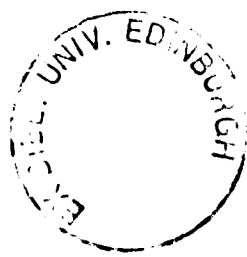


***A Historiographical Study and Annotated Translation of
Volume 2 of the Afzal al-Tavārīkh by Fażlī Khūzānī al-
Iṣfāhānī***

***by
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***Doctor of Philosophy
The University of Edinburgh
1999***



ABSTRACT

This thesis is based on the second volume of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh*, the 17th century Šafavid court chronicle. It consists of a historiographical study of this source and an annotated translation of the section concerning the early years of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's reign (1524-1529). The author Fażl b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn b. Rūḥ Allāh al-Khūzānī al-Işfāhānī was writing his history in 1617-1639 during the reigns of Shāh ʿAbbās I (r. 1587-1629) and Shāh Şafī (r. 1629-1642) and devoted the second volume entirely to the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp (r. 1524-1576).

Chapter one of the thesis deals with the author, his life and career as a provincial Vazir during the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās, and his emigration to India. It identifies the formative influences which shaped the author's distinctive view of history. One of Fażlī's strengths as a historian is his use of histories that are no longer extant. The sources have therefore been examined in order to assess the influence of these "lost histories" on his presentation of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's early reign.

Afzal al-Tavārīkh contains transcriptions of more official documents than are found in any other Šafavid court chronicle. The first chapter therefore underlines the importance of this source as a depository of chancery documents.

The historiographical evaluation of *Afzal* proposes that this history is essentially a product of the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās. It should be viewed as part of Shāh ʿAbbās' propaganda campaign, which aimed at strengthening the Šafavid Shāh's claim to legitimacy.

Chapter two is a critical evaluation of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh*. This chapter examines some of the historiographical issues which were raised in chapter one, in greater depth. Three case studies have been presented in order to draw attention to the author's tendency to suppress inconvenient truths and to determine the ideological basis which underpins the author's historical interpretation. It also outlines how Fażlī's ideological bias determined the structure of his narrative and his literary style.

Chapter three consists of the partial translation of the text followed by a commentary. The translation deals with the narrative of the first six years of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's minority to the year 936/1529. Although the inter-tribal factionalism of the Qizilbāsh tribes continued to dominate the court politics, 936/1529 signified the first occasion when the young Shāh Ṭahmāsp succeeded in asserting greater personal political authority at court. This was made possible by the prestige he derived from his victory at the battle of Jām in 935/1528 against the Uzbeks. This allowed him to invite the Ustājilū *uymaq* back to court from exile in Gīlān and thus destabilise the hegemony hitherto exercised by their Qizilbāsh rivals- the Tekkelūs. This consideration has determined the logical break in the narrative and the translation. The commentary consists of further historiographical notes, prosopography, and notes on geography.

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Transliteration Note

With some minor modification, the transliteration system of *International Journal of Middle East Studies* has been adopted:

Consonants

ا	a	ژ	zh	ل	l
ب	b	س	s	م	m
پ	p	ش	sh	ن	n
ت	t	ص	ṣ	و	v or u
ث	th	ض	ẓ	ه	h
ج	j	ط	ṭ	ی	y
چ	ch	ظ	ẓ		
ح	ḥ	ع	ʿ		
خ	kh	غ	gh		
د	d	ف	f		
ذ	z	ق	q		
ر	r	ک	k		
ز	z	گ	g		

Vowels

Long	اَ	ā
or	و	ū
	ی	ī
Short	اَ	a
	و	u
	ی	i
Doubled	اَی	īyy (final form ī)
	و	uww (final form ū)

Diphthongs  aw
  ay

The name- ending -iyya has been opted, as in *Şūfiyya*, *Naqshbandiyya*.

"a" represents the final "h" as in *khāna*, *muqaddama*.

Preface

In recent years, due to the efforts of Iranian scholars, increasing number of Şafavid court chronicles have been edited and published. However, none has been subject to a systematic and critical historiographical examination. Although *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* has been used to a limited extent, its manuscript form and the absence of multiple copies have ensured that it has remained relatively underutilised by modern scholars of Şafavid history.

Martin Dickson regarded volume 2 of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* as an important source for his study of Şafavid- Uzbek wars.¹ Jean Aubin made use of the first volume, the history of Shāh Ismāʿīl I, for his study of the contribution of the patrician families to the development of Şafavid state under Shāh Ismāʿīl.² Faruk Sümer consulted volume 2 for his history of the role of the Turkoman tribes in the establishment and consolidation of the Şafavid state.³ Röhrborn studied the first and the second volumes for his history of the provincial administration under the Şafavids.⁴ Riazul Islam examines volume 2 of *Afzal* in his history of Indo-Persian relations. Sandy Morton's comparative study of *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* and volume 1 of *Afzal* reveals the extent to which the two sources diverge in their accounts of the early years of Shāh Ismāʿīl.⁵ Masashi Haneda's history of the Khūzānī family is mainly based on the biographical information derived from the first and second volumes of *Afzal al-*

¹ Martin Dickson, "Shāh Ṭahmāsp and the Uzbeks (The Duel for Khurāsān with ʿUbayd Khān: 930-940/1524-1540)", Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, (Princeton University, 1958).

² Aubin, Jean, "Études Safavides I. Šāh Ismāʿīl et les Notables de L'Iraq Persan", *JESHO* 2 (1959), pp. 37-81; "Études Safavides II: Revolution Chiite et Conservatisme: Les Soufis de Lahejan, 1500-14", *Moyen Orient & Ocean Indien*, 1 (1984), pp. 1-40.

³ Faruk Sumer, *Safevî Devletinin Kuruluşu Ve Gelismesinde Anadolu Türklerinin Rolü*, (Ankara, 1967). Trans. İhsan İshraqî and Muḥammad Taqî Imāmî as *Naqshi-i Turkân-i Ānāṭulî dar Tashkîl va Tusîʿa-i Daulat-i Şafavî*, (Tehran, 1371).

⁴ Klaus-Michael Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, (Berlin, 1966). Trans. Kaikāvūs. Jahāndārî, *Nizām-i Iyālāt dar daura-i Şafaviyya*, (Tehran, 1978).

⁵ A. H. Morton, "The Early Years of Shāh Ismāʿīl in the *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* and Elsewhere" in Charles Melville (ed.) *Safavid Persia*, (London, 1996), pp. 27-51.

Tavārīkh.⁶ Maria Zuppe's study of Şafavid women is partly based on the evidence derived from this chronicle.⁷ The present thesis aims to assess the value and the reliability of volume 2 of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* as a source for the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp and also to make the part of the text dealing with the first five years of the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp available in English.

The scope of the history, which chronicles the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp in some detail, and the period of its conception, the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās, particularly recommended it for a detailed historiographical examination. *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* was written in a period of transition when the Şafavid state was undergoing fundamental social and political changes. The emergence of new socio-political alignments, the *ghulāms* and the Shīʿī ʿulamā, threatened the older established order represented by the Qizilbāsh with their heterodox religious tendencies, and forced a change in the power structure on which the institution of the monarchy rested. It is from this vantage point which Fażlī viewed the history of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's reign.

Afzal al-Tavārīkh is representative of the different oral and written historical traditions which had developed by the first half of the 17th century. *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* is important for it often offers a different version of the events of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's reign from the majority of the sources contemporary with the Shāh. The historiographical examination has shown that Fażlī's perception of some events was different from that which is recorded by the contemporary historians of Ṭahmāsp's reign. Case studies have been presented in order to highlight Fażlī's methodology and the extent to which he altered his basic sources, dating from Shāh Ṭahmāsp's reign, in an attempt to rewrite history.

⁶ Masashi Haneda, "La Famille Ḥūzānī d'Işfāhān (15-17 siècles)", *Studia Iranica*, 18 (1989), pp. 77-92.

⁷ Maria Zuppe, "La Participation des Femmes de La Famille Royale À L'Exercice du Pouvoir en Iran Safavides au XVI^e Siècle, L'Importance Politique et Sociale de La Parenté Matrilinéaire" (Première Partie), *Studia Iranica* 23, (1994), pp. 211-58; "La Participation des Femmes de La Famille Royale À L'Exercice du Pouvoir en Iran Safavide au XVI^e Siècle, L'Entourage des Princesses et Leurs Activités Politiques" (Seconde Partie), *Studia Iranica* 24 (1995), pp. 61-122.

Fazlī's presentation of the ideological principles on which Shāh Ṭahmāsp's kingship rested is also rare among the Ṣafavid court chronicles. In this history, Shāh Ṭahmāsp emerges as a monarch whose legitimacy is based on his spiritual authority. He is presented as both the Ṣūfi spriritual guide and the successor to the Lord of the Age. The thesis tries to explore the influences which shaped the chronicler's perception of Ṭahmāsp's kingship and the history of his reign. However, insufficient knowledge about Fazlī's own political and religious tendencies limits our understanding of the milieu in which he conceived the history.⁸

Afzal al-Tavārīkh is a significant source for the number and range of official documents that it contains. The official documents have been listed in chapter 1 but the texts of only those relevant to the thesis have been presented in full. For the purpose of this thesis it was decided that the significance of the documents is better understood when studied in the context of the history. The *farmān* of Mīrzā Qāsim's laureateship is an important example.⁹ The principal interest here is in what these documents tell us about Fazlī's methodology in writing his history. A preliminary study has shown that different versions of some of the documents exist in different sources. This may have resulted from the individual chronicler's historiographical methods when compiling his history but a thorough discussion of the problem is beyond the scope of this thesis and is assigned to future research. The problem, however, indicates that these documents require a thorough historiographical study and should be used with caution.

One of the most important features of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* is the use that Fazlī has made of the unknown and lost histories. Fortunately, he usually identifies his sources so it is possible to assess their contribution to *Afzal al-Tavārīkh*. *Tārīkh-i Harat va*

⁸ The recent discovery of volume 3 of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh*, which deals with the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās, and the autobiographical evidence which it offers should enhance our understanding of the social and political milieu in which the historian operated. It is hoped this will be added to the thesis in future. The preface of volume 3 of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* is a synthesis of *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam Ārā-i ʿAbbāsī* by Iskandar Beg Munshi and *Afzal*. The rest of the volume too could be a hybrid and until future research establishes its true provenance, it should be studied with caution.

⁹ See chapter 2 "A Critical Evaluation of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh*".

Khurāsān and *Miftāḥ al-qulūb* can be named as the two most important of these lost sources. However, the extent to which Fażlī has altered his basic source *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* by Ḥasan Rūmlu calls for caution when assessing the influence of these unknown sources on the chronicle.

The decision to translate rather than edit the chronicle was determined by the absence of multiple copies and the physical difficulties of the Persian text. Existence of only one copy makes the task of a critical edition impossible. The damaged text, the poor and at times illegible handwriting led to the decision to translate rather than attempt to edit the text. It was thought that a translation of the text would make this important text more readily available. This thesis has endeavoured to present as complete a translation of the text as possible. No part of the prose section of the text has been discarded or summarised. The poetry has however been omitted except where it has been considered to be an integral part of the prose. Titles have been deemed to be important indicators of the contemporary political ideology and metaphorical expressions to be representative of the literary style and an insight into the historian's intellectual interests. These have been faithfully translated in order to preserve the idiosyncrasies of this history. The problem of linguistic ambiguities has been overcome to a large extent by a critical and comparative study of the parallel sources.

The second major problem has been the translation of the administrative terminology. Minorsky's translation of *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, the manual of Ṣafavid administration, has been adopted as the guide. It is however understood that this 18th century manual, which was written for the benefit of the Afghān occupiers of Iran, may not always be applicable to the Ṣafavid administration under Shāh Ṭahmāsp and Shāh ʿAbbās I.

A related problem has been the translation of the terminology used to define the territorial divisions of the kingdom. The term "*vilāyat*" in particular poses difficulties since Fażlī uses this term very loosely. *Vilāyat* should normally mean province but

Faḏlī uses it to mean sub-province or governorship as in "Sām Mirzā ordered a letter of victory to be sent to the *vilāyāt* of Khurāsān".¹⁰ Similarly he refers to the governorships of the towns and their dependencies as *vilāyat* as in the following example "Jagarna Sulṭān Shāmlū..... captured the *vilāyat* of Sabzivār".¹¹ In translation an attempt has been made to differentiate between these geographic/administrative divisions even though we cannot be certain what the author intended.

The historiographical evaluation is presented in two separate sections. The three case studies presented in chapter 2 lent themselves to a more comprehensive analysis and together they have been considered to be representative of Faḏlī's methodology and his tendency to rewrite history.

The primary purpose of the commentary is to highlight the historiographical problems associated with *Afzal*, which could not be dealt with in chapter 2. This section deals with some of the factual inaccuracies and discrepancies found in the chronicle. Furthermore, the history is rich with the names of individuals. This necessitated the inclusion of prosopographical details in the commentary. These biographical studies are intended to throw some light on the development of the careers of a number of Qizilbāsh chieftains in Ṣafavid administration under Shāh Ṭahmāsp and their contribution to the political and military developments of the period.

¹⁰ *Afzal II*, ff. 8b, 24b.

¹¹ *Afzal II*, f. 29b.

Chapter 1 : Afzal al Tavārikh, Volume II, The Author and the History

THE AUTHOR

Faẓl b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn b. Rūḥ Allāh al-Khūzānī al-Iṣfāhānī belonged to the influential Khūzānī family of Iṣfāhān.¹ Shāh Maḥmūd, an ancestor of the Khūzānīs, left Baghdād to establish himself and his Jaʿfariyya following (*qabīla*) in the Khūzān district of Iṣfāhān in the 840s/1440s.² By 909/1503 the Khūzānīs had emerged as members of the new ruling elite supporting Shāh Ismāʿīl and the fledgling Ṣafavid state. In this year Yār Aḥmad Khūzānī secured Shāh Ismāʿīl's favour who granted him the Khūzān and Kūhpāyya districts of Iṣfāhān and Naṭanz as *tiyūl* and in 915/1509 he was appointed Vicegerent (*vakil*).³ The Prefect of Police (*dārūgha*) of Iṣfāhān too had been chosen from the Khūzānī family for much of this period.⁴ When Shāh Ismāʿīl appointed Yār Aḥmad Khūzānī [Najm-i Thānī] his Vicegerent, he also appointed Yār Aḥmad's brother to replace him as the Prefect of Police of Iṣfāhān. The tradition continued when Shāh Ṭahmāsp appointed Mīrzā Jān Beg Khūzānī, the son of Yār Aḥmad, the Prefect of Police of Iṣfāhān in 937/1530.⁵ However, from the 17th century this office became an exclusive prerogative of Georgian princes.⁶

Other Khūzānīs who achieved high office included Amir Saʿd al-Dīn ʿInāyat Allāh Khūzānī who was appointed co-Vazir with Qāzī Jahān by Shāh Ṭahmāsp and

¹ Munzavī identifies him as Mīrzā Faẓlī b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn b. Rūḥ Allāh Ḥusainī Iṣfāhānī, a historian of the court of Shāh Ṣafī. Aḥmad Munzavī, *Fihrist-i Nuskhahā-i Khattī*, 6 vols. (Tehran, 1969/1348), vol. 6, pp. 422-23. Faẓlī introduces himself as Faẓl Allāh but known as Faẓlī Iṣfāhānī, *Afzal al-Tavārikh I*, Eaton Collection (172), Cambridge University Library; Edinburgh University Library, Mic. P2829, the last folio which remains unnumbered.

² Haneda, "La Famille Ḥūzānī", p. 79.

³ Ibid, p. 81. See also Aubin, "Revolution Chiite", p. 10. Also p. 30, note 105.

⁴ For the office of *dārūgha* of Iṣfāhān see *Tadhkirat Al-Mulūk, A Manual of Ṣafavid Administration*. Transl. V. Minorsky. (Cambridge, 1980). pp. 90, 113, 149.

⁵ Faẓl b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn b. Rūḥ Allāh al-Khūzānī al-Iṣfāhānī, *Afzal al-Tavārikh II*, India Office OR. 4678. f. 65a. See also Haneda "La Famille Ḥūzānī", p. 82.

⁶ *TM*. p. 149.

Mīrzā ‘Aṭā Allāh Khūzānī Iṣfāhānī who served as the Vazir of Āzarbāyjān, Shīrvān and Shakī until 967/1559. The author's own grandfather Masīhā Khvāja Rūh Allāh Khūzānī Iṣfāhānī also served as Vazir of Mashhad and *nāzīr* of the shrine of Imām Rizā, Vazir of Khurāsān, and Vazir of both Khurāsān and Gīlān from 939-75/1532-67.⁷ The Khūzānīs continued to hold high office until the early years of the reign of Shāh ‘Abbās. However, it appears that at least one branch of the family, that descending from Mīrzā ‘Aṭā Allāh, were involved in the dynastic quarrels and the civil wars of the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda and the early years of the reign of Shāh ‘Abbās.

In 967/ 1559-60 Mīrzā Aḥmad, the son of Mīrzā ‘Aṭā Allāh (Khūzānī) Iṣfāhānī, was appointed the recorder of the King's assemblies (*majlis nivīs*) at the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp.⁸ He later fell from grace and for some time was unemployed though he was occasionally recalled to court to write letters to the Ottomans. Towards the end of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's reign or more precisely during his illness, approximately 982-4/1574-6,⁹ Mīrzā Aḥmad was appointed the Vazir of Shūshtar and Khūzistān in southern Iran.¹⁰ Later, his opposition to the reigning Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda (r. 985-995/1578-87) and his Grand Vazir Mīrzā Salmān Jābirī forced Mīrzā Aḥmad to join the pro-‘Abbās faction in Khurāsān. Mīrzā Aḥmad thus became Vazir of Murshid Quḷī Khān, the governor of Mashhad and the guardian of the future Shāh ‘Abbās. He was also appointed the governor of Nīshapūr and was given a drum and a banner.¹¹ This branch of the Khūzānī family seems to have been divided by the same politics of succession which had also ruptured the Ṣafavid House. When Sulṭān

⁷ *Afzal II*, f. 223b. Röhrborn, trans, Jahāndārī, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-6, suggests this evidence may be unreliable as no other source mentions this Vazir.

⁸ *Afzal II*, f. 236.

⁹ Iskandar Beg Turkman, *Tārīkh-i ‘Ālam Ārā-i ‘Abbāsī*, (ed.) Iraj Afshār, (Tehran, 1335), p. 119, [hereafter *TAAA*]. Iskandar Munshī notes that in the last year or two of his life, Shāh Ṭahmāsp suffered from a troublesome illness. See also *Afzal II*, ff. 270b-274b; Ḥasan Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*, (ed.) Charles Norman Seddon, (n. p., 1347), pp. 463-4. It has been suggested that Shāh Ṭahmāsp may have been killed by poisoning, H. R. Roemer, "The Safavid Period" in Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart (eds.) *The Cambridge History of Iran*, (London, 1986), p. 248.

¹⁰ *TAAA*, p. 1090.

¹¹ Mulla Jalāl al-Dīn Munajjim, *Tārīkh-i ‘Abbāsī*, (ed.) Saif al-Dīn Vaḥīdīnia, (n. p., 1366), pp. 53-4.

Muhammad Khudābanda tried to suppress the rebellion of the supporters of his son Prince ‘Abbās in Khurāsān in 991/1583, Mīrzā Aḥmad was killed during the siege of Turbat-i Ḥaydariyya by a bullet fired by Bakhtum Beg, his brother's son, who was an ally of the Grand Vazir Mīrzā Salmān and supported the candidacy of Prince Ḥamza.¹² After the death of Mīrzā Aḥmad, Murshid Qulī Khān adopted and raised his young son Mīrzā Shāh Valī and in gratitude for the services of his father appointed him Vazir.¹³ In 996/1587-8 after Shāh ‘Abbās ascended the throne he appointed Mīrzā Shāh Valī [Khūzānī Iṣfāhānī] the Grand Vazir (*vazir-i ‘azam*).¹⁴ The sources agree that this appointment was in fact made by or at the instigation of the Vicegerent Murshid Qulī Khān Ustājlu, the powerful Qizilbāsh Amir.¹⁵ Mīrzā Shāh Valī's tenure as the Grand Vazir was however shortlived. Following the murder of Murshid Qulī Khān in 997/1588-9, Shāh ‘Abbās removed all the political allies of his murdered Vicegerent from high office including Mīrzā Shāh Valī. We find that immediately after Shāh ‘Abbās eliminated his Vicegerent the office of Grand Vazir was entrusted to Mīrzā Muḥammad Kermānī, who himself was murdered 6 months later.¹⁶ We can not ascertain what became of Mīrzā Shāh Valī as the sources are generally silent about his fate.¹⁷

The history of the Khūzānī family during the 17th century requires further research but we can surmise from the lack of prominence of this family in the chronicles that Mīrzā Shāh Valī was the last of the Khūzānīs who held such a high office at the central government as that of a Grand Vazir. The Khūzānīs such as Faḏlī

¹² TAAA, p. 1090; *Tārīkh-i ‘Abbāsī*, pp. 60-62.

¹³ TAAA, pp. 385, 1090.

¹⁴ Maḥmūd b. Hidāyat Allāh Afūshṭa-i Naṭanzī, *Niqāvat al-Āthār fī Zikr al-Akhyār dar Tārīkh-i Ṣafaviyya*, (ed.) Iḥsān Iṣhrāqī, (n. p. 1373), p. 285; TAAA, p. 1090.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ TAAA, p. 399-400; *Niqāvat al-Āthār*, p. 309.

¹⁷ In volume 3 of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* Faḏlī gives a different version of Mīrzā Shāh Valī's appointment to Vizārat. He claims that Mīrzā Shāh Valī succeeded Mīrzā Muḥammad to Vizārat after the latter was murdered by his opponents in 997/1588. Faḏlī also claims that Mīrzā Shāh Valī resigned in the following year 998/1589 and was succeeded by Mīrzā Luṭfī, *Afzal al-Tavārīkh III*, [This history is at present catalogued wrongly under the title *‘Ālam Āra-i ‘Abbāsī*, Dd. 5. 6., Christ's College Library, Cambridge University], f. 8a.

Khūzānī Iṣfāhānī, the author of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh*, appear to have held lower-ranking administrative posts in the provinces. We find that in 995/1586-7 Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda appointed Mīrzā Hidāyat-i Najm-i Thānī, the grandson of Najm-i Thānī, *nāzir-i mu'āmilāt* in Iṣfāhān.¹⁸ Mīrzā Hidāyat appears to have survived the tribal factionalism and dynastic quarrels of Khudābanda's reign as in 1009/1601 he accompanied Shāh 'Abbās on his famous pilgrimage on foot to Mashhad.¹⁹ Another Khūzānī was Najm al-Dīn Maḥmūd Beg, the grandson of Najm-i Thānī, whom Shāh 'Abbās appointed the governor of Naṭanz in 1001/1592-3 and to whom he entrusted absolute power (*hukūmat bi istiqlāl*).²⁰ This appointment is significant. The background to this appointment reveals the way in which Shāh 'Abbās' land reforms may have affected the aristocratic families such as the Khūzānīs. In this year the inhabitants of the village of Ābīyāna in the Barzrūd district of Naṭanz complained to Shāh 'Abbās about the injustices of the local governors and the corruption of the tax collectors (*taḥṣīldārān*) who had imposed a rate of tax beyond that which had been set by the Divān.²¹ Shāh 'Abbās ordered the Controller General Āqā Shāh 'Alī Iṣfāhānī to launch an inquiry into this matter. The findings so horrified Shāh 'Abbās that he ordered the whole of Naṭanz to be converted into crown lands (*khāṣṣa*). Afūshta-i Naṭanzī claims that this decision was motivated by a desire to protect the subjects of Naṭanz, specially the dervishes and the *fuqarā* [simply the poor or the ascetics?], from that wretched lot [the tax collectors].²² This may have indeed been the case but one also suspects that Shāh 'Abbās may have used this as a pretext to force the pace of conversion of the *mamālik* lands into the *Khāṣṣa* or the royal demesne. As royal demesne Naṭanz would come under the *Khāṣṣa* administration and the revenue accruing from its districts would be payable

¹⁸ TAAA, p. 359.

¹⁹ Charles Melville, "Shāh 'Abbās and the Pilgrimage to Mashhad", in Charles Melville (ed.) *Safavid Persia*, (London, 1996), p. 200.

²⁰ *Niqāvat al-Āthār*, p. 462.

²¹ *Ibid*, p. 460.

²² *Ibid*, p. 461.

directly to the Shāh to spend as he pleased. As we may recall in 915/1509 Shāh Ismā‘īl had granted Naṭanz as a fief (*tiyūl*) to the most illustrious of the Khūzānīs Najm-i Thānī who was the grandfather of Najm al-Dīn Maḥmūd Beg. We cannot ascertain whether this fief had remained in the Khūzānī family until the reign of Shāh ‘Abbās but in any case the conversion of Naṭanz into crown lands in 1001/1592 ensured that the Khūzānīs ceased to be the beneficiaries of its revenue. However, by appointing Najm al-Dīn Maḥmūd the governor of Naṭanz Shāh ‘Abbās recognised the former connection of this family with the district. It also signalled the Shāh's recognition of the integrity of the family and their ability to restore justice and order in the area.

As the brief history of the Khūzānī family illustrates, by birth Fażlī Işfāhānī belonged to the bureaucratic elite of Şafavid Iran and was destined to pursue a career in the state administration. Fażlī was a contemporary of his cousins Mīrzā Hidāyat Allāh and Najm al-Dīn Maḥmūd and lived through the reigns of Shāh ‘Abbās and Shāh Şafi. Little is known of his early life except that he grew up in Āzarbāyjān, particularly in Ganja, which he clearly regarded as a disadvantage.²³ He apologises for his lack of refinement and learning and professes his ignorance due to an early life and upbringing amongst the Turks.²⁴ Nevertheless, Fażlī by the instruction of the senior members of the family and as was customary was trained to enter the royal service.²⁵ It is not clear whether he actually received a formal programme of training and education specifically designed for entry into civil administration at a palace school. If this did occur, his training was based at a provincial level in Āzarbāyjān. He showed an interest in history from an early age and from childhood he would read histories of the rulers of the world and the lives of the contemporary nobility of Iran.²⁶ In the second volume of *Afzal*, Fażlī shows a tendency to use poetry as a historical source where possible. The prose narrative in the second volume of *Afzal*

²³ Morton, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-52. esp. p. 28, n. 14.

²⁴ *Afzal I*, f. 3a.

²⁵ *Afzal I*, f. 1b.

²⁶ *Afzal I*, f. 1b.

al-Tavārīkh is interspersed with verses from Mīrzā Qāsim Junābādī's historical *mathnavī* "*Shāhnāma-i Shāh Ṭahmāsp*". Fażlī also mentions *Tazkirat al-ṣafā*, a biographical dictionary of the Qizilbāsh poets, as another of his works.²⁷ This together with his use of a historical *mathnavī* as a major source, indicates a personal interest in poetry. It may also indicate that he himself was an amateur poet.

Fażlī began his career in Ṣafavid administration as a junior provincial vazir in 1026/1617. In this year while residing at the winter camp at Dānqī Shāh ʿAbbās appointed him Vazir of Paykar Sulṭān Ikramī Durt Qājār, the governor of the district (*ulkāʿ*) of "Bardaʿ of Ārān". Fażlī notes that he became the Vazir of Bardaʿ and the falconry (*qūshkhāna*), which was the *tiyūl* of Paykar Sulṭān and had an income of 150 tumans.²⁸ Also at Dānqī and at the same time, Shāh ʿAbbās promoted Sārū Taqī, who at that time was the Vazir of the governor-general (*beglarbegī*) of Qarābāgh, to the post of Vazir (*vazir-i kull*) of the province of Ṭabaristān comprising Māzandarān and Rustamdār.²⁹ Fażlī and Sārū Taqī were therefore contemporaries and it is more than likely that they were also acquaintances. Whereas Sārū Taqī rapidly rose to the highest office of the state and was appointed the Grand Vazir in 1043/1633,³⁰ Fażlī remained a provincial Vazir until his departure for India.

Fażlī also gives the year 1023/1614 for this appointment which is likely to be an error.³¹ Shāh ʿAbbās was engaged in military campaigns in Georgia in both 1023 and 1026 and we have detailed itineraries of his movements for both campaigns.³² Dānqī does not appear on his itinerary of 1023 but it does in 1026.³³ This confusion of dates may have arisen from the fact that Fażlī's professional association with

²⁷ Morton, *op. cit.* p. 30.

²⁸ *Afzal III*, f. 380a,

²⁹ Willem Floor, "The Rise and Fall of Mīrzā Taqī, the Eunuch Grand Vazir (1043-55/1633-45), Makhdūm al-Omara va Khadem al-Foqarā", *Studia Iranica* 26 (1997), pp. 237-66. 243; TAAA, p. 1093. Floor, quoting TAAA, dates this appointment to 1025 which is inaccurate. The Hijri year 1026 began on 9 January 1617, so the winter, when Shāh ʿAbbās camped at Dānqī, began at the end of the year 1025 and for the most part actually fell in the year 1026.

³⁰ Floor, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

³¹ *Afzal II*, f. 180b.

³² TAAA, pp. 868-79, 896-914.

³³ TAAA, pp. 912-14.

Paykar Khān predated 1026. In 1025/1616 when on his way to Georgia Shāh ‘Abbās camped along the river Araxes, Paykar Sulṭān³⁴ despatched Faḏlī to deliver a petition to the Shāh at the royal camp. Faḏlī presented the petition to Shāh ‘Abbās at Aqjī Shārṭī and also reported on the political situation in Georgia. In response to Paykar Sulṭān's petition Shāh ‘Abbās ordered him to attack Zakum and also gave Faḏlī robes of honour (*khal'at*) and granted him permission to leave. When Faḏlī returned to Birda^c Paykar Sulṭān assigned him to muster an army. He spent the whole night enlisting 1500 men from among the regular troops (*mulāzim-i muqarrar*), the Şūfis and the Shāhsevan. The next day the small detachment embarked on its military mission. At the river Kur Faḏlī was responsible for the orderly crossing of the troops.³⁵

The detailed account of the sack of Zakum gives us a good understanding of the tribal and military milieu in which Faḏlī operated. In this campaign he accompanied the Turkoman, Ustājlū, Bayāt and Pāzūkī³⁶ tribal divisions.³⁷ This tribal force sacked Zakum, massacred its inhabitants, and enslaved 700 men. Faḏlī is likely to have taken part in battle. He was responsible for the more gruesome task of counting the severed heads, 2000 in total. He notes that as proof of victory, the right ears were cut off to be presented to Shāh ‘Abbās. He was also assigned to prepare the inventory of the spoils of the war. He recorded the booties as follows : 700 Jewish and Georgian captives, 2000 severed heads, and 30000 tumans. This did not include the captives and the money which had been hidden by the troops.³⁸ After the sack of Zakum Faḏlī again went to Shāh ‘Abbās, who at this time had set up camp in the vicinity of Ganja, to report on the success of the mission.³⁹

³⁴ In the third volume of *Afzal*, Faḏlī refers to Paykar Ikramī Durt as "Sulṭān" and not "Khān". *Afzal III*, f. 356a.

³⁵ *Afzal III*, ff. 356a, 357a.

³⁶ The Pāzūkī were a Kurdish tribe whose original homes were near Kīghī and Alāshkert in the region to the north of Lake Van, *TM*, p. 34.

³⁷ *Afzal III*, f. 357b.

³⁸ *Afzal III*, f. 358a.

³⁹ *Afzal III*, f. 358b.

In 1029-30/1620-1 Paykar Khān was made the governor of Kākhetia.⁴⁰ He settled in the fortress of Qārlānqūch where he built a town with fine homes and baths and where different groups of his *uymaq* settled.⁴¹ Fażlī too was promoted and served Paykar Khān as the Vazir of "Georgia, Barda", the falconries (*maḥāl-i qūshkhāna*), and the administration of the crown lands (*khadamāt-i khāliṣṣa*). During this period of his tenure as Vazir of Paykar Khān, Fażlī was responsible for the collection of taxes. These included the tax on flocks (*chubānbeḡī*)⁴² as well as royal taxes. Fażlī notes that he was responsible for the collection of the royal tax and revenue (*zabt-i māl-i khāṣṣ-i sharīfa*) in Tiflis for a number of years during Shāh 'Abbās' campaigns in Georgia.⁴³ He also had responsibility for the crown lands (*khāliṣṣa*) of Āzarbāyjān.⁴⁴

In addition to collection of taxes, Fażlī must have played an active part in the economic and social regeneration of Kākhetia. Six years of rebellion by Ṭahmūrath Khān Gurjī and the Qizilbāsh wars had left Kākhetia devastated. Fażlī notes that no sign of cultivation was left in that province.⁴⁵ To aid the reconstruction of the province and to reinforce the Ṣafavid hold over Georgia, Shāh 'Abbās ordered large numbers of the Turkoman tribes to settle in the area and also offered them financial incentives. Paykar Khān Ikramī Durt resettled 15000 households in Georgia and engaged them in farming and cultivation of the land. This number comprised his own *uymaq* Ikramī Durt, the Imūr,⁴⁶ the Zu'l-Qadr, the Sulaymān Hājīlu,⁴⁷ the other retainers (*aḥshāmāt*) and the Kurds of Āzarbāyjān. Three thousand tumans of the income accruing from the silk produced in Qarābāgh and the cattle tax, which Fażlī

⁴⁰ *Afzal III*, ff. 18a, 415 a+b. In this year Shāh 'Abbās subjugated the independent areas of Georgia like Kākhetiā more firmly, *TAAA*, p. 269.

⁴¹ *TAAA*, p. 1020.

⁴² Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁴³ *Afzal II*, f. 257b.

⁴⁴ Morton, *op. cit.* p. 28-9.

⁴⁵ *Afzal III*, f. 415a.

⁴⁶ The Imūr were a sub-tribal group of the Zu'l-Qadrs. At the time of the death of Shāh 'Abbās Khalīl Sultān (Imūr) held some land in Qarābāgh, Sumer, trans, Ishrāqī and Imāmi, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

⁴⁷ This group can not be identified and the reading is uncertain.

administered, were also paid to the farmers to assist them with the purchase of land and materials.⁴⁸ This evidence also suggests that Fażlı may have held the posts of Vazir of parts of Qarābāgh and Kākhetiā simultaneously.

