسـتان لوارصـاب شـدیم. اکثر قلاع و سقناقات آن جا را فتح نموده، موازی سی هزار اسیر گرفتیم و از آن جا به جـانب قراباغ آمدیم. فرخ زاد ایشیک آقاسی را، بعد از شاهقلی آقا، با ارمغان گرجسـتان فرسـتادیم به ایلچیگری و از عقب او تبت آقا رفت. الحمدلله که صلح واقـع شـد و چنـد سـال اسـت کـه مسلمانان به فراغت اوقات می‌گذرانند.

[1644] این قسمت جا افتاده و سپس در حاشیهٔ **[f.77r]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا افزوده شده است.

فصل حکایت سلطان بایزید

از واردینِ ولایت روم و تجّار و متردّدینِ هر کس می‌آمد می‌گفتند که سلطان بایزید در [f.84r] عماسیه نشسته و لشکر جمع می‌کند که با سلطان سلیم، برادرِ خود، نزاع نماید. می‌گفتم که ایشان چه حد دارند که حضرت خوندگار به صحت و سلامت بر تخت نشسته باشد، با یک دیگرِ جنگ توانند کرد. کس پیش یادگار بیگ پاژوکی فرستادم که او کس به سرحدها فرستاده، خبر تحقیق نماید. جاسوسان و ملازمان او آمدند و دو ملازم القاص را که با سلطان بایزید بودند آوردند. ایشان همگی گفتند که سلطان بایزید با برادرش سلطان سلیم بر سر منازعت آمده، یاغی شده بود. رفتند در قونیه با هم جنگ کردند. سلطان بایزید **شکست خورده، باز به عماسیه آمد و ما را**[1645] سلطان بایزید فرستاده که به صورت بازرگانان [f.84v] به خدمت شاه بروید و بگویید که یک هزار و پانصد تومان زرّ جهة من بفرستد به قرض. بعد از آن که من جای پدرم را بگیرم، یکی در ده عوض **می‌کنم**.[1646] من از این سخنان در تعجب شدم و گفتم که کم عقل‌تر از القاص این بوده است. اوّلاً، اینِ که با حضرت خوندگار مدّتی است که صلح کرده‌ام. زرّ به تو چرا قرض می‌دهم؟ دیگر آن که، با هزار و پانصد تومان **چه**[1647] دشمنی با خوندگار توانی کرد؟ ایشان را به حسن بیگ یوزباشی سپردم که ببینم بعد از این چه خبر خواهد آمدن.

بعد از یک ماه یا چهل روز، خبر آمد که سلطان بایزید به پاسین آمد و از یادگار بیگ باز خبر آمد که در پاسین فرود آمده. متعاقب، کس شاهقلی سلطان با علی چاوش باشی، که [f.85r] سلطان بایزید فرستاده بود، آمدند و خبر آوردند که سلطان بایزید به پاسین آمد و من را فرستاد که اگر به نزد شاه آیم، من را نگاه می دارد یا نه؟ و دو روز بعد از این خبر آمد که نوح پاشا بر سر سلطان بایزید آمده، جنگ کردند و او شکست خورده، به چخورسعد نزد شاهقلی سلطان آمد. من به امراء گفتم که چون به الکاءِ ما آمده، او را نمی‌توان گذاشت که به محلی دیگر رود؛ که فردا خوندگار از ما بد خواهد دید. آقا ملای وزیر قزوینی و ملا شمس ایلچی و اللهِ وِردی آقای مهماندار را با زرّ و یراق فرستادم که او را به تبریزِ رسانند.

چون شاهقلی سلطان نوشته بود که سلطان بایزید از شما می‌ترسد، کس فرستاده، او را تسلّی کنید به هر نوع که باشد. من [f.85v] میر حسن بیگ یوزباشی را فرستادم که سوگند خورده، او را تسلّی دهد که او را و فرزندان او را به خوندگار ندهم. و نزد علی آقای چاوش باشی به همین صیغه سوگند یاد کرده، او را نیز همراه حسن بیگ یوزباشی فرستادم. و حسن بیگ رفته و او را تسلّی داده، به قزوین نزد من آورد. و در تبریزِ سلطان بایزید چند

[1645] در [f.78v] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا ذکر نشده است.
[1646] در [f.79r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «می‌دهم».
[1647] در [f.79r] نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «چون».

روزی توقف نمود. نامه‌ای **به من**[1648] فرستاده بود که شما به تبریز بیایید که دو بلوک به طرف بغداد و یک بلوک به وان برویم. سلطان سلیم در برابر یک بلوک خواهد آمد و دیگری را کس در برابر نمی آید و تمامی لشکر خوندگار آن چه‌اند با من یاراند و من را می‌خواهند و **خوندگار در استنبول تا خبردار شود**[1649] همه **به ما**[1650] بر می‌گردند. من در جواب **[f.86r]** نوشتم که به قزوین تشریف بیار تا با هم جانقی کنیم. به هر چه صلاح باشد، چنان نماییم. پیش از آن که سلطان بایزید به قارص آید، سنان بیگ از جانب حضرت خوندگار به ایلچیگری آمد و دوراق آقا از جانب سلطان سلیم **آمد و مکتوبات**[1651] آوردند. در باب سلطان بایزید مدعیات را نوشته بودند. به ایشان گفتم: صبر کنید سلطان بایزید بیاید، بعد از آن هر چه مصلحت شما باشد به عمل آوریم. او پیغام داده بود که پیش از رسیدن ایلچیان، شاه را ببیند؛ مبادا دوراق شاه را بازی دهد. من گفتم که بی‌حساب گفته. با وجود آن که سه مرتبه ایلچی ما به حضرت خوندگار رفته، **تحفهٔ درویشانه برد، [f.86v] در آن مرتبه ما را نوازش نفرمودند**[1652] و القاص که از نزد ما **به آن جا**[1653] رفته بود، او برخاسته به این جانب آمد. من منع می‌نمودم که چه معنی دارد که پادشاهان به این قسم سخنان از جای به در آیند؟ اصلاً به سخن او از جای نشدم و همان طریق ادب را نگاه داشتم. اگرچه از دست ما چیزی بر نمی‌آید، **امّا**[1654] این قدر می توانستم که به الکاءِ ایشان رفته، این مابین را تمام خراب و چول سازم که بعد از آن عبور ایشان برطرف می شود. و در آن وقت حضرت خوندگار در استنبول بود. از آن جا دیاربکر و ارض روم و وان را می‌خواستم چنان کنم که آثار آبادانی در آن جا نماند. تا آن که القاص پیش ما آمده، صلح کردیم و در مقام بدی نشدیم.

و بعد از آن که **[f.87r]** سلطان بایزید به قزوین آمد، مبالغه می‌کرد که القاص که به آن جانب آمد، خوندگار جهة خاطر او لشکر کشید و به الکاءِ شما آمد. شما چرا ملاحظه نمودید و مدد من نمی‌کنید؟ دو پسر من همراه شما باشد و دو پسر همراه من و شما به ارض روم روید و من به جانب بغداد روم. من گفتم که خوندگار خوب نکرد که به سخن القاص بر سر ما آمد و همیشه می‌گوییم که حضرت خوندگار را رستم پاشا بازی داد و سبک کرد. من خود چون به سخن دیگری این کار را بکنم و نقض صلح و عهد نمایم. صلاح دیدیم که ایلچی فرستاده، درخواست گناه او بکنم. اگر حکم شود، مردم **تو را**[1655] گرفته، نگاه داریم یا بفرستیم. دیگر باره کس فرستاده، التماس تقصیر همگی بکنیم [f.87v] که از سر تقصیرات همگی بگذرد. و با خود گفتم این که با پدر، که ولی نعمت اوست، عاق شده و حقوق والدین نگاه نداشته، که به موجب آیات و احادیث رعایت ایشان واجب است. و من با خوندگار صلح

[1648] در **[f.80r]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «نزد من».
[1649] در **[f.80r]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «خوندگار تا در استنبول خبردار شود».
[1650] در **[f.80v]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «بر ما».
[1651] در **[f.80v]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «آمدند و مکتوب».
[1652] در **[f.81r]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «تحفه درویشانه ما را در آن مرتبها نوازش نفرمودند».
[1653] در **[f.81r]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «در آنجا».
[1654] در **[f.81r]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا ذکر شده است.
[1655] در **[f.82r]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا: «او را».

کرده باشم، با خوندگار بدی کرده، معاونت عاق نمایم. و دیگر از بیعقلی او، آن که با وجود آن که به من ملحق شده بود من را «شاه طهماسب» نوشته بود **و حضرت سلطان سلیم، که بیگانه بود، به من انواع تعظیم نموده، پدر نوشته بود.**[1656] دانستم که این بی‌عقل است و نادان.

بیت

هوایی کیمسه سلطانلق باشارمز / نه سلطانلق که چوپانلق باشارمز

اما سلطان سلیم عاقل و دانا است.

نظم

طلب از مرد دانایی یک پند / یکی فرمود با نادان **[نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ بریتانیا : f.81v]** مپیوند

که گر دانای دهری خر بگردی / وگر نادانی ابله تر بگردی

او خود نادان و جاهل باشد، من را چه لایق که من هم نادانی کرده با او متفق شوم. بنابرین علی آقای آقچه سقّال یوزباشی را به ایلچیگری به خدمت حضرت خوندگار تعیین نموده و ارشتی آقا را به خدمت سلطان سلیم فرستادم و سلطان بایزید را به زبان نگاه داشتم و اراده نمود که به جهة امرای سرحدها، مثل گیلان و مازندران و هرات و قندهار و سیستان و مشهد و شیراز و کرمان و آذربایجان، ارمغان فرستد. و فرخ بیگ را به بهانه اینکه **[f.82r]** می‌خواهد به گیلان رود **و ساز زیتون را بشنود و چند فصلی بنوازد**[1657] به گیلان فرستاده و به آقایان خود هر یک چیزی داده، به بهانه به ممالک محروسه فرستاد. و فرخ بیگ به گیلان رفت و در آن جا با خان احمد قرار داد که سلطان بایزید را به بهانه شکار از قزوین به در آورده، به جانب گیلان برد و از آن جا با پنج شش هزار کس خود را به میان ترکمانیه اندازند و بکشتی نشسته و به اغریچه به درروند و به میان حاجی ترخان و قزان درآیند. و سلطان بایزید می‌گفته که پادشاه اروس با من دوست است، کس به نزد او می‌فرستم و می‌گویم که ما دشمن خوندگاریم. از او مدد ستانده، چرکس را نوکر خود ساخته، از قرم و نُقای و اروس و چرکس **[f.82v]** لشکر بسیار برداشته، به هرجا که دست ما می‌رسد، الکاءِ خوندگار را غارت می‌کنیم. و اگر خوندگار لشکر بر سر ما فرستد، به چول میرویم. خوندگار به ما چه می‌تواند کردن؟