Fażlı's career in Georgia appears to have depended on the fortunes of Paykar Khān. The latter's downfall in 1035/1625 ended Fażlı's tenure as Vazir of Kākhetiā. In this year Maurāv Gurjī, who was the Vicegerent (*vakil*) of the governor (*vālī*) of Georgia Sīmāyūn Khān,⁴⁹ led an uprising against Qırchīqāy Khān, the commander (*sipahsālār*) of the Şafavid army in Georgia, killing the commander and pillaging the Şafavid army camp.⁵⁰ Maurāv Gurjī then set out to capture the fortress of Qārlānqūch and to kill Paykar Khān and his Ikrāmī Durt tribe. Paykār Khān and the majority of the Amirs were at this time on missions to intercept and eliminate the *sinqāqhā*, which were pockets of Georgian refugees sheltering in safe locations in forests, when they heard the news of the massacre of the Şafavid troops.⁵¹ Paykar Khān hastily returned to Qārlānqūq and mobilised his tribe and fled. On the night of the attack on Qārlānqūq, Fażlı and his elder brother Muḥammad Beg rescued 42 children, possibly their own family children, from the massacre and with only four horses managed to take them out of the citadel. Maurāv and his Georgian troops pursued the Ikrāmī Durts as they approached the river Kur. Paykar Khān and his family succeeded in crossing the river safely but the Georgians captured many of his fellow tribesmen and took much cattle and booty.⁵² Fażlı appears to have been with Paykar Khān during that flight. Maurāv too crossed the Kur river, captured all of Qarābāgh and proclaimed himself the autonomous governor of the province before

⁴⁸ *Afzal III*, f. 415b.

⁴⁹ Iskandar Beg Munshī reports that although Maurāv Beg Gurjī had converted to Islam ten years earlier, he had never renounced his Christian faith and in this year he rebelled against the Şafavids in Georgia and incited the Georgians of Kārtil (in Northern Georgia) to rebel too. Apparently he aspired to gain the government of Kartil but he faced opposition from the notables of that province who considered themselves to be of a purer pedigree than he. In the event Maurāv Beg was defeated by his principal adversary Ṭahmūrath Khān, the ruler of Kākhetia, and finally fled to Istanbul. *TAAA*, pp. 1024. 1061.

⁵⁰ *TAAA*, p. 1025.

⁵¹ *TAAA*, p. 1024.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 1025.

returning to Tiflis.⁵³ This marked the end of the Georgian phase of Fażlī's career. Thereafter, he returned to court "distressed and homeless" and awaited a new appointment.⁵⁴ Fażlī's biography so far supports the idea that he had experience of fighting in the field and thus combined a bureaucratic and a military career. Elsewhere he notes in his praise of the bravery of the Kurds that he had on many occasions seen their fighting and had suffered the blows of their swords. He wrote from personal experience when he said one can not feign courage when fighting the Kurds.⁵⁵

Fażlī's experience as a provincial Vazir in Georgia must be viewed as a formative influence in shaping his perception of the legitimacy of the Şafavī Shāhs and ultimately his perception of the Şafavid history which he came to chronicle. In both campaigns of 1023/1614 and 1025-6/1616-7, Shāh ʿAbbās succeeded in subjugating the rebellious Georgians through a policy of military and religious suppression. The Şafavid army was unleashed to massacre and enslave thousands of Georgians, to enforce religious conversions, to desecrate churches and to appropriate land for the Qizilbāsh Amirs.⁵⁶ By the winter of 1026/1617 when Fażlī was appointed Vazir, much of the Şafavid sphere of influence in Georgia, that is Qisq, Kārtīl and Kākhetiā, had been brought under military control and new governors and their civil administrators were appointed to implement the Shāh's political and fiscal policies. Fażlī's responsibilities as a Vazir, which included the collection of taxes, placed him at the administrative frontline and brought him into close contact with a disaffected and alienated people who no doubt viewed him as the agent of an occupying force. The native hostility to the Şafavid rule in Georgia must have brought into sharp focus for Fażlī the question of the Şafavid legitimacy. This

⁵³ *Afzal III*, f. 509b.

⁵⁴ *Afzal III*, f. 521b.

⁵⁵ *Afzal I*, f. 148.

⁵⁶ Fażlī has devoted much of the third volume of *Afzal al-Tavarīkh* to the Şafavid campaigns in Georgia for which he provides first hand accounts. A more accessible source is *TAAA*, pp. 873-877, 897-916.

together with domestic political and religious dissent in the heartland of the Ṣafavid empire left an imprint on his history of the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp.⁵⁷ As the historiographical evaluation of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* in chapter two will illustrate, Fażlī responded to this challenge to the Ṣafavid legitimacy in the pages of his history of Shāh Ṭahmāsp.

After his departure from Kākhētia in 1035/1625, Fażlī was appointed Vazir of Ṭahmāsp Tarkhān Qulī Khān Turkomān, the governor of Kermān.⁵⁸ Fażlī's service in the administration of Ṭahmāsp Tarkhān was short-lived since the latter accompanied Shāh ʿAbbās to Baghdād in the war against the Ottomans but on his return to Kerman he fell ill and died in 1035/1625.⁵⁹ Thereafter there is a lacuna in our knowledge of Fażlī's life and career. For a time he may have continued serving under Ṭahmāsp Tarkhān's successor Amir Khān Murābī Sūklen, the son of Rustam Sulṭān Sūklen Zu'l-Qadr.⁶⁰ Fażlī includes autobiographical notes on his time in Kermān. For instance, he notes that when he served as Vazir of Kermān although he had intended to visit Shāh Fażl Allāh, the leader of the Niʿmatullāhī Ṣūfī order at Māhān, he never found the opportunity.⁶¹ The autograph colophon of the second volume of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh*, dated 1049/1639-40, was signed in a castle in the Deccan. It is not clear when and why Fażlī went to the Deccan. This and his use of the Indian sources such as the *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh* suggest that he travelled to India sometime before the completion of this volume. At present it is not possible to date his departure for the Deccan but it is likely to have been after the death of Shāh ʿAbbās

⁵⁷ See chapter 2, "The Historiography of the Battle of Jām".

⁵⁸ Morton *op. cit.*, p. 29, who cites :*Afzal II*, f. 221b; *Afzal I*, f. 140b; Also *Afzal III*, f. 521b.

Ṭahmāsp Tarkhān Qulī Khān Turkman succeeded Ganj ʿAlī Khān Zik as the governor of Kermān in 1031/1621. Aḥmad ʿAlī Khān Vazirī Kermānī, *Tārīkh-i Kermān (sālāriyya)*, (ed.) Bāstānī Pārīzi, (Tehran, 1961). p. 248. Fażlī also notes this appointment and adds that Shāh ʿAbbās also granted Ṭahmāsp Qulī Khān the title of "Tarkhānī" which is a prerogative of the Turkomans. The title of Tarkhānī was bestowed on those whom the Shāh held in high esteem. A "Tarkhān" was exempt from all kinds of taxes and could obtain an audience with the Shāh without prior notice. Ḥasan Beg Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*, (ed.) ʿAbd al-Ḥusain Navāʿī, (Tehran, 1978/1357), p. 827.

⁵⁹ *Tārīkh-i Kermān*, p. 286.

⁶⁰ Amir Khān was also "the keeper of the seal" as well as the governor of Kermān and remained in that post until after Shāh ʿAbbās' reign. *Ibid*; TAAA, p. 1058.

⁶¹ *Afzal I*, f. 142.

I. According to volume three of *Afzal*, at the time of the death of Shāh ‘Abbās Fażlī was in Iṣfāhān.⁶²

Was Fażlī a political refugee or one of thousands of Iranians who immigrated to India in search of a better life or patronage? India during the 16-18th centuries was a popular destination for the Iranian elite.⁶³ During this period immigration continued uninterrupted.⁶⁴ Haneda has found that among the 738 Indian notables included in *Ma’āthir al-umarā*, at least 198 (26.8 per cent) were either Iranian immigrants or were descended from such immigrants with another 205 whose origins have not yet been clarified.⁶⁵ While there were those who fled from political or religious persecution in Ṣafavid Iran, the majority of Iranian immigrants were attracted by the intellectual and political freedom as well as the superior material life which they found in India. This contemporary saying (*mathal*) best encapsulated the lure of India :

"Anyone who has travelled to India once and has benefitted from this bountiful land, when he returns to Iran, that is if he does not die on the way, he will die yearning for that land of desire".⁶⁶

‘Abd al-Nabī, the author of *Tazkira-i maykhāna*, recorded his impressions of his adopted homeland on arrival at Lahore. He found India to be "a land of plenitude and low prices and where one can live as one pleases and no one has the power or the authority to censure him".⁶⁷ Fażlī's emigration to India is consistent with this social phenomenon. We have no knowledge of his life and career in India but it is likely that Fażlī entered into the service of the Mughal administration. A brief study

⁶² *Afzal III*, f. 565b.

⁶³ The majority of the Mughal ambassadors to the court of Shāh ‘Abbās were Iranian. Shāh ‘Abbās is reported to have said "Why is it that every Mughal ambassador is an Iranian and why don't they send an Indian to Iran?". One such ambassador replied "In India there is a shortage of mankind. If there had been enough men they would not have paid us." Naṣrullāh Falsafī, *Zindigīnāma-i Shāh ‘Abbās Avval*, (n. p. 1371). vol. 1 & 2, p. 279, note 1.

⁶⁴ Masashi Haneda, "Emigration of Iranian Elites to India During the 16-18th Centuries", *Cahiers D'Asie Centrale*, 3-4 (1997). p. 131.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Mullā ‘Abd al-Nabī Fakhr al-Zamānī Qazvīnī, *Tazkira-i maykhāna*, (ed.) Aḥmad Gulchīn Ma‘ānī, (n.p. 1340). p. 21.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* p. 22.

of the biographies of similar notables, particularly other members of the Khūzānī family who emigrated to India, points to a consistent pattern of patronage of the Iranian immigrants by the Mughals.

Fazlī was not the only member of his family to have left Ṣafavid Iran for India.⁶⁸ Bāqir Khān Najm-i Thānī, a descendant of Shāh Ismāʿīl's powerful Vicegerent Mīrzā Yār Aḥmad Iṣfāhānī, emigrated and attained high office under Akbar. Bāqir Khān's father had been a bureaucrat (*dīvānī*) in Khurāsān but had fallen on hard times. Bāqir Khān himself reached India homeless and in distress. This is further evidence which supports the idea that by the end of the 16th century the Khūzānī family was in decline and had lost much of the political power it had enjoyed during the reigns of Shāh Ismāʿīl and Shāh Ṭahmāsp within both the provincial and the central state administration. Hence the emigration of its members to India.⁶⁹

Bāqir Khān's ascent to high office at the Mughal court may serve as a model for the study of the upward social and political mobility that these immigrant Iranians enjoyed in India. Bāqir Khān was first enlisted into the rank of the regular militia (*mulāzimān*) of Emperor Akbar (r. 1556-1605). Under Akbar's successor Jahāngīr, Bāqir Khān, thanks to his pedigree as a descendant of the illustrious Yār Aḥmad Khūzānī (Najm-i Thānī), advanced even further. Descent from Najm-i Thānī clearly carried a great deal of prestige at the Mughal court. Khān Jahān Luḏī in a conversation with the Emperor Jahāngīr (r. 1605-1627) is reported to have said "such a pedigree and this job!" and had sought to promote Bāqir Khān. He was appointed

⁶⁸ Mīrzā Mu'min Khūzānī, one of the notables (*nujabā*) of Iṣfāhān, emigrated to India where his son Mīrzā ʿInāyat was born. It appears that Mīrzā ʿInāyat returned to Iran since, in his *Tazkira*, Naṣrābādī notes that he was a secretary in the office of the *Mustaufi* of the royal *mawqūfāt* (also known as the *mawqūfāt-i chihārdah ma'sūm* or the fourteen pure souls). Mīrzā ʿInāyat was a poet and had knowledge of arithmetic. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī Iṣfāhānī, *Tazkira-i naṣrābādī*, (Tehran, 1317), p. 111. See also Haneda "La Famille Ḥuzānī", p. 91. For the royal religious endowments or *mawqūfāt-i chihārdah ma'sūm* see Röhrborn, trans, Jahāndārī, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-5

⁶⁹ The question of the immigration of the Khūzānīs to India was first raised by Haneda, "La Famille Ḥuzānī", p. 91.

to the post of the commander of three hundred horsemen (*ṣadī sī savār*).⁷⁰ He later married the daughter of Khadīja Begum and the niece of the powerful Empress Nūr Jahān.⁷¹ Marriage into the Mughal ruling dynasty "opened the doors of felicity and ennoblement" to him.⁷² He was promoted to the post of the commander of two thousand horsemen (*dau hizārī*) in the government of Multān. Bāqir Khān grew so powerful in the Multān region that he collected all the tributes payable in the vast region stretching between Multān and Qandihār. Emperor Jahāngīr held Bāqir Khān in such high esteem that he regarded him as his own son.

We may have no knowledge of Fażlī's fortunes in the Deccan but Bāqir Khān's success at the court of Jahāngīr indicates that in India at least some members of the Khūzānī family attained the social and political distinction which they had enjoyed under Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafavī. It is also likely that on arrival to India Fażlī sought the patronage of his powerful relative Bāqir Khān. The alliance of the two branches of the Khūzānī family was further consolidated when Fażlī's son Najm al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Fażl Allāh Khūzānī married the daughter of Bāqir Khān. Najm al-Dīn Aḥmad was employed "in the service of the kings" in the Deccan. Najm al-Dīn too had an interest in history and wrote a universal history titled *Ṭirāz al-Akḥbār* and dedicated it to Aurangzīb.⁷³

Much research is required on the Indian phase of Fażlī's life but the available evidence indicates that his immigration to India did not necessarily represent a break

⁷⁰ One characteristic of the Mughal administration was military in origin. Every official or civil administrator would be enrolled in the army list and would be given a *mansab* as the nominal commander of so many horsemen which determined his pay and status. Their promotion took the form of an increase in their nominal command. Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, (Calcutta, 1935). p. 8.

⁷¹ Nur Jahān was the powerful wife of the Mughal Emperor Jahāngīr. She too was Iranian. Her father was Mīrzā Ghīyāth Beg from a noble family of Tehran. Mīrzā Ghīyāth had served as the governor of Yazd under Shāh Ṭahmāsp but the family met misfortune after Mīrzā Ghīyāth's father died. He then emigrated to India in search of employment and fortune. R. C. Majumdar, *The Mughul Empire*, (eds.) R. C. Majumdar, J. N. Chaudhuri and S. Chaudhuri, (Bombay, 1974). pp. 184-5.

⁷² Mīrzā 'Ala al-Daula Qazvīnī, *Ma'āthir al-umarā*, India Office add. 6565 and 6566, vol. 1, f. 104b.

⁷³ C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature: a bio-bibliographical survey*, (London, 1927-39), vol. 1, pp. 126-7.

with the family's tradition of royal service. On the contrary, patronage and intermarriage ensured the continuity of the fortunes of this powerful patrician family in Mughal India.

THE HISTORY, AFẒAL AL-TAVĀRĪKH

In the words of the author himself, Faẓl b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn b. Rūḥ Allāh al-Khūzānī al-Iṣfāhānī, this chronicle is:

"An annalistic account of the reign of His Majesty Shāh Ṭahmāsp the warrior of the faith, may he rest in paradise, over the *mamālik* of Iran and the account of his victories and wars which occurred between the year 931/1524-5, which is the first Naurūz of his accession, to the year 984/1576-77 and the account of the death of that progeny of the dynasty of the peerless prophet. And the accession of Shāh Ismāʿīl II".⁷⁴

The second volume of *Afẓal al-Tavārīkh*, the subject of this thesis, is in fact part of a more extensive history of the Ṣafavid dynasty written in three volumes. Only one known copy of volume 2 appears to exist. However, both Munzavī and Ṭehrānī have cited an unidentified volume or volumes of *Afẓal al-Tavārīkh* as being in the library of Rājā Muḥammad Fayẓī in Fayẓābād in India.⁷⁵

Faẓlī claims that he first conceived the idea of writing a history of the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās I during the winter camp in the village of Dānqī near the city of Ganja in Qarābāgh in the year 1026/1617 when Shāh ʿAbbās appointed him Vazir to Paykar Sulṭān Ikramī Dūrt Qājār, the governor of the *ulkāʾ*⁷⁶ of Bardaʿ of Ārān. Faẓlī wrote the history of ʿAbbās' reign in a matter of a few days and then sought the opinion of the perceptive men (*mustaʿidān va arbāb- i idrāk*).⁷⁷ The general opinion must have been favourable since Faẓlī subsequently decided to embark on writing a much more extensive history encompassing the history of the Ṣafavid dynasty from

⁷⁴ *Afẓal II*, f. 10a+b. Contrary to Faẓlī's scheme, the history ends with the death of Shāh Ṭahmāsp. The account of the reign of Shāh Ismāʿīl II is not included.

⁷⁵ Munzavī, *op. cit.*, vol. 6, pp. 422-23; Muḥammad Muḥsin Āqā Buzurg al-Ṭehrānī, *al-Zarīʿa ilā Taṣānīf al-Shīʿa*, 25 vols. (Tehran and Najaf, 1936-78/1355-98), vol. 2, p. 259.

⁷⁶ The term "*ulkāʾ*" or *ölge* as in Turkish, referred to in this text, applies to the territory held by a clan. *TM*, p. 27.

⁷⁷ *Afẓal I*, f. 1b.

its beginning with the arrival of their ancestors from Arabia to Iran⁷⁸ to the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās. Fażlī wrote this history in three volumes (*jilds*).⁷⁹

The first volume of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* begins with the emigration of Sayyid Fīrūz Shāh Zarrīn Kulāh from "Arabia" to Ardabil where he bought the district of Gulkhurān and settled there. It also chronicles the asceticism (*faqr*) of Fīrūz Shāh's order, his miraculous deeds, the followers (*murīdān*) of his order and finally its demise.⁸⁰ This volume continues with the history of the dynasties which ruled over Iran before the advent of Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafavī and finally chronicles his reign and ends with Ismāʿīl's death in 930/1524.⁸¹ Volume one was discovered in 1937 by Minorsky and was shown to be part of the same history as the long known second volume. It is now at the Eaton Collection (172) of Cambridge University. Although no date of composition can be determined for this volume, it appears that Fażlī wrote it during the reigns of both Shāh ʿAbbās and Shāh Ṣafī. In the final section of the chronicle dealing with the death of Shāh Ismāʿīl, Fażlī indicates that the reigning monarch is ʿAbbās. He hopes that Shāh ʿAbbās will one day read the *khutba* in his name in Istanbul, Mecca and Medina.⁸² In the preface, however, he declares his intention to write a history of Shāh Ṣafī. It appears that Fażlī wrote the history during Shāh ʿAbbās' reign and added the preface later during Ṣafī's reign. A recent inspection has shown this manuscript to be of Indian origin. It is written on Indian paper and was bound in India.

Fażlī intended the second volume of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* to be a history of the life and reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp from his birth in 919/1513 to his death in the year

⁷⁸ The claim that the Ṣafavids originated from Arabia is erroneous and is likely to be part of the 17th century propaganda intended to forge closer association between the Ṣafavid dynasty and the heartland of Islam. The origins of the Ṣafavid dynasty are shrouded in mystery but it is generally believed that the family originated from Kurdistan. They later moved to Āzarbāyjān and finally settled in Ardabil in the 5th/11th century. R. M. Savory, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, (Leiden, 1995), vol. viii, p. 766. See specially, Aḥmad Kasravī, *Shaykh Ṣafī va Tabārash*, (Tehran, 2535). p. 48.

⁷⁹ *Afzal I*, f. 2b.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *Ibid*, f. 276.

984/1576. This volume was also intended to include the reigns of his successors Shāh Ismāʿīl II and Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda.⁸³ At a later stage of writing Fażlī decided to subdivide this volume into *daftars*, each devoted to the reign of one of the above-mentioned monarchs. In the preface of the second volume the author states that he will compile a history of Shāh Ismāʿīl II and Shāh Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda.⁸⁴ However, of the three *daftars* only *daftar* one on the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp has been discovered and, contrary to the author's initial scheme, it begins with his accession and not his birth. The history begins abruptly in mid sentence. Therefore the section dealing Shāh Ṭahmāsp's birth and early life is probably lost. At the same time Fażlī also indicates his intention to write a history of the reigning monarch Shāh ʿAbbās and states :

"The purpose of writing these preliminary works and these histories is to compile a history of the life and victories of Shāh ʿAbbās the Great".⁸⁵

The history of Shāh ʿAbbās is the third volume *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* which has recently been discovered at Cambridge. The manuscript is dated 1045/1635. The entire volume is devoted to a very detailed treatment of the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās. Similar to volume 1, it has been copied on Indian paper and bound in India. As has already been noted in the preface of the first volume , Fażlī again expresses his intention to devote the rest of his life to writing a history of Shāh Ṣafī. This history, if it was written, has not been discovered as yet.

The British Library acquired the second volume of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* from the British diplomat Sidney Churchill in 1893. Churchill had served as the Secretary to Her Majesty's Legation at Tehran for many years. From 1884 to 1894 he collected a large number of Persian manuscripts of which he presented 240 volumes, including *Afzal al-Tavārīkh*, to the British Library.⁸⁶ The previous ownership of the

⁸³ *Afzal I*, f. 2b.

⁸⁴ *Afzal II*, f. 2.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ Charles Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, (London, 1895), the preface.

manuscript remains uncertain despite the two Persian seals which it contains. One seal bears the name "Ḥusain Shāh Qulī ..lū".⁸⁷ The second seal bears the phrase "By the grace of God" at the top, followed by the only decipherable word "Kāmran". It is also dated 1074/1663.⁸⁸ There are also some dates and notes which are recorded on the last folio. These were remembrance notes made by the owners of the manuscript. They are in different hands and all record the severity of the weather conditions at Naurūz or soon after. The Hijri dates are : 1237/1821-2, 1260/1844, 1279/1862 and 1280/1863. The last date "1280/1863" proves that the manuscript was in Iranian/Indian possession at least until this year.

The Date of Writing of the Second Volume of Afzal al-Tavārīkh

Fazlī offers few clues to this. The colophon is clearly dated 1049/1639 when the author finished writing the history in a castle in the Deccan. This is three years before the death of Shāh Ṣafī in 1052/1642. Nevertheless linguistic evidence such as the use of the present tense when writing about events suggests that it was written over a long period of time and mostly during the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās I. For example, in 932/1525 Mīr ʿAbd al-Vahhāb, the head of the ʿ*Abd al-Vahhābiyya* order, died in Istanbul after a long period of imprisonment. In his obituary Fazlī writes that the *suḡurghāl* and the regular salaries which Shāh Ṭahmāsp had granted to ʿAbd al-Vahhāb's sons on that occasion still continued during the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās when the author was writing.⁸⁹ Elsewhere, under the events of the year 943/1536, he writes the following in praise of Amir ʿInāyat Allāh Khūzānī, Vazir of Āzarbāyjān and a relative of his:

" The just minister administered the taxation of the districts of Āzarbāyjān in a way that from that date to present which is eighty years no other *mumayizān* (tax inspector ?) has had the power to overrule the assessment (*jamʿ*) of that

⁸⁷ *Afzal II*, f. 190b.

⁸⁸ *Afzal II*, f. 236b.

⁸⁹ *Afzal II*, f. 26.

able minister." ⁹⁰

This dates the composition of at least this section of the chronicle to the year 1023/1614, which predates Fażlī's appointment as Vazir of Paykar Khān Ikrāmī Durat Qājār in 1026/1617. Later the author offers a precise date of composition when recording the events of the year 963/1555. In this year Shāh Ṭahmāsp issued a corpus of regulations (*dastūr al-ʿamal*) which outlined the details of royal ceremonies and laid down the principles for the state's military, civil and fiscal policies. Fażlī writes that the regulations "which were registered at the Royal Secretariat (*daftar-khāna-i humāyūn*) are still in force in this year which is 1026/1617 during the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās".⁹¹ Morton has also identified a similar pattern of composition spanning over a long period of time for the first volume of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh*.⁹² This together with the completion date of 1045/1635 for the third volume suggests that Fażlī wrote all three volumes of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* simultaneously and for the most part during the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās I.⁹³

The Arrangement of Material and The Physical Characteristics of the Manuscript

Fażlī has narrated the events in an annalistic framework. The events of each year of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's reign have been recounted in chronological order. The year and a summary of the events of that year form the main headings and the summary of individual events form the sub-headings.

The author has adopted a mixed calendar system Turki (solar)/ Hijrī (lunar)/ Accession (*julūs*) as the year frame for his narrative.⁹⁴ Each year begins with the Naurūz of the Turki year at the beginning of spring and is also given its

⁹⁰ *Afzal II*, f. 93a.

⁹¹ *Afzal II*, f. 213a. For the *dastūr al-ʿamal* of Shāh Ṭahmāsp see also *TM*. pp. 144, 176.

⁹² See Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁹³ Charles Melville has raised the possibility that the dates of the surviving manuscripts do not necessarily represent the order of composition. This is discussed in a forthcoming article.

⁹⁴ Dickson, *op. cit.*, pp. 375-8; R. D. McChesney, "A Note on Iskandar Beg's Chronology", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 39 / i (1980). pp. 53-63.

Dickson and McChesney have treated the difficulties of this mixed calendar system in detail. Here I reproduce an excerpt of their findings.

corresponding Hijri and accession year. The Turki years form a twelve year cycle and each year is given an animal name. This calendar which is known as the Chinese-Uighur calendar is the legacy of the Mongol rule of Iran and was in use until 1925.⁹⁵ The Hijri year could begin any time during the Turki year and vice versa. For instance, the Naurūz of the year of the Horse (*yunt il*) coincided with Saturday 16 Jumādā al-Avval 931/ 24 February 1525.⁹⁶ Such a method of dating events was also favoured by other historians contemporary with Fażlī. Iskandar Beg Munshī the author of *Tārīkh-i Ālam Ārā-i Abbāsī* explains in his history his reasons for adopting such a calendar system. He notes that "the people of Iran did not understand the Arabic Hijri year; for among the Turks and the Persians the beginning of the year is Naurūz (the beginning of spring)."⁹⁷ It should be noted that Fażlī's correspondence of the Turki and Hijri years differs from the same cycle presented in *Khulāṣat al-Tavārīkh*. A selection of three dates should illustrate the point:

	931 A.H.	932 A.H.	933 A.H.
<i>Afzal</i> ⁹⁸	<i>yunt il</i> (Horse)	<i>qūy il</i> (Sheep)	<i>pīchī il</i> (Ape)
<i>Khulāṣa</i> ⁹⁹	<i>takhāqūy il</i> (Fowl)	<i>it il</i> (Dog)	<i>tangūz il</i> (Pig)

The manuscript numbers 276 folios and the pagination is done in English. The preface (*dībācha*) starts abruptly and in mid-sentence on folio 2 which suggests that at least one folio of the preface is missing. Folios 46- 63 of the manuscript are misarranged. This has been corrected and the translation represents the correct sequence of the folios. There is also a lacuna between the years 969/1561 and 975/1567 where folios are missing. We cannot determine the precise number of the missing folios since the English pagination is numbered in an unbroken sequence. A summary of these missing folios however appears in the list of contents at the

⁹⁵ Charles Melville, "The Chinese-Uighur Animal Calendar in Persian Historiography of the Mongol Period", *Iran*, 32 (1994), p. 83.

⁹⁶ According to Qāzī Aḥmad b. Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ḥusainī al-Ḥusainī al-Qumī, *Khulāṣat al-Tavārīkh*, (ed.) Iḥsān Ishrāqī, (Tehran, 1359), p. 157, this Turki year was the year of the Fowl (*Takhāqūy il*).

⁹⁷ Dickson, *op. cit.*, p. 376.

⁹⁸ *Afzal II*, ff. 15a, 20b, 26b.

⁹⁹ *Khulāṣa*, pp. 157, 162, 169.

beginning of the chronicle.¹⁰⁰ The colophon proves that it is an autograph copy but there is evidence that it was written in more than one hand. The style of the script is *nastī‘alīq* and on the whole clear. There are twenty lines to each folio.

Many physical characteristics of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* conform to the conventional tradition of manuscript writing dating back to the Ilkhanīd period. Fażlī has used red ink for the main and sub-headings as it was the convention. Red ink has also been used to overline names of the individuals and verses from the Quran.¹⁰¹ The author has preferred the use of red overlines to highlight important words and phrases to the more conventional method of writing them in red ink.

Folios 10 to 15 are a detailed list of contents. In the preface of the first volume of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh*, Fażlī notes that the list is intended to assist the reader with finding the material without having to read the whole chronicle.¹⁰² The amount of the corrections and additional text on the margins, some of which are in the same hand, suggests that this was a working copy and not intended for formal presentation to a patron.

The text has in places been crossed out. Some of these are certainly editorial corrections but in the majority of the cases historical discrepancies have been treated in this way. For instance, when reporting the appointment of Qāzī Jahān Saifī as the Grand Vazir in 930/1523-4, Fażlī uses the formula "*vizārat-i qalamrau-i humāyūn*" or "Vizarat of the August Dominions" to refer to this office, which has been crossed out.¹⁰³ According to *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* and *Khulāṣat al-Tavārīkh*, the standard title for this office is "*vizārat-i dīvān-i ‘alā*" or the variant "*vizārat-i ‘aẓam-i dīvān-i ‘alā*" as it appears in *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*.¹⁰⁴ In another instance, the following sentence has been scored over " It was ordained that according to the regulations (*bi-dastūr*)

¹⁰⁰ *Afzal II*, ff. 13b-15a.

¹⁰¹ For a discussion of the art of the book see : Sheila S. Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles, Rashīd al-Dīn's Illustrated History of the World*, (Oxford and New York, 1995). pp. 14, 40.

¹⁰² *Afzal I*, f. 3a.

¹⁰³ *Afzal II*, f. 10a.

¹⁰⁴ *Aḥsan*, p. 185; *Khulāṣa*, vol. I, p. 156; *TM*, p. 44.

the aforementioned Pillar of the State (*rukn al-salṭana*) should leave his deputy and seal with [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] so that the royal decrees could be endorsed by the seal of that Pillar of the State".¹⁰⁵ The dignitary referred to here was the powerful Vicegerent Dīv Sulṭān Rūmlū and the occasion was his departure for Lār. To defuse the political tension between the Rūmlū and the Ustājlū tribes at court, Shāh Ṭahmāsp appointed Dīv Sulṭān as the commander of the armies of Fārs, Kirmān, the Persian Iraq, and Khurāsān in 931/1524 and sent him to Khurāsān to defend the province against the Uzbeks. Dīv Sulṭān set off for Lār under this pretext but once at Lār he summoned the armies of the above-mentioned provinces and set off for Āzarbāyjān to eliminate his rival Köpek Sulṭān Ustājlū, abandoning Khurāsān to the Uzbeks. However, the most contemporary source *Aḥsan* throws a different light on this episode and notes that Dīv Sulṭān took the Shāh's seal with him to Lār which he used to endorse the military summons which he sent to the governors of the provinces.¹⁰⁶ It is perceived historical inaccuracies or discrepancies of this kind which are crossed out in *Afzal*. This leads me to believe that these marks were made by a later critical reader of *Afzal* who was familiar with different historical traditions and disagreed with Fażlī's interpretation of events or his use of terminology. Another significant example of interference with the text concerns the poems used in this chronicle. Consistently throughout the chronicle where a verse has been attributed to Mīrzā Qāsim Junābādī, his name has also been scored over.

The Sources of Afzal al-Tavārīkh

In 1026/1617 Fażlī set out to write a three volume history of the Ṣafavid dynasty starting with the emigration of Sayyid Firūz Shāh-i Zarin Kulāh from Arabia to Iran and ending with the death of Shāh ʿAbbās I. It is the scope of this history which dictated the use of its sources some of which are no longer extant. The use of

¹⁰⁵ *Afzal II*, f. 16a.

¹⁰⁶ *Aḥsan*, p. 188.

these now lost histories remains the most distinguishing feature of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh*. Although some of these may not be directly relevant to the second volume they are worthy of mention here in order to draw attention to the outstanding quality of this chronicle.

1. *Qarā-majmū'a*:

In the preface of the first volume of *Afzal al-Tavarīkh* Fażlī mentions, as his first source, the *Maqāmāt va-Maqālāt* written by the founder of the Şafavī order Shaikh Şafī al-Dīn Ishāqī. These were the accounts of the miraculous and extraordinary events of his own life, his ancestry and the events of his time until his death in the year 735/1334. Fażlī claims that Şafī al-Dīn wrote this book in Persian and Turkish in a book known as *Qarā-majmū'a* and titled it *sīyar-i şūfiyya*.¹⁰⁷ Fażlī also claims that Şafī al-Dīn wrote this book in Turkish and that it was later translated into Persian by a Chilibī Beg "Farīgh" Şīrāzī during the reign of the Mughal emperor Akbar (r. 1555-1605) and at the command of Mīrzā 'Azīz Koka, who was the governor of Gujurat.¹⁰⁸ As Morton has also argued there seems to be some confusion in the title Fażlī assigns to this source. Elsewhere in the manuscript Fażlī differentiates between *Qarā-majmū'a* and *Sīyar-i şūfiyya*. For instance, in his discussion of the emigration of Sayyid Firūz Shāh from Medina to Āzarbāyjān Fażlī lists *maqāmāt va maqālāt* and *sīyar-i şūfiyya* as his sources.¹⁰⁹ Morton has also noted the variants *Sīyar-i ḥālāt-i şūfiyya* and *sīyar-i ḥālāt* for this work. He has also considered the possibility that a separate composition called *Sīyar-i şūfiyya* which covered the history of the Şafavī order down to the time of Shāh Ismā'īl existed.¹¹⁰ *Qarā majmū'a* has not been discovered but Minorsky refers to a few citings of this history.¹¹¹ He believes this must be the book referred to by Chardin who claimed that

¹⁰⁷ *Afzal I*, f. 2a.

¹⁰⁸ Morton, *op. cit.* p. 31. He cites *Afzal I*, f. 7b.

¹⁰⁹ *Afzal I*, f. 4. For other examples of the confusion surrounding the title of this book, also see Morton, *op. cit.* . p. 32.

¹¹⁰ Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

¹¹¹ *TM*, p. 113, note 6.

at times of war the Şafavî Shāh convened his officers and auguries were taken from the book "*Karajamea*".¹¹² Tarbiyat the author of *Dānishmandān-i Āzarbāyjān* also mentions the book "*Qarā majmū'a*", authorship of which he attributes to Şafī al-Dīn and claims that the only copy of this book was kept in the royal library (*khazāna-i kutub*) of the Şafavî Shāhs. Tarbiyat identifies a Baqā'ī and Gharībī and their *Tazkiras* which they wrote in Persian and Turkish as his source and claims some quotations from *Qarā majmū'a* are found in Gharībī's *Tazkira*.¹¹³ *Qarā majmū'a* was clearly a rare book even at the time of writing of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* and unlike *Şafvat al-şafā* and its revised versions of the time, which the Şafavid kings upheld as the official history of the Şafavid order, *Qarā-majmū'a* was not in wide circulation.

2. *Şafvat al-şafā* :

In the author's own words this is the history of the life of Shaykh Şafī which Ibn Bazzāz-i Ardabīlī compiled on the basis of the narrative given to him by Sayyid Şadr al-Dīn Mūsā, the Shaikh's son.¹¹⁴ It is likely that the composition of this history began midway through Şadr al-Din's life and was completed by 759/1358.¹¹⁵ *Şafvat al-Şafā* is believed to have been heavily altered through the ages in order to revise the early history of the Şafavid order and their Sunni origins. The edition which would have been available to Fażlī Işfāhāni is likely to have been the official version which Mīr Abulfath edited by the order of Shāh Ṭahmāsp.¹¹⁶

3. *Ḥabīb al-Siyār* :

In Fażlī's own words" the master writer and distinguished historian Khvānd Amir wrote *Ḥabīb al-siyār* during the reign of Shāh Ismā'īl the propagator of

¹¹² Chardin, V, 237, cited in *TM*, p. 113.

¹¹³ Muḥammad 'Alī Tarbiyat, *Dānishmandān-i Āzarbāyjān*, (Tehran, 1314). p. 234; See also Michel M. Mazzaoui, *The Origins of the Şafavids, Shī'ism, Şūfism, Ghūlāt*, (Wiesbaden, 1972). p. 50, note 7.

¹¹⁴ *Afzal I*, f. 2a.

¹¹⁵ Kasravi, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 18.

religion of the rightly guided Imāms, in honour of Khvāja Ḥabīb Allāh Sāvajī the Vazir of Khurāsān".¹¹⁷

4. *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* :

A history of the Ṣafavids from the accession of Shāh Ismā'īl I to the end of the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda written by Ḥasan Beg Rūmlū who himself served this exalted dynasty in the ranks of the sons of the nobility (*amir-zāda*).¹¹⁸

5. *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh* :

This work, which is also known as *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*, is by Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Khākī Shīrāzī the son of Aḥmad Beg the paymaster general (*lashkar-nivīs*) of Shāh Ṭahmāsp. The Khākiyya order (*silsila-i khākiyya*) was originally from Shīrāz but according to Iskandar Munshī they had left Shīrāz and some members of the family were scattered in Iraq and Āzarbāyjān. Some of the family also held very high office at the palace and the chancery.¹¹⁹ According to Khākī Shīrāzī this is a universal history from the earliest times on the life of the prophets, the saints, sulṭāns, the shaykhs, scholars (*fuḏalā*), the *ʿulama*, poets, and vazirs which he wrote in one volume.¹²⁰ According to the preface, Shīrāzī began writing his history in India during the reign of the Mughal Emperor Akbar and completed it five years after the accession of Jahāngīr (r. 1014/1605-1069/1658) in 1019/1610.¹²¹ This disagrees with *Afzal* which puts the date of completion at 1023/1614 and renders it unreliable.¹²² It is also thought some additions were made to it in the year 1021/1612.¹²³ Faḏlī claims that Shīrāzī dedicated this history to Nūr al-Dīn

¹¹⁷ *Afzal I*, f. 2a.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ *TAAA*, p. 164.

¹²⁰ Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Khākī Shīrāzī, *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh*, India Office, MS. Or. 1649. f. 5a.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² *Muntakhab*, f. 5a; *Afzal I*, f. 2a.

¹²³ Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts*, p. 886.

Muḥammad Selim Gurkānī also known as Jahāngīr but no evidence is found in *Muntakhab* itself to support this claim.¹²⁴ In the preface of *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh* Shīrāzī expresses a life-long interest in history which began with reading history books in childhood. Shīrāzī shared this interest with Fażlī who similarly professes a keen interest in history from childhood in the preface of the first volume of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh*.¹²⁵ Like Fażlī, Shīrāzī too went to India for reasons which remain unknown. Shīrāzī notes that when he reached the safety of India, *dār al-amān- i Hind*, he aspired to write this history. Shīrāzī lists the following histories as his sources : *Rauzat al-ṣafā*; *Ḥabīb al-siyār*; *Mujmal-i Faṣīḥī*; *Tārīkh-i Ibn Khulkān*; *Jahāngushā-i ‘Aṭāmalik Juvaynī*; *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* by Mīrzā Ḥaydar Kashmīrī Gurkānī; *Akbar-nāma* by Shaykh Abu’l Fażl; *Tārīkh-i Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad Bakhshī*; *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī* by Ziyābaratī; *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*; *Tārīkh-i Banākufī*; *Valḥāt va Tārīkh-i Jahān Ārā* by Aḥmad Ghafārī; and *Tārīkh-i Abu’l Fażl Baihaqī Bīrūnī*.¹²⁶

Where and when Fażlī came upon *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh* is not certain. In spite of Fażlī's own Indian connection it is more likely that he had access to the source while he was still in Iran and in the service of the Ṣafavids. As has been already noted Fażlī had written the first ninety three folios, for which in parts he cites *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh* as a source, by 1023/1614. At this time he had not yet begun his career as a Vazir in the Ṣafavid provincial administration in Qarābāgh. If so, *Muntakhab* must have been in international circulation within four years of its completion in India. If Fażlī came upon this source after his departure for the Deccan then he may have revised his history in the light of the new evidence.

6. *Shāhnāma- i Shāh Ṭahmāsp* :

¹²⁴ *Afzal I*, f. 2a.

¹²⁵ See also Sholeh A. Quinn, "The Historiography of Safavid Prefaces", in *Ṣafavid Persia*, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-26. Although Quinn has not examined either *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh* or *Afzal al-Tavārīkh*, she has shown the historian's profession to childhood interest in history to have been a characteristic of the structure of the preface (*muqaddima*) in Ṣafavid historiography.

¹²⁶ *Muntakhab*, f. 5b.

By Mīrzā Qāsim Junābādī Khurāsānī. This is a *mathnavī* on the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp. Fażlī makes extensive use of this source. In the preface of the first volume the author notes that most of the verses in the first and second volumes are by Mīrzā Qāsim.¹²⁷ In the notice of death of the poet in 982/1574 at the age of 82 he repeats the same statement.¹²⁸ Fażlī clearly regarded *Shāhnāma* as an important source for his history. Analysis of the text shows that in his account of the troubled and unstable first decade of Ṭahmāsp's reign he makes greater use of the poems from *Shāhnāma* than in the latter parts of the chronicle when Shāh Ṭahmāsp's reign had achieved greater stability. Fażlī also refers to *Shāhnāma-i Shāh Ṭahmāsp* as his source for the event of the defection of the Ottoman Sultān Bāyazid to Ṭahmāsp's court in 966/1558-9.¹²⁹

7. "*Lubb al-Tavarīkh*" by Mīr Yaḥya b. ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Ḥusainī al-Qazvīnī.

8. "*Akbarnāma*" by Shaykh Abu'l Fażl b. Mubārak.

9. "*Tārīkh-i Herat va Khurāsān*" by Maulānā Nujūmī Heravī.

This history does not appear to be extant. Fortunately Fażlī names this source where he quotes from it. For instance, when writing about the justice and benevolence of Durmīsh Khān the governor-general of Khurāsān Fażlī recounts passages from *Tārīkh-i Herat va Khurāsān*.¹³⁰ He also quotes this history as the source for the section on the celebration of the Naurūz of the year 951/1544 when the exiled Emperor Humāyūn Gūrkānī received some 8000 tumāns in Naurūz gifts from the notables of Khurāsān.¹³¹ Fażlī also attributes his two-day version of the battle of Jām, 935/1528, to Nujūmī Heravī.

10. *Tārīkh-i Khuld-ārā* by Iskandar Beg Munshī.

This is likely to be a different title for the well known *Tārīkh-i ‘Ālam Ārā-i*

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ *Afzal II*, ff. 2, 272.

¹²⁹ *Afzal II*, f. 228b.

¹³⁰ *Afzal II*, f. 18a.

¹³¹ *Afzal II*, f. 123a.

‘*Abbāsī*. It could also be the scribal error (*taṣḥīf*) in writing the word " ‘*Ālam Ārā*".¹³² Fażlī notes in his preface that this is a history of the "lives and vicissitudes of the Ṣafavid dynasty from the emigration of Sayyid Firūz Shāh Zarīn Kulāh from Arabia to the year 1026/1617."¹³³ This corresponds with the first and second volumes (*ṣaḥīfa*) of *Tārīkh-i ‘Ālama Ārā-i ‘Abbāsī*. The first volume, which consists of an introduction (*muqaddima*) and twelve *maqāla*, is a history of the origin of the Ṣafavids and the reigns of Shāh Ismā‘īl I, Shāh Ṭahmāsp, Shāh Ismā‘īl II, Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda. The second volume chronicles the history of Shāh ‘Abbās from his birth and the first thirty years of his reign down to the year 1025/1616.¹³⁴

11. *Miftāḥ al-qulūb*.

Fażlī ascribes the book to Maulānā Aḥmad Shīrāzī. This was a universal history spanning from "the birth of mankind to the death of His Majesty the Shadow of God".¹³⁵

12. Other works by Malik Shāh Ḥusain Sīstānī and Naṣīrā-ī Hamadānī which they compiled in Iran. Fażlī does not give a title for these works and describes them as " *musavadāt*", meaning rough draft of anything or memoranda. Malik Shāh Ḥusain Sīstānī was one of the notables of Sīstān and for a time acted as Vazir of Malik Jalāl al-Dīn Malik Nīmrūz, the hereditary ruler of Sīstān and his kinsman.¹³⁶ He was also involved in Shāh ‘Abbās' diplomatic efforts to subjugate the province of Makrān to Ṣafavid rule in 1030/1620.¹³⁷ In addition to his political and administrative involvement in the government of Sīstān, Malik Shāh Ḥusain was a man of letters and a poet. Taqī al-Dīn Auḥādī in his biography of poets praises him for his intelligence and his eloquence. Auḥādī also attributes the books *Tuḥfat*

¹³² I must thank Professor Afshār for this suggestion.

¹³³ *Afzal I*, f. 2a.

¹³⁴ TAAA, pp. 4-5.

¹³⁵ This may be the missing part of the source "*Miftāḥ al-Qulub*" by Shams al-Dīn al-Asil, which dealt with the Ṣafavid history. See Storey, vol. 1, part. 1, p. 155.

¹³⁶ Taqī al-Dīn Auḥādī, *‘Arafāt al-‘Āshiqīn* or *Tazkira-i Auḥādī*, The British Library, IO. Islamic 3654. f. 612a. This work is also commonly known as *Tazkira-i Auḥādī*, which is used as reference in this work hereafter.

¹³⁷ TAAA, p. 958.

al-‘Irāqain and *Tazkira-i Shu‘arā* (a biography of poets) to Malik Shāh Sīstānī.¹³⁸ Naṣirā-i Hamadānī was a native of *Imām-zāda Sahl-i ‘Alī*, a district of Hamadān in western Iran. He was well versed in all the arts and sciences particularly in mathematics. He also had a reputation for his talent in composition (*inshā‘*) and experimented with poetry, though Naṣrābādī Iṣfāhānī claims that he was a "second-rate poet".¹³⁹ Hamadānī was probably best known for his wit and humour and attended the highest social circles at the capital Iṣfāhān which included the home of ‘Allāma Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad. Shaykh Bahā’ is reported to have invited Hamadānī to the gatherings at his home "to enliven the meetings". Hamadānī died in 1030/1620.

Fazlī clearly had access to the unpublished works of these men through his association with the high literary and political echelons of ‘Abbās’ reign. Another source in the same category which Fazlī claims to have used is the work by Sulṭān Maḥmūd Fil-i Mashhadī, the inspector of the elephant-stable in Ḥaydarābād Deccan. According to Fazlī, "Sulṭān Maḥmūd compiled it while at the service of Muḥammad Qulī in the province of Gulkanda and dedicated it to Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh, "the Shī‘ī Pādishāh, the devoted *ghulām* and the propagator of religion of the Infallible Imāms".¹⁴⁰

13. *Trustworthy and reliable individuals:*

Fazlī includes eye witness accounts of the events in his history. One such eye witness was Mīrzā Faṭḥ Allāh Iṣfāhānī, accountant and book keeper (*mustaufī*) of the standing corps of royal troops (*qūrchīyān*) who served under Shāh Ṭahmāsp.¹⁴¹ For an obituary of Mīr Ghīyāth al-Dīn Maṣṣūr , Mīrzā Faṭḥ Allāh provided Fazlī with many tales of the miraculous powers of Mīr Ghīyāth al-Dīn.¹⁴²

14. *Official State Documents:*

¹³⁸ *Tazkira-i Auḥādī*, f. 612a.

¹³⁹ Muḥammad Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī Iṣfāhānī, *Tazkira-i Naṣrābādī*, (Tehran, 1317). pp. 166-7.

¹⁴⁰ *Afzal I*, f. 2a.

¹⁴¹ For a brief biography of Mīrzā Faṭḥ Allāh see also TAAA, p. 164-5.

¹⁴² *Afzal II*, f. 115b.

Faḏlī notes that to inform the reader he has included in the events of each year, whatever correspondence between Shāh Ṭahmāsp and other monarchs which has come to his attention.¹⁴³ He has also included many farmāns and letters of victory (*fathnāma*) from which interesting socio-economic and political evidence can often be gleaned. As Minorsky has shown in his translation of *Tadhkirat Al-Mulūk*, such documents were usually recorded by the "The Recorder of the King's Assemblies" (*majlis-nivīs* or *vāqī'-nivīs*) by the orders of the Shāh for whom he acted as a private secretary, rapporteur, and in effect as a court historian. He answered all the Shāh's foreign correspondence with the other kings and issued the farmāns concerning appointments, allocation of annual salaries, grants of land and pensions. The *majlis-nivīs* was expected to have had considerable archives and Faḏlī clearly had access to such archives through his family connections with the royal court administrators.¹⁴⁴ One such *majlis-nivīs* was Mīrzā Aḥmad the son of 'Aṭā Allāh Khūzānī, the governor of Shīrvān and Shakkī. When 'Aṭā Allāh died in 967/1559-60, Shāh Ṭahmāsp appointed his son Mīrzā Aḥmad as *majlis-nivīs* in gratitude for his father's long service.¹⁴⁵ The Khūzānīs had been a family of high-ranking bureaucrats since the reign of Shāh Ismā'īl and the family archives too provided Faḏlī with a rich source of material for the system of provincial government and administrative procedures under Ṭahmāsp. For instance, Faḏlī notes the work which Mīrzā 'Aṭā Allāh Khūzānī, Vazir of Āzarbāyjān, carried out in 957/1550 in construction, repair of buildings and purchase of land.¹⁴⁶ Similarly the document of appointment of Faḏlī's grandfather Khvāja Masīhā Rūḥ Allāh Khūzānī to the Vizārat of Gīlān, Lāhījān and Khurāsān in 978/1570 outlines the function of a provincial Vazir in some detail. The following is a list of the official documents contained in the second volume of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh*:

¹⁴³ *Afzal I*, f. 3a.

¹⁴⁴ *TM*, pp. 121-2.

¹⁴⁵ *Afzal II*, f. 236.

¹⁴⁶ *Afzal II*, f. 146b.

1. The farmān of appointment of Mīrzā Qāsim Junābādī as the poet laureate (930-1/1523-4).
2. A letter from Durmīsh Khān, the governor of Khurāsān and the tutor of Prince Sām Mīrzā, to ‘Ubayd Khān Uzbek, 930-1/1523-4.
3. The letter from Shāh Ṭahmāsp to Ibrāhīm Khān Kīyānī, the frontier governor (*vālī*) of Lār.¹⁴⁷
4. The letter from Ibrāhīm Khān Kīyānī to Shāh Ṭahmāsp.¹⁴⁸
5. The letter of victory of Baghdād, 935/1528.
6. The letter from Shāh Ṭahmāsp to ‘Ubayd Khān Chingīzī, 936/1529.¹⁴⁹
7. ‘Ubayd Khān's reply to Shāh Ṭahmāsp's letter, 936/1529.¹⁵⁰
8. A letter from Shāh Ṭahmāsp to ‘Ubayd Khān.¹⁵¹
9. The farmān addressed to Muḥammad Khān Sharaf al-Dīn Oġlū Tekkelū, instructing him to organise the royal reception of Humāyūn Gūrkanī on his arrival to Khurāsān, 951/1544.¹⁵²
10. The farmān of appointment of Shāhverdī Sulṭān Muṣāhib Zīad Oġlū Qājār as the governor-general (*beglarbegī*) of Qarābāgh, 958/1551.¹⁵³
11. The letter of victory of Georgia, 958/1551.¹⁵⁴
12. Shāh Ṭahmāsp's letter to Humāyūn Gūrkanī including a short personal letter (*ruḡa*) written in Shāh Ṭahmāsp's own hand, 959/1551.¹⁵⁵
13. Shāh Ṭahmāsp's letter to the Ottoman Sulṭān Sulaymān, delivered by Mīr Shams al-Dīn Ilkhānī and composed by Mīrzā Kāfī Ṭūsī the Secretary of State (*munshī al-mamālik*), 960/1552.¹⁵⁶

¹⁴⁷ *Afzal II*, f. 19b.

¹⁴⁸ *Afzal II*, f. 20 (a & b).

¹⁴⁹ *Afzal II*, ff. 54b - 56b.

¹⁵⁰ *Afzal II*, ff. 56b - 60a.

¹⁵¹ *Afzal II*, ff. 60a - 62a.

¹⁵² *Afzal II*, ff. 118a - 122a.

¹⁵³ The text of this farmān is written on the margin of folios 150a-151a.

¹⁵⁴ *Afzal II*, ff. 151a-154b.

¹⁵⁵ *Afzal II*, ff. 162a-164a.

¹⁵⁶ *Afzal II*, ff. 168a-174a.

14. The Ottoman Sultān Sulaymān's letter to Shāh Ṭahmāsp, 961/1553.¹⁵⁷
15. Shāh Ṭahmāsp's letter in response to Sultān Sulaymān's proud letter, 961/1553.¹⁵⁸
16. The royal farmān prohibiting the drinking of wine, gambling and prostitution in the empire, 963/1555.¹⁵⁹
17. Farmān of appointment of Mīrzā Shukrullāh Iṣfāhānī as the Financial Controller (*mustaufī al-mamālik*), 963/1555.¹⁶⁰
18. Farmān of appointment of Sultān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā as the governor of Mashhad and Nāzir of the Shrine of Imām Rizā 964/1556.¹⁶¹
19. Farmān of appointment of Sultān Ḥusain Mīrza Ṣafavī, the son of Bahrām Mīrzā, to the governorship of Qandahār in 965/1557.¹⁶²
20. Shāh Ṭahmāsp's letter to Sultān Bāyazīd on his arrival to Chakhūr-i Saʿd, 966/1558.¹⁶³
21. Shāh Ṭahmāsp's letter to Sultān Sulaymān to mediate between the Sultān and his son Bāyazīd.¹⁶⁴
22. Shāh Ṭahmāsp's letter to the Ottoman Prince Selim in an attempt to mediate on behalf of Sultān Bāyazīd and his children, 968/1560.¹⁶⁵
23. Farmān of appointment of Maulānā Malik Muḥammad Heravī as the tutor of Prince Sultān Ḥusain Mīrzā and the chief librarian of the royal library, 974/1566.¹⁶⁶
24. Farmān of appointment of Masīḥā Khvāja Ruḥ Allāh Khūzānī, the author's paternal grandfather, to the Vizārat of Gilān, Lāhījān and Khurāsān, 978/1570.¹⁶⁷

¹⁵⁷ *Afzal II*, ff. 177a-179a.

¹⁵⁸ *Afzal II*, ff. 181b-201b.

¹⁵⁹ *Afzal II*, ff. 210b - 212a.

¹⁶⁰ *Afzal II*, ff. 213a-214b.

¹⁶¹ *Afzal II*, ff. 216b - 219a.

¹⁶² *Afzal II*, ff. 224a-225b.

¹⁶³ *Afzal II*, ff. 229b-230a.

¹⁶⁴ *Afzal II*, ff. 232a-235b.

¹⁶⁵ *Afzal II*, ff. 238-241b.

¹⁶⁶ *Afzal II*, ff. 245b - 246b.

¹⁶⁷ *Afzal II*, ff. 254-6.

Where the author does not include the actual text of an official document he cites these sources. The account of incarceration of Khvāja Amir Beg Kajajī Tabrīzī in the fort of Alamūt illustrates this point.¹⁶⁸ Khvāja Amir Beg Kajajī was a senior official at the time of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, who had held several positions as the Vazir of Ghāzī Khān Tekkelū, later that of Amir Sulṭān Rūmlū, the custodian of the shrine of Imām Rizā in Mashhad, and the Vazir of Khurāsān. In 958/1551 he was charged with the practice of an occult science and was imprisoned for life. Although the author does not reproduce the actual text, he acknowledges Khvāja Amir Beg's petition (‘*arż -dāsht*) to Shāh Ṭahmāsp as his source.

Fazlī often reveals first hand knowledge of geography. He says that he lived in Shakkī for several years and speaks from personal experience when he writes that the climate, the hunt, the fruits, and the plains are much better in Shakkī than in Georgia and Āzarbāyjān.¹⁶⁹ Later he admits to have seen the fortress of Ālsūrām, on the border between Bāsh Ājuq and Kārtīl when he was the Vazir of Paykar Khān Ikramī Durt Qājār in 1023/1614.¹⁷⁰

The Historiographical Value of Afzal al-Tavārīkh:

Afzal al-Tavārīkh belongs to the genre of Ṣafavid court chronicles. The use of standard sources, choice of historical themes, the conventional structure of the narrative, and the number and the range of the official documents that it contains place *Afzal* in the mainstream of Ṣafavid historiography.

The standard sources include among others *Ḥabīb al-siyār*, *Lubb al-Tavārīkh*, *Tārīkh-i ‘Ālam Ārā-i ‘Abbāsī*, *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*. It is often easy to identify the influence of specific sources for any section of *Afzal* since the author names his sources in his narrative. For instance, in his section relating to the murder of Khvāja

¹⁶⁸ *Afzal II*, f. 155a.

¹⁶⁹ *Afzal II*, f. 138a.

¹⁷⁰ *Afzal II*, f. 180b. For the problem of confusion of the dates see below.

Ḥabīb Allāh Sāvajī, the Vazir of Khurāsān, Fażlī praises Khvaja Ḥabīb Allāh's philanthropy and cites *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* as his source.¹⁷¹

Often Fażlī considers rival historical traditions before opting for his favoured version of the events. For instance, in his narrative of the battle of Jām Fażlī first considers Ḥasan Beg Rūmlū's *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* but then opts for Maulānā Nujūmī Haravī's lost history *Tārīkh-i Harat va Khurāsān*, Iskandar Beg Munshī's *Tārīkh-i 'Ālam Ārā-i 'Abbāsī*, Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Khākī Shīrāzī's *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh*, and Maulānā Aḥmad Shīrāzī's lost history *Miftāḥ al-Qūlūb*.¹⁷² Although Fażlī's version of events cannot always be corroborated, his tendency to identify his sources enables us to reconstruct some of the written and oral historical traditions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which otherwise would have been lost.

For the period of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's minority 931-6/1524-9, which concerns the present study, the influence of Rūmlū's *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* on *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* is most discernible. There are striking similarities between the two sources in terms of the annalistic structure of the narrative, the choice of historical themes and language. The two dominant themes in *Afzal*, as in *Aḥsan*, are Qizilbāsh factionalism and civil war, and the Uzbek wars. However, the affairs of the neighbouring countries were of little interest to Fażlī. Bābūr's victory over the Afghāns in India in 932/1525, the struggle between the Uzbeks and the Timūrīds over Balkh in the same year, or the Ottoman invasion of Hungary in 933/1526, which Rūmlū has chronicled, receive no attention in *Afzal* as they were not relevant to his main themes of the internal politics and the Uzbek wars.¹⁷³

The chapter in this thesis on the historiographical study of the battle of Jām will examine in some detail the methodology which has been employed in writing *Afzal al-Tavārīkh*. Fażlī has used *Aḥsan*, the chronicle most contemporary with Shāh Ṭahmāsp, as his basic source. He has imitated *Aḥsan* in some basic facts and details

¹⁷¹ *Aafzal II*, f. 24a.

¹⁷² *Afzal II*, f. 43a.

¹⁷³ For these events see, *Aḥsan*, pp. 194-5, 197, 203-5.

but has considerably updated his narrative which has given rise to significant discrepancies between the two chronicles. Quinn has termed this method of historical writing "imitative writing". By this process the author copies, paraphrases, alters, and versifies his source material to create his own version of the events. Thereby he continues some elements of the historical traditions of his predecessors but also incorporates the contemporary political and cultural influences of his own milieu. As the historiography of the battle of Jām will best demonstrate, Fażlī often borrows word for word from *Aḥsan* its literary embellishments which are devoid of any historical content and imposes his own historical interpretation.

An episode from the developing hostility between Dīv Sulṭān Rūmlū and Köpek Sulṭān Ustājilū serves as another example to illustrate the point. Although Fażlī's account of this event is more extended and offers more independent evidence, it is nonetheless informed by *Aḥsan*'s narrative. The sequence of events and the choice of material correspond to *Aḥsan*'s narrative. Fażlī has also copied word for word from *Aḥsan* a literary passage and four couplets.¹⁷⁴

As has already been noted *Afzal al-Tavāriḫ* is a depository of official documents. This quality distinguishes *Afzal* from *Aḥsan* which includes only one official document- 'Ubayd Khān's letter to Shāh Ṭahmāsp (936/1529)- for the entire reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, and from *Khulāṣa* which also contains only one official letter, Ṭahmāsp's letter to 'Ubayd Khān.¹⁷⁵ These documents which include letters of victory, royal correspondence and farmāns of appointment, offer interesting socio-economic and political evidence.

Some of these documents such as the farmān of appointment of Mīrzā Qāsim Junābādī as the poet laureate are unique. However, a comparison of the text of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's farmān to Muḥammad Khān Sharaf al-Dīn Oġlu Tekkelū instructing him to prepare for the arrival of the Mughal Emperor Humāyūn in Khurāsān, as recorded

¹⁷⁴ *Afzal* I, ff. 15b - 17b; *Aḥsan*, pp. 187-9.

¹⁷⁵ *Aḥsan*, pp. 226-32; *Khulāṣa*, pp. 206-8.

in *Afzal* and that published by Navā'ī, show the two farmāns to differ substantially both in terms of contents and language.¹⁷⁶ Both farmāns seem to be variants of the same official document and both differ from the text of the same farmān found in the Indian source *Akbarnāma*.¹⁷⁷ We cannot be sure which of these three documents was the original farmān, but the variations suggest that the chronicler treated the official chancery documents as source material in exactly the same way that he used his other sources, that is, in the process of transcribing the farmān he paraphrased and altered the text.¹⁷⁸ This problem will be examined further in chapter 2.

Afzal however is not free from historical inaccuracies. Fażlī at times gets the dates, relationships or names wrong. These inaccuracies are partly due to scribal errors. That is almost certainly true of some of the dates of events or the names of individuals. Another category of errors, however, cannot be so easily explained as the carelessness of composition. Fażlī's consistent identification of the mother of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, in both the first and second volumes, as the daughter of Murād Āq Qūyūnlū is one such example.¹⁷⁹ This is likely to be a historiographical revision of the Ṣafavid genealogy in order to forge a closer historical and dynastic alliance between the Ṣafavids and the Āq Qūyūnlūs.¹⁸⁰

One striking characteristic of volume 2 of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* is the cult of the divine kingship which the author constructs in the memory of Shāh Ṭahmāsp. Fażlī reconstructs Shāh Ṭahmāsp in the image of an omnipotent monarch. This quality is most discernible in the section of the chronicle which deals with Shāh Ṭahmāsp's minority, the first ten years of his reign from 931-941-2/1524-35 when his rule was

¹⁷⁶ *Afzal II*, ff. 118a - 122a; *Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī, majmū'a-i asnād va mukātibāt-i tārikhī hamrāh bā yāddāshtha-i tārikhī*, (ed.) 'Abd al-Ḥusain Navā'ī, (Tehran, 1368). pp. 53-61.

¹⁷⁷ The text of this version of the farmān is found in *Ālam Ārā-i Shāh Ṭahmāsp*, (ed.) Iraj Afshār, (n. p., 1370). pp. 392 - 404. Afshār cites Bāyazīd Bayāt, "*Tazkira-i Humāyūn va Akbar*", (ed.) Muḥammad Hidāyat Ḥusain (Calcutta, 1941), as his source.

¹⁷⁸ Afshār has also outlined a similar process of inscribing and engraving the royal farmāns on stone which has given rise to alterations of the text. Iraj Afshār, "Similar Farmāns from the Reign of Shāh Ṣafī" in *Ṣafavid Pesia*, *op. cit.*, pp. 285 - 304.

¹⁷⁹ *Afzal II*, ff. 3a, 65a.

¹⁸⁰ Ṭahmāsp's mother, Tājlu Begum, was the daughter of Mihmād Beg Mauşillu, and the Mauşillū were a branch of the Āq Qūyūnlū, *Khulāṣa*, p. 290.

at its weakest. In the scheme of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh*, Shāh Ṭahmāsp's political authority rested on the notion of the divine kingship of the Ṣafavid Shāhs. This ideological basis of kingship is best embodied in the royal titles which Fażlī employs. *Afzal* contains some of the most elaborate and ideologically charged set of royal titles that can be found in any of the contemporary court chronicles. The titles reiterate the Ṣafavid claims to spiritual leadership by virtue of descent from Imam ʿAlī and thus sanction the Shāh's exercise of political authority. Pretensions to such intense personal charisma were in need of constant corroboration by external factors as signs of divine favour.¹⁸¹ *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* is thus replete with accounts of Ṭahmāsp's miraculous deeds and his direct communion with the Shīʿī divines. Throughout the chronicle Fażlī constructs this cult of the divine ruler whose external signs of piety and divinity were manifest for all to see. We are told that at times of adversity and trouble or when Shāh Ṭahmāsp needed to take an urgent decision he would await and receive divine revelation (*laḡīfa-i ghaybī*).¹⁸² In one instance, to assert greater royal control over Khurāsān, Shāh Ṭahmāsp was guided by divine inspiration to appoint Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā as the governor of Khurāsān and the overseer (*nāzir*) of the shrine of Imām Rizā.¹⁸³ Elsewhere Fażlī notes that he heard from a trustworthy Sayyid in Mashhad that before Shāh Ṭahmāsp was contaminated by alcohol, whenever he prostrated and bowed in humility during prayer all the candles and the lights of the mosque too prostrated and bowed. This was not seen again until he repented in 964/1556-7.¹⁸⁴

Several episodes are also reported to demonstrate the miraculous powers of Shāh Ṭahmāsp. In 940/1533-4 during an attack by the Ottoman army on Āzarbāyjān, extreme bad weather forced Sulṭān Sulaymān's army to abandon Tabriz and move to Iraq. We are told that Shāh Ṭahmāsp remained in the citadel of Ṣāyīn in Abhar near

¹⁸¹ Said Amir Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imām, Religion, Political Order, and Societal Change in Shiʿite Iran from the Beginning to 1890*, (Chicago, 1984), p. 179.

¹⁸² *Afzal II*, f. 77b.

¹⁸³ *Afzal II*, f. 217b.

¹⁸⁴ *Afzal II*, f. 65.

Qazvin and awaited divine assistance. Despite the political dissent and defection of some of the Qizilbāsh chiefs such as Ghāzī Khān Tekkelū, Husain Khān Shāmlū and Malik Beg Khu'iy, divine intervention came in the form of very cold weather and heavy snow. Fażlī reports that it was popular belief that red snow had fallen and that Sulṭān Sulaymān had interpreted this and the severity of the weather as one of the miracles of the "dynasty of Imāmate and miraculous powers" (*dūdmān-i imāmat va karāmat*).¹⁸⁵ Similarly Ṭahmāsp's miraculous powers came to his assistance during a conspiracy to poison him. As Bāshudān Qarā, a relative of Ḥusain Khān Shāmlū, made an attempt on the Shāh's life by poisoning his goblet of wine but Shāh Ṭahmāsp by virtue of his innate miraculous power sensed the danger and glanced so sharply at the man that the latter fled.¹⁸⁶

The history of Shāh Ṭahmāsp clearly embodies Fażlī's principles of political authority, kingship, and religion. The ideological content also shaped the literary style of the history. This volume is rich with poetry, verses from the Quran, and also astrological expressions. A preliminary study shows that the ideological richness and the literary style of Fażlī's history of Shāh Ṭahmāsp distinguishes it from both volume 1, which chronicles the reign of Shāh Ismā'īl I, and volume 3, which is the contemporary history of Shāh 'Abbās I. Both volumes 1 and 3 lack the variety and the richness of the royal titles which Fażlī gives to Shāh Ṭahmāsp. He opted for a standard title of the Shadow of God for Shāh 'Abbās. Fażlī's history of Shāh 'Abbās is devoid of any ideological overtones. Shāh 'Abbās has a remote presence and rarely appears in a central role in the history. This may be partly explained by the fact that Fażlī has devoted a large part of this volume to the events in Georgia. Given that he was present in Georgia and lived through these events, the chronicle appears more as the personal memoirs of the historian than the history of the court at Iṣfāhān. In

¹⁸⁵ *Afzal II*, f. 77b.

¹⁸⁶ *Afzal II*, f. 80b.

depth analysis of the three volumes could reveal interesting results. This however is beyond the scope of this thesis and awaits future research.

Chapter 2. A Critical Evaluation of Afzal al-Tavārīkh

The Şafavid court chronicles remain the principal source of information for the political and dynastic history of the period 1501-1722. However, these sources still await critical evaluation in order to establish the biases and the ideological underpinnings of individual chronicles.¹ In recent years a few studies have gone some way towards addressing this problem. Quinn's study of the "Historiography of Safavid Prefaces" has examined the genre of composing a preface (*dībācha*).² Quinn's historiographical study of the dreams of Shaikh Şafi, as they appear in the Şafavid court chronicles up to the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās, show how the narrative and the interpretation of specific dreams changed over time in conformity with evolving religious and political attitudes.³ Morton has examined different historical traditions concerning the early life of Shāh Ismāʿīl and has shown, how the sources diverge in their accounts of Shāh Ismāʿīl's succession to the leadership of the Şafavī order.⁴

The present study hopes to advance the limited research which has been carried out in this field. This chapter will study in some detail three case studies which best represent the uniqueness of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* among the Şafavid court chroniclers, the author's biases and his historical methodology.