این سخنان را به تمامی قرا اغورلو و مصطفی و محمد چرکس شنیده، تحقیق نمودند که در این مقدمه است. به حسن بیگ می‌گویند سخنان داریم و می‌خواهیم که به شاه عرض کنیم. حسن بیگ قبول کرد که ایشان را پیش من آورد که سخن خود بگویند. سلطان بایزید از این معنی واقف و خبردار شده، ایشان را همین شب به مهمانی طلبیده، به قتل رسانیده و بعد از چند روز حسن بیگ از قتل ایشان واقف گردیده، به من مقدمات را عرض کرد و تغافل نمودم **[f.83r]** و گفتم که تو نیز اظهار مکن. بعد از چند روز دیگر، محمد عرب از

[1656] در **[f.82r]** نسخهٔ بریتانیا ذکر نشده است.
[1657] در **[f.82v]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ مجلس ذکر شده است.

مازندران آمده، یک روز در باغ جنت آباد قزوین مهمانی داشتیم. محمد عرب در خلوت نزد من آمد و گفت: حکایتی دارم و می‌خواهم که عرض کنم. گفتم: بعد از آن که به دیوانخانه روم، بیا و بگو. گفت: می‌ترسم که شعبده بازی شود و بعد از آن چه سود دارد؟ حلوایی را که سلطان بایزید همراه خود از روم آورده بود طلبید و در خلوت با من راستی را بیان کرد که چیزی داخل حلوا نموده‌اند که به خورد ما و جمع امراء بدهند. من انعامی به حلوایی قبول کردم که بدهم و به مجلس آمده، یک لحظه خود را به سازم گویندگان مشغول کرده، برخواسته، سلبچه طلبیدم که یعنی می‌خواهم [f.83v] که استفراغ کنم و خود را به بهانه این که لرز کرده‌ام، برخواسته، به حرم انداختم و به خفیه نزد امراء کس فرستادم که مجلس را برطرف کنند. آن روز مجلس برطرف شد. کس فرستادم و بخشی از آن حلوا را گرفتم و نگاه داشتم. سلطان بایزید مطلع شد که محمد عرب از اندیشهٔ او وقوف یافته و به من عرض کرده و آن شب او را طلبیده، در خفیه به قتل رسانید. علی آقای سکبان باشی همراه محمد عرب بوده و یافته که احوالات به چه نوع است و سلطان بایزید مضطرب گردیده، در فکر بود [f.84r] که در آن شب فرار نماید. و من را خبردار گردانیدند که جانقی و خیال ایشان این است که فردا شب به در روند. و قدوز فرهاد نیز آمد، نقل کرد که فردا شب می‌خواهند که دستبردی کرده، به جانب گیلان فرار نمایند و به استراباد بروند. تمامی مقدمات را تحقیق نمودم و خاطر نشان شدم و دانستم که عقلاء گفته اند:

بیت

نکویی با بدان کردن چنان است / که بد کردن به جای نیک مردان

امّا در همان روز امراء را در خفیه طلبیده، فرمودم که از هر قومی جمعی شجاع [f.84v] یراق و اسلحه پنهان در باغ نگاه داشته، زرّه در زیر جامه پوشند و حاضر شوند. و در همان روز به بهانه این که می‌خواهم به جهة پسران بهرام میرزا عقد کنم، سلطان بایزید را با آقایان او به مجلس طلبیده، دستگیر کردم. و جمعی که در این افعال با او متفق بودند در حضور او گناه ایشان را خاطر نشان نمودم و به قتل رسانیدم. و بعضی را از آن حلوا ترتیب داده بودند که به خورد ما بدهند خورانیدم- بعضی بعد از یک روز و بعضی در همان روز و شب آماس کرده، هلاک شدند. [f.85r] گفتم: بارک الله! من به تو چه بد کرده بودم؟ گناه من این بود که نخواستم فتنه و آشوب به هم رسد و به کدخدایی صلح و صلاح در میانه به هم رسانم، یا خود باز به صلاح حضرت خوندگار در سرحد قندهار تو را الکاء بدهم. تو این چنین اراده داشته **و به طریقی که با همایون پادشاه سلوک کردم با شما کردم.**[1658] محبوسش کردم و بعضی از جماعت او را برهنه گذاشتم که به هر محلّی که خواهند بروند. بعد از آن من را عارضه ای روی نمود. در این تاریخ علی آقا از نزد حضرت خوندگار آمد. و امراء و جماعت هر کس ارمغانی که فرستاده بودند در برابر تحفه هر کس تحفه آمد، [f.85v] غیر از پیشکش و ارمغان ما که در این مرتبه نیز درجهٔ قبول نیافته بود و کتابتی سراسر کنایه و گله آمیز

[1658] در حاشیه افزوده شده است.