1. Afzal al-Tavārīkh and Mīrzā Qāsim Junābādī⁵

Mīrzā Muḥammad Qāsim Junābādī, also known by his *nom de plume* Qāsimī, was an eloquent poet contemporary with Shāh Ismāʿīl and Shāh Ṭahmāsp Şafavī. He was best known for his mastery of the "epic or historiographical *mathnavī*" poetry

¹ Morton, "The Early Years of Shāh Ismāʿīl", p. 2.

² Sholeh A. Quinn, "The Historiography of Safavid Prefaces" in Charles Melville (ed.) *Safavid Persia*, (London, 1996). pp. 1-25. This article formed part of Quinn's doctoral thesis "Historical Writing during the reign of Shāh ʿAbbas I" (University of Chicago 1993), to which I did not have access. Quinn has not included *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* in her study.

³ Sholeh A. Quinn, "The Dreams of Shaykh Safi al-Dīn and Safavid Historical Writing", *Iranian Studies*, vol. 29, numbers 1-2, Winter/ Spring 1996. pp. 127-47.

⁴ Morton, "The Early Years of Shāh Ismāʿīl", pp. 27-51.

⁵ *Afzal al-Tavārīkh II*, ff. 3b-4b, 272a.

which recommended him to both Şafavid monarchs. Although manuscript copies of his works have survived in abundance his life and the course of his career at Shāh Ṭahmāsp's court still remain obscure. This is largely due to a lack of sufficient documentary evidence. We have to depend mainly on numerous *Tazkiras* or a scattering of biographical information found in the poet's own poems to reconstruct his life. Both sources, however, are limited in that they serve to delineate only the broadest outline of his life and career. The *Tazkiras* are mainly concerned with his social background and a list of his works.⁶ We still have only tentative answers to many questions such as : did he enjoy an official position at court or did Ṭahmāsp reward him for his *Shāhnāmas* ? Did he remain in the service of Shāh Ṭahmāsp or did he emigrate in search of a new patron?

Afzal al-Tavārīkh offers new independent evidence which should help us place Qāsimī's career at the Şafavid court and his relationship with Shāh Ṭahmāsp in a clearer perspective. The evidence consists of an official document (*farmān*) appointing Qāsimī the poet laureate at the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp and also an obituary notice which reaffirms the official position which he enjoyed at court. The primary aim of this study is to establish the authenticity and reliability of the evidence presented here. It is also hoped that the process will throw some light on the life and Qāsimī's literary career. Last but not least, this preliminary study will question the conventional wisdom based on the notion that unlike the Ottoman Sultāns, the Şafavid Shāhs did not appoint poet laureates who would compose a versified history of their reign.

The Poet

⁶ The most important of these *Tazkiras* are : Sām Mirzā Şafavī, *Tuhfa-i Sāmī*, (ed.) Vahīd Dastgirdī (Tehran, 1314), pp. 26-28; Mullā ʿAbd al-Nabī Fakhr al-Zamānī Qazvīnī, *Tazkira-i Maykhāna*, (ed.) Aḥmad Gulchīn Maʿānī (n.p., 1340), pp. 169-180; Luṭf ʿAlī Beg b. Āqā Khān Bīgdilī Shamlū (Āzar), *Ātashkada*, (ed.) Ḥasan Sādāt Nāşirī, (n.p. 1336), vol. I, pp. 278-80.

Qāsimī, was a native of Gunābād in Khurāsān.⁷ He belonged to a family of sayyids and was the son of Amir Sayyid Junābādī who was the religious leader (*pīshvā va muqtadā*) of his town. Qāsimī's brother Amir Abu'l-Faṭḥ continued the family tradition and succeeded his father as the mayor (*kalāntar*) of Gunābād⁸ while Qāsimī himself emulated the poverty of the lives of the Prophet and the Imāms and adopted an ascetic life.⁹

Qāsimī had studied with Mīr Ghīyāth al-Dīn Maṣṣūr Shīrāzī and had a reputation as a master mathematician.¹⁰ He was also a pupil of Maulānā 'Abd-Allāh Hātifi, a native of Khargird (modern Langar), a dependency of Jām, and the nephew of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī and also a celebrated poet at the Timurid court in Herat.¹¹ Like his mentor Hātifi, Qāsimī belonged to the late Timurid school of poetry and continued this literary poetic tradition into the Ṣafavid period. Both Hātifi and Qāsimī were the guardians of the Mausoleum of Qāsim-i Anvar at Khargird.¹²

A number of poetic forms and genres flourished in this period, the most popular and extensive of which was the *mathnavī*.¹³ This form was an imitation of the *Shāhnāma* genre which used rhymed couplets in the *mutaqarib* meter of

⁷ Qazvinī, p. 168. notes "another variant of the name of this town is "Junābād" which is at present known as Gunābād".

⁸ Zabīḥ Allāh Ṣafā, *Ḥimāsa sarā'ī dar Irān*, (Tehran, 1369). p. 363. Ṣafā claims that Mīrzā Qāsim inherited this office from his father but he withdrew and his brother took the office.

⁹ *Tuḥfa-i Sāmī*, p. 26.

¹⁰ Qazvinī, p. 169, note 1, cites *Nafā'is al-Ma'āthir*.

¹¹ Qazvinī, *op. cit.*, p. 113, notes "'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī held his nephew Hātifi in high esteem and whenever 'Abd-Allāh Hātifi went from Jām to Herat, Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā (Bāyqarā) and Mīr 'Alī Shīr, his Vazir and *sipahsālār*, bestowed on him great honour and affection".

¹² Michele Bernardini, "Il Timurnāma Di Hātifi E Lo Sāhnāme-ye Esmā'il Di Qāsimi (Il MS. Frazer 87 Della Bodleian Library Di Oxford), *Oriente Moderno* 2,(1996). p. 116. Shāh Qāsim Anvar was originally from the Sarāb district of Tabriz. He became a disciple of Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn Ardabīli, the leader of the Ṣafavī order, and according to his instructions moved to Gilān. He later went to Herat where he found many followers. He was a Ṣūfī and a poet of high standing. He finally settled in Jām where he died in 837/1433. *Ātashkada*, vol. 1, pp. 109-111. See also Bernardini *op. cit.* p. 116, note 69.

¹³ Frank Charles Vittor Jr., *The Herat School: Persian Poetry in the Timurid Period*, PhD thesis, (University of California, 1978), p. 602. For a survey of literature during the Ṣafavid period see Z. Ṣafā "Persian Literature in the Ṣafavid Period" in : Peter Jackson and Laurance Lockhart (eds.) *The Cambridge History of Iran*, (Cambridge, 1986), vol. 6. pp. 948-64.

Firdausī's original.¹⁴ Qāsimī devoted himself to writing in this poetic form and as was the fashion at the time, he imitated the major *mathnavīs* by earlier poets, most notably the *Khamsa* by Nizāmī. A large number of manuscript copies of Qāsimī's works have survived in an unrefined form which suggests that his works had a wide readership.¹⁵ In a letter to the Mughal Emperor Akbar, Qāsimī listed his works as follows:¹⁶

1. *Shāhnāma- i māzī [Shāh Ismā'īl]* ¹⁷ 940/1533

[In honour of Shāh Ismā'īl]

2. *Shāhnāma- i Shāh Ṭahmāsp* 950/1543

[also known as *Shāhnāma-i Navvāb-i 'Alā*]¹⁸

3. *Shāhnāma i Shāhrukhī* 950/1543

[On the reign of Shāhrukh Ṭimūrī but written at the time of Shāh Ṭahmāsp].

4. *Khusrau u Shīrīn-i Qāsimī* 950/1543

[In honour of Sām Mīrzā]

5. *Laiī va Majnūn* 947/1540

[In honour of Shāh Ṭahmāsp]

6. *Zubdat al-ash'ār* ?

We may also add the following works to this list:

7. *Chugānnāma* 947/1540

¹⁴ Christine Woodhead, "An Experiment in Official Historiography: The Post of Şehnāmeçi in the Ottoman Empire c. 1555-1605", *WZKM*, 75 (1983). p. 159. Şafā has traced the revival of the *mathnavī* to Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad Pāyīzī, the 12-13th century poet, who wrote the *Shāhanshāhnāma* and dedicated it to Sulṭān Muḥammad Khvārazmshāh. Şafā "*Ḥimāsa sarā'ī*", p. 354. See also Bernardini *op. cit.* p. 99.

¹⁵ Bernardini *op. cit.* p. 102. Bernardini also examines the revival in popularity of Mīrzā Qāsim's historical epics in the later Şafavid period.

¹⁶ Zabīḥ Allāh Şafā, *Tārīkh-i Adabīyāt dar Irān, az aghaz-i sada-i dahum tā mīyāna-i sada-i davāzdahum-i hijrī*, (Tehran, 1364), vol. 5, p. 719.

¹⁷ This *mathnavī* is partly attributed to Ḥātīfī. Sām Mīrzā notes in his *Tuḥfa-i Sāmī* that in 917/1511 during his Khurāsān campaign, Shāh Ismā'īl met Ḥātīfī and commissioned him to write an account of his victories in verse and named it *Futuhāt-i Shāhī*. Ḥātīfī was already ninety four years old and he only wrote one thousand *bayts* of this *mathnavī* before he died in 927/1520. pp. 96-7. See also Qazvīnī, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-8. It is generally believed that Mīrzā Qāsim continued the work of Ḥātīfī and completed it ten years after Shāh Ismā'īl's death.

¹⁸ Şafā has noted this work as "*Shāhnāma-i Navvāb 'Alī*". Şafā, "Persian Literature", p. 957.

[commissioned by Shāh Ṭahmāsp]¹⁹

8. *Shāhnāma-i Khāni*

?

[Possibly at some date after 963/1555 in honour of Sulṭān Maḥmūd the governor of Bhakkar in the Sind region of India].

The Position of Qāsimī at the Court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp

One major factor in the decline of the language and literature in general and poetry in particular, in the Ṣafavid period, is thought to have been the court's failure to patronise the poets and authors adequately. To a large extent this was the effect of the Ṣafavid religious policy which only encouraged composers of elegies and panegyrics of the Shī'ī Imāms- that is the chief figures of Shī'ī hagiology- and discouraged any secular artistic activity.²⁰ The absence of active royal patronage of secular arts reached its peak during the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp who developed a particular disdain for all secular arts and poetry in particular. The course of the artistic career and fortunes of Qāsimī too were affected by the attitude and the culture which prevailed at Ṭahmāsp's court.

It is generally believed that although Shāh Ṭahmāsp commissioned Qāsimī to write several *mathnavīs* he did not reward the poet for his labours. Poetic expressions of Qāsimī's indignation at his treatment by Shāh Ṭahmāsp are widely reported in both primary and secondary sources.²¹ However, it seems that the notion that Shāh Ṭahmāsp did not compensate Qāsimī for his works is entirely based on the brief obituary of the poet which originally appeared in Ḥasan Rūmlū's *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*.²² Rūmlū reports Qāsimī's death in the year 982/1574 and notes "that because [they] had not given him a prize for the *Shāhnāma* he wrote these *bayts* in

¹⁹ Qāzī Aḥmad Qumī, *Khulāṣat al-Tavārīkh*, p. 590, claims Mīrzā Qāsim dedicated *Gūy u Chugān* or *Chugānnāma* to Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā.

²⁰ Ṣafā, "Persian Literature", pp. 949-50, 953-4.

²¹ *Khulāṣa*, p. 590; Ḥasan Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*, p. 462; Ṣafā, "*Tārīkh-i Adabīyāt dar Irān*", pp. 718,723.

²² *Aḥsan*, p. 462.

grievance". In this poem, inspired by the meanness of his patron, presumably Shāh Ṭahmāsp, Qāsimī draws a parallel between his own experience and that of his illustrious eleventh century predecessor Firdausī who experienced similar ingratitude at the court of Maḥmūd Ghaznavī for his *Shāhnāma*. He writes " deprivation is a property of the *Shāhnāma*". He then laments, and possibly consoles himself, that "the gift of a base and ignoble man is equal to death".²³

We find that Rūmlū's tradition is followed by later chroniclers. Qāzī Aḥmad Qumī too reports this obituary verbatim in *Khulāṣat al-Tavārīkh* and also lists a number of Qāsimī's works.²⁴ We also find a reference to Rūmlū's obituary in secondary sources. Ṣafā relates it to explain the reason for the poet's emigration to Bhakkar into self-imposed exile, which he has erroneously identified as Diyār Bakr.²⁵ However *Tazkira-i Maikhāna* which is the main source on the life and works of Qāsimī does not offer any biographical information on the development of the poet's career as do none of the other *Tazkiras*. This is partly due to the fact that most of these authors used *Tuhfa-i Sāmī* by Prince Sām Mīrzā, Shāh Ṭahmāsp's brother, as their basic source. Sām Mīrzā completed his *Tazkira* of the poets by 957/1550, only seven years after Qāsimī had completed his *Shāhnāma-i Navvāb-i 'Alā [or 'Alī]* for Shāh Ṭahmāsp and before future events in the life of the poet unfolded. Furthermore, because of his close relations with Ṭahmāsp and also his close proximity to the court it would have been politically inconceivable for Sām Mīrzā to write on the subject of Ṭahmāsp's alleged ingratitude towards Qāsimī. On the other hand, the *farmān* of investiture and also the obituary of Qāsimī, found in *Afzal al-Tavārīkh*, offers new independent evidence and represents a break with this historiographical tradition.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ *Khulāṣa*, p. 590.

²⁵ Ṣafā, "*Tārīkh-i Adabīyāt dar Iran*", p. 718. See also Qazvīnī, *op. cit.*, p. 170, note 1.

The Farmān of Investiture

The text of this valuable *farmān* appears on folio 4 of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* and is inserted immediately after the narrative of the accession of Shāh Ṭahmāsp on 19 Rajab 930/ 23 May 1524. This arrangement of material is clearly intended to emphasise the timing of Qāsimī's appointment which coincided with the Shāh's accession or soon after. It is significant that Fażlī begins *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* with the appointment of Qāsimī and devotes so much attention to the poet. He attaches greater importance to the appointment of the Poet Laureate than to any of the political appointments which were made at the same time. On his accession Shāh Ṭahmāsp appointed Dīv Sulṭān Rūmlū and Köpek Sulṭān Ustājlū as co-vicegerents (*vakīl*). Amir Qavām al-Dīn Ḥusain was appointed to share the office of the *ṣadārat* with Amir Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Āstārābādī and Qāzī Jahān Sayfī was appointed Vazir. We find Fażlī makes only a passing reference to these appointments.²⁶ We can not be certain of the motives of the historian but given that *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* served as a basic source for *Afzal*, we can assume that Fażlī was aware of the historiographical tradition in regard to the controversy surrounding Qāsimī's relationship with Shāh Ṭahmāsp and possibly endeavoured to counter it. The significance of Fażlī's inclusion of this *farmān* at the start of his history may also be sought in the use which the historian has made of Qāsimī's poems which are liberally interspersed in the narrative. We find that in the section of the chronicle dealing with the first ten years of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's reign when his sovereignty was at its weakest Fażlī makes greater use of Qāsimī's poetry than in the latter part of the chronicle. The use of these panegyrics, which are carefully woven into the prose, was clearly intended to glorify the weak rule of a young and ineffective monarch. This was no more than a historiographical device which Fażlī utilised in order to put a gloss over Shāh Ṭahmāsp's unstable reign during his minority and produced the official

²⁶ *Afzal II*, f. 4b. See also *Aḥsan*, p. 185; *Khulāṣa*, p. 156.

document of Qāsimī's laureatship at the beginning of his history in order to validate his use of this poetic source. Fażlī was not alone in his appreciation of the power of poetry in perpetuating the kingly authority. If authentic, the *farmān* of investiture of Qāsimī as Poet Laureate, and more importantly its timing, would signify the importance the ruling classes attached to poetry in the exercise of sovereignty. Qāsimī was entrusted with the task of providing a testimony to Shāh Ṭahmāsp's greatness. This was, however, premature as it would take the young Shāh at least a decade to attain a degree of power. It also ran counter to the wisdom of an earlier age "until a reign attains stability and its connections are firm, poets do not begin to praise it".²⁷

Fażlī first begins with the report that the Grand Vazir Khvāja Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Tabrīzi²⁸ presented Qāsimī, who had composed poems for Shāh Ismāʿīl, at court to the young Shāh Ṭahmāsp. The poet recited a panegyric of the Shāh which he had composed for the occasion of his accession. The poem praised Ṭahmāsp as the world conqueror and the successor to Jamshīd and Alexander (Iskandar). The eulogy also refers to Ṭahmāsp as a "sapling from the garden of the Prophet, a descendant of ʿAlī, and the guardian of the earth and the time". Qāsimī further reiterated the Ṣafavid Shāhs' mahdistic claims by comparing Shāh Ṭahmāsp to the Mahdī who is "in command of the army of the End of Time".²⁹ Shāh Ṭahmāsp listened to the recitation of the poem, appointed Qāsimī as the Poet Laureate of the august dominions, and ordered the secretaries to register the *farmān*.

These official documents usually have a standard structure. They begin with the opening formula "The august command has been given". This formula appears to be

²⁷ This is attributed to Muḥammad ʿAlī Rāvandī, the author of the history of the Seljuqs *Rāḥat al-sudūr wa-āyat al-surūr*. Julie Scott Meisami "Rāvandī's Rāḥat al-sudūr: History or Hybrid?", *Edebiyāt*, vol. 5, (1994), p. 190.

²⁸ Soon after his accession, Shāh Ṭahmāsp ordered Khvāja Jalāl al-Dīn to be punished by burning in his hometown of Tabrīz. Fażlī claims Khvāja Jalāl al-Dīn's execution resulted from the long standing enmity which had developed between the Khvāja and Dīv Sulṭān Rūmlu, Shāh Ṭahmāsp's first Vicegerent. Thus it appears that Khvāja Jalāl al-Dīn was one of the first to fall victim to the power struggle which began with Ṭahmāsp's accession. *Afzal II*, f. 9 a+b.

²⁹ *Afzal II*, f. 3b.

missing from the opening paragraph of this *farmān*. This may be due to clerical error at the time of transcription rather than a proof of its lack of authenticity. Instead it begins with a lengthy praise of Qāsimī's literary attributes. The document however ends with the standard formula "The document (*parvāncha*) has received the royal³⁰ seal, so let them honour it".

After the initial praise of Qāsimī comes the confirmation of his appointment as the Poet Laureate (*malik al-shu'arā*). The appointment entrusted to him the task" of versifying the events of Ṭahmāsp's reign day by day and thus immortalising his reign". It also stipulates that the Poet Laureate be awarded the annual sum of sixteen tumans and 2,342 Khurāsānī dinars as *suyūrghāl* and subsidies (*madad u ma'āsh*).³¹ The sum of money was the revenue accruing from the "aforementioned districts as is registered in the book of standing enactments". Unfortunately the *farmān* does not name the districts. This term of reference to the districts, however, suggests that the *farmān* was issued to confirm an existing grant of *suyūrghāl* and subsidies rather than create a new one.³² In such cases it was customary to include the districts or the communities not in the main body of the text but list them on the back of the document.³³ The *farmān* then goes on to emphasise that the "men of genius" and "perceptive men" should recognise Qāsimī's ennoblement (*mīrzā'i*) and also declares him the Shāh's special companion at the royal assemblies. It concludes with a

³⁰ Instead of the customary phrase "*muhr-i ashraf*" (the royal seal), Fażlī has inserted "*muhr-i mīhrābād*".

³¹ The text of the *farmān* is damaged at this point and the reading of the figure 2,342 is uncertain.

³² In Ṣafavid administration the salaries of officials were paid in the form of "*suyūrghāls*" or "assignments" in the majority of cases. "*Suyūrghāls*" were the highest kind of assignments. The beneficiary acquired the right to collect government dues from the lands assigned to him and practically became their hereditary holder. *TM*, p. 152. Evidence suggests that although a *suyūrghāl* remained in the same family after the death of its principal beneficiary, the transfer was not automatic and required a new royal decree to confirm it. This was intended to enable the Shāh to cancel the grant when he wished to do so. This is clearly evident in the *farmān* of Shavval 938/1531 in which Shāh Ṭahmāsp confirms the transfer of the *suyūrghāl* of Amīr Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, a sayyid family of Āstārābād, to his children after his death. *Az Āstārā tā Āstārābād*, (eds.) Masīḥ Zabīḥī and Manūchīr-i Sutūda, (n. p., n. d.), pp. 8-9.

³³ A similar document, dated 1067/1656 which confirms and redistributes the existing grant among the heirs of the original grantee Mīr Ni'matullāh 'Abd al-Vahhāb also has the communities and locations listed on the back of the document. Ann K. S. Lambton, "Two Ṣafavid Soyūrghāls", *BSOAS*, 14 (1952). p. 44.

command to the political dignitaries to pay the Poet Laureate utmost respect and to the landlords and the subjects of the "aforementioned districts" to honour their fiscal obligations to Qāsimī and pay him the requisite taxes (*māl u jihāt va vujūhāt*) without delay.

Unfortunately the text of this *farmān* is badly damaged in parts, particularly in the opening paragraph, which makes a critical assessment of the authenticity of the document rather difficult. Determining the authenticity of this document is further complicated by the errors which may have resulted from the clerical procedures at the chancery where such *farmāns* of investiture would have been transcribed. Although standard formats and formulas were employed in composition of such official documents, the scribes at the chancery were often guilty of transcribing a text incorrectly or leaving out critical introductory sections.³⁴ This problem could have been further exacerbated by Fażlī himself who may have left sections out or even paraphrased the text as he copied it from its original. Furthermore, since we do not have access to the original *farmān* we can not determine the authenticity with the aid of certain features such as the use of different inks or corroborating seals.³⁵ *Afzal* offers the only surviving copy of this *farmān* and until and if the original comes to light we cannot ascertain its authenticity. However, it serves to question the current view of modern scholars and also opens up fresh avenues for future research.

The discovery of this *farmān* of investiture casts doubt on the conventional wisdom based on the notion that although poets and poetry were an essential and prized component of Şafavid court culture, unlike the practice at the Ottoman court, no salaried and official Poet Laureates were appointed at the Şafavid court.³⁶ At the

³⁴ Colin Mitchell, "Şafavid Imperial Tarassul and the Persian Insha' Tradition", *Studia Iranica* 26, (1997), pp. 183,193.

³⁵ Mitchell, *op. cit.* p. 193.

³⁶ At the Şafavid Round Table at Edinburgh in 1998, Bernardini and Calmard suggested that although the *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī was very popular at the courts of Shāh Ismā'īl and Shāh Ṭahmasp and also served as a model for composing the contemporary *Shāhnāma-i Hazrat-i Shāh*

Ottoman court, the office of *Şehnāmeçi* was first inaugurated in the 1550s by Sulţān Sulaimān and is believed to have functioned until the beginning of the 17th century. The *Şehnāmeçi*'s chief function was to compose a literary account of the contemporary events of the Sulţān's reign, taking Firdausī's *Shāhnāma* as his model.³⁷ At the Ottoman court the *Şehnāmcis* were therefore the early court historiographers before they were superseded by the *vāqi'nivīs* as the official court historians. The *farmān* of investiture of Qāsimī also outlines a similar function for Qāsimī as a historian of Ṭahmāsp's reign. Viewed in this light, Qāsimī's literary output deserves to be studied for its value as a historical source as it does for its literary merits.

In the absence of sufficient documentary evidence, at present it is not possible to obtain a comprehensive picture of the function of a Poet Laureate at the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp or establish any precedent for it at the court of Shāh Ismā'īl. There is however uncorroborated evidence that Qāsimī may not have been the first poet laureate at the Şafavid court during the first half of the sixteenth century. Both Pārsādūst and Aubin identify an obscure poet by the name of Ḥabībī Bargshādī [or Baragshādī] as Shāh Ismā'īl's poet laureate. Pārsādūst also claims that the brutality of Shāh Ismā'īl's religious policy forced Bargshādī to emigrate to the Ottoman empire and seek refuge at the court of Bāyazid II (r. 886-918/1481-1512).³⁸ It has not been possible to compile a biography of Bargshādī as his name does not appear in any of the Şafavid court chronicles or the biographies of poets. Nor can we establish whether he too was commissioned to write a *Shāhnāma*. However, Firdausī's *Shāhnāma* was very popular both at the court of Shāh Ismā'īl and also in the

Ismā'īl but unlike the practice at the Ottoman court, the Şafavid Shāhs did not appoint an official *Şehnāmeçi*.

³⁷Woodhead. *op. cit.*, p. 160.

³⁸Manūchīhr Pārsādūst, *Shāh Ismā'īl-i avval, Pādshāhī bā atharhā-i dīrpā dar Irān va Irānī*. (n.p., 1375). p. 787. Pārsādūst does not identify his source; Jean Aubin, "L'Avenement Des Safavides Réconsideré (Etudes safavides III)", *Moyen Orient & Ocean Indien* 5 (1988), p. 37, note 151. Aubin gives *Tuhfa-i Sāmī*, (ed.) Homāyunfarrox, (Tehran), p. 357, as his source. Dastgirdī's edition of *Tuhfa-i Sāmī*, however, offers no information.

sharbat-khānahā , which later became coffee houses, where reciters would sing the heroic exploits of Rostam to the public. Shāh Ismāʿīl was so fond of Firdausī's *Shāhnāma* that he named three of his sons after Firdausī's heroes : Ṭahmāsp, Bahrām, Sām.³⁹ In 917/1511-12 Shāh Ismāʿīl also commissioned Maulānā ʿAbd-Allāh Hātifī , who was the tutor and mentor of Qāsimī, to write a history of his achievements in verse and in the style and metre of the *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī. Hātifī entitled this history *Shāhnāma-i Ḥāzrat-i Shāh Ismāʿīl* or *Shāhnāma-i Shāh-i māzī* but could not complete it before he died in 927/1520-1.⁴⁰ There is no evidence that Shāh Ismāʿīl appointed Hātifī the poet laureate. This would have been unlikely since Hātifī was very old by this time and lived the life of a recluse at Khargird near Jām in Khurāsān and occupied himself with farming. The task of finishing *Shāhnāma-i Ḥāzrat-i Shāh Ismāʿīl* was left to Hātifī's pupil and friend Qāsimī who completed it in 940/1533. It is possible that Hātifī's attempt to chronicle the victories and achievements of Shāh Ismāʿīl in verse inspired Shāh Ṭahmāsp to commission Qāsimī to compose a similar work of his reign and to reward him with the office of Poet Laureate.

Further research and documentary evidence are required to establish a similar pattern of appointing poet laureates for the later periods of Ṣafavid history. Shāh ʿAbbās was a great lover of poetry and a generous patron of poets. One of his favourite cultural activities was listening to the recitation of the *Shāhnāma* by his favourite poets. Several prominent poets were, from time to time, present at his court, among whom we can name Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥasan Shafāʿī, ʿAbd al-Razzāq Khushnivīs Qazvīnī and Mullā Bīkhudī Gunābādī.⁴¹ Shāh ʿAbbās rewarded Qazvīnī with an annual salary of three hundred tumans and Gunābādī, who was a famous *Shāhnāma-khvān* (reciter of *Shāhnāma*), with an annual salary of forty tumans.⁴²

³⁹ Pārsādūt, *op. cit.* , p. 754.

⁴⁰ Edward G. Browne, *A History of Persian Literature in Modern Times (A.D. 1500-1924)*, (Cambridge, 1924). pp. 227-9.

⁴¹ Naṣrullāh Falsafī, *Zindigānī-i Shāh ʿAbbās-i Avval*, (Tehran, 1370), vol. 1 & 2, pp. 342-3.

⁴² Falsafī *op. cit.* , 343.

However, there is no indication that Shāh ‘Abbās ever awarded either poet with the title of Poet Laureate (*malik al-shu‘arā*). Among the poets associated with Shāh ‘Abbās the position of the physician Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥasan Shafā‘ī (d. 1037/1628) remains uncertain. Roemer claims that he was appointed the Poet Laureate.⁴³ The primary sources do not corroborate this and their evidence is contradictory. He enjoyed much respect and recognition at court and received many payments and gifts from the Shāh but according to *Tazkira-i Maikhāna* he was never enlisted in the rank of the Shāh's close companions.⁴⁴ It is possible that Shafā‘ī's excessive fondness for satire (*hijā* or *hajv*) may have disqualified him as a candidate for the prized position of royal confidant or laureatship. Shāh ‘Abbās is reported to have disapproved of his satirical works and occasionally criticised him for it.⁴⁵ Shāh ‘Abbās may not have had a Poet Laureate but he did commission another poet Kamālī (d. 1020/1611) to compose an account of his military exploits in verse in a compendium titled *Shāhnāma* or *‘Abbāsnāma*. According to Āzar, the author of *Ātashkada*, Kamālī completed the *Shāhnāma* but because of some misfortune it was not presented to Shāh ‘Abbās.⁴⁶

Other famous poets associated with ‘Abbās' court were Maulānā Shānī Tekkelū and Taqī Auḥadī.⁴⁷ Maulānā Shānī Tekkelū always accompanied the Shāh who held him in such high esteem that he rewarded him by measuring his weight in gold in Qazvīn in 1001/1592. However, Maulānā Shānī fell from favour and Taqī Auḥadī, the author of *Tazkira-i Auḥadī*, replaced him at court. Auḥadī travelled extensively with Shāh ‘Abbās and because he was unmarried he even lived in the palace precincts in the care of the chief of the royal attendants (*mihtar-i farrāshān*)

⁴³ Roemer, *Cambridge History of Iran*, p. 275.

⁴⁴ *Tazkira-i Maikhāna*, p. 524. *Ātashkada*, vol. 3, p. 951. contradicts this evidence and reports that Shafā‘ī was enlisted as the companion of Shāh ‘Abbās.

⁴⁵ *Ātashkada*, vol. 3, p. 951, note 2.

⁴⁶ *Ātashkada*, vol. 1. p. 406. See also Roemer, *Cambridge History of Iran*, p. 275.

⁴⁷ Taqī Auḥadī, *‘Arafāt al-‘Ashiqīn* or *Tazkira-i Auḥadī*, British Library IO Islamic 3654. ff. 708 a - 709a; f. 15 a+b.

to be on call at all times.⁴⁸ There is however no indication that either Maulānā Shānī or Auḥādī were appointed Poet Laureate.

As this brief survey illustrates, there is actually no evidence against the view that the Ṣafavid Shāhs appointed poet laureates. It is rather the absence of any categoric reference in the sources to this practice which prompts the speculation as to the status of prominent poets at the Ṣafavid court. This ambiguity in the primary sources adds all the more value to the farmān of appointment of Qāsimī as Shāh Ṭahmāsp's poet laureate.

The Obituary of Qāsimī

In the obituary of Qāsimī, reported under the events of the year 982/1574, Fażlī again confirms and commemorates the poet's life-long service to the Ṣafavī Shāhs. Fażlī reports :⁴⁹

"Mīrzā Qāsim Junābādī Khurāsānī who has versified the victories of His Majesty the Warrior of the Faith Abu'l-Bāqī Shāh Ismā'īl, whose abode is with 'Alī, and of His Majesty Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī, may he rest in paradise, died. This author Fażlī Iṣfāhānī has [included] in the first and second volumes of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* his poems in testimony. After eighty two years of panegyricizing the dynasty of prophecy and authority (*dūdmān-i nubuvat va vilāyat*) [Mīrzā Qāsim] has met his Maker. He prayed for the benevolence of the rightful Imāms for intercession for his sins. His Majesty bestowed great favours on his son and confirmed his *suyurghāl* and regular salary in the son's name".

As this obituary states, Qāsimī spent his life at the service of the Ṣafavī dynasty and Shāh Ṭahmāsp not only rewarded him for his literary services but also confirmed the transfer of his *suyūrghāl* to the poet's son after his death. Together the farmān of appointment and the above obituary support the idea that throughout his life Qāsimī enjoyed a high standing and a secure position at the courts of both Shāh Ismā'īl and Shāh Ṭahmāsp. There is however a body of evidence to suggest that he may have in fact emigrated from Iran in the latter part of his life.

⁴⁸ *Tazkira-i Auḥādī*, f. 15a. See also *TM*, p. 137.

⁴⁹ *Afzal II*, f. 272a.

The Question of Qāsimī's Emigration

Qāsimī himself offers the most reliable evidence in one of his poems which appears to be part of his history of Sulṭān Maḥmūd.⁵⁰ The poem begins with a panegyric of Sulṭān Maḥmūd which praises him as the "Khān of the age". Qāsimī next praises his own talents as a poet and the power of poetry to perpetuate the name of the kings. Next he gives the first clue as to his connection with Bhakkar and says:

"The precious gems of Bhakkar came to the shore of my thought".⁵¹

The poet proceeds to list his previous works. He begins with the two *Shāhnāmas* [of Shāh Ismāʿil and Shāh Ṭahmāsp]. This is followed by the announcement that he at present is writing the *Shāhnāma-i Khānī*. Presumably this is the title Qāsimī gave to the *mathnavī* he dedicated to Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Bhakkar⁵². Qāsimī also includes *Lailī va Majnūn*, *Gūy va Chugān*, *Shīrīn va Khusrau*, and *Shāhrukhnāma* in this list.

Next comes an interesting revelation. He boasts to be "the master" of Firdausī and asserts that if Firdausī, who complained of his misfortune, had been as treasure loving (*ganj sanj*) as he [Qāsimī], and wise enough to panegyrise a king who possessed both a crown and a treasure, he too would have been gratified. Qāsimī obviously believed that he was financially more astute than Firdausī. Qāsimī clearly falls in that category of poets who despite persistent profession of poverty and asceticism, sought the patronage of powerful rulers and went where he found the

⁵⁰ *Khulāṣa*, pp. 443-6. Qāzī Aḥmad Qumī includes this poem under the events of the year 971/1563 and in connection with the arrival of Abu'l Makārim, the ambassador of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khān, to Ṭahmāsp's court in this year. He introduces the poem as part of a history of this dynasty which "the late Mīrzā Qāsim Junābādī" wrote in verse. 'Abdī Beg Shīrāzī, *Takmilat al-Akhhār*, (ed.) 'Abdul Ḥusain Navā'ī, (Tehran, 1369), pp. 122, 126, also corroborates that Mīrzā Qāsim went into the service of Sulṭān Maḥmūd in India.

⁵¹ *Khulāṣa*, p. 444.