نوشته بودند. **من گفتم**:[1659] این است که سلطان بایزید را با چهار پسر او گرفته‌ام و جهة خاطر حضرت خوندگار و سلیم خان نگاه داشتم. و چون گفته بودم که سلطان بایزید را به خوندگار ندهم، موقوف همین است که چون اشارت حضرت خوندگار برسد و فرستادگان حضرت سلطان سلیم برسند، ایشان را تسلیم فرستادگان سلطان سلیم نمایم که نقض عهد نکرده باشم. **بعد که فرستادگان خوندگار آمدند فرمودم**:[1660] پاشا حضرتلری **[f.86r]** و حسن آقا، شما خوش آمدید و صفا آوردید! آن چه فرمودهٔ حضرت خوندگار است، چنان می‌کنم و از اشارت ایشان تجاوز نمی‌نمایم. و به هر خدمت که فرمایند **[صفحهٔ آخر نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ کاخ گلستان]** استادگی دارم، اما در برابر این نوع خدمت کلی از حضرت خوندگار و سلیم خان جایزه و جلدویی که لایق ایشان باشد می‌خواهم. **و در عالم دوستی از خوندگار توقع دارم که اذیّت به سلطان بایزید و فرزندان او نرسد.**[1661]

تمّت الکتاب بعون الله الملک الوهاب

[صفحهٔ آخر نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ کاخ گلستان][1662] اختتام و اتمام بنای متین صحیفهٔ اسرار پادشاهی و اسلاک و انتظام دُرر غُرر و لآلی ثمین آثار شاهنشاهی حسب الامر نواب مستطاب خانی – وفقه الله تعالی فی الدّارین – در اواخر شهر شعبان المعظم سنهٔ ۱۰۹۰ تصویر تحریر و تنظیم تکمیل پذیرفته، مرقوم قلم انقیاد و کلک اذعان المتخلّص بالنّورس محمد حسین دماوندی گردید، غفر الله له!

تمّ | **مُهر معتمد الدّوله**

***Footnotes Transcriptions*:**

Chapter Two Footnotes:

C1:1 – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b: pp.1-2, 485-88, 488-93 – “*fatḥnāmeh-ye shāh esma‘īl dar ghalebeh-ye bar ṭāyfeh-ye ūzbak*”, “*maktūb-e solṭān moḥammad khān pādshāh-e rūm khedmat-e pādshāh-e īrān shāh ‘abbās*”; “*dar neveshtejāt-e motafarraqeh be-har ṭabqeh az ṭabaqāt*”.

[1659] در حاشیه افزوده شده است.
[1660] در حاشیه افزوده شده است.
[1661] در حاشیهٔ افزوده شده است.
[1662] حاشیهٔ **[صفحهٔ آخر]** نسخهٔ کتابخانهٔ کاخ گلستان: «**در تاریخ چراکسه سلاطین مصر دیده‌ام که یک ساله خراج مصر را شاه طهماسب گرفت و مرتکب قتل سلطان بایزید با ۴ نفر پسر او شد**» و «**پنج کم از زمرهٔ عثمانیان مادهٔ تاریخ است | زمرهٔ عثمانیان – ۹۶۹ = ۵ – ۹۷۴**» افزوده شده است.

C1:1 – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b, the flyleaf at the beginning: "*dākhel-e ketābkhāneh-ye ṣanī' al-douleh moḥammad ḥasan khān – 1298 – nomreh-ye [not entered] -dahom – kotob-e motafarreqeh*".

C1:1 – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b, p.119 – "*va ketāb-e tarassol-e bahā'ī keh dar zamān-e salṭanat-e pādeshāh-e ālb-arslān al-saljūqī būdeh be-tārīkh-e moḥarram-e sanneh-ye thamān va 'ashrīn va khamsamāyeh būdeh ba'žī az ān entekhāb nemūdeh būdand jahat-e estefādeh be-tārīkh-e moḥarram-e sanneh-ye tes'a va alf taḥrīr oftād va īn manshūrīst keh jahat-e yekī az farzandān pādeshāh shodeh būd*".

C1:1 – MS.DT: No. Adab. 21b: pp.169, 471 – "*javāb-e maktūb-e solṭān soleymān khān dar bāb-e solṭān bāyezīd keh beh khaṭṭ-e khod beh shāh ṭahmāsb neveshteh*".

C1:1 – MS. DT: No. Adab. 21b, pp.392-93 – "*beh vāladayn ve a'mām va khāl va barādarān nevīsand; dar javāb-e ketābat-e barādarān; beh farzandān nevīsand*".

C1:1 – MS. DT: No. Adab. 21b, p.430 – "*fī ḥuqūq al-ikhwān wa al-'ayāl wa al-aqrabā' wa iṭā'ahu*"; "*fī ẕikr wujūb al-wāladayn*".

C1:1 – MS. DT: No. Adab. 21b, pp.450, 457-58 – "*fī kasb al-māl wa ṣarfahu*"; "*fī al-kofrān, fī al-wafā, wa naqż al-'ahd*"; "*fī al-zuhd va al-taqvā*".

C1:2 – MS.Malek: No. 6323, flyleaf.1r – "*yā hū, ketāb-e monsha'āt va morāselāt, kharīdeh shod, khūb ketāb-ast …*". The two words at the end of the passage are not legible.

C1:2 – MS.Malek: No. 6323, flyleaf 2r – "*hū al-musta'ān, monsha'āt-e motafarreqeh, ṣāra lī ka-mā kān li-ghayrī, ibn āqā-ye bēg borūjerdī, al-'abd al-khāṭṭī; qeymat: seh tūmān*".

C1:2 – MS.Malek: No. 6323, f.212r – "*fī fażl al-'ibar wa al-tajribah fī ādāb al-mulūk wa aḥkām al-ḥukkām wa fī a'māl al-khayr wa al-sharr*".

C1:2 – MS.Malek: No. 6323, f.212r – "*allaẕīna ṣabarū [wa] 'alā rabbihim yatawakkalūn, tammat al-kitāb bi-'awn al-malik al-wahhāb fī tārīkh-e sadis-ashar shahr sha'ban al-mu'aẓẓam sanat 1009 samt-e taḥrīr yāft darīn maṣdar kholūd gardīd, bā tamāyyoz-e 'elmī ṣādeqā-ye tabrīzī*".

C1:2 – MS.Malek: No. 6323, f.212r – "*yādgār neveshtam man īn ketābat-rā, ager banān khaṭṭ-e man lāyeq-e ketābat nīst*".

C1:4 – MS. DM: No.470, front-flyleaf; f.1r – "*ehdā‘-ye solṭān-‘alī solṭānī shaykh al-eslāmī*"; "*ketābkhāneh-ye solṭān ‘alī solṭānī shaykh al-eslāmī*".

C1:4 – MS. DM: No.470, front flyleaf – "*gozāresh-e jang va matn-e sīyāsat-e īrān va ‘othmānī beqalam-e ‘abd al-vahhāb-e kāteb dar 1010 hejrī*".

C1:4 – MS. DM: No.470, front flyleaf – "*ketābat-e īn majmū‘eh dar 1009 hejrī*".

C1:4 – MS. DM: No.470, f.2v – "*panjāh ṣafḥeh az taẕkereh nadārad valī ancheh māndeh behtar va kāmeltar az taẕkereh-ye chāpī*".

C1:4 – MS. DM: No.470, f.3r – "*moṭābeq bā ṣafḥeh 51 taẕkereh-e shāh ṭahmāsb*".

C1:4 – MS. DM: No.470, f.3r – "*ṭab‘-e berlin, noskheh-e chāpī bā īn noskheh-ye khaṭṭī ekhtelāf-e farāvān dārad*".

C1:4 – MS. DM: No.470, front flyleaf – "*az kotob-e monḥaṣer be-fard va besyār nafīs va gerān-bahā’-ast"; "az rū-ye īn noskheh dar ketābkhāneh-ye mellī-ye malek estensākhī bardāshteh va noskheh nāqeṣī moujūd-ast; asnād-e mohemm-e tārīkhī-ye ‘aẓīm al-qadrī dārad, be-qeymat-e pānṣad-tūmān gereftam*".

C1:5 – MS.DT: No. Adab. 44j: end-flyleaf – "*īn kalamāt dar nozdahom sāl-e pādeshāhī-ye shāh soleymān keh movāfeq-e ūd-īl va moṭābeq-e saneh-ye hezār-o-navad-o-shesh-e hejrī qalamī shod*".

C1:5 – MS. DT: No. Adab. 44j: front-flyleaf – "*īn ketāb moshtamel ast bar makātīb-e molūk va zobdeh-yī az ḥekāyāt-e jāme‘ al-ḥekāyāt-e moḥammad ‘aufī bokhārā’ī, ṣāḥebuhu va kātebuhu moḥammad qāsem … ṭama‘ konad … īn keṭāb va bāqī-ye kotob-e faqīr keh ṣad-o-panjāh mojallad ast be-la‘nat-e khodā va nefrīn-e rasūl gereftār bād, be-ḥaqq al-nabī va ālahu al-bāqī*".

C2 – MS.Majles: ID:5022178, Rec. No.3455/272, f.116r – "*az ketāb-e majama‘-e marḥūm-e ḥeydar bēg bar dāshtam; nadānam cheh nevestam keh ager bāz ghārat shavam va noskheh*

shāyad beh man bemānad, ager jān bemānad. taḥrīran 21 jomādā al-thānī, saneh-ye 1138, keh rūz-e yekshanbeh va banā-ye bā rū-ye jadīd darīn yaum shod".

MS. AQRL: No. 7886: f.1v – "*huwa allāh subḥānuhu*"; "*ḥekāyātī keh navvāb-e kāmyāb-e a'lā be-īlchīyān-e ḥażrat-e khondgār ẕekr farmūdand*".

MS.GPL: No. 831 – f.1r – "*shānzdahom-e shahr-e ẕey al-qa'deh al-ḥarām saneh-ye 1127 dākhel-e […] 'arż shod*."

<u>Comparing Chronicles/Letters with the Texts:</u>

Navā'ī, *Ṭahmāsb* – "*'abdallāh khān va omarā'ī keh dar marand beh qaāvolī rafteh būdand*"; followed by a list of amirs, arriving from different provinces, who joined the Shah; "*khwāndgār chehār rūz dar tabrīz būd*"; "*jam'ī rā beh qārṣ ferestīm*"; "*khonūs va pāsīn rā sūkhtīm*"; "*kas ferestādīm keh akhlāṭ va betlīs va mūsh rā besūzānand*"; "*bāybord rā sūkhtand va kharāb kardand*"; "*beh arjanjān raftīm va ānjā 'othmān pāshā*"; "*khabar-e raftan-e alqās beh hamadān rā goft*"; "*motavajjeh-e chokhūr-sa'd shodīm*"; "*bahrām mīrzā va ebrāhīm khān va omarā'-e 'erāq va fārs va kermān rā rokhṣat dādam keh har kodām beh olkā'-ye khod ravand va man beh qārābāgh raftam keh ānjā qeshlāq konam*"; "*amvāl va asbābī keh ghārat kardeh būd bar-dāshteh, beh jāneb-e shīrāz gorīkht, va ānjā nīz az ghāyat eżṭerāb tavaqqof nanemūdeh, az rāh shūshtar beh baghdād raft*" – pp. 177, 179, 181, 182, 183. 184, 186 / MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – ff. 41v-49v.