⁵² Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Bhakkar (or Bukkur) was a local ruler and the commander of the army of the last king of the Arghūn dynasty Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain. After the death of the latter the Sind region was gradually incorporated into the Delhi empire. Sulṭān Maḥmūd accepted Akbar's claim to the Sind region and thus retained his power. To strengthen the political alliance with Akbar, Sulṭān Maḥmūd had his daughter admitted into the imperial harem. In return he obtained from Akbar, a title, a robe of honour befitting the kings, a jewelled sword, a caparisoned horse, and four elephants. Sulṭān Maḥmūd was renowned for his liberality, courage and wisdom. E. H. Aitken, *History of Sind: A Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, (Karachi, 1907). pp. 100, 105.

highest bidder.⁵³ This evidence indirectly supports the notion that Qāsimī had not received the reward he had hoped for from Shāh Ṭahmāsp. Possibly the initial grant of *suyūrghāl* had been insufficient and he expected greater riches.

He next states that he went to India. The reason the poet states for his travel to India varies according to different copies of the *Khulāṣat al-Tavārīkh* in which we find this poem. It could be "in search of a story"⁵⁴ or "in search of friends".⁵⁵ Both would have been crucial for the continued intellectual vitality of a distinguished poet in this period and Qāsimī appears to have found both. Qāsimī clearly found a new patron in Sulṭān Maḥmūd, the influential and powerful governor of Bhakkar who provided him with rich material for his *Shāhnāma-i Khānī*. On the strength of this evidence we can now consider Ṣafā's assertion that Qāsimī went to the court of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, the *vālī* of Diyār Bakr, as unreliable.⁵⁶

The precise date of Qāsimī's trip to India is difficult to determine. Sulṭān Maḥmūd became governor of Bhakkar in 963/1555, a year before Humāyūn's death and Akbar's accession, and continued to play an active role in the politics of the Sind region until his death in 982/1574.⁵⁷ It is therefore possible to date the beginning of Qāsimī's association with the governor of Bhakkar to 963/1555. This date is significant since it coincided with Shāh Ṭahmāsp's edict of 963-4/1555-56 banning all forms of art. Although Shāh Ṭahmāsp was an avid patron of all arts in the early part of his reign he is reputed to have gradually withdrawn from artistic patronage

⁵³ Iskandar Beg Turkman (Munshī) clearly distinguishes those poets of Ṭahmāsp's reign who solely relied on royal and aristocratic patronage from those poets who despite their poverty and deprivation remained independent of rich patrons and relied on their own crafts and trades for their livelihood. In this second category he names Maulānā Furūghī 'Aṭṭār whose shop in Qazvīn was a gathering place for poets or Maulānā Ṭabkhī Qazvīnī who made a living from cooking, *TAAA*, vol. 1, pp. 187-8.

⁵⁴ *Khulāṣa*, p. 445, note 7, The copy at the National Library of Malik.

⁵⁵ *Khulāṣa*, p. 445. The copy at Iran-i Bāstān Museum.

⁵⁶ Ṣafā, " *Tārīkh-i Adabiyat dar Irān*", p. 718. It seems that Ṣafā misread "Bakr" and interpreted it as Diyār Bakr. Diyār Bakr was at this time under the Ottoman control and would have been an unlikely destination for Qāsimī.

⁵⁷ Riazul Islam, *Indo-Persian Relations*, (Lahore 1970).

Trans. Muḥammad Bāqir Ārām and 'Abbās Qulī Ghaffārī-fard as : *Tārīkh-i Ravābiṭ-i Irān va Hind (dar दौरا-i Ṣafāvī va Afshār)* 916-1158 A.H./1510-1745 A.D. (Tehran, 1373). p. 88.

and his gradual disengagement from the arts and worldly pleasures culminated in the above edict.⁵⁸

As the dates of the completion of the *mathnavīs* also show, Shāh Ṭahmāsp did not sponsor any works of poetry by Qāsimī after 950/1543. Shāh Ṭahmāsp had developed a disdain for poetry by the time he promulgated his edict, as his instructions on the subject of the education of his fourth son Prince Sulṭān Sulaymān Mīrzā illustrate. In 964/1556 Ṭahmāsp summoned the four year old Prince from Shīrāz where he had been raised from birth under the supervision of Ibrāhīm Khān Zu'l-Qadr and sent him to Khurāsān to continue his education under the guidance of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā [Ṭahmāsp's nephew]. Shāh Ṭahmāsp specifically ordered that the young prince should abstain from all the reprehensible acts and refrain from wearing silk clothes. He also ordained that the young prince should first learn to read the word of God (*kalām-i malik-i 'ālām*), or the Quran, and then read Persian treatises in the requisite subjects and strictly forbade the young Prince to read any books of poetry.⁵⁹ Iskandar Beg Munshī reports that Shāh Ṭahmāsp's aversion to secular poetry and poets arose from his belief that poets were broad and liberal in their religious belief and conduct and were not godly. This change of literary taste on the part of Shāh Ṭahmāsp led many poets to compose poems in praise of the Imāms or elegies commemorating their martyrdom. A most famous example is that of Muḥtasham Kāshānī who in the hope of a suitable reward, wrote two panegyrics, one for Shāh Ṭahmāsp and another for Princess Parī Khān Khānum.⁶⁰ Shāh Ṭahmāsp did not reward Muḥtasham and remarked :

"Poetry written in praise of kings and princes was sure to consist largely of lies and exaggerations, according to the well-known Arabic saying, "The best poetry is that which contains most falsehoods," but that, since it was impossible to exaggerate the virtues of the Prophet and the Imāms,

⁵⁸ Mariana Shreve Simpson, *Persian Poetry, Painting & Patronage; Illustrations in a Sixteenth - century Masterpiece*, (New Haven and London, Yale University Press 1998). pp. 12, 18.

⁵⁹ *Khulāṣa*, pp. 391-2.

⁶⁰ Browne, *op. cit.* , p. 172.

the poet could safely exert his talents to the full, and in addition would have the satisfaction of looking for a heavenly reward".⁶¹

Muhtasham promptly composed a *haft-band*, or poem of seven-verse strophes, in praise of the Imāms and was duly rewarded.⁶²

With Shāh Ṭahmāsp's spiritual and psychological conversion the intellectual climate at court would have been unfavourable to Qāsimī and lucrative royal patronage would not be forthcoming.⁶³ There is however sufficient evidence to support the notion that Shāh Ṭahmāsp's aversion to the arts was short lived. We find that only six years after the date of the famous edict, in 968-9/1560-1, Shāh Ṭahmāsp commissioned his favourite poet Qāzī 'Aṭā Allāh Rāzī to compose a poem to celebrate the completion of the new royal palace 'Ālī Qāpū and the gardens of Sa'adatābād in the new Ṣafavid capital Qazvīn.⁶⁴ Rāzī evoked the grandeur of the royal palace in four distiches which the master calligrapher Maulānā Malik Daylamī inscribed on the portal of the palace (*daulat-khāna*). The poet and historian 'Abdī Beg Navīdī too was commissioned to praise the splendour of the garden of Sa'adatābād in a book of verse.⁶⁵ Navīdī accomplished this task in his book *Jannat-i 'Adn*.⁶⁶

The Authenticity of Afzal al-Tavārīkh's Evidence

The *farmān* of investiture appointing Qāsimī as the Poet Laureate at the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, found in *Afzal*, is a rare document. It extends our knowledge of

⁶¹ This translation is taken from Browne's "History of Persian Literature", p. 173. It also appears in "Cambridge History of Iran", p. 954, and in its original source *TAAA*, vol. 1, p. 179.

⁶² Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 173; *TAAA*, p. 178.

⁶³ Shāh Ṭahmāsp's aversion to all forms of art also affected the staff of his royal *kitabkhāna*. Many of the artists employed at the *kitabkhāna* left the royal service. In 1556, three court artists -Malik al-Daylamī, Rustam 'Alī and Shāh Maḥmūd al-Nīshāpūrī- left the royal library and moved to the court of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā in Mashhad where they completed key sections of the prince's illustrated manuscript *Haft aurang*. Simpson, *op. cit.* p. 18.

⁶⁴ Prince Sām Mīrzā notes in his biography of poets that Qāzī 'Aṭā Allāh was a courageous, outspoken and honest young man and for this reason no one liked him. He also confirms that for a time he was a companion of *Ṣāhib qirān* [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] but later moved to Varamīn [to the south east of Qazvīn] where he was living at the time. *Tuḥfa-i Sāmī*, p. 32.

⁶⁵ 'Abdī Beg Navīdī was from a noble family of Shīrāz and had a reputation for honesty and piety. He was also employed in the Royal Secretariat. *Ibid.* p. 59.

⁶⁶ Ehsān Eshraqi, "Le Dār al-Salṭana de Qazvin" in Charles Melville (ed.) *Safavid Persia*. (London, 1996). pp. 110-11.

Qāsimī's life and also challenges the theory that the Ṣafavid Shāhs did not follow a tradition of fostering a poet laureate. The *farmān* of investiture appointing Qāsimī the Poet Laureate may well be a document belonging to the early part of the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp when he was an enthusiastic patron of arts. In this period he would have keenly granted Qāsimī royal patronage and the *farmān* simply confirms this. Fażlī's obituary of Qāsimī too offers an independent view of the poet's life and achievements. This however goes counter to the historiographical traditions pertaining to the latter part of Qāsimī's life and is more difficult to corroborate. As we have seen, by the time Qāsimī had completed his three *Shāhnāmas* and as Shāh Ṭahmāsp grew increasingly averse to secular arts, neither the artistic and intellectual climate nor the financial prospects at the Ṣafavid court would have been favourable for Qāsimī. Furthermore, the available evidence, i.e. the poet's own verse, supports the notion that Qāsimī left Iran for India. We cannot determine whether he remained in India until his death in 982/1574 or he returned to Iran sometime before that date. According to one tradition, in his old age Qāsimī donated his hereditary wealth to the sum of two thousand tumans as a religious endowment to the shrine of Imām Riżā in Mashhad.⁶⁷ He may have indeed returned to Iran in later life but until fresh evidence comes to light we can not accept *Afżal*'s evidence that Qāsimī enjoyed a life-long service at Ṭahmāsp's court as reliable. The view that Shāh Ṭahmāsp and Qāsimī enjoyed an uninterrupted and fruitful patron-client relationship to the end is more consistent with the author's tendency to conceal the fractures in the personal and political life of Shāh Ṭahmāsp than it is with historical reality.

⁶⁷ Qazvinī, *op. cit.*, p. 170, note 4. Qazvinī cites Amin Aḥmad Rāzī the author of "*Haft Iqlīm*".

2. *Afzal al-Tavārīkh and Mīr ‘Abd al-Vahhāb*

Mīr ‘Abd al-Vahhāb Tabrīzī was the *Shaykh al-Islām* of Tabrīz when the Ottoman army defeated the Ṣafavid forces at Chaldiran in 920/1514. The outcome of the battle proved a fateful event for the *Shaykh al-Islām* and changed the course of his life. At Chaldiran Shāh Ismā‘īl lost both the war and his favourite wife Tājlū Begum to the Ottomans. After the defeat of the Ṣafavid army, Sulṭān Selim proceeded to Tabrīz and captured and occupied the city on 15 Rajab 920/5 September 1514. Apparently the inhabitants put up no resistance but Selim's occupation of city was short lived. The revolt of the Janissaries who protested against the hardships of the campaign forced Sulṭān Selim to abandon the city after 8 days and hastily return to Āmāsyā in Anatolia.⁶⁸ That winter Sulṭān Selim remained in Āmāsyā.

Whereas the life of Mīr ‘Abd al-Vahhāb in the years before the battle of Chaldiran is well documented, his life in the years following Chaldiran is shrouded in mystery. The Ṣafavid court chronicles contain sparse and contradictory evidence. These shortcomings can be rectified, to some extent, by the Ottoman sources but a full picture can not be obtained. The present study aims to evaluate the evidence contained in the obituary notice of Mīr ‘Abd al-Vahhāb found in *Afzal al-Tavārīkh*.

According to this brief obituary, which is recorded under the events of the year 932/1525, Mīr ‘Abd al-Vahhāb Tabrīzī was a devout sayyid who was sent on an official mission to the Ottoman empire to represent Shāh Ismā‘īl at the court of Sulṭān Selim in 921/1515.⁶⁹ It also reports that Mīr ‘Abd al-Vahhāb had remained in the Ottoman empire until 932/1525 and that during that time "he had sewn twelve thousand *tāj* and had incited a group to wear that habit which is a sign of devotion to the Infallible Imāms". The term *tāj* is likely to be a reference to the distinctive

⁶⁸ Adel Allouche, *The Origins of Development of the Ottoman-Ṣafavid Conflict (906-962 / 1500-1555)*, (Berlin, 1983). pp. 120-21.

⁶⁹ *Afzal II*, f. 26.

Qizilbāsh headgear, wearing of which signified allegiance to Ṣafavid rule and adherence to Shī‘ism and suggests that Mīr ‘Abd al-Vahhāb had engaged in covert religious missionary activity in the Ottoman empire. Fażlī claims that when Mīr ‘Abd al-Vahhāb's secret was revealed, he together with a number of "the friends of the dynasty of ‘Alī", no doubt his disciples, were martyred by the Ottoman army. The high functionaries reported the news of his martyrdom to Shāh Ṭahmāsp who was distressed by this news. Fażlī also reports that Shāh Ṭahmāsp, upon receiving this news, appointed Mīr ‘Abd al-Vahhāb's sons as the chief justice (*aqzā al-quzāl*) and the army chaplain (*qāzī ‘askar*)⁷⁰ of the whole of Āzarbāyjān. Also in addition to their old grant of *suyurghāl*, Shāh Ṭahmāsp granted them an annual allowance. This allowance was made on the poll-tax levied on the Christian [or Armenian] (*ghubr millat* ?)⁷¹ population of the whole of Āzarbāyjān at the rate of six Tabrīzī dinārs per head.⁷²

A historiographical reading of this obituary shows that there is some confusion among the Ṣafavid sources as to the date and nature of Mīr ‘Abd al-Vahhāb's mission to the Ottomans as well as the date and manner of his death. Furthermore, comparison of the sources shows that the claim that Mīr ‘Abd al-Vahhāb's missionary activities resulted in his killing by the Ottoman army is unique to *Afzal*. Of these sources *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* which served as a basic source for *Afzal* contains no reference to Mīr ‘Abd al-Vahhāb or his mission and the manner of his death in Istanbul. Qāzī Aḥmad Qumī in his *Khulāṣat al-Tavārīkh* does not report the Mīr's death in 932/1525 but makes a brief reference to his mission to Istanbul and the fact of his death at an unspecified date, under the events of the year

⁷⁰ According to *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, p. 43, "in the olden days *qāzī-‘askar* sat at the Dīvān-begī's keshik-khāna and gave decisions according to the Sharī‘at in affairs concerning the victorious army".

⁷¹ Reading is uncertain. The word "*ghubr*" is possibly a scribal error for "*gabr*", a term applied to the Zoroastrians and, during the Ṣafavid period, also to the Christians.

⁷² It appears that these privileges and grants remained in the ‘Abd al-Vahhābiyya family until the late Ṣafavid period. Two documents dated 1067/1656 and 1115/1704 deal with the redistribution of grants among the later generations of the family. See Ann K. S. Lambton, "Two Ṣafavid Soyūrghāls" *BSOAS* 14 (1952), pp. 44-54.

926/1519. Qumī notes that Mīr ‘Abd al-Vahhāb was sent to the Ottoman court to deliver Shāh Ismā‘īl's message of condolence for the death of Sulṭān Selim to his successor Sulṭān Sulayman. Having accomplished his mission Qumī reports that he was detained by the Ottomans and was denied permission to return to Iran.⁷³ Only *Ḥabīb al-siyār* agrees with *Afzal*'s date of 921 as the year when Mīr ‘Abd al-Vahhāb travelled to the Ottoman Empire but neither source offers any clues as to the purpose of this mission.

The date of Mīr ‘Abd al-Vahhāb's mission has a strong bearing on its nature. The clarification of one would determine the other. The Ottoman sources corroborate *Afzal*'s date of 921 as the date Mīr ‘Abd al-Vahhāb reached the Ottomans. They also shed light on the nature of his mission.

Upon his return from Tabriz, at Āmāsyā, Sulṭān Selim received the first ambassador from Shāh Ismā‘īl since Chaldīran on 11 Shavvāl 920/29 November 1514. The embassy included the *Shaykh al-Islām* of Āzarbāyjān Sayyid Nūr al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Vahhāb and at least three other envoys: Qāzī Ishāq, Mullā Shukr al-Dīn and Ḥamza Khalīfa.⁷⁴ The Ṣafavid envoys carried a letter from Shāh Ismā‘īl in which the Shāh expressed his desire to conclude peace with Sulṭān Selim, pay a fine and above all to secure the safe release of his favourite wife Tājilū Begum who had been captured by the Ottoman army at Chaldīran.⁷⁵

Sulṭān Selim's response to this diplomatic initiative was characteristic of the hardline policy he had adopted towards Shāh Ismā‘īl since his accession to the throne in 918/1512. Unlike his father Sulṭān Bāyazīd who had opted for a conciliatory attitude towards Shāh Ismā‘īl, from the outset Selim adopted an aggressive and offensive policy in his relations to the equally hostile Ṣafavī Shāh, which culminated

⁷³ *Khulāṣa*, vol. 1, p. 142.

⁷⁴ Jean-Louis Bacque Grammont, *Les Ottomans, Les Safavides et Leurs Voisins: Contributions A L'Histoire Des Relations Internationales Dans L'Orient Islamique De 1514 A 1524*, (Istanbul, 1987), p. 75; Allouche. *op. cit.*, p. 121.

⁷⁵ Bacque Grammont, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

in the battle of Chaldiran.⁷⁶ This mutual antagonism was evident in the mistreatment of the ambassadors and envoys who arrived at the Ottoman and the Şafavid courts. In 910/1504-5 Shāh Ismāʿīl mistreated an Ottoman envoy by forcing the man to eat pork and made him watch two of his opponents, one of whom was a Sunnī, being burnt alive.⁷⁷ Prior to the battle of Chaldiran in 920/1514 Sulṭān Selim received the Şafavī ambassador Shāh Quḷī Āqā-yi Būyi Nūkār but the message he carried from Shāh Ismāʿīl so angered the Sulṭān that he ordered the ambassador to be executed.⁷⁸

On this occasion too Sulṭān Selim was intransigent and did not accept Shāh Ismāʿīl's terms for peace; he would accept nothing less than the Shāh renouncing his religious doctrine. He hesitated for a few days and finally refused the Shāh's offer. On the 18 Shavvāl/ 6 December the Şafavī envoys were arrested and were sent to prison. Mīr ʿAbd al-Vahhāb and Qāzī Ishāq were imprisoned in Rūmelī Hīṣārī (*qalʿa-i yekī hiṣār*). The rest of the ambassadors were sent to the Dimetoka fortress [in Thrace?].⁷⁹ On the strength of this evidence we can establish that the purpose of Mīr ʿAbd al-Vahhāb's mission was to negotiate the release of Tājlū Begum and offer peace to the Ottomans. This enables us to date this mission to the end of 920/1514 and confirm *Afzal's* date of 921/1515.

After Chaldiran Mīr ʿAbd al-Vahhāb and his companions were the first Şafavid envoys to be imprisoned on arrival to the Ottoman court. The imprisonment of these ambassadors triggered further diplomatic activity to secure their release and later in 921/1515 a second Şafavid ambassador was on its way to the Porte. This time the high ranking Qizilbāsh Hūṣain Beg and Bayram Beg arrived at the Sulṭān's winter quarters at Edirne.⁸⁰ They too carried a letter from Shāh Ismāʿīl which sought to conclude peace with Sulṭān Selim and petitioned the Sulṭān to release Mīr

⁷⁶ For a discussion of Sulṭān Selim's attitude towards Shāh Ismāʿīl see Allouche, pp. 100-29.

⁷⁷ Allouche, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-7.

⁷⁸ Allouche, *op. cit.* p. 117.

⁷⁹ Bacque Grammont, *op. cit.*, p. 76..

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* p. 89.

‘Abd al-Vahhāb. Sultān Selim however persisted with his attitude of refusal and imprisoned the second ambassadors too and subsequently executed them.⁸¹ Despite Shāh Ismā‘īl's attempt to negotiate the release of Mīr ‘Abd al-Vahhāb, he seems to have lived in imprisonment in Rūmelī Hīṣārī at least until the advent of Sultān Sulaymān. Sultān Sulaymān appears to have had greater interest in improving diplomatic relations with the Ṣafavīds and his decision to release Mīr ‘Abd al-Vahhāb was influenced by this consideration. Sultān Sulaymān possibly responded to the letter he received from Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain, Shāh Ismā‘īl's Vicegerent.

The letter is dated 928/1521 and protests against the Ottoman policy of detaining and imprisoning the Ṣafavī ambassadors, intermediaries and envoys sent to Istanbul at different intervals. Mīrzā Ḥusain expresses hope that after the death of Sultān Selim, in a spirit of reconciliation and in the interest of harmony and peace, the Ottomans would release those detained, especially Mīr ‘Abd al-Vahhāb whose elevated lineage and eminence of his titles distinguished him among his peers. Mīrzā Ḥusain adds that this was the reason the Ṣafavīs had delayed an official presentation for the occasion of the death of Sultān Selim and the accession of Sultān Sulaymān (r. 926- 74 /1520-66). The letter confirms that Mīr ‘Abd al-Vahhāb was in prison at least until 928/1521.⁸²

While it is possible to confirm *Afzal's* dating of Mīr ‘Abd al-Vahhāb's mission, we can not corroborate its report that he was killed by the Ottoman army because of his Shī‘ī missionary activities. In fact all the available evidence suggests that Mīr ‘Abd al-Vahhāb was possibly a pseudo-Shī‘ite. He was the son of ‘Abd al-Ghaffār Ṭabāṭabā‘ī whom Uzūn Ḥasan had appointed as *Shaykh al-Islām* of Āzarbāyjān. After having lived in Samarqand with Khvāja ‘Ubayd Allāh Ahrārī, the spiritual leader of the Naqshbandī Ṣūfī order (d. 1490),⁸³ ‘Abd al-Vahhāb returned to

⁸¹ Ibid. pp. 101, 106.

⁸² Ibid, pp. 353-7. The letter is now held at Topkapi archive, E. 4256.

⁸³ Jo-Ann Gross, "Authority and Miraculous Behaviour: Reflections on Karāmāt Stories of Khwaja ‘Ubaydullāh Ahrār" in Leonard Lewisohn (ed.) *The Legacy of Mediaeval Persian Sufism*, (London, 1992), p. 159.

Tabriz to succeed his father as *Shaykh al-Islām*.⁸⁴ He also forged strong political and family ties with the Āq Qūyūnlūs through marriage to the daughter of Ya‘qūb Mīrzā, the son of Uzūn Ḥasan Āq Qūyūnlū. His son Sayyid Ḥasan Beg was born of this marriage. The custodianship of the mausoleum of Ḥasan Pādishāh, also known as Naṣrīya, in the Šāhib Ābād district of Tabriz, too belonged to Mīr ‘Abd al-Vāhhāb and later to his sons.⁸⁵ Therefore on the eve of the conquest of Tabriz by Shāh Ismā‘īl in 1501, Mīr ‘Abd al-Vāhhāb was firmly entrenched in the religious tradition and the political ruling elite of the city, which at this time was predominantly Sunnī.⁸⁶ He was so alarmed by the rise of Shāh Ismā‘īl that he fled to Harat in fear of his life.⁸⁷ After the death of Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqara, however, and possibly at the invitation of Shāh Ismā‘īl he returned to Āzarbāyjān. In Tabriz he was well received by the Shāh who "granted him immense favour and immunity from the accidents of this world".⁸⁸ Shāh Ismā‘īl subsequently sent him to the Ottoman court for negotiations with Sulṭān Selim. Mīr ‘Abd al-Vāhhāb was a member of the class of Iranian aristocracy who thanks to family solidarity, knowledge of jurisprudence (*fiqh*), and fiscal expertise succeeded in retaining their power base and privileges within the Šafavid administration.⁸⁹ Mīr ‘Abd al-Vāhhāb's continued ascendancy under Shāh Ismā‘īl possibly owed less to his fervent adherence to the Šafavid ideology than to his administrative skills and knowledge of *fiqh*. This may also explain why he was not executed soon after his arrival in Āmāsya as were the second ambassadors who made the same journey later that year. It is likely that Sulṭān Selim regarded Mīr ‘Abd al-Vāhhāb as being a Sunnī or a Sunnī sympathiser and was

⁸⁴ Bacque Grammont, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

⁸⁵ TAAA, p. 153; Muḥammad ‘Alī Tarbiyat, *Dānishmandān-i Āzarbāyjān*, (Tehran, 1314), p. 268, also offers a brief biography of Mīr ‘Abd al-Vāhhāb.

⁸⁶ Hans R. Romer, "The Qizilbāsh Turcomans: Founders and Victims of the Safavid Theocracy" in Michele M. Mazzoui and Vera B. Moreen (eds.) *Intellectual Studies on Islam*, (Salt Lake City, 1990), p. 34.

⁸⁷ *Ḥabīb al-siyār*, pp. 608-9.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* p. 609.

⁸⁹ Jean Aubin, "Etudes Safavides. I. Šah Ismā‘īl et les Notables de L'Iraq Persan", *JESHO* 2(1959). pp. 39-42.

reluctant to kill him.⁹⁰ The second ambassadors Ḥusain Beg and Bayram Khān were high ranking Qizilbāsh Amirs and represented the revolutionary core of the Ṣafavid political and religious establishment and Sulṭān Selim did not hesitate to execute them. Circumstantial evidence too supports, albeit indirectly, the notion that Mīr ‘Abd al-Vahhāb did not represent the religious extremism of the Ṣafavid state. Navā’ī has claimed that after the death of Sulṭān Selim, his son and successor Sulṭān Sulaymān released Mīr ‘Abd al-Vahhāb from prison but the long years of harsh imprisonment had so weakened him that he died in 930/1423-4 and was buried in the cemetery of Abū Ayyūb-i Anṣārī. Navā’ī however does not identify his source.⁹¹ Therefore on the strength of the available evidence, the notion put forward by Fazlī that Mīr ‘Abd al-Vahhāb converted thousands of the Ottomans to Shī‘ism or to the religious extremism of the Qizilbāsh and was killed for it, is not tenable and can not be corroborated. It is however consistent with the author's systematic attempt to obscure the heterogeneous religious and political character of the Ṣafavid polity under Shāh Ṭahmāsp.

⁹⁰ Bacque-Grammont, *op. cit.* , p. 82.

⁹¹ ‘Abdo-l-Ḥoseyn Navā’ī, *Shāh Ismā‘īl-i Ṣafavī, Asnād va Mukātabāt-e tā’riḥ ham-rāh bâ yād-dasthā-ye tafṣīli*, (Tehran, 1347). p. 233. Cited in Bacque-Grammont, *op. cit.* , p. 83. note 231.

3. *The Historiography of the Battle of Jām*

The battle of Jām, 935/1528, was an important political and military event of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's minority.⁹² Following this military victory Shāh Ṭahmāsp was able for the first time since his accession in 930/1523-4 to assert greater political influence at court. Shortly after the victory at Jām he invited the Ustājlu *uymaq* back from exile in Gilān thus destabilising the Takalū tribe's hegemony at court. Militarily too this was a turning point in Ṭahmāsp's relation with the Uzbeks. For the battle of Jām 'Ubayd Khān Uzbek had enlisted the armies of the "appanage states"⁹³ of Transoxiana to join him against the Ṣafavids. According to *Afzal* "since the time of Chingiz Khān, no army of such magnitude had crossed the river Oxus" and the Uzbek army comprised the armies of Kāshghar, Turkistān, Andijān, Qazāq, Dasht-i Qipchāq and Qirqīz.⁹⁴ As a consequence of the Uzbek defeat in this battle, however, 'Ubayd Khān was unable to enlist the military support of the Uzbek confederacy in his future wars against the Ṣafavids. In the following year, 936/1529, 'Ubayd Khān appealed to the Sulṭāns of Turkistān for assistance to muster an army for another offensive against Khurāsān but he had little success.⁹⁵ Abū Sa'īd Khān the Pādishāh of the whole of Turkistān refused 'Ubayd Khān's plea for assistance and advised him to be content with his own kingdom.

Different versions of this major battle appear in the surviving Ṣafavid court chronicles. Of these sources *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* offers the most detailed and elaborate account of this event and is one of the main sources which Dickson used for his study of the battle of Jām. Dickson tried to reconstruct the battle of Jām in the light

⁹² For an excellent analysis of the Ṣafavid-Uzbek relations during the minority of Shāh Ṭahmāsp in general and the battle of Jām in particular see Martin B. Dickson, " *Shāh Ṭahmāsp and the Uzbeks, A Duel for Khurāsān with 'Ubayd Khān (930-946/1524-1540)*", Unpublished PhD thesis (Princeton University), 1958. pp. 127-41.

⁹³ The "Appanage-state" is the term Dickson uses to describe the member states of the Abū'l-Khayr Dynastic House. Dickson, *op. cit.* , pp. 24-37.

⁹⁴ *Afzal II*, f. 41b.

⁹⁵ *Afzal II*, f. 54a . *Khulāṣa*, p. 209.

of the evidence found in *Afzal* and a number of other Şafavid and Uzbek sources. He was aware of these divergent and irreconcilable versions but in the absence of a systematic historiographical examination of the source material he was unable to arrive at a definitive version of the battle of Jām. He presents the evidence and leaves to the reader the task of formulating a final version.

Therefore to formulate a clearer view of the battle and to assess the value of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* as an important source for Şafavid history, certain aspects of *Afzal's* version of this battle require critical evaluation. This section will first focus on the historical methodology which has been employed in the writing of this chronicle. It will then examine the significance of the author's distinctive historical interpretation of this event in the context of the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, the subject of Fażlī's history, and also in the context of the political and religious culture of the reigns of Shāh ʿAbbās I and Shāh Şafī when *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* was written. This exercise, it is hoped, will highlight some of the difficulties faced by the scholars of Şafavid historiography and more widely it will shed some light on the issues relating to the political culture of the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās.

Historical Methodology

As Quinn has shown, Şafavid historical writing was based on a methodology which may be called "imitative writing". This methodology called for a chronicler narrating a non-contemporary event to adopt one or more models from contemporary chronicles, narratives which he imitated word for word, paraphrased, versified, simplified, and updated to make his version appropriate for the time.⁹⁶

Following this historical tradition, for the battle of Jām, as in the rest of the chronicle, the author Fażlī writing in 1023-1049/1614-39, has used the most contemporary source Ḥasan Rūmlū's *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*, 985/1577, as his basic source. Fażlī has taken much of the narrative from *Aḥsan*. In parts he has reproduced

⁹⁶ Quinn, "The Dreams of Shaykh Şafī al-Dīn", pp. 127-147.

a verbatim account while in other parts he has paraphrased the narrative. The author has also, with a few exceptions, inserted almost identical epic poems as *Aḥsan* at the same points in the narrative. We are told in the preface of the first volume of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* that most of these verses are by the Poet Laureate Mīrzā Qāsim Junābādī. Most importantly Faḏlī has considerably updated his narrative which has given rise to significant discrepancies between the two chronicles.

The author is systematic in the arrangement of the evidence under two distinct sub-headings. First comes "The battle of Jām and the defeat of Shāh Ṭahmāsp".⁹⁷ The narrative then continues under the second sub-heading "The Second Battle of His Majesty Shāh Ṭahmāsp with ‘Ubayd Khān and the defeat of ‘Ubayd Khān".⁹⁸ This two-day version of the battle, 10-11 Muḥarram 935/ 24-25 September 1528, distinguishes *Afzal* from *Aḥsan* and the other sources examined here for the purpose of this study, all of which relate a one-day version.⁹⁹ Additional sources are Shāh Ṭahmāsp's autobiography *Tazkira-i Shāh Ṭahmāsp*, the *Khulāṣat al-Tavārīkh* by Qāzī Aḥmad Qumī, the *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh* by Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Khākī Shīrāzī¹⁰⁰ and *Tārīkh-i ‘Ālam Ārā-i ‘Abbāsī* by Iskandar Beg Munshī. *Afzal* is further distinguished from *Aḥsan* by the central and prominent role it assigns to Shāh Ṭahmāsp in leading the Qizilbāsh army towards final victory; *Aḥsan* is more ambiguous on this point. The author Faḏlī also includes a dream while *Aḥsan* does not. Finally Faḏlī has invested spiritual authority in the person of Shāh Ṭahmāsp in order to legitimise not only his military leadership in this particular battle but also his reign. Although *Afzal*'s two-day version represents an independent

⁹⁷ *Afzal II*, f. 39a.

⁹⁸ *Afzal II*, f. 43a.

⁹⁹ There is some disagreement among the sources about the exact date of the battle of Jām: *Khulāṣa*, p. 187. In the letter of victory, Qāzī Aḥmad has recorded the 2nd Muḥarram 935/16 September 1528 as the date of the Ṣafavid victory at Jām. *TAAA*, p. 54, gives the day of ‘Āshūrā. 10 Muḥarram 935 / 24 September 1528, as the date of the battle. ‘Abdī Beg Shīrāzī, *Takmilat al-Akḥbār*, (ed.) ‘Abdul Ḥusain Navā‘ī, (Tehran, 1369), p. 65, also notes Saturday 10 Muḥarram 935 / 24 September 1528. Qāzī Aḥmad Ghafārī Qazvīnī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān Ārā*, (ed.) ‘Allāma Qazvīnī, (Tehran, 1343), p. 284, reports Saturday 15 Muḥarram 935 / 29 September 1528.

¹⁰⁰ Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Khākī Shīrāzī, *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh*, India Office, IO 1649.

historical tradition, the author Fażlī has imitated *Aḥsan* in some basic facts and sequence of events and has significantly embellished them.