Shīrāzī, *Takmelat*, pp. 71-73 – "*olāmeh tekkalū keh dar zamān-e ḥażrat-e khāqānī yasāvol-e zebūnī būd …*"; "[*amr-r moṭā' shod keh vey*] *amīr al-'omarā-ye āẕarbāyjān būdeh sīṣad kas beh yasāq-e khorāsān ferestad*"; "*olāmeh beh tabrīz āmadeh erādeh-ye gereftan-e dārūgheh kard …*"; "*omarā' az 'aqab-e ū raftand, ū beh vān gorīkht …*" / MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.4r/v.

Shīrāzī, *Takmelat*, p.95 – "*vey rā sougand dādand keh dīgar qadam az jādeh-ye eṭā'at bīrūn na-nahad…*" / MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.32v: "*sougand khord keh bā man badī nakonad* […] *va dar ḥożūr-e omarā' yād kard keh bā man yāghīgīrī nakonand*".

Shīrāzī, *Takmelat*, p.97 – "*tamāmī-ye qezelbāsh bā man zabān yekī dārand …*" / MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – f.34r – "*qezelbāsh bā man mottafeq-and…*".

Shīrāzī, *Takmilat*, pp.20-21 and MS. GPL: No. 831 – f.4r/v – "*moulānā adham Monshī kheyārchī qazvīnī ham banā-bar-e eḥtemāl fetneh-āngīzī beh qatl resīd*" v. "*moulānā adham Monshī kheyārchī qazvīnī ham banā-bar-e eḥtemāl fetneh-āngīzī beh qatl āmad*"; "*qeshlām dar tabrīz shod*" v. "*qeshlāq dar tabrīz farmūd*"; "*chūhah solṭān tekkalū-rā olkā-ye eṣfahān dādeh bedanjā ravāneh sākhtand*" v. "*chūhah solṭān tekkalū-rā olkā-ye eṣfahān dādeh bedanjā ravāneh sākhtand ferestādam*."

Qomī, *Kholāṣat*, pp. 215, 217, 218, 228 – "*… va kanīzān-e khāṣseh rā keh jahat-e ṭalādūzī sepordeh būdand gerefteh beh molāzemān-e khod dād va kheymeh-ye monaqqash-e khaṣṣeh rā bar sar-e khod zadeh amvāl-e akthar-e mardom rā ṣaunak kard*"; "*chenāncheh [bā] ebrāhīm pāshā hamīsheh dard-e delī dāshtand keh ū mī-gofteh keh az solṭān moṣṭfā beh ghāyet tarsānam*"; "*khondgār beh ghazā-ye koffār rafteh, mā keh beh olkā-ye ū ravīm kār-e mā pīsh nekhāhad raft, ager ū barādar va farzand-e ma-rā koshteh chūn beh ghazā rafteh beh olkā-ye ū nemī-ravam va dīn rā beh donyā nemī-forūsham …*" – corresponding with MS.NLR: Dorn, No. 302 – ff. 4v-8v.

Misc. transcriptions (chapters two, three and four)

Shīrāzī,*Takmilat*, p.76 – "*chūn beh basṭām resīdīm, sayyid moḥammad jabal-ʻāmilī pīshnamāz-e moʻaskar-e homāyūn beh khāb dīd keh ḥażrat-e resālat-panāh beh shāh alā-jāh farmūd keh az manāhī begoẕar keh to rā fatḥhā-ye mamālek moyyasar khāhad shod*."

MS.Majles: No. 13739 – pp.196-7 – '*ān jamāʻat keh hastand hameh andīsheh-nāk va motavahham-and*'; '*hīch-kas az sepāh-e qezelbāsh beh īn jang rāżī nīstand*'; '*farmūdand kheymeh-ye 'ebādat-khāneh bar pāy kardand*'; '*va khod sarāpā lebās-e safīd pūshīdeh rūzash rūzeh dāshteh shabash 'ebādat-e besyār kardeh*'; '*az ḥażrat-e bārī-ye taʻālā yārī khwāsteh monājāt beh dergāh-e qāżī al-ḥājāt nemūd fatḥ va noṣrat talab nemūd*'; '*abr-e seyāhī bar rū-ye āsemān āmadeh gharash-e raʻd va sheʻāʻ-e barq 'ālam-rā beh khorūsh āvordeh*'; '*rūmīyyān … az har ṭaraf-e davvān a gorīzān shodeh*'; '*tagorgī shorūʻ dar bārīdan kardan*';

‘*seyl-āb ravān shod keh shesh farsakh zamīn-rā āb va gel*’; ‘*az żarb-dāneh-hā-ye tagorg beh feraq-e rūmīyyān mī-khūrdeh maghz-e īshān-rā va markābān-rā parīshān mī-kard*’.