Both sources agree that prior to the battle of Jām, Shāh Ṭahmāsp went to Mashhad for pilgrimage before departing for Khargird, in the vicinity of Jām. A detachment of the Uzbek army was intercepted near Khargird. According to *Aḥsan* :

"[His Highness] despatched fourteen *qūrchīs* to reconnoitre [the area]".¹⁰¹

Afzal too reports this reconnaissance but in a much more elaborate version :

"Shāh Ṭahmāsp, the Father of Victory and the Warrior of the Faith, may he rest in paradise, sent fourteen trustworthy and able young scouts (*qarāvulān*) who by the love of the Fourteen Pure Souls had come from the fold of inexistence to the meadow of life, to reconnoitre the area.....".¹⁰²

The religious tone in *Afzal's* version is striking. By giving Shāh Ṭahmāsp the title of the Warrior of the Faith (*ghāzī*) the author has interpreted this battle as *jihād* (holy war).¹⁰³ Although in his narrative Ḥasan Rūmlū alludes to the bad customs and orthodox laws which 'Ubayd Khān had imposed on occupied Khurāsān and that this had motivated the Shāh to liberate the province, his choice of royal titles does not include "warrior of the faith" (*ghāzī*). Ḥasan Rūmlū has opted for only one royal title "The Shāh the Refuge of Religion" (*shāh-i dīn-panāh*) which he has extended to "the Shāh the Refuge of Religion the Shadow of God" in one instance. *Afzal's* notion that the "Fourteen Pure Souls", including the Prophet Muḥammad, Faṭīma and the twelve Shī'ī Imāms, protected the young scouts, elevates this reconnaissance from the routine military exercise that it was to a pre-ordained religious mission.

Both *Afzal* and *Aḥsan* concur that the scouts encountered four hundred Uzbek cavalry. A number of them were captured and some fled back to the Ṣafavid camp to

¹⁰¹ *Aḥsan*, p. 213.

¹⁰² *Afzal II*, f. 39b.

¹⁰³ The Ṣafavids redefined *jihād* in order to justify holy war against the people of the book, that is the Georgians and also the Sunnī Uzbeks and the Ottomans. For example *Jāmi' Abbāsī*, the legal manual compiled by Bahā' al-Dīn 'Āmulī for Shāh 'Abbās I, considers when the peoples of the book can be considered infidels (*kuffār-i ḥarb*) and brings the frequent Ṣafavid wars against the Georgians within the ambit of regulation of the sacred law and *jihād*. Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and The Hidden Imam*, (Chicago, 1984), p. 175, cites Bahā' al-Dīn 'Āmulī, *Jāmi' Abbāsī*, (ed.) Iraj Afshār (Tehran, 1340/1961). pp. 150-61.

inform the Shāh. The next day Ṭahmāsp sent Ulma Sulṭān Tekkelū and Muḥammad Khān Zu'l-Qadr Oġlū to lead a contingent against the Uzbeks. It appears that the Ṣafavids had little or no military intelligence on the Uzbek army and this was simply a larger reconnaissance than the previous one to assess the strength of their opponents. The two Qizilbāsh chiefs deemed it unwise to engage in battle against the large army that they had encountered and retreated to camp. According to *Aḥsan* and *Afzal* that night both the Ṣafavid and the Uzbek army camped in Zīr Ābād, in the vicinity of Jām.¹⁰⁴ At this point there is some disagreement between the two chronicles. *Aḥsan* is silent about the events of that night but it reports that the Uzbek Sulṭāns and the Ṣafavid chiefs skirmished the next morning immediately before the main battle :

"The next day the Uzbek Sulṭāns descended on the majestic camp in the vicinity of the district of Zīr Ābād. Both sides opened fire and then withdrew."¹⁰⁵

From *Aḥsan*'s narrative it appears that the main battle of Jām followed soon after this skirmish. According to *Afzal*, however, the brief skirmish between the Ṣafavid and Uzbek scouts (*qarāvulān*), which preceded the main battle, occurred not on the morning of the same day but during the previous night. By this time both sides had formed a good idea of the size and the fighting power of their opponents and retreated to their respective camps to prepare for battle next morning:

"That night they camped at Zīr Ābād of Jām, two *farsakhs* from Fariqī, where the Qizilbāsh scouts (*qarāvulān*) and the Uzbek vanguard (*harāvulān*) clashed."¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ *Afzal II*, f. 39b. *Aḥsan*, p. 213.

¹⁰⁵ *Aḥsan*. p. 213.

¹⁰⁶ The battle was fought in a district of Jām, the modern "Turbat-i Jām", which is situated to the south east of Mashhad, close to the border with Afghanistan. There is, however, disagreement among the sources as to the exact district where the two armies met. *Muntakhab*, f. 602b, *Khulāṣat*, p. 179, and Amir Maḥmūd b. Khwāndmir, *Iran dar rūzigār-i Shāh Ismā'īl va Shāh Ṭahmāsp*, (ed.) Ghulam Rizā Ṭabātabā'i, ((Tehran, 1370), p. 259, report "Sārūqamish", a dependency of Jām to have been the battlefield. *Aḥsan*, p. 213, identifies it as "Khargird" (*TAAA*, p. 53, gives the variant "Khusraujird"). *Takmilat al-Akḥbār*, p. 65, gives "Burdūya" as the battlefield. *Afzal II*, f. 39a, too claims the battle was fought in "Khargird", in the vicinity of Jām but it also gives "Zīr Ābād", two *farsakhs* from Fariqī, as the location. It is possible that all the different locations listed above, "Sārūqamish", "Budūya", and "Zīr Ābād", are in fact different districts of "Khargird". I must thank Dr Bernardini for identifying "Khargird" as the modern "Langar" which is situated a short distance to the north west of Turbat-i Jām.

After the brief skirmish between the scouts of the two armies each side knew of the close proximity of its opponents and camped nearby to prepare for battle. Darkness descended. In that dark night the intrepid warriors lay restless, thinking to prove their bravery and manliness to their equals and to their Spiritual Guide and the *qibla* of the Šūfis. They contemplated accomplishing an exalted station in life or attaining great renown for courage in the event of martyrdom....."¹⁰⁷

Faḏlī has considerably expanded his account. He has altered some of the terminology, he has replaced *Aḥsan's* "Uzbek Sultāns" with the word "*harāvulān*" (vanguard), and has modified his reading of the brief passage in *Aḥsan* in order to elaborate on the night camped on the battle field. This has provided the author with a structure to convey his homage to the Šūfī Qizilbāsh and to commemorate Shāh Ṭahmāsp as the "Spiritual Guide and the *qibla* of the Šūfis".

Notwithstanding the above discrepancy, in their narrative of the events of the morning of the battle *Aḥsan* and *Afzal* again converge in both prose and verse but Faḏlī has incorporated only part of *Aḥsan's* narrative word for word and has added considerably to the narrative. *Aḥsan* begins with a mix of stylised prose and poetry celebrating the sunrise and then continues with the report of the Shāh preparing for battle. To emphasise the similarities between the *Afzal* and *Aḥsan*, the text common to both sources are underlined and emboldened:

In the morning when the sun destroyed the legions of the stars and the universe was cleansed of darkness,¹⁰⁸ The Shāh the Refuge of Religion the Shadow of God wore the helmet of victory and armed himself.¹⁰⁹

Rūmlū has evoked a scene parallel to the epic literary tradition of *Shāhnāma*. The metaphor of the sun destroying the black night has been presented as analogous to the imminent battle between the Šafavids representing the true religion and justice and the Uzbeks representing Sunnī orthodoxy. The use of this metaphor also predicts the inevitability of the Šafavid victory. Faḏlī has also reproduced this metaphor which is devoid of any actual historical content. In this way the author has continued *Aḥsan's* literary tradition while interjecting his own historical version. Firstly, Faḏlī

¹⁰⁷ *Afzal II*, f. 40a.

¹⁰⁸ The prose is interrupted at this point by a verse of three lines. *Aḥsan*, p. 213.

¹⁰⁹ A verse of three lines is inserted at this point. *Aḥsan*, p. 213.

has inserted a different verse at exactly the same point in the narrative. Secondly, he has added some independent information to the text before reporting that the Shāh dressed for battle:

In the morning the sun destroyed the legions of the stars and the universe was cleansed of darkness.¹¹⁰ Until near sunrise His Highness the Shadow of God and the Vicegerent of God¹¹¹ prayed God for the victory of the fathers of the august State (*auliyā-i daulat*). The Shāh awoke and prayed. Chuha Sulṭān, the Commander-in-Chief of the Qizilbāsh forces, received the honour of prostration before the Shāh and requested the royal command to sound the drum of Anūshīrvān. [The Ṣafavid army would sound their drum] only after the Uzbek call to battle. The military inspectors (*tavāchīyān*) were ordered, on hearing the sound of the drum of Anūshīrvān the second, to call the Amirs, the centurions (*yūzbāshīyān*), and the standing corps of royal troops (*qūrchīyān*) to arms. His Majesty the Shadow of God, too dressed for battle and adorned his peerless body with the armour of divine protection and the assistance of the pure spirit of His Holiness the refuge of Prophecy and the Infallible Imāms, and waited for the sound of the battle drum of the *Chingīzī* army; following the tradition of his munificent ancestors, Shāh Ismāʿīl Abu'l-Baqā, whose abode is with ʿAlī, had allowed the enemy to commence the battle.¹¹²

The resulting discrepancies between the two sources are striking. Beyond *Aḥsan's* title of "the Shāh the Refuge of Religion the Shadow of God" which invests Shāh Ṭahmāsp with spiritual authority, when compared with *Afzal*, *Aḥsan's* version is remarkable for the relative secularity of its tone. Whereas *Aḥsan* evokes a secular image of Shāh Ṭahmāsp as a warrior-king in the epic chivalric tradition, *Afzal* renders a saintly image of the Shāh. The report of his early morning prayer is intended to emphasise the Shāh's piety and the title of "His Highness the Shadow of God the Vicegerent of God" arrogates to the Shāh the office of God's representative on earth. Furthermore, consistent with his choice of royal title and designed to emphasise the divinely ordained authority of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, Faḏlī has substituted the metaphor of "the armour of divine protection and the assistance of the pure spirit of His Holiness the refuge of Prophecy and the Infallible Imāms" for *Aḥsan's* "coat of mail".

¹¹⁰ Faḏlī has inserted a verse of three *bait*s at this point. f. 40b.

¹¹¹ Shāh Ṭahmāsp's title reads "*ḥaḏrat-i zill-i subḥānī khalīfta al-raḥmānī*".

¹¹² *Afzal II*, f. 40b

Fazlī's claim that continuing a Ṣafavid tradition, Shāh Ṭahmāsp permitted the enemy to initiate the battle is independent evidence which cannot be corroborated by contemporary evidence.¹¹³ For example in the Uzbek war of 916/1510 against Shaybak Khān Uzbek, one of the earliest Ṣafavid chronicles *Ḥabīb al-siyār* offers no evidence which would indicate that Shāh Ismāʿīl followed such a tradition. However, Fazlī in the first volume of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh*, reports that by the reign of Shāh Ismāʿīl, warfare had been regulated in conformity with the traditions of the Ṣafavī Sulṭāns. Fazlī claims that Shāh Ismāʿīl decreed the ethics of warfare to be codified in a compendium with the title of "*lughat-nāma*".¹¹⁴ One such regulation dictated that a defeated enemy should not be pursued on battlefield. For example, In 912/1506 in the war against the Zuʿl-Qadr of Dīyār Bakr, the Ṣafavī Khāns obeyed this tradition.¹¹⁵ No other evidence has been found to support the existence of such a manual but almost certainly Shāh Ismāʿīl's *lughat-nāma* served Fazlī as his source for the ethics of warfare which he attributes to Shāh Ṭahmāsp.

Ḥasan Rūmlū continues the narrative by praising the swiftness of the Shāh's horse in prose and verse in a manner which evokes Rostam's legendary horse Rakhsh:

[Shāh Ṭahmāsp] then mounted a fierce horse which by night roams a man's dreams and by day gallops like the northern wind. ¹¹⁶

Rūmlū continues his eulogy of the meteoric speed of the Shāh's horse in verse followed by the report :

[The Shāh] drew up the conquering troops in battle array.

Fazlī on the other hand persists with his panegyric of Shāh Ṭahmāsp. This passage is devoid of any significant historical fact but is rich with titles :

As his Highness the Shadow of God dressed in the hereditary garb of courage, the sound of the Uzbek drum reached the World Sovereign the Shadow of God and the

¹¹³ *Aḥsan*, pp. 120-1, *Ḥabīb al-siyār*, p. 512- 14.

¹¹⁴ *Afzal I*, f. 155.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*.

¹¹⁶ *Aḥsan*, p. 214.

Progeny of the Lord of the Age (*farzand-i rasūl-i ākhar al-zamān*). The Commander-in-Chief of the Qizilbāsh forces Chuha Sultān, too, ordered the drum of Anūshīrvān to be beaten and His Highness's horse to be prepared. After hearing the beat of the drums, the victorious Amīrs and troops (*‘asākir*) mounted the horses of hope and fear and entrusted the reins to divine will. His Highness the Refuge of Caliphate and the Hope of the Ṣūfīs **mounted a fierce horse which by night roams a man's dreams and by day gallops like the northern wind**, and drew up the Ṣūfī ranks¹¹⁷ in battle array.¹¹⁸

While Fazlī has imitated *Aḥsan's* literary imagery of Ṭahmāsp's horse, he has embellished his account with strong spiritual fervour. Ṭahmāsp is further invested with supreme spiritual authority as "the Progeny of the Lord of the Age [the Hidden Imām]". Furthermore, his use of the title of the "Refuge of the Caliphate and the Hope of the Ṣūfīs" juxtaposes the role of the Shāh as both the universal leader of the Muslim world and the Ṣūfī leader. Moreover, Fazlī has appropriately substituted the "Ṣūfī ranks" for *Aḥsan's* "conquering troops".

Thereafter both Rūmlū and Fazlī proceed with the account of the battle formation of first the Ṣafavid followed by that of the Uzbek army. Rūmlū reports the battle formation of the Ṣafavid army as follows :

[Shāh Ṭahmāsp] turned his attention to the formation of the army of the empire. Chuha Sultān Tekkelū and Ḥusain Khān Shāmlū and Tabaruk Khān Shāmlū and Ḥamza Sultān Zu'l-Qadr and Ḥamza Sultān Tekkelū and Aḥmad Sultān Ustājlū and Aḥmad Sultān Afshār and Muḥammad Khān Zu'Qadr Oḡlū and Pīr Qulī Sultān Shāmlū and Ya'qūb Sultān Qājār and Muḥammad Sultān Sharaf al-Dīn Oḡlū and Ḥasan Sultān Durghūd Oḡlū and Malik Beg Tund Khūy, took position, some on the right and some on the left flank. And gun carriages replete with light cannons (*‘arābahā-i pur az zarbzān-i farangī*) were deployed in front of the line of troops. The Qizilbāsh army resembled countless particles of sun light and numerous molecules of air ¹¹⁹, all strong and large as a lion (*shīr*) and an elephant, cruel and iron-fisted as a lion (*hizbar*) and a tiger, and swift as a leopard and a wolf. ¹²⁰

And this is *Afzal's* description of the Ṣafavid order of battle:

The Commander-in-Chief of the Qizilbāsh forces Chuha Sultān Tekkelū, Ḥamza Sultān Tekkelū, Aḥmad Sultān Afshār, Ya'qūb Sultān Qājār, and Muḥammad Sultān Sharaf al-Dīn Oḡlū Tekkelū took position on the right wing. Ḥusain Khān Shāmlū,

¹¹⁷ " *Bi tasvīyya-i ṣūfūf-i ṣūfīyya pardākh*"

¹¹⁸ *Afzal II*, f. 41a.

¹¹⁹ My reading of the word "*sujāh*" (air) is different from Seddon's reading of *Aḥsan*. He has opted for the reading "*sijāb*", meaning of which is not clear. *Aḥsan*, p. 214.

¹²⁰ *Aḥsan*, p. 214.

Tabaruk Khalīfa ¹²¹, Muḥammad Khān Zu'l-Qadr Oġlu, Pīr Qulī Sulṭān Shāmlū, Aḥmad Sulṭān Ustājlū, Ḥasan Sulṭān Durghūd Oġlū, and Malik Beg Khūy took position on the left wing. Ulma Sulṭān Tekkelū led a division at the vanguard (*charkhchī*).¹²² [His Majesty] with Mīr Ja'far Sāvajī the Grand Vazir (*i'timād al-daula*), the court officials (*muqarrabān*)¹²³, the centurions (*yuzbāshīyān*), the standing corps of royal troops (*qūrchīyān*), and the gentlemen of the workshops (*āqāyān-i kārkhānijāt*) took position at the centre (*tīb*). His Majesty's army, may he rest in paradise, which did not exceed twenty thousand troops in number, stood in readiness for battle.¹²⁴

In terms of language and content there is little similarity between the order of battle as reported by Rūmlū and Fażlī. First we must consider the divergence between the two accounts of the order of battle before we examine the merits of Fażlī's description. Whereas *Aḥsan* only lists the names of the tribal chiefs without assigning them to any particular flank, Fażlī enumerates the tribal formation of the left and the right flanks. Absent from *Aḥsan*'s description are Ulma Sulṭān Tekkelū, at the vanguard, and the civil functionaries who formed the centre together with Ṭahmāsp. Moreover, *Aḥsan* does not report the size of the Qizilbāsh army. On the other hand, a significant omission from *Afzal*'s report is the Ṣafavids' use of gun carriages. The omission of this important fact therefore raises questions. It may have been due to a clerical error. It is also possible that the author, in order to emphasise the divinely ordained nature of this victory, decided to edit out a direct reference to this important human achievement. This is certainly consistent with his tendency to

¹²¹ *Aḥsan*, p. 214, identifies him as Tabaruk Khān Shāmlū.

¹²² With the exception of Chuha Sulṭān whose position on the right flank is attested by both *Khulāṣa* and *Afzal*, the two sources do not concur on the position of some of the remaining commanders. Ya'qūb Sulṭān Qajār, who is listed by *Afzal* on the right flank, is reported to be on the left flank by *Khulāṣa*. Similarly Ḥusain Khān Shāmlū, Tabaruk Khān Shāmlū and Aḥmad Sulṭān Ustājlū who are placed on the left flank by *Afzal*, are positioned on the right according to *Khulāṣa*, pp. 180-1.

¹²³ During the reign of Shāh 'Abbās when *Afzal* was written, a number of court officials were styled *muqarrabs* (close attendants/companions) by virtue of their special proximity to the Shāh. The *muqarrabs* were divided into two groups "*muqarrab-i khāqān*" and "*muqarrab-i ḥazrat*". The former included the Shāh's physician, the astronomer and the chief of the eunuchs while the latter included the usher of the harem, Aides-de-camp. For a full list of these officials see *TM*, pp. 55-69; Falsafī, vols. 1 & 2, pp. 816-26. It is assumed here that this category of officials also existed at the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp.

¹²⁴ *Afzal II*, f. 41a+b. Dickson, p. 133, claims "The number of Qizilbāsh engaged at Jām varies in the sources from 24000, to 40000 to 80000 to "countless". He does not identify his sources but among the Ṣafavid sources *TAAA*, p. 54, puts the Qizilbāsh army, in addition to the irregular troops (*khurjīnlū*), at 24000 cavalry who received regular salary (*mavājib*). This supports *Afzal*'s estimate of 20000.

elevate the spiritual authority of Shāh Ṭahmāsp. Fażlī has also edited out Rūmlū's literary description of the physical attributes and the fighting power of the Qizilbāsh.

However, *Afzal's* detailed description of the order of battle is very useful. It enables us to identify the broad outline of the tribal and political alliances on the battle field. The right flank broadly consisted of the Tekkelū, the Afshār, and the Qājār *uymaqs* and the left flank comprised the Shāmlū, the Zu'l-Qadr, and the Ustājlū *uymaqs*. It is likely that the tribal configuration on the field of battle also represented the political alliances at court. This might explain why the Tekkelū and their adversaries the Ustājlū *uymaq* took position in opposite flanks. An account of the military review in the following year 936/1529 which took place at Baṣṭām also supports the notion of the political alignment of the constituent tribes of the Qizilbāsh army. The military review was a prelude to the second campaign to liberate Khurāsān from another Uzbek offensive. After his victory at the battle of Jām Shāh Ṭahmāsp had summoned the Ustājlū Amirs back to court from exile in Gilān and during this military review assigned the Tekkelū army to the right wing under the command of Alqās Mīrzā and the Ustājlūs, who numbered sixteen thousand cavalry, to the left wing under the command of Bahrām Mīrzā.¹²⁵

Afzal's description of the formation of the centre is also valuable for it is further evidence that the army was deployed along ethnic and political lines. In contrast to the predominantly Qizilbāsh composition of the left and the right flanks, the centre mainly consisted of the *tājik* civil and religious functionaries,¹²⁶ the regular royal militia and Shāh Ṭahmāsp himself. Fażlī's attention to the detailed formation of the centre is possibly intended to emphasise the identity of those who achieved the final victory, that is Shāh Ṭahmāsp and the Iranian dominated political

¹²⁵ *Khulāṣa*, pp. 199-200.

¹²⁶ In the battle of Chaldiran (920/1514) too the Ṣafavid religious classes were deployed in the centre and the Ṣadr Sayyid Sharīf Shīrāzī and the Ṣadr Amir ʿAbd al-Bāqī were killed in battle. R. M. Savory, "The Principal Offices of the Ṣafawid State during the Reign of Ismāʿīl I (907-30/1501-24)", *BSOAS* xxiii (1960), p. 103.

and religious hierarchy. During the first phase of the battle the Qizilbāsh who had been concentrated in the flanks had all been defeated and the majority had deserted.

In both *Aḥsan* and *Afzal* the report of the battle order of the Qizilbāsh army is immediately followed by a detailed and similar account of the Uzbek military formation. While both sources agree on most points of detail, Faẓlī has paraphrased *Aḥsan*'s prose and has copied the verse. Rūmlū reports :

" 'Ubayd Khān and Kuchūm Khān too deployed their army. 'Ubayd Khān had brought an innumerable army from the countries of Transoxiana, Kāshghar, Turkistān, Andijān, Atrār, Sīrān, Qābil, Ṭurfān, Ghalmān, Qāzāq, Dasht-i Qipchāq and Qīrḳīz. **Such a large army had not crossed the Oxus river since the time of Chingiz Khān.** Verse:

More innumerable than ants and locusts, they had seized the mountains and the seas.

'Ubayd Khān and Kuchūm Khān took position at the centre. Burāq Khān, Fūlād Sulṭān, 'Abd al-'Azīz Sulṭān, and 'Abd al-Laṭīf Sulṭān were assigned to the left wing and Jānī Beg Sulṭān, Gīldy Muḥammad Sulṭān, and Abū Sa'īd Sulṭān to the right wing. Sevīnjūk Muḥammad Sulṭān together with Qanbar 'Alī Beg, Shaykh Dervīsh Beg, and Rustam Qulī Beg¹²⁷ were appointed to the reserve. Ṭabl Khvāja and Qarāja Bahādur were appointed to the vanguard (*qarāvulī*). The other Sulṭāns and Chiefs (*mīrān*) such as Kaskan Qarā Sulṭān, Qumish Ughlān, Tanish Beg, Sayyidum Mīrzā, Jughtāy Bahādur, Biyāqū Bahādur, Hāfiz Qanqarāt and Shaykh Abū Sa'īd Afrāsiyāb, each one of whom was a Rustam, took their positions. Then the sound of the drum and fife of both sides and the *Allāh Allāh* battle cry of the gallant soldiers (*bahādurān*) in the battlefield reached the universe."¹²⁸

Afzal's paraphrased version is as follows :

" On the opposite side 'Ubayd Khān and Kuchūm Khān too deployed the vengeful Uzbek army.¹²⁹ They themselves took position at the centre. Burāq Khān, Fūlād Sulṭān, and 'Abd al-'Azīz Sulṭān were assigned to the left wing and Jānī Beg Sulṭān, Gīldy Muḥammad Sulṭān, and Abū Sa'īd Sulṭān to the right wing.¹³⁰ Sevīnjūk

¹²⁷ The title "Beg" is written "'Bi" in *Aḥsan*.

¹²⁸ *Aḥsan*. p. 214-5.

¹²⁹ Kuchūm Khān or Khuchkunji Khān was the grand Khān of the Uzbek confederacy at Samarqand.

¹³⁰ Burāq Khān was the leader of the Suyūnjid appanage-state which was based in Tāshkand and Turkistan. Dickson refers to him as "sulṭān" and not "khān". Dickson, *op. cit.*, p. 132. Fūlād Sulṭān belonged to the Shāh-Būdāqīd appanage-state whose dominant leader was 'Ubayd Khān himself. The Shāh-Būdāqīds were based in Bukhārā. *Ibid*.

'Abd al-'Azīz Sulṭān was 'Ubayd's son. Jānī Beg Sulṭān was the ruler of the Jānībegid appanage-state and ruled in Kārmīna and Mīyānkān, the area between Samarqand and Bukhārā. Dickson, *op. cit.*, p. 35. The appanage or the tribal affiliation of Gīldy Muḥammad Sulṭān is not clear.

Abū Sa'īd Sulṭān was the son of Kuchkunji Khān who succeeded to the throne as the Grand Khān of the Uzbek confederacy after his father's death in the following year, 936/1529.

Muḥammad Sulṭān, Qanbar ‘Alī Beg, Shaykh Dervīsh Beg, and Rustam Quḷī Beg were appointed to the reserve so that they could provide reinforcement wherever the need arose. Ṭabl Khvāja and Qarāja Bahādur were appointed to the vanguard (*charkhchī shuda*). Kaskan Qarā Sulṭān, Qumish Ughlān, Tanish Beg, Sayyidum Mirzā, Jughtāy Bahādur, Biyāqū Bahādur, Hāfiz Qanqarāt and Shaykh Abū Sa‘īd Afrāsiyāb took position at the centre with ‘Ubayd Khān and Kuchūm Khān. The entire armies of Transoxiana, Kāshghar, Turkistān, Andijān, Qāzāq, and Dasht-i Qipchāq and Qirqīz prepared for battle and drew up opposite the victorious army. **Such a large army had not crossed the Oxus river since the time of Chingiz Khān.**¹³¹ Verse:

More innumerable than ants and locusts, they had seized the mountains and the seas.¹³²

The victorious warriors of the faith (*ghāziyān*) too drew up in battle array and each man took up his position. The sound of fife and drum and the *Allāh Allāh* battle cry of the enemy capturing warriors of the faith could be heard by the inhabitants of the universe.¹³³

The above comparison shows the extent to which Faḏlī has imitated *Aḥsan* in both prose and verse. There are however some minor differences which have resulted from omission of some facts by the author Faḏlī. He has omitted Andijān, Aṭrār, Sīrān, Qābil, Ṭurfān and Ghalmān from the list of kingdoms which comprised the Uzbek army. Similarly in his version Faḏlī has not included ‘Abd al-Laṭīf Sulṭān on the left wing of the Uzbek army. There are also some linguistic differences. The author has replaced *Aḥsan's "qarāvulān"* with "*charkhchī*" (vanguard). Unlike Ḥasan Rūmlū, Faḏlī has described the Uzbek army as "vengeful" and the Ṣafavid army as "victorious". Both Rūmlū and Faḏlī have used the same poem to denigrate the Uzbeks for their repugnant physical attributes and their dishonourable character but

¹³¹ *Afzal*, later in the narrative, reports the Uzbek army numbered 80000, However, the text of a letter, dated 961/1553-4, which Shāh Ṭahmāsp sent to the Ottoman Sulṭān puts the Uzbek army at 200000, Dickson, *op. cit.*, p. 127, note 1; *Afzal II*, ff. 198b-199a. As Dickson has also pointed out the number was exaggerated in order to impress the Ottoman Sulṭān. *Khulāṣa*, pp. 180 & 184, puts the Uzbek army at 250000 cavalry. This however contradicts the text of the letter of victory (*fath-nāma*), in the same source, p.187, sent by the order of Shāh Ṭahmāsp to the provinces of the Ṣafavid empire, which records the size of the Uzbek army at 100000. *TAAA*, p. 54, cites Mīr Yaḥyā Sayfī the author of *Lubb al-Tavārīkh* as the most reliable source who reported the size of the Uzbek army at 120000. Iskandar Beg reckons that it was universally believed that the Uzbek cavalry alone without the *parnāvul?* and *almānchī?* stood at 80000. Iskandar Beg's estimate is closer to that given by the letter of victory cited above. On the strength of the evidence we may consider the figure 100000 as closer to the mark.

¹³² The verse continues.

¹³³ *Afzal II*, ff. 41b-42a.

whereas Rūmlū has interspersed the prose with one or more couplets Fażlī has inserted the poem in its entirety at the end of the narrative.

In the following passage Fażlī reproduces only part of *Aḥsan's* flowery description of the actual battle in both prose and verse. This part of the text creates a literary image of an epic battle without actually conveying any historical facts.

Rūmlū writes:

"The two armies undulated like two green seas and came to grips with each other. The lion-hearted men and the destructive battalions advanced to the attack. Such battle ensued that the noise of the horses' feet thundered through the air, and the cloud of dust concealed the sun.

The sharp swords shone brilliantly like lightening in black clouds and the swords in the grasp of the warriors radiated with a bright flame. The arrows had blackened the sky like an army of locusts and concealed the face of the sun with a black mask. The sharp arrows pierced the hearts of the warriors like the wisdom of the sage.

The mighty Qizilbāsh army kindled the flames of war with the boisterous wind of courage. The deadly poplar arrows of the lightening Uzbek troops fastened the stars of Pleiad to the belt of Orion.¹³⁴

Fażlī has copied only sections of the above passage:

The two armies undulated like two green seas and came to grips with each other. The lion-hearted men and the destructive battalions advanced to the attack. Such battle ensued that the noise of the horses' feet thundered the air, and the cloud of dust concealed the sun. The mighty Qizilbāsh army kindled the flames of war with the boisterous wind of courage. The deadly poplar arrows of the lightening Uzbek troops fastened the stars of the Pleiad to the belt of Orion.¹³⁵

The subsequent section of the narrative in both *Aḥsan* and *Afzal* describes the battle. Although Fażlī continues with selective imitation of prose and verse from *Aḥsan*, the two historical traditions begin to diverge significantly. The principal disagreement between Rūmlū and Fażlī arises from their respective interpretation of the extent of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's active participation in the battle and his personal contribution to the Ṣafavid victory.

Rūmlū reports:

¹³⁴ *Aḥsan*, p. 216.

¹³⁵ *Afzal II*, f. 42a.

In the meantime, Jānī Beg Khān and a division of the Uzbek army attacked the Tekkelū Amirs. In the midst of fighting the Qizilbāsh Amirs were defeated. The courageous Muḥammad Sulṭān Sharaf al-Dīn Oġlū fell from his horse but one of the militia (*mulāzimān*) mounted him [on his horse] and Ḥasan Sulṭān Durghūd Oġlū came to his assistance and engaged in the fighting. Finally the Tekkelū Amirs fled and Jānī Beg Sulṭān overwhelmed them and forced them to retreat [The Uzbeks] opened fire on the camels of the army store (*urdūbāzār*). The men of the army store drove the Uzbeks away by their fire but the Uzbeks overcame [them] killing and injuring the majority of the men.

The Amirs of the left wing also fled. Ya‘qūb Sulṭān Qājār and Malik Beg Khu‘iy, without pausing to stop, went to Dāmghān and Semnān. After the flight of the left and the right flanks, **the Shāh the Refuge of Religion remained in his pivotal position and was not at all perturbed.**

The gunners and musketeers were deployed in front of the line of troops but were unable to use their guns because the Uzbeks did not attack from the front. **The air was full of dust and in the darkness one could not distinguish friend from foe.** After the sky had cleared, the Shāh the Refuge of Religion saw a white banner under which a crowd had assembled. It appeared to that Majesty that ‘Ubayd Khān was standing under the banner. His Majesty the Refuge of Religion sent the army to defeat that wretched [man]. The loyal *ghāziyān* and the war-like standing corps of royal troops drew their swords and attacked ‘Ubayd and Kuchūm Khān. The army of ‘Ubayd Khān and Kuchūm Khān too came to the defence. Both sides witnessed the cruel sword remove the mask of darkness from the luminous faces and make an attempt on the lives of the brave [men]. The bow turned its arched back to the enemy and despatched with swift arrow the inevitable news [of victory] to the hearts of the young and the old. As the battlefield warmed to the flaming sword of the standing corps of royal troops and the breeze of desire blew over the *ghāzī*'s meadow of fortune and the worthy heroes sensed the scent of victory, ‘Ubayd Khān and Kuchūm Khān retreated from the battlefield and fled.¹³⁶

And *Afzal*'s version:

In the midst of the battle, **Jānī Beg Khān and a division of the Uzbek army attacked the Tekkelū Amirs.** Chuha Sulṭān Tekkelū with the right wing of the Qizilbāsh army were unable to repulse the assault and were forced to flee the battle ground. Muḥammad Sulṭān Sharaf al-Dīn Oġlū fell from his horse and the Uzbeks rushed upon him but Ḥasan Sulṭān Durghūd Oġlū came to his assistance and mounted him on his horse. Next came the militia (*mulāzimān*) of Muḥammad Sulṭān who took him to safety. The defeat of the Tekkelū contingent and the heavy loss of men that they sustained prompted the Uzbeks to attack the Qizilbāsh army with greater boldness and courage.

The reserve, the right, the left wings and the vanguard broke ranks. Without pausing to stop, Aḥmad Sulṭān Afshār returned to his district (*ulkā'*) of Kermān, and Ya‘qūb Sulṭān Qājār and Malik Beg Khu‘iy to Semnān. The fearless Uzbeks pursued the retreating army attacking the Qizilbāsh and the army stores which were

¹³⁶ *Aḥsan*, pp. 216-8.

positioned at the rear of the army. The courageous men of the army stores fought the Uzbeks killing large numbers. Finally they too were overpowered and abandoned all belongings and equipment and fled for their lives. **The Shāh the Refuge of Religion remained in his pivotal position and was not at all perturbed by the turn of events.** The gunners and musketeers who were at the service of His Majesty opened fire on the Uzbeks. **The air was full of dust and in the darkness one could not distinguish friend from foe.**

When the dust settled, it appeared to the Shāh that except for the centre, not one of the troops who had earlier been engaged in battle remained on the field. The author of *Aḥsan al-Tavārikh* who himself was at the service of His Highness Shāh Ṭahmāsp the warrior of the faith, may he rest in paradise, as an arm-bearer in the rank of the standing corps of royal troops (*qūrchiyān-i yarāq bardār*), has noted in his history that after the sky had cleared, the Shāh led the centre, attacked and defeated ‘Ubayd Khān and Kuchūm Khān. The authors of *Khuld Ārā*, *Muntakhab al-Tavārikh*, *Miftāh al-qulūb*,¹³⁷ and Maulānā Nujūmī the author of *Tārīkh-i Harat va Khurāsān*, have written that after all hope of any assistance from the Amirs of the right and left wings had diminished, the Shāh firmly held his ground and struck many Uzbeks from their horses with his lethal lance. [The Shāh] then determined to ride to the foot of the banner when the Grand Vazir Mīr Ja‘far, the Ṣadr Mīr Qavām al-Dīn Ḥusain, and the Qizilbāsh Centurions (*yuzbāshīyān*) beseeched him to retreat, counselling him that such defeats were prevalent in warfare. [They advised him] that with divine favour, he should muster a new army to take revenge on the Uzbeks on whom the world has turned its back. They then took His Highness away from the battlefield leaving the entire camp (*urdū*) and the equipment of the army stores (*urdū bazārī*) in possession of the covetous Uzbeks. 138

A comparison of the two accounts of the battle as illustrated above shows that both Rūmlū and Fażlī agree in their view of the course of events during the first phase of the battle. Both sources concur in the view that in this phase of the battle the cavalry of both armies advanced to the attack. The vanguard, the right and the left flanks of the Ṣafavid army were unable to repulse the Uzbek offensive and broke ranks; the troops dispersed and their commanders fled. Fażlī also adds the name of Aḥmad Sulṭān Afshār, the governor of Kermān, to *Aḥsan*'s list of the Ṣafavid Amirs who fled back to their provinces. Although neither source names him, Chuha Sulṭān Tekkelū, the commander-in-chief of the Qizilbāsh forces who had led the Tekkelūs in the right flank, was also among those who fled from the battle field but later that

¹³⁷ This is likely to be a reference to the inextant volume of *Miftāh al-Qulūb* by Shams al-Dīn al-Āṣil. C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature, A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*, (London, 1972-39), vol. 1, part 1, p. 155.

¹³⁸ *Afzal II*, ff. 42b-43a.

day reappeared next to the Shāh. Both sources also agree that the Uzbeks captured and plundered the Şafavid army stores.

The comparison of the two versions also yields some interesting divergence. *Afzal* and *Aḥsan* disagree on three important issues. Firstly, the two sources report opposing views concerning the success with which field artillery was used in this battle. Savory has interpreted *Aḥsan's* evidence as the proof that the immobility of the artillery rendered it ineffective at the battle of Jām.¹³⁹ On the other hand, *Afzal's* evidence cannot be dismissed as unreliable. In a battle which the Şafavids were outnumbered by the Uzbeks by about 4 to 1, it is more than likely that superior firepower contributed to the clear victory which the Qizilbāsh achieved. An account in *Bābūrnāma* supports this. According to this account, the centre of the Şafavid army had formed itself in the Ottoman fashion of chaining together the light cannons in a laagar protected by infantry-fusiliers.¹⁴⁰ This formation could withstand a cavalry attack from any direction. One must also remember that the Ottoman victory against the Şafavids at Chaldiran was largely achieved by the use of artillery against a light and tribal cavalry force.¹⁴¹

The second issue concerns the question of whether Shāh Ṭahmāsp personally engaged in battle. *Aḥsan* reports " [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] sent the army to beat off that wretched [‘Ubayd Khān]". The wording clearly denies that Ṭahmāsp took any active part in the final offensive leading up to the victory. Fazlī on the other hand, quotes *Aḥsan* as reporting that "after the sky had cleared, the Shāh led the centre, attacked and defeated ‘Ubayd Khān and Kuchūm Khān". As has been illustrated above, Seddon's edition of *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* does not corroborate this evidence. It is not possible to account for this discrepancy. Fazlī may have had access to a different

¹³⁹ R. M. Savory, "Bārūd", *EI*, vol. 1, (Leiden, 1960), p. 1067. See also Laurence Lockhart, "The Persian Army in the Şafavī Period", *Der Islam*, vol. xxxiv (1959), p. 91. Lockhart notes that a heavy cannon had to be carried in a wagon drawn by 20 horses, while a lighter cannon required 10 horses to draw it.

¹⁴⁰ Dickson, p. 136.

¹⁴¹ Lockhart, *op. cit.*, p. 90

copy of *Aḥsan* from that which Seddon edited. Alternatively, he may have misread his source but this is unlikely. Another possibility is that he distorted *Aḥsan's* evidence in order to elicit a picture consistent with the accounts given by the other four sources, *Khuld Ārā*, which is in fact *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam Ārā-i ʿAbbāsī* by Iskandar Beg Munshi and two lesser known sources, *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh*,¹⁴² *Miftāh al-qulūb*, and the lost source *Tārīkh-i Harat va Khurāsān* by Maulānā Nujūmī Haravī, all of which claimed that Ṭahmāsp fought and killed many Uzbeks. At any rate the *revāyat* attributed to Rūmlū and that found in Seddon's edition of *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* differ significantly.

Thirdly, the two sources differ as to when the battle was concluded, whether on the afternoon of the same day or it was fought over two days. Rūmlū clearly distinguishes between the initial defeat of the left and the right flanks of the Ṣafavid army and the final Qizilbāsh victory but he does conclude the battle in one day. Faḏlī, on the other hand, opts for the two day version of the battle. He ends the narrative of the first day of the battle with the Ṣafavid army defeated and the young Shāh Ṭahmāsp distraught.¹⁴³ He then continues the narrative under the sub-heading "The Second Battle of His Majesty Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī, may he rest in paradise, with ʿUbayd Khān the Deaf and the Defeat of ʿUbayd Khān".¹⁴⁴

The Second Day of the Battle

Faḏlī reports that that night the Uzbeks, confident of their victory, occupied and plundered the Ṣafavid camp. Shāh Ṭahmāsp and the remaining Ṣafavid contingent, having been defeated by an Uzbek army of 80,000 strong, retreated to a nearby river some three leagues away for the night.¹⁴⁵ During the night Shaykh ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿĀl (Karakī), the Mujtahid of the Age, the Amirs and the Khāns tried to

¹⁴² Dickson, p. 127, note 1, has erroneously identified this source as *Bahjat al-Tavārīkh*.

¹⁴³ *Afzal II*, f. 43a.

¹⁴⁴ *Afzal II*, ff. 43b-45a.

¹⁴⁵ The author may have had the "Tedjen River" in mind.

comfort the young Shāh but he was inconsolable. Interestingly only *Afzal* reports the presence of Shaykh Karakī at the battle of Jām and hence the extent of the Shīʿī cleric's military and political involvement at court. Fażlī uses his narrative of the night interval between the two battles to establish and strengthen the Shāh's spiritual and political authority and thus his claim to military leadership. This is partly achieved by his use of royal titles and partly through a detailed account of the divine revelation which Shāh Tahmāsp is alleged to have received in his dream that night.

The author continues to emphasise the spiritual authority of Shāh Ṭahmāsp by the use of the following titles: "The Refuge of the Caliphate", "The Spiritual Guide and the Shadow of God", "The Spiritual Guide and the Qibla", "the Pādishāh the son of the House of ʿAlī", "the Kaʿba and Qibla of the Ṣūfis", and "the World Sovereign the Shadow of God and the Progeny of the Lord (*rasūl*) of the Age". These titles reiterate the official Ṣafavid propaganda based on the Shāh's claims to spiritual leadership by virtue of descent from Imām ʿAlī. He is presented as both the heir to the ʿAlid Shīʿī heritage and also the spiritual guide (*pīr*) and the object of Ṣūfī veneration (*qibla va kaʿba*). Furthermore the title of "The Refuge of the Caliphate" bestows on Ṭahmāsp universal leadership of the Muslim world. This was no doubt intended to counter the Ottoman Sulṭān's usurpation of the same title.¹⁴⁶ Acceptance of the Shāh's religious authority and hence of his political and military leadership would therefore be considered as incumbent on his Qizilbāsh following.

The author further attempts to strengthen the Shāh's claim to political and religious legitimacy by giving the most elaborate surviving account of a dream which the Shāh is alleged to have had that night. It is the inclusion of the dream in the narrative which dictated the author's preference for the two-day version of the battle as opposed to the one day-version reported by all the other chroniclers. Fażlī reports that in the middle of that calamitous night Shāh Ṭahmāsp woke up and

¹⁴⁶ *Süleyman the Magnificent and His Age, The Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern Age*, (eds.) Metin Kunt and Christine Woodhead, (1995), pp. 152-3. See also, Robert Hillenbrand, "Ṣafavid Architecture", in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 6, p. 762.

demanded that Mīr Nizām al-Mulk Rażavī, the custodian of the shrine in Mashhad, who was in attendance, be summoned. The Shāh wanted to tell Mīr Nizām al-Mulk his dream but before he could relate it the pious sayyid advised the Shāh to act upon the instruction of Their Holinesses, as prescribed in the dream. The religious and the political dignitaries present, including Shaykh ‘Alī b. ‘Āl (Karakī), the Ṣadr Mīr Qavām al-Dīn Ḥusain, the Grand Vazir Mīr Ja‘far and the pillars of the state, rejoiced at hearing this auspicious news and asked "His Highness the Refuge of the Caliphate" to relate the whole dream. The Shāh asked Mīr Nizām al-Mulk who had featured in the dream at the gathering of his "peerless ancestors" to recount it. Mīr Nizām first enumerated those present in the dream. They were first His Holiness the Refuge of Muḥammadan Prophecy [the Prophet Muḥammad]. Then came *Shāh-i vilāyat panāh*, it is not clear whether this refers to Shāh Ṭahmāsp or Shāh Ismā‘īl. Finally, there were the guiding Imāms and the grand shaykhs the ancestors of Ṭahmāsp. The above saintly gathering made it known that unless Ṭahmāsp personally took part in battle victory would not be achieved.¹⁴⁷ *Afzal* then reports that when Mīr Nizām told the dream to those present in the royal camp "the Ṣūfis and the sincere devotees" (*ṣūfiyān u yekjahān u mukhliṣān*) rejoiced, cried *Allāh Allāh* and pledged to serve their spiritual guide (*pīr va pīr-zāda*)".

The dream bears all the characteristics of an "oracular dream". The dreamer, Shāh Ṭahmāsp, received the dream in sleep. The revelation- that victory depends on his personal command of the army- is made directly to him without any symbolism, therefore it requires no interpretation.¹⁴⁸ The earliest chronicled version of this divine revelation appears in Shāh Ṭahmāsp's autobiography *Tazkira-i Shāh Ṭahmāsp*. In this much simplified version the Shāh states that after the day's battle the Ṣafavid army spent the night in the desert, not knowing what the outcome of the battle had been. That night the revelation came to Ṭahmāsp in a vision (*dar vāqi‘a*). Shāh

¹⁴⁷ *Afzal II*, ff. 43b - 44a.

¹⁴⁸ Johnathan G. Katz, "Shaykh Aḥmad's dream: A 19th-century Eschatological Vision", *Studia Iranica* 79 (1994). p. 176.

Ṭahmāsp reports that he saw his master and lord (*āqā va maulā-i khud*) Imām ‘Alī who smiled at him and said "praise be to God, he [Ṭahmasp] has attained a blessed victory".¹⁴⁹ This was confirmed the next morning when the Shāh realized that the Uzbeks had indeed been defeated and their leaders had fled. Unlike *Afzal's* dream which prophesies Ṭahmasp's conditional victory, the Shāh's vision confirms an act already accomplished. This may account for the absence of the Prophet, the other Imāms and Ṭahmāsp's ancestors from the vision. Imām ‘Alī was the sole divine representative in the vision through whom Shāh Ṭahmāsp asserted the divine origin of his authority. Writing approximately forty years before Fazlī, Qāzī Aḥmad Qumī also offers another version of the same dream in his chronicle *Khulāṣat al-Tavārīkh*, completed in 998/1591 during the reign of Shāh ‘Abbās. According to *Khulāṣa* a pious man in Mashhad dreamed that Imām Rizā was on his way to Jām. In a conversation with the man the Imām is reported to have said that he was going to help Ṭahmāsp. Qāzī Aḥmad reports :

" The verifier of the spirituality of His Majesty [is] that the depth of the spirituality of that Majesty has stirred the Lord of Glory. "Truth has come and falsehood is bound to perish."¹⁵⁰ And the breeze of victory blew over his [Ṭahmāsp's] triumphant face. "Allāh may help thee with a mighty help".¹⁵¹ And the spirits of the other Infallible Imāms revealed to the merciful Pādishāh "Upon them be the most excellent of prayers and the most perfect greetings". Divine inspiration and the infallible guide whispered in his ear and revealed to his heart that "In whatever way you want you are victorious". Through his all- embracing sanctity [of the eighth Imām], demanding obedience and infallibility, the flower of desire blossomed beautifully in his heart. In this way that son of valiant kings and the heir of the dynasty of the gallant Ḥaydar stood his ground and despite his youth, the small number of the warriors of the faith and the multitudes of the enemies of the faith, he placed his trust in "Many a small party has triumphed over a large party by *Allāh's* command."¹⁵² and implored the guiding Imāms. He did not fear that multitude which resembled the day of Judgement.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ Shāh Ṭahmāsp b. Ismā‘īl b. Ḥaydarī al-Şafavī, *Tazkira-i Shāh Ṭahmāsp*, (ed.) Amrullāh Şafarī, p. 12.

¹⁵⁰ The Quran, chapter 17, verse 81. The Quran, 'Arabic text with a new translation, translated by Muḥammad Zafrullāh Khān.

¹⁵¹ Ibid. p. 512.

¹⁵² The Quran, chapter 2, verse 249. Ibid, p. 40.

¹⁵³ *Khulāṣa*, vol. 1, pp. 183-4.

Khulāṣa's version of this dream shares common features with *Afzal's*. It too is a prophetic dream and invokes the spirits of the Shī'ī Imāms to intercede on Ṭahmāsp's behalf. To authenticate the dream, in both versions, it is told not by Ṭahmāsp himself but by an intermediary, a faithful and righteous believer who himself was present in the dream. Qāzī Aḥmad does not name the believer but the Custodian of the holy shrine at Mashhad Mīr Niẓām al-Mulk Raẓavī, as named by Faẓlī, certainly fulfils the necessary requirements of piety and devotion. However unlike *Tazkira* which names Imām 'Alī as the divine who was revealed to Ṭahmāsp and *Afzal* which invokes the collective sanctity of the prophet, the Imāms and the Ṣafavid shaykhs, *Khulāṣa* identifies Imām Riẓā as the divine whose revelation inspired the Shāh.

The two accounts of the dream also significantly differ. *Khulāṣa* reports the dream to have been revealed to the believer in Mashhad and not on the battlefield as is stated by *Afzal*. *Afzal's* version communicates a greater sense of immediacy and reality about the dream and gives Ṭahmasp a more active role, a quality which *Khulāṣa's* version lacks. Qāzī Aḥmad relates the story which he has heard from a trustworthy source but after the event. Faẓlī gives the illusion of being a court chronicler witnessing the events unfolding before him on the battlefield.

Shāh 'Abbās' official court historian Iskandar Beg Munshī, a contemporary of Faẓlī, also makes a passing reference to the dream. Amid the defeat of the right and left flanks of the Qizilbāsh army, Iskandar Munshī relates:

"His Highness, may he rest in paradise, had dreamed that His Holinesses the Infallible Imāms had given His Majesty the good tidings of victory. That Majesty due to his firmness, valiance and sincerity of belief did not move and his august disposition displayed no signs of trepidation."¹⁵⁴

Although Iskandar Munshī's version of the dream also contains the essential element, the Infallible Imāms prognosticating victory, it is a much simplified version.

¹⁵⁴ TAAA, vol. 1, p. 55.

As has already been noted, *Aḥsan*, which was not only the chronicle closest to the events but also served as a basic source for *Afzal*, does not report this dream. Although Ṭahmāsp has produced a much simplified version in his autobiography *Tazkira-i Shāh Ṭahmāsp*, its omission from *Aḥsan* suggests that the dream as a political and religious legitimising tool had not been utilised by the chronicles contemporary with Shāh Ṭahmāsp. This device was the product of the historiography of the reign of Shāh ‘Abbās and as we have seen, by ‘Abbās’ reign different versions of it began to appear, first in *Khulāṣat al-Tavārīkh*, and then in *Tārīkh-i ‘Ālam Ārā-i ‘Abbāsī* and *Afzal al-Tavārīkh*. It is also likely that the authors of these histories used Shāh Ṭahmāsp's vision, as it appears in his autobiography, as a prototype for their account of the dream.¹⁵⁵ Shāh Ṭahmāsp was aware of the importance of dreams as means of legitimising his actions. Towards the end of his life he rarely took a decision or acted without recourse to his dreams. For example in 972/1564, he granted exemption from taxation to the people of Āzarbāyjān, Iraq, Fārs, Khurāsān, Shīrvān and Gilān after he had received instructions from the Hidden Imām in a dream.¹⁵⁶ However, as the above historiographical review has shown, on this occasion Shāh Ṭahmāsp's alleged dream served as a historiographical device which successive generations of historians of the reign of Shāh ‘Abbās further elaborated and developed. Nevertheless, as Jonathan Katz has also noted, it would not be appropriate to view the dream only as a literary device. "Its functional role, contents and patterns were culturally determined".¹⁵⁷ The dream therefore is valuable as it offers an insight into the ideological basis of political legitimacy as perceived by the chronicler Fażlī.

Fażlī elaborated the dream in order to promote the divine authority of Shāh Ṭahmāsp and his right to rule and to exercise military command. In the context of

¹⁵⁵ Katz, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

¹⁵⁶ *Shāh Ṭahmāsp, majmū‘a-i asnād va mukātibāt-i tārikhī bā yāddāshthā-i tafṣīlī*, (ed.) ‘Abd al-Ḥusain Nava‘ī, (n.p., 1368). pp. 22-3.

¹⁵⁷ Katz, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

the battle of Jām which was fought when Shāh Ṭahmāsp's political authority and prestige were at their weakest, the alleged direct communion with the Prophet and the Imāms clearly was intended to elevate the position of the young Shāh above that of the military and political dignitaries. Against a background of the civil war politics, inter-uymaq rivalries and Ṭahmāsp's lack of sufficient political authority, the divine affirmation of his rule was perceived [by Fażlī] as the means to focus the disparate political and tribal loyalties on the person of the Shāh.

Appropriately the dream emphasises the Şafavid commitment to Twelver Shi'ism. On the one hand, the choice of the custodian of the shrine of Imām Riżā, Mīr Niżām al-Mulk Rażavī, as the person who authenticated and related the dream consolidated the Shāh's association with the Shī'ī heritage. On the other hand, the inclusion of the grand Shaikhs of the Şafavid order, the ancestors of Ṭahmāsp, in the gathering of the Shī'ī Imāms reiterated the official claim to the Shī'ī origin of the Şafavid dynasty. Fażlī wrote *Afzal* in the period when the Şafavid state was emerging from the turbulent years of the reigns of Shāh Ismā'īl II (r. 1576-77) and Sultān Muḥammad Khudābanda (r. 1577-87) when a number of political circumstances had conspired against the establishment of Twelver Shi'ism. Shāh Ismā'īl II's flirtations with Sunnism had threatened to destroy the tenuous foundations of the newly established Twelver Shi'ism. The loss of the holy Shī'ī shrine in Mashhad to the Uzbeks (1589-98) and the 'atabāt in Najaf, Karbalā, and Kāzimain to the Ottomans (1530s-1598) too questioned the ability of the Şafavid Shāhs to protect the Shī'ī heritage.¹⁵⁸ Once Shāh 'Abbās suppressed the tribal factionalism which had prevailed during the first decade of his reign, he pursued a systematic policy "to strengthen Twelver Shi'ism as the pillar of Şafavid legitimacy".¹⁵⁹ The Shī'ī propaganda evident in this dream may therefore be viewed

¹⁵⁸ Robert D. McChesney, "Waqf and Public Policy: The Waqfs of Shāh 'Abbās, 1011-1023/1602-1614", *Asian and African Studies* 15 (1981). pp. 183-4.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.* p. 184.

as having been influenced by Shāh ‘Abbās' commitment to Twelver Shī‘ism and his desire to reinforce the ruling dynasty's commitment to Twelver Shī‘ism.

The Final Assault

Having related the dream, Fażlī continues the account of the second day of the battle of Jām. During that night a number of the troops of the left and the right flanks who had dispersed earlier that day regrouped and rejoined the royal camp by the river. By the next morning Ṭahmāsp is alleged to have had a total of no more than seven thousand cavalry and infantry under his command.¹⁶⁰ Three hours to sunrise on Saturday 11 Muḥarram 935 / 25 September 1528 Ṭahmāsp led his small army into the occupied Ṣafavid camp against an army of eighty thousand Uzbeks. The Uzbeks who had believed they had attained victory, unaware of the Ṣafavid resurgence, were ambushed as they lay asleep in the tents. They could not withstand the Ṣafavid assault and were defeated and their commanders ‘Ubayd Khān and Kuchūm Khān fled back to Transoxiana.¹⁶¹

Afzal's version of the events is by far the most interesting and detailed of the surviving accounts of the battle of Jām but it cannot be corroborated. Although Fażlī's main source was *Aḥsan*, he nevertheless attributes his version of the battle of Jām to the following sources: *Khuld Ārā* which is in fact *Tārīkh-i ‘Ālam Ārā-i ‘Abbāsī* by Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh* by Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Khākī Shīrāzī, *Tārīkh-i Harat va Khurāsān* by Maulāna Nujūmī Haravī and *Miftāh al-qulūb*. Of these sources only *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh* and *Tārīkh-i ‘Ālam Ārā-i ‘Abbāsī* (*Khuld Ārā*) have survived. *Muntakhab* does not corroborate *Afzal's* version and there are discrepancies with *Tārīkh-i ‘Ālam Ārā*.

¹⁶⁰ Different copies of *Khulāṣa* diverge on the size of the army Ṭahmāsp led to victory during the second phase of the battle. The Museum of Iran Bāstān copy of *Khulāṣat al-Tavārīkh*, Ishrāqī's edition, p. 184, puts the Ṣafavī army at more than 3000 and the copy belonging to Sa‘īd Nafīsī reports the troops to have numbered at no more than 3000. TAAA also agrees with *Khulāṣa's* estimate of almost 3000. This comprised the troops of the centre who had remained loyal to Shāh Ṭahmasp after the left and the right flanks had deserted. *Afzal's* figure of 7000 clearly allows for those troops who had reassembled at the royal camp during the night by the river.

¹⁶¹ *Afzal II*, ff. 44a-45a.

Muntakhab only gives a sketchy account of the battle of Jām. It reverts to the one-day version of the battle. We are told that, on Saturday 11 Muḥarram 935/ 25 September 1528, the Uzbek and the Qizilbāsh armies engaged in battle. At first the Qizilbāsh army appeared to have been defeated but later advanced to the attack and overcame the Uzbeks. *Muntakhab* does not report the dream nor does it clarify the extent of the Shāh's participation in battle. According to this account, in the afternoon of the same day, the Commander-in-Chief of the Qizilbāsh forces Chuha Sulṭān returned to camp after he had heard the news of victory and the entire royal army moved to Nīshapūr where it remained for a few days before moving to Qum.¹⁶²

Tārīkh-i ‘Ālam Āra (Khuld Ārā) offers a more intricate picture than *Muntakhab*. Although it clearly differentiates between the early Qizilbāsh defeat and their later victory, it too limits the battle to one day. The left and the right flanks were crushed and the Qizilbāsh troops dispersed but the battle was far from concluded since in a dream the Infallible Imāms had told Ṭahmāsp of his imminent victory. The Shāh stood his ground with three thousand men.¹⁶³ This, we are told, was due to the Shāh's firmness, courage and his sincerity of belief, and no doubt the saintly assurances he had received earlier. Ṭahmāsp then ordered his troops to attack the Uzbeks. The Shāh's tactic was to follow a chivalrous code summed up in the motto: "He who dies valiantly and routs dishonour merits a good name". The troops were ordered to fight with only swords and to strike each man but not kill him before turning to the next soldier. With divine assistance (*bi hamrāhī-i junūd-i ghaybī*) and as "the Perfect Spiritual Guide" had instructed, the Ṣafavid army struck the enemy. The majority of the Uzbek troops were incapacitated by their injuries and were unable to repulse the attack so they fled.¹⁶⁴ The discrepancies between this version of

¹⁶² *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh*, ff. 602b - 603a.

¹⁶³ Iskandar Beg Munshī here quotes Shāh Ṭahmāsp who claimed that of the three thousand troops of the centre who attacked and defeated the Uzbeks, 1700 were the standing corps of royal troops (*qūrchīs*) and the remainder were Amirs. TAAA, p. 56.

¹⁶⁴ TAAA, pp. 54-6.

the battle of Jām and that in *Afzal* are clearly evident and it is impossible to attribute *Afzal's* version to *Tārīkh-i Ālam Ārā*, as the author has claimed.

As has been shown, there is general consensus among the contemporary and non-contemporary sources that the battle was fought and concluded in one day. This makes it impossible to authenticate *Afzal's* two-day version of the battle of Jām. This historiographical examination suggests that Fażlī has used his sources selectively and has considerably embellished the evidence.

The Appraisal

Afzal al-Tavārīkh's version of the battle of Jām appears to be fictitious and of little use in reconstructing the battle of Jām. But does it, nevertheless provide any insight into the nature of Ṭahmāsp's rule? The ideological basis of Fażlī's model of kingship bestows on Shāh Ṭahmāsp a degree of power and authority which cannot be supported by the political realities of the period of the Qizilbāsh interregnum. Since Ṭahmāsp's accession in 930/1524 at the age of ten and a half, internecine tribal factionalism and civil war had prevailed in Iran. The young Shāh exercised little or no effective political authority as the Rūmlū, Ustājilū, Shāmlū and Tekkelū tribal chieftains battled over the control of the office of vicegerency (*vikālat*).¹⁶⁵ Such was the degree of the power of the chiefs at court and the Shāh's lack any effective personal authority that during a fight between Ḥusain Khān Shāmlū and Chuha Sulṭān Tekkelū, in 937/1530 inside the royal tent, two arrows lodged themselves in Shāh Ṭahmāsp's crown.¹⁶⁶ The behaviour of the Qizilbāsh during the battle of Jām is also a testimony to the weakening of the Shāh-Qizilbāsh relationship. During the early hours of the battle of Jām when the Uzbek army appeared to have overpowered the right and the left flanks of the Ṣafavid army, the same Qizilbāsh chieftains and

¹⁶⁵ For a survey of the politics of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's minority and the tribal factionalism and civil wars see Dickson, *op. cit.*, esp. pp. 51-3, 64-77, 93-7, 197-201, 205-296; Roemer, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 6, pp. 233-50.

¹⁶⁶ *Afzal II*, f. 66b; *Aḥsan*, p. 235; *Khulāṣa*, vol. 1, p. 214.

their tribal levies displayed little loyalty to the Shāh or to the Ṣafavid cause and fled from the battle field. Therefore *Afzal's* image of Shāh Ṭahmāsp as the omnipotent monarch whose spiritual and political authority had cemented the Shāh-Qizilbāsh partnership and ultimately resulted in victory at Jām cannot match up to the historical realities of his minority.

Furthermore, Fażlī's theory of kingship, fusing the spiritual and political authority of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, articulates the religio-political extremism which was more a characteristic of Shāh Ismā'īl's kingship than that which prevailed in the official politics of the reigns of the Shāhs Ṭahmāsp and 'Abbās I. Fażlī's view of the Shāh as the Caliph and the deputy of Hidden Imām was not only incompatible with the systematised Imāmi doctrines¹⁶⁷ but was also against the principles and the official policies of Shāh Ṭahmāsp.

To harness the centrifugal and politically destabilising extremist tendencies of the Turkoman tribes, Shāh Ṭahmāsp pursued a policy which on the one hand suppressed the extremist Turkman tribes and, on the other, aimed at instituting an orthodox "Shī'ī hierocracy" in Iran.¹⁶⁸ In 939/1532-3 in a landmark decision Shāh Ṭahmāsp issued a *farmān* which designated Karakī the deputy (*nā'ib*) of the Hidden Imām and thus devolved on him the supreme spiritual authority during the occultation of the Imām.¹⁶⁹ With this appointment Shāh Ṭahmāsp began " the

¹⁶⁷ Sa'īd Amir Arjomand, *The Shadow of God*, p. 179.

¹⁶⁸ Arjomand, *The Shadow of God*, p. 133. Throughout his reign, Shāh Ṭahmāsp suppressed religious extremism (*ghuluww*). In 938/1531-2 he ordered the bloody suppression of the extremist Turkman tribe of Sārūlū on account of their "irreligion" (*ilhād*). In 962/1554-5, he put down another group of Ṣūfis who proclaimed him Mahdi. In 973/1565-6, the members of an irreligious (*murttad*) Turkman clan were put to death or imprisoned in Alamūt. In 982/1574-5, Shāh Ṭahmāsp massacred the Ismā'īlī community near Anjūdān and imprisoned their 36th Imām, Murād, who was subsequently executed by Shāh 'Abbās. Arjomand, "Religious Extremism (*GHULUWW*), Ṣūfism and Sunnism in Ṣafavid Iran : 1501-1722" *Journal of Asian History* 15 (1981). pp. 5, 13. See also Falsafī, vol. 3, p. 44. Newman, on the other hand, argues that the public proclamation of Ṭahmāsp's superior, implicitly divine, status never entirely ceased. He cites a coin minted in Yazd in 955/1548 which refers to Ṭahmāsp as *al-sultān al-'ādil* (the just Sultān), and an inscription, in Arabic at a shrine in Isfāhān, which describes Ṭahmāsp as *ṣāhib-i zamān* (lord of the age) dated 962/1554, as examples. Newman "The Myth of Clerical Migration", pp. 94-5.

¹⁶⁹ Arjomand, *The Shadow of God*, pp. 133-4. For the translation of the text of this *farmān* see

process of rationalisation of the structure of domination"¹⁷⁰ in accordance with the principles of Shī'ī orthodoxy. However, this process came to an abrupt end when Karakī died shortly after his appointment in 940/1533-4. The unstable reigns of Ṭahmāsp's successors Shāh Ismā'īl II (r. 984-85/1576-77) and Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda (r. 985-95/1578-1587) too interrupted this process.

Fazlī's version of the battle of Jām and his underlying ideological principles of kingship may not be an accurate presentation of history but it does communicate a sense of the mythology which had been created about Shāh Ṭahmāsp by 'Abbās' reign and thus encapsulates the historical memory of its own time. As with any historical myth it served an immediate political function; it was a propaganda tool in the legitimising efforts of Shāh 'Abbās. It is therefore appropriate to view Fazlī's history of the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp in this framework of royal sponsored programme of public relations of Shāh 'Abbās's reign. As McChesney has noted, this programme of public relations rested, partly, on the constant veneration of the Ṣafavid tradition, in particular its greatest monarchs Shāh Ismā'īl and Shāh Ṭahmāsp, " and partly to the ineffable authority of the Imāmī tradition in the lives of the people and the Shāh. Re-affirmation of these commitments took a number of forms- the use of court chronicles and poetry".¹⁷¹ Furthermore, pious acts such as pilgrimages to the shrine of Imām Riḏā in Mashhad and the royal sponsored institution of religious endowments (*vaqf*) may also be seen as symbolic acts intended to reinforce the Ṣafavid commitment to Shī'ī orthodoxy.¹⁷² Although Shāh Ismā'īl was revered as the founder of the Ṣafavid state, it was the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp which became the focus of mythologising the first century of Ṣafavid history. His reign was

Sa'īd Amir Arjomand " Two Decrees of Shāh Ṭahmāsp Concerning Statecraft and the Authority of Shaykh 'Alī al-Karakī" in Sa'īd Amir Arjomand (ed.) *Authority and Political Culture in Shī'ism*. (New York, 1988). pp. 250-62. See also Newman " The Myth of Clerical Migration", p. 100.

¹⁷⁰ Arjomand, " *The Shadow of God*", p. 180.

¹⁷¹ McChesney, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

¹⁷² For Shāh 'Abbās's pilgrimages to Mashhad see Charles Melville "Shāh 'Abbās and Pilgrimage to Mashhad" in Charles Melville (ed.) *Safavid Persia*, (London, 1996). pp. 191-229. For Shāh 'Abbās' religious endowments see McChesney. *op. cit.* . See also Arjomand, " *The Shadow of God*", p. 190.

particularly suited to this process. Shāh Ṭahmāsp's long reign of fifty three years presented a model of stability and longevity. His piety and devotion to Shī'ī orthodoxy served to bolster Shāh 'Abbās' attempts at religious and political reform : that is to strengthen religious orthodoxy and ultimately to centralise the system of government.

Fażlī's presentation of the battle of Jām certainly contains the propaganda elements outlined above, however, his notion of the Şafavid Shāh as the supreme spiritual and political authority raises several problems. Firstly, the conundrum for the scholar of Şafavid history is whether to view the royal titles such as " the Refuge of the Caliphate", " the Spiritual Guide and the Shadow of God", "The Spiritual Guide and the Qibla", " The Ka'ba and the Qibla of the Şūfis", and "the Progeny of the Lord of the Age", attributed here to Shāh Ṭahmāsp, as only ceremonial usages of such titles and interpret them as a nostalgic view of the past, as Babayan has asserted,¹⁷³ or to view them as the evidence of continued vitality and persistence of religious extremism as a popular legitimising principle during 'Abbās' reign. A second and related problem is why Fażlī, a provincial vazir in 'Abbās' reign and a member of an Iranian notable family with a long tradition of service in Şafavid administration, should superimpose such extremist views of kingship on the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp when Ḥasan Rūmlū the author of his basic source *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* and a member of the Rūmlū Qizilbāsh tribe with whom we normally associate religious extremism and who was a contemporary of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, does not articulate such views in his account of the battle of Jām.

Fażlī's view of history was no doubt shaped by the cultural and political climate of his own time. A brief outline of the religious and political policies of Shāh 'Abbās will suffice to highlight the prevailing official political culture. The extremist tendency to fuse the spiritual and political authority in the person of the Shāh was as

¹⁷³ Kathryn Babayan, "*The Waning of The Qizilbash: The Spiritual and The Temporal in Seventeenth Century Iran*", Unpublished PhD Thesis, (Princeton University, 1993). p. 53.

incompatible with Shāh ‘Abbās’ official policy as it had been against Shāh Ṭahmāsp’s principles. Shāh ‘Abbās pursued Ṭahmāsp’s religious policy with even greater rigour and effectiveness. His fundamental institutional reforms- that is the introduction of the *ghulam* system into the central and provincial government as well as the army- was accompanied by an anti-extremist religious policy. The cornerstones of this policy were : eradication of millenarian extremism, persecution of Ṣūfism, suppression of Sunnism, and propagation of Twelver Shī‘ism.¹⁷⁴ Despite this official policy, both millenarian movements and Ṣūfism survived into the 17th century. Although Shāh ‘Abbās pursued an official policy to consolidate Twelver Shī‘ism, popular culture remained prone to influences from all shades of spirituality and religious tendencies.