MS.BL: Or. 5880 – f.1r – “*resāleh min mu‘alafāt-e navvāb-e khāqān soleymān-shān navvar allāh*”; “*… taṣḥīfeh / taṣḥīḥeh … qaṭʿ va saṭr-e kāghaz̲-e īzmīrī / īklsīrī … mojadval-e moz̲ahhab-e jeld tamām ābī bayāz̲ī-ye jeld-kārī keh be-tārīkh-e shahr-e shavvāl al-mokarram saneh-ye 1136 … doulatkhāneh-ye mobārakeh dar baladeh-ye ṭayyebeh-ye ardabīl dar ketābkhāneh-ye mobārekeh …*”

MS.BL: Or. 5880 – f.1r – “*dākhel-e ketābkhāneh-ye khāṣṣeh-ye mobārakeh-ye khāqān dārā darbān* (?) *qeyṣar … sāsānī va keyānī dorrat al-tāj-e solṭānī al-solṭān ibn al-solṭān va al-khāqān ibn al-khāqān khalīfeh al-zamān shāhanshāhzādeh āsemān-jāh abū al-fatḥ solṭān moḥammad mīrzā al-ṣafavī al-mūsavī al-ḥoseynī adāma allāh solṭānahu gardīd*.”

MS.BL: Or. 5880 – f.29v – “*… va dar senn-e bīst sālegī keh īn sa‘ādat naṣīb shod īn robā‘ī enshā kardam: yek chand pey-e zomrod-e sūdeh shodīm, yek chand beh yāqūt-e tar ālūdeh shodīm, ālūdegī būd beh har rang keh būd, shostīm beh āb-e taubeh āsūdeh shodīm*.”

Mīr-Aḥmadī (ed.), *Favāyed*, p.140 – "*kotob-e mo‘tabareh-ye seyar va tavārīkh*"; “*… va elā alʾān akthar-e ān vāqeʾāt va ḥālāt beh keshvar-e hendūstān narasīdeh ast*.”

MS. SzB: Sprenger 205 – f.71v – “*ḥasab al-arshād-e* [long list of titles and honorifics of the prince] *be-reshteh-ye taḥrīr keshīdeh barā-ye moṭāle‘eh-ye ‘ālīyye-shān rafī‘ al-makān kholāṣeh-ye sardārān al-bonyān d-b-ī-yy lamshden (sic) bahādor az qalam-e aż‘af al-‘obād ‘abdāllah*.”

MS. SzB: Sprenger 205 – f.71v – “*īn resāleh be-vaqt-e hasht sā‘at-e rūz bar āmadeh be-tārīkh-e bīst o dovvom-e māh-e janūrī rūz-e shanbeh saneh-ye 1817 ‘īsavī be-etmām rasīd*.”

Qazvīnī, Būdaq Monshī, *Javāher Al-akhbār: Bakhsh-e Tārīkh-e Īrān Az Qarāqūyūnlū Tā Sāl-e 984 H.Q.*; Chāp-e Avval. Ed. Bahrāmnezhād, M. (Tehrān; Mīrāth-e Maktūb, 2000), p.145 – “*va hargāh beh salāṭīn-e rūm va hend va māvarā’-al-nahr maktūbī keh neveshteh mī-shod monshīyān-e belāghat-she‘ār dar majles ḥāżer mī-shodand va faqarāt-rā manẓūm va manthūr-e mosavvadeh mī-kardand chūn beh eṣlāḥ-e pādeshāh ḥamīdeh ṣefāt mosharraf mī-*

shod beh taḥrīr dar mī-āvordand va beh nou‘ī ṣūrat etmām mī-yāft keh dībācheh-ye kalām-e sokhan ṭarāzān ‘ālam mī-gasht.”

Qobād al-Ḥoseynī, *Tārīkh*, p.115 – "*chūn rāqem-e ḥorūf dar ān auqāt bā barakāt beh taḥrīr-e īn mokhtaṣar-e moḥaqqar mashghūlī mī-nemūd*"; "*keh ba‘żī akhbār va ḥekāyāt keh dar ān noskheh-ye sharīf marqūm va masṭūr ast beh taqrīb ẕekr nomāyad*."

Navā’ī, *Ṭahmāsb*, p. 439 – “*khoṣūṣiyāt-e ḥālāt va ḥekāyāt-e chandīn sāleh bā īshān taqrīr farmūdand*”; “*beh ṣohbat-e maufūr al-bahjat-e īshān olfat va estenās-e tamām ḥāṣel gashteh*”; “*keh be-l-żarūreh dar īn martabeh dar taslīm-e soltān bāyazīd va farzandān vāqe‘ shod*”; “dar īn māddeh taqṣīrī nadārand”; “*dar ketābāt-e sharīfeh-ye a‘lā-ye ḥażrat-e pādeshāh soleymān-makān nīz chenāncheh lā-shak masmū‘ samʿ-e reżā va maqbūl-e khāter-e aqdas a‘lā-ye ān ḥażrat khāhad būd mobīn gardānīdand*”

***Chapter Four Footnotes (the GPL v. BL mss. comparison)*:**

Group One:

Many synonymous words are used, some consistently, throughout the two texts - GPL and BL - respectively. For instance, “ink” vs. “inkwell” – *ḥebr* vs. *morakkab* (f.2v - f.2v); “mentioned” vs. “written” – *maẕkūr vs. mazbūr* (f.5v - f.4v); “office/post” vs. “ministry” – *manṣab* vs. *vezārat* (f.6r - f.5r); Persian and Arabic words for “months” – *māh* vs. *shahr* (f.10v - f.8v), as well as for “God” – *īzād-e ta‘ālā* vs. *allāhī* (f.25r - f.21v), or “hill” – *bolandī* vs. *tellī* (f.30r - f.26r); two different words, from Arabic and Pesian registers respectively, for “creatures” – *khalā‘yeq* vs. *moujūdāt* (f.31r - f.27r); “direction” vs “path” – *jāneb* vs. *rāh* (f.29r - f.25v); “ascertaining the truth” vs. “verifying” – *taḥqīq vs tafaḥoṣ* (f.65r - f.60r); “established” vs. “specified” – *moqarrar* vs. *moshakhaṣ* (f.73v - f.68r); “wave” vs. “billowing” – *mauj* vs. *tamavvoj* (f.76r - f.70v); “afflicted” vs “involved (in trouble)” – *mobtalā* vs. *gereftār* (f.72r - f.66v); of reports and stories (*qeṣaṣ va akhbār*), “written” vs. “real” are used – *masṭūr* vs *vāqe‘* (f.78r - f.72v); “side” – *dast* vs. *jāneb* (f.81v - f.76r). In addition, verbs in different tenses, nouns in plural and singular forms, different prepositions, or personal and demonstrative pronouns, among other minor differences are used throughout.

Group Two:

Some noteworthy cases include, for example, *specifying* that dates are counted from the "Migration [of the Prophet]" (*az hejrat*) (f.3r), or, on two occasions, full *hejrī* years are given (ff. 8r, 9v) while missing in the corresponding sections of the other manuscript; *informing* the readers that Sām Mīrzā was the narrator's "brother" (*akhavī*) (f.4r), and Shāh [Esmā'īl] his "father" (*bābā-ām*) (f.21r); *pointing out* that Sārū-pīreh was a "former" *qūrchībāshī* (-ye *sābeq*) (f.5v), that 'Abdollāh Khān was of the "Ūstājlū" (f.6r), or that Parīkhān, Ṭahmāsb's second daughter, was a "[royal] lady" (*khānom*) (f.71r), Varazā a "Georgian" (*gorjī*) (f.76r), or that Alqāṣ Mīrzā ended up having to flee "all alone", that is, by adding "*va tanhā*" after "*yekkeh* …" (f.64r). Elsewhere, *qūrchīyān-e ḥaram*, (i.e., "the custodians of the royal quarters") are further described as "guards" (*keshīkchī*) (f.71r), while one of the Shāh's awakenings as "real" (*ḥaqīqatan*) (f.72r); On f.48v, the phrase likening "seven heavens" (*haft āsemān*) to sheets of paper is recorded, but clearly omitted accidentally in the GPL text (f.55r). Finally, there is a long list of *ammās*, *kehs*, and so on, which, while indicating the scribe's attempt to render the narrative more readable, unfortunately tells us little else**.**

Group Three:

'alī solṭān (f.4v); *ja'far b. emām alī b. al-ḥoseyn* (f.7r); *sharāb khūrdeh* (f.27r); *ʿalī-qolī beg torkmān bā do-hezār nafar* (f.53v); *... keh ānjārā motaṣarref shavad qūrchībāshī rā ferestādam* (f.61r); *... ferestādam baʿd az moddatī ketābatī khāṣṣegī-ye ḥażret-e khūndgār* (f.67r); … *vāqeʿ shavad va man behhīch vajh rāżī nashodam keh cherā behmennat-e ūlameh ṣolḥ* (f72r); … *rāh nadād besolḥ estekhāreh kardam* (f.76r); … *ze mardān-e jahān mardī bīyāmūz* (f.76v).

Group Four:

A few in particular are noteworthy: … *va chūhah solṭān behjā-ye ū mohr bar aḥkām nehād va dīv solṭānrā malek al-omarā* (f.5r); …*rā behQazvin āvardand mīr 'abdullāh* (f.7v); … *mashhad-e moqaddas malāyek-āshīyān* (f.19v); … *dar meyān-e sī hezār kas* (f.21v); … *asbāb-e jamālat keh dar ānjā jam' shodeh* (f.74v); … *shekast khūrdeh bāz beh āmāsyeh āmadeh va mārā* (f.78v); … *va hażrat-e solṭān salīm keh bīgāneh būd behman anvāʿ-e taʿzīm nemūdeh pedar neveshteh* (f.82r). In addition, on several occasions, long "greetings and peace [upon the Prophet and/or His progeny]" – *ṣalavaāt va salām* – are omitted (ff. 2v, 11v, 51r, 64v, …); elsewhere, two different Quranic verses, though essentially to the same effect, are used – the GPL text, f.53r, cites [40:16] – *Who does all authority belong to this Day? To*

Allah—the One, the Supreme! – whereas the BL, f.46v, adduces [3:26] – *You give authority to whoever You please and remove it from who You please*! Finally, a phrase found on f.44v of the GPL text – "… *va ānrā qāyem konand*…" – was likely supposed to be a part of some sentence never actually composed; it makes virtually no sense within the context, and thus has been deliberately omitted in the BL text (f.39r).