By 1002/ 1593 Dervīsh Khusraw, the leader of the messianic Nuqtavī movement founded in 800/1397 by Maḥmūd Paṣīkhānī, commanded nationwide support in all Iranian cities. The Nuqtavīs were a millenarian movement whose Mahdistic claims alarmed the political establishment. In 1002 Dervīsh Khusraw predicted the downfall of Shāh ‘Abbās and his replacement by a Nuqtavī disciple who had attained unity with God.¹⁷⁵ From the time of Shāh Ṭahmāsp the movement had been particularly strong in Kāshān and Qazvin and many of the poets and the writers of that region supported it.¹⁷⁶ Members of the provincial *uymaq* who had formed the traditional bastion of extremism, central and provincial government officials, a large section of the Iranian literati, and even for a period of time possibly Shāh ‘Abbās himself supported the Nuqtavīs. The movement particularly attracted the Iranian intellectuals. We may name Muḥammad Vuqū‘ī Nishāpūrī, Mīr ‘Alī Akbar Tashbīhī Kāshī, Muḥammad Ṣūfī Āmulī, Ḥakīm ‘Abd Allāh Kāshānī, ‘Abd al-Ghanī Yazdī, and the physician Maulānā Sulaymān Sāvajī, among the literati who

¹⁷⁴ Arjomand "Religious Extremism". p. 3.

¹⁷⁵ For a discussion of the Nuqtavī heterodoxy and their attempt at a political coup against Shāh ‘Abbās I see Babayan, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-35, 47-64, 176-77. See also Falsafī, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, pp. 905-6; Aḥmad Tamimdārī, *‘Irfān va adab dar ‘aṣr-i Ṣafavī*, (n.p., 1372). vol. 1, pp. 72-79.

¹⁷⁶ Falsafī, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 906.

were Nuqtavīs.¹⁷⁷ Shāh ‘Abbās too visited the *tekkiya* of Dervīsh Khusraw, the Nuqtavī spiritual leader, and was sworn a trustee of the order. Following the Shāh's example the majority of the Amirs and the high functionaries too visited Dervīsh Khusraw and were converted to the cause by his eloquence.¹⁷⁸ However, the heresy and political ambitions of Dervīsh Khusraw were soon revealed and in 1002/1593 Shāh ‘Abbās suppressed the movement killing its leaders and a large number of disciples and supporters.

Although the Mahdistic rebellion of the Nuqtavī Dervīsh Khusraw was suppressed, the millenarian/extremist spirit did not die. In 1029/1619 Sayyid Muḥammad, a member of the Shaykhāvand family, claimed to be the deputy of the Hidden Imām according to one tradition, and the Mahdi himself by another tradition. Sayyid Muḥammad accused Shāh ‘Abbās of being irreligious, a tyrant and a deceiver of the people. He incited a rebellion in Gilān to overthrow heresy and injustice in Iran and to spread Shī‘ism in the world by the force of his sword. Sayyid Muḥammad attracted the support of a large section the Gilānī people and his power grew so that it threatened to bring about a civil war and the secession of Gilān from the Ṣafavid empire. Shāh ‘Abbās, who feared for the stability of the Ṣafavid state, lured Sayyid Muḥammadd to Māzandarān where he was recuperating from a severe illness at the time and had him and his supports executed.¹⁷⁹

We also find 11 years later in 1040/1631, early in the reign of Shāh Ṣafi, another claimant Mahdi Dervīsh Rizā threatened the political sovereignty of the Shāh. Dervish Rizā who was a member of the Afshār *uymaq* " claimed to be the awaited Mahdi and made his khurūj against the Ṣafavī order [Zu’l Hijja 1040/July 1631]". However his rebellion was suppressed on the day of the Bloody Mab‘as Massacre on 29 Rajab 1041/20 February 1632.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 910.

¹⁷⁸ Falsafi, *op. cit.*, vols. 1 & 2, p. 736.

¹⁷⁹ Falsafi, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, pp. 917-18.

¹⁸⁰ Babayan, *op. cit.*, p. 148. For a discussion of this movement see also pp. 148-189.

Even at an official level during the reign of Shāh ‘Abbās, political dissent among the members of the Qizilbāsh was interpreted as betrayal of the Ṣūfī principle of loyalty to one's perfect spiritual guide. For instance, Shāhverdī Khān, the governor of Qarājādāgh and a descendant of the old Ṣūfis of Lāhījān, declared his allegiance to the Ottomans in 1001/1592-3, but later repented and claimed that he had practised *taqīyya*. Twenty three years later, in 1024/1615 Shāh ‘Abbās ordered an inquiry to identify those Ṣūfis of Qarājādāgh who had supported Shāhverdī Khān in his defection to the Ottomans. Some had already died but the survivors, a number of Ṣūfis and *Khalīfahā*, were sentenced and punished by death because they had betrayed their Perfect Spiritual Guide twenty three years earlier. Iskandar Beg Munshī explains that the purpose was to exclude that crowd from the circle of *ṣūfiḡarī* and distinguish the Ṣūfī from the non-Ṣūfī.¹⁸¹

The emergence of three Mahdistic rebellions within 38 years (1593-1631) and for the most part in the reign of Shah ‘Abbās points to the continued vitality of religious extremism (*ghuluww*) and Ṣūfism as a socio-religious force at this time. It indicates that despite the official policy of strengthening Shī‘ī orthodoxy, heterodoxy continued to permeate the religious sensibilities of the population at all levels of society and remain the focus of political opposition to the Ṣafavī rule. The ethnic composition of the disciples of these claimant Mahdis shows that messianic movements such as that of Dervīsh Khusraw and Dervīsh Rizā drew support not only from the disaffected Turkman tribesmen but also from the Iranian (*tājīk*) social group.¹⁸² Rudi Matthee has discussed how coffeehouses functioned as the public arena where the Dervīshes, the Qalandars and the Mullās, engaged in public recitations.¹⁸³ This public cultural arena was the meeting place of different religious influences where converts would be recruited.

¹⁸¹TAAA, vol. 2, p. 882.

¹⁸² Babayan, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

¹⁸³ Rudi Matthee, "Coffee in Safavid Iran : Commerce and Consumption", *JESHO*, vol. XXXVII, (1994). pp. 1-32. p. 26.

Faḏlī wrote *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* in this cultural and political milieu. He was a member of the patrician Khūzānī family and served as a provincial Vazir first in Qarabāgh and later in Kermān until he departed for India at an unknown date. As a government official in the provinces, Faḏlī would have been familiar with the varied religio-political topography of Ṣafavid Iran and would have been sensitive even susceptible to influence from extremist religious and political views which were current at the time. It is likely that Faḏlī's historical perspective was shaped and informed by this climate of Messianic expectation. His characterisation of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's kingship was a defence of the divine right of the Ṣafavī Shāhs and was possibly intended to be a counter offensive against the religious and political dissidence of rival Mahdis who sought to usurp the traditional role of the Ṣafavī Shāh as the spiritual guide. It could be argue that Faḏlī's repeated references to Shāh Ṭahmāsp and his relationship with the Qizilbāsh in "Ṣūfiesque *ghulāt*" terms represents a Ṣūfī perspective of kingship and that despite Shāh 'Abbās' ruthless suppression of heterodoxy, the tension existing between extremism and Ṣūfism on the one hand and Shī'ī orthodoxy on the other was far from resolved. The struggle between heterodoxy and orthodoxy was an evolutionary process which did not conclude until the end of the 17th century. Viewed in this light, *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* may shed some light over the evolution of the Ṣafavid kingship during the reign of Shāh 'Abbās.

To sum up, as has been demonstrated here, for his narrative of the battle of Jam, Faḏlī has used *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*, the chronicle most contemporary with the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, as his basic source. He has copied *Aḥsan*'s narrative structure and literary embellishments but has altered his religious and political interpretation of this important military and political event of the minority of Shāh Ṭahmāsp. *Afzal al-Tavarīkh*'s version of the battle of Jam can not be corroborated, even when the author attributes his version to specific sources. It does not help us

reconstruct the battle of Jām but it helps shed light on the persistence of religious extremism during the reigns of Shāh ‘Abbās I.

The Conclusion :An appraisal of the three case studies

The three case studies examined above explored the author Fażlī Işfāhānī's distinctive historical interpretation and his methodology. The case study concerning the Poet Laureate Mīrzā Qāsim Junābādi highlighted the uniqueness of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* as a depository of rare official Şafavid documents. It also pointed out that Fażlī's idealised interpretation of the relationship existing between Shāh Ṭahmāsp and the Poet Laureate could not be corroborated. The case study concerning Mīr ‘Abd al-Vahhāb Tabrīzī examined all the available evidence and cast serious doubt on Fażlī's assertion that Mīr ‘Abd al-Vahhab adhered to the Şafavid religious ideology and engaged in covert missionary activities in the Ottoman empire. The historiographical examination of the battle of Jām illustrated Fażlī's historical methodology, especially his use of the sources. Moreover, it explored the ideological basis which underpinned Fażlī's historical interpretation of the events. This study showed the extent to which Fażlī's ideological bias determined the structure of his narrative and dictated his use of literary and historiographical devices such as dream episodes.

Although the three case studies are independent of each other when viewed collectively and critically they yield a similar pattern, that is the author's tendency to suppress inconvenient truths and to gloss over fractures in the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp. It is therefore possible to assert that *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* represents an attempt by Fażlī to re-write the history of the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp in conformity with the contemporary political and cultural climate of his own time. In the process historical realities were distorted in order to create a myth.

Chapter 3 . The Translation of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh*

[Folio 2].....¹ Shāh Ismāʿīl II and the death of that courageous Pādishāh and the reign of Shāh Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda, and the [events] of twelve years of the government will be written². The eloquent [writer] endeavours to commemorate the prosperous life of the peerless sovereign, the undisputed king of the universe who is worthy of the auspicious throne, the devoted follower of amir al-muʾminīn Ḥaydar, the propagator of Twelver Shīʿism, the Sulṭān of the land and the seas, the heir of the apostle of God fearing people, a pure and chaste son, the servant of the Infallible Imāms, Shāh ʿAbbās Pādishāh al-Ṣafavī al-Mūsavī al-Ḥusainī. The purpose of these preliminary works and the writing of these histories is to celebrate the unique life of that victorious [king] of all kings of the age which, should life permit, will include the life and the account of victories of that all powerful [monarch].

The commemoration of the accession of His Majesty Shāh Ṭahmāsp to the felicitous throne of Iran and the appointment of the pillars of the state, and of Mīrzā Qāsim to the position of Poet Laureate.

According to the extended history whose authors and titles have been recorded in the preface of the first volume (*jild*) of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* and what the author of these confused lines (*rāqim-i suṭūr-i birabṭ-i parīshān*) has ascertained from reliable witnesses who lived through that time, after the death of the late Shāh Ismāʿīl the warrior of the faith, whose abode is with ʿAlī, which happened in Manqūṭāy district of Sarāb in Āzarbāyjān , his chaste spirit flew with ʿAlī. On the morning of Monday 19th Rajab 930 A.H.³ which coincides with the Turkish year of the snake (*yīlān ʿil*)⁴

¹ According to the British Library pagination folio 1 is missing and the manuscript begins with folio 2.

² Due to the missing folio 1 this sentence is incomplete.

³ A conservation tape covers the margin of this folio and partially conceals the starting word of each sentence; it is therefore uncertain whether the author gives the year 930 A.H. or 931 A.H. for the accession of Shāh Ṭahmāsp. Also see the commentary "The Date of Ismāʿīl's death and the accession of Shāh Ṭahmāsp".

⁴ See the commentary "Date of Shāh Ismāʿīl's death.....".

when the hour was most propitious, the pillars of the state, the nobles⁵ and the sincere Ṣūfis gathered. [On that morning] the progeny of the dynasty and the eldest of Shāh Ismāʿil's children His Majesty Shāh Ṭahmāsp the Pādishāh the warrior of the faith, who on that date was ten years and six months and seven days old, ascended the throne of the kingdom of Iran. [3a] [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] was born on the morning of Wednesday 3rd Zuʿl-ḥijjat al-ḥarām 919 A.H. to the daughter of Sulṭān Murād the grandson of the pious Ḥasan Pādishāh Turkoman (*pādishāh- i sharʿ- shuʿār*) in Shāh Ābād district of Iṣfāhān. In readiness to serve the fortunate Prince, all the court's servants and well-meaning and sincere devotees stood in their place as was customary from the time of Shāh Ismāʿil and performed their appointed duties.

The military princes stood before the Throne like the kings of
chess.

The wise Ṣadrs sat in the assembly like flowers crowning a
meadow.

To mark the date of accession of that fortunate Pādishāh, eloquent poets and preachers composed this verse :

Date, By divine favour, you Ṭahmāsp the king of the world
succeeded the Shāh, the warrior of the faith, to the golden
throne.

You replaced your father and captured the world.

"You replaced your father" became the date.⁶

"The King of Religion" "*Khusraw- i dīn*", its date is "*khusraw- i dīn*".⁷ To mark Shāh Ṭahmāsp's accession to the auspicious throne, it was decided ⁸ to produce an inscribed royal signet-ring. The year 930/1523-4⁹ was calculated as the year of

⁵ Reading is uncertain.

⁶ "*jāy i pedar girifty*" is the chronogram. Above this and inserted between two lines is the number "93". It is not clear this is intended to be 930 or 931. See the commentary: "The date of Shāh Ismāʿil's death....".

⁷ "*Khusrau- i dīn*" is another chronogram which yields the date 930 A.H.

⁸ Reading is uncertain.

⁹ The text gives the date 931 A.H. which is an error. See the commentary "The date of Shah

accession. This aroused great excitement and it was ordained that in the presence of the most sacred [Shāh], calligraphers¹⁰ should inscribe the (*saḥ*) of the royal signet-ring on a precious carnelian and arrange this couplet on its border :

"If your benevolence guides us, fortune will obey".

The powerful khāns, the gallant vazirs, the exalted amirs, the high ranking *āqāyān*¹¹, the centurions (*yuzbāshīyān*), the standing corps of royal troops (*qūrchīyān*), the Ṣūfis, the civil functionaries (*arbāb- i qalam*), the grand mayors (*kalāntarān*), the landlords (*arbāb*) and the subjects of the God-protected dominions who were present strewed gold and silver over the victorious throne and received royal favours. [3b]¹² The governor- generals (*beglarbegīān*), the Amirs, and the servants who were not present received honorific gifts (*tashrifāt*) together with the joyous news of the accession. They sent alms (*taṣaduq*) and gifts to court.

The Grand Vazir (*I'timād al-daula*) Khvāja Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Tabrīzī who by the order of His Highness Shāh Ismā'īl, whose abode is with 'Alī, had been appointed the Vazir of the august dominions presented the most eloquent Qāsim Junābādī Khurāsānī at court. [Qāsim Junābādī] who had versified the victories and battles of Shāh Ismā'īl received the honour of kissing the Shāh's feet. He had brought a poem which he recited. he was rewarded with a *suyurghāl*.¹³ These few couplets are from the poems of that virtuous sayyid.¹⁴

Ismā'īl's death.....".

¹⁰ The text reads : "the jewellers who have a good pen",

¹¹ It is not possible to define the term *āqāyān* too precisely as their function within the palace or the system of administration remains obscure. Minorsky suggests *āqā* usually means a eunuch but it may also have a broader use meaning a "class of gentlemen", *TM*, pp. 47, 118, also considers ushers to be the sons of *āqāyān*. According to Minorsky they formed a class of gentlemen having a rank inferior to the amirs, *muqarrabs*, *yasāvuls* and *eshīk-āqāsīs* (ushers). Due to such ambiguities, the term *āqāyān* will not be translated.

¹² A tape covers the margin of this folio too. Although some of the text is not in view it is possible to guess the meaning.

¹³ The text is damaged and this sentence is not fully legible.

¹⁴ The text is damaged and illegible in parts. For a summary translation of this poem see chapter 2, *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* and *Mīrzā Qāsim Junābādī*".

After hearing his recitation, [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] appointed Mīrzā Qāsim the Poet Laureate. [4a] The secretaries (*munshīān*) were ordered to write the farmān of appointment of the Poet Laureate in his name and enter it in the register.

The Farmān of Appointment of Mīrzā Qāsim as the Poet Laureate. ¹⁵

..... we have appointed him as the Poet Laureate so that just as he versified the account of the battles and victories of my father, whose abode is with ‘Alī, with divine favour [Mīrzā Qāsim] should turn into verse the events of our eternal reign from day to day, and thus leave a token of remembrance on the face of the world. And every year from the aforementioned districts ¹⁶ (*maḥāl- i mazkūra- i zimn*) the sum of sixteen tumāns and 2342 Khurāsānī dinārs¹⁷ which is registered in the book of standing enactment (*daftar-i khulūd*) should be granted to him as *suyurghāl* and subsidies (*madad-i ma‘āsh*) so that he may pray for the continuity of [our] eternal reign. The men of genius and perceptive men should obey the said Mīrzā and should consider their obedience of him a requisite of orderly affairs and the good of the country. They should not neglect to pay respect to that exalted and enchanting orator who is universally praised for his eloquence and whose rules of poetry adorn every *divān*, ranging from the scholarly to the novice. The exalted vazirs, the grandees, the men of learning, the mayors (*kalāntarān*), the landlords, the subjects, and the natives of the God-protected dominions should esteem him as the companion of the special assembly.¹⁸ They should show him utmost respect and kindness. ¹⁹

The document (*parvāncha*) has received the royal seal so let them
honour it.

¹⁵ Unfortunately the text of this rare farmān is damaged and in some parts it is barely legible.

¹⁶ It appears that the districts are not listed in the main text of the *farmān*. See also chapter 2. "*Afzal al-Tavārīkh* and Mīrzā Qāsim Junābādī".

¹⁷ The reading of "thousand" is uncertain.

¹⁸ This sentence is not fully legible. The translation is therefore an abridged version.

¹⁹ The next sentence is not fully legible but it is clearly a reference to the duties and obligations of the landlords and the subjects residing in the districts revenues of which had been granted to Mīrzā Qāsim as *suyurghāl*. It affirms the taxes (*māl va jihāt*) payable to Mīrzā Qāsim.

Five months before the death of Shāh Ismāʿīl, Chāyān Sulṭān Ustājilū, the Vicegerent (*vakīl*) and Commander-in-Chief of the Qizilbāsh forces died and by royal decree (*ḥasab al-amr- i ʿalā*) Dīv Sulṭān Rūmlū²⁰ was appointed to share the office of Vicegerent and the administration of the affairs of the august empire with Muṣṭafā Sulṭān, known as Köpek Sulṭān.²¹ They both sealed the royal decrees (*farāmīn- i muṭāʿa*) . Mīr Qavām al-Dīn Naqīb Iṣfāhānī joined Mīr Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Āstārābādī in the illustrious office of *ṣadārat* and together they administered the affairs pertaining to the religious law (*sharīʿa*). On Tuesday the 20th Rajab/24 May which was the second day of the accession, [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] left the Manqūṭā district of Sarāb for the capital Tabriz which was the seat of throne of the Emperors (*khavāqīn*) of Iran.²² The exalted sayyids and the most honoured notables of Tabriz with the entire residents decorated the city and the market (*bāzār*) and competed with each other in welcoming the Pādishāh, the refuge of mankind. They lined the road to the mosque of Ḥasan Pādishāh, which is more than one farsakh, with ? of Rūm,²³ Damascus satin, Frankish velvet, and Iraqī cloth. They congratulated the felicitous accession and recited this verse. ²⁴

[5a] On his way His Highness the Shadow of God went to the mosque of Ḥasan Pādishāh to circumambulate the tomb of that Shīʿī Pādishāh ²⁵ and to pray. [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] read the sermon (*khutba*) of the Pādishāh of Islam.²⁶ His Highness the

²⁰ For a biography of Dīv Sulṭān Rūmlū see the commentary.

²¹ For a discussion of these appointments see the commentary.

²² For a brief discussion of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's coronation see the commentary.

²³ Reading uncertain.

²⁴ This part of the text is damaged and the verse is not fully legible but it seems to be a panegyric celebrating the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp as the chief of all sovereigns under whose shadow the sun rested.

²⁵ This important part of the text is damaged and reading is uncertain but it appears to be a reference to the religious proclivities of Ḥasan Pādishāh. It is likely that Fazlī alludes to the Shīʿism of the Āq-Qüyünlü. A note in the margin written in a different hand, possibly by a later owner and critical reader of the chronicle, confirms this:

"Praise be to God, the author of this book reproaches the Sunnis everywhere but here because Ḥasan Pādishāh is the maternal forefather of the Ṣafavīs, he calls him a Shīʿī. Otherwise it is known to historians that at the time of Ḥasan Pādishāh and his children, the Shīʿī religion was not and they were Sunnī."

²⁶ This sentence is an abridged translation.

Seat of Caliphate the Shadow of God was blessed with divine favour and left the mosque. [He] embarked upon territorial expansion and destruction of the enemies with divine assistance, he distributed much alms among the poor and the needy and set off for the royal palace (*daulat khāna- i khāṣṣ*). [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] excelled in command of the army and administration of the government. The sagacity of that heir to the throne of the Messenger of God (*vārith- i masnad- i rasūl- i raba al-‘ālamīn*) astonished the experienced officials. [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] camped in Tabriz for winter. [He] attended to the affairs of the government and waited to see from which direction the opponents and the pretenders to the hereditary land would attempt to attack and usurp the kingdom in the aftermath of the death of Shāh Ismā‘īl Abū’l-Bāqī the divine spirit (*rūḥ Allāh- i ruḥa*).

**The account of ‘Ubayd Khān's first attack on the citadel of Harat
and his defeat at the hand of Sām Mīrzā.**

When His Highness Shāh Ismā‘īl, whose abode is with ‘Alī, was alive, [5b] ‘Ubayd Khān b. Maḥmūd Khān Uzbek repeatedly desired to conquer Khurāsān and attacked the citadel of Harat but returned unsuccessful. At this time before the news of Shāh Ismā‘īl's death and the accession of Shāh Ṭahmāsp had yet reached him, he crossed the Oxus river with the intention of capturing Khurāsān.

Anxious about the [Uzbek] crossing, the people of Khurāsān took refuge in the citadel of Harat and at the foot of the mountains and fortified places. ‘Ubayd Khān with the hostile Chingīzīd and Uzbek Khāns were determined to capture the citadel of Harat and Khurāsān. Upon receiving the news of the Uzbek approach, Tīmūr Oġlū, Ḥusain Beg, Khvāja Ḥabīb Allāh, and the courageous warriors of the faith (*ghāzīyān*) gathered in the house of Durmīsh Khān, the Commander-in-Chief of the army for consultation. Durmīsh Khān had as yet received neither the robe of honour from His Highness Shāh Ṭahmāsp warrior of the faith, may he rest in paradise, nor the decree of his appointment as the governor-general of Khurāsān and tutor (*lala-gī*) of the judicious Prince Sām Mīrzā. [They] blockaded all the exits of the citadel to its

inhabitants and set about strengthening the fortifications and organising the army. Khvāja Ḥabīb Allāh Sāvajī, the Vazir of Durmīsh Khān, in whose name Khvānd Amir the master author has written *Ḥabīb al-siyār*, took control of the Firūzābād gate. Timūr Oġlū trusted in the unequalled good fortune of the Pādishāh, the refuge of the people, and guarded the Iraq gate. It was decided that Ḥusain Beg, the Khān's brother, should fortify the Malik gate and call for a show of courage.²⁷ [6a] Durmīsh Khān with an entourage remained in the service of the Prince of the world Sām Mīrzā and organised aid to the different parts of the citadel and the gates. Each of the notables of Harat,²⁸ the landlords, the notables and the subjects of Khurāsān who had taken refuge in the citadel, were assigned a task and every tribe (*qaum*)²⁹ was appointed to assist a group. They were preparing to defend the citadel as the Uzbeks camped at the foot of the fortress.

At this time ‘Alī...³⁰, the royal Qūrchī (*qūrchī-i khāṣṣ- i sharīfa*), arrived with the robe of honour for Durmīsh Khān, the refuge of government (*viyālat-panāh*), and the Amirs of Harat. He also delivered the letter which His Highness, may he rest in paradise, had written³¹ to the fortunate brother Sām Mīrzā containing the decree of appointment of Durmīsh Khān as the governor-general of Khurāsān and tutor of the young Prince. The Ṣūfis were saddened by the death of Shāh Ismā‘īl the Shī‘ī Pādishāh and believed this terrible event to have emboldened the Uzbek army. However, they were comforted by the divine favour which had adorned the world-conquering throne with His Highness, may he rest in paradise. They praised God, read the sermon of the accession of His Highness, the refuge of the Caliphate, and

²⁷ The citadel of Harat had five gates : Firūzābād gate (south), Iraq gate (west), Malik and Qipchāq gates (north), Khūsh or Khūshk gate (east), Robert D. McChesney, " The conquest of Herat 995-61/1587-8 : Sources for the study of Ṣafavid/Qizilbāsh-Shibānīd/Uzbek relations" in Jean Calmard (ed.) *Etudes Safavides*, (Paris, 1993), pp. 84-5.

²⁸ Reading is uncertain.

²⁹ The term "*qaum*" usually means "an ethnic group" or tribe. This leads me to translate it into "tribe". However, it should be noted that the author rarely uses this term especially in reference to the Qizilbāsh tribes who are usually described as "people".

³⁰ The text is damaged and the full name of the Qurchī is not legible.

³¹ "had written" is crossed out in the MS.

sounded the drum announcing the joyful tidings. An envoy was sent to Majān³² to bring back to the citadel a group of agitators (*āshūb-ṭalabān*) who were in every district, with enough provisions before the Uzbek army reached the foot of the citadel. The provisions were sufficient to supply the citadel in the event that reinforcements did not arrive. In one week they fortified the fortress, and relying on the felicity of the young Sayyid Pādishāh they mustered the courage and manliness they needed for war. The qūrchī did not stay at the citadel for more than a day and was swiftly despatched to court [6b] with petitions to seek reinforcement... .³³

As soon as ‘Ubayd Khān received the news of the death of Shāh Ismā‘īl and the accession of His Highness, may he rest in paradise, he assumed the possession of the province of Khurāsān and divided it among the Chingīzī and Uzbek Sulṭāns and encircled the citadel of Harat. Kuchum Khān with the army of Turkistān camped in the suburb (*qariyya*) of Shāymāna³⁴ and ‘Ubayd Khān and the Uzbeks took position in the garden of *Āhū*. Sevinjūk Sulṭān, the son of Shaybak Khān, camped in the Murād garden and Abū Sa‘īd Sulṭān in the suburb of Marān.³⁵

That army encircled *Harī* [Harat] like the halo surrounding
the moon.

After the Uzbek army set up camp, as has been related, and resolved to capture the citadel, ‘Ubayd Khān's officers attacked the gate of Firūzābād with full force and war ensued. Khvāja Ḥabīb Allāh with the commanders (*sardārān*) who controlled the Firūzābād gate took position in the tower and encēte (*burj va bāra*) and opened musket fire on [the Uzbeks] and thus inflamed the fire of the battle. With cannon and musket fire (*tūp va tufang*) they defeated the Uzbeks who returned to their camp. The next day ‘Ubayd Khān himself mounted his horse and attacked the barricades

³² Reading is uncertain. It may be Majvān, probably a clerical error for Majān. Majān was a western suburb of Merv in early medieval times. Le Strange p. 403.

³³ The text is damaged and illegible at this point.

³⁴ In *Aḥsan*, p. 185, it is "*shāmīyāna*".

³⁵ The reading is uncertain. In his thesis, Dickson, p. 59, writes "the village of *Farzān*", but he does not cite his source.

(*kūcha band*). A courageous battle ensued and arrows, cannon and muskets were fired from the direction of the citadel. The Uzbeks fought with arrows, mace and swords. In the twinkle of an eye, the lightening of destiny consumed the life of many brave warriors (*abtāl*) and grandees.

The army of Tūrān had repeatedly attempted to capture the citadel of Harat and had [7a] fought the brave Qizilbāsh but with no success.³⁶ So Kuchum Khān who was the Pādishāh of Turkistān wrote a decree to Durmīsh Khān stating that the death of Shāh Ismāʿīl had occurred by divine will and that His Highness Shāh Ṭahmāsp at the age of ten would be unable to overcome the exalted Pādishāh of Rūm and the Sultāns of³⁷ and other opponents. If that Grand Vazir surrendered to the officers of ʿUbayd Khān who were a formidable enemy, resolved their differences and surrendered the keys of the castle, his life would be valued and he would become a humble servant of the exalted dynasty. He would be granted any of the kingdoms of Tūrān and Turkistān that he desired and would be enlisted in the ranks of the noble Amirs. Otherwise, after the capture of the citadel of Harat, he would be held responsible for the murder, plunder and captivity which would befall the army and the subjects of Khurāsān. When Kuchum Khān Chingīzī's worthless letter reached Durmīsh Khān Shāmlū it was brought to the attention of the judicious and honourable Prince Sām Mīrzā. The fortunate Prince ordered the eloquent secretaries to write a letter (*nishān*) to Kuchum Khān.³⁸

It wrote :

The most noble of the Khāns the exalted Kuchum Khān Chingīzī who, by divine will, should know that what you had written to that most eminent of Amirs and the fortunate tutor Durmīsh Khān, he delivered to us. It is indeed not worthy of the intellect of that refuge of kingship [Kuchum Khān] who despite having witnessed my

³⁶ The text is damaged and parts of this sentence are not legible, so the translation is a summarised version.

³⁷ The text is illegible but it may be a reference to the Sultāns of "Tūrān".

³⁸ See the commentary.

father's³⁹ many battles and victories and remembers the defeat and the utter ruin of that absurd and conceited Shaybak Khān, imagines His Highness Shāh Ṭahmāsp,⁴⁰ who is the greatest distributor of justice and is a progeny of the dynasty of Zahrā and Ḥaydar, to be a child. And he [Kuchum Khān] is impervious to the unequalled felicity of [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] who before God is entrusted with the propagation of the true religion of the Infallible Imāms. And he [Kuchum Khān] has perceived my tutor Durmīsh Khān, the refuge of *salṭanat*, to be as ungrateful as the quarrelsome and the worldly-minded Amirs of Tūrān. He [Kuchum Khān] does not know that by virtue of the loyalty (*ikhhlāṣ*) and the Ṣūfī probity (*ṣūfigarī*) of his ancestors⁴¹ he [Durmīsh Khān] is blessed by the love of the exalted Ṣafavī dynasty. He is the envy⁴² of the Sulṭāns of Turkistān and has complete authority over the province of Khurāsān and prefers servitude to this dynasty to sovereignty of Turān. Should our advice be heeded then it is in your best interest to return to your own kingdoms before the victorious Qizilbāsh army arrives and thus not be deceived by the false words of this ‘Ubayd Khān and not cause the killing of many Muslims on both sides who have uttered the sacred words "There is no God but Allāh and Muḥammad is his messenger". The besieged of this citadel who number twelve thousand warriors keenly await war and glory and have sufficient supplies for the defence of the citadel for one year whereas the [Uzbek] army can not maintain the siege for more than a month. You should take whatever action would be advantageous to your army and be in no doubt as to the superiority of the Qizilbāsh army.

vasalām

For several days they [Uzbeks] endeavoured to capture the citadel but had no success, and there appeared no hope of a breakthrough so when the Khāns of that

³⁹ This is a reference to Shāh Ismā‘il to whom Fażlī gives these titles "*navvāb-i ghufrān-panāh-i riṣvān dastgāh*, ‘*Alī āshīyānī Shāh bābā-am*”(My father who has taken refuge in divine compassion and whose abode is in Paradise with ‘Ali).

⁴⁰ The text is not legible and not all the royal titles can be deciphered.

⁴¹ At this point the text is damaged and illegible and the translation is an abridged version.

⁴² Reading is uncertain.

kingdom read the guiding (*murshidāna*) letter of the eminent Prince Sām Mīrzā, they felt more dispirited. [8a] They stormed the city wall (*hiṣār*) and once they had reached the turret (*kangara*) with much labour, they saw not a single settlement within twenty *farsakh*⁴³ of the citadel. The people of Khurāsān would not bring even a *man*⁴⁴ of supplies to their camp and their provisions would be even more scarce in a few days. So they resolved to fight. The Uzbek army consented, besought God for assistance and fearlessly stormed the citadel of Harat. The courageous young [fighters] in the citadel bravely fought the Uzbeks and averted their victory. Like the spring cloud their ferocious sword rained on the flames of rage of the Uzbek army and extinguished their fire. Their determination and ferocity disheartened [the Uzbeks]. Large numbers from both sides fell to the arrows, cannon and musket fire. The sound of victory echoed in the ears of the rancorous Uzbeks and they returned to their camp to consider their tactics.

The next day Durmīsh Khān with a group of esteemed companions and gallant [soldiers] ascended the tower of Mīrzā Sulṭān Aḥmad which was adjacent to the Murād garden.⁴⁵ He sent a company under the command of Iṣaṣ⁴⁶ Beg known as Qarā Ishīk, an officer on his staff, to the Murād garden for a display of valour. The united troops came upon the Uzbek guards (*pāsbānān*) in the White garden (*Bāgh-i Safīd*) and a great battle ensued.

[8b] The bloodthirsty and quarrelsome Uzbeks were defeated and fled. Qarā Ishīk and the company passed through the White garden and reached the Murād garden. A

⁴³ The length of *farsakh* is equal to 6.24 kilometres. Lambton suggests that it tends to be used to express the distance which can be covered on foot or by a mule in an hour. Ann K.S. Lambton, *Persian Grammar*, (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1989). p. 259, note 1.

⁴⁴ A "*man*" is a weight which varied according to local customs. For example a Tabriz *man* (*man-i Tabriz*) weighs 6.5464 lb.

⁴⁵ The Murād garden was situated a short distance from the city walls of Harat and was separated from it by the smaller White garden. It is not clear what Faḏlī means by locating the tower of Mīrza Sulṭān Aḥmad as adjacent to the Murād garden. This description links the city walls to the garden. See McChesney, "The conquest of Herat", *op. cit.*, pp. 84-5; Maria Zuppe, "Les Residences Princières de Herat" in Jean Calmard (ed.), *Etudes Safavides*, (Paris, 1993), pp. 271, 272-76.

⁴⁶ The reading of the name is uncertain. *Iran dar ruzigār-i ...*, p. 231, identifies him as Muḥammad Beg known as Qarā Ishīk, the chief of the Qurchīs (*qurchī-bāshī*) of Durmīsh Khān.

brave Shāmlū broke the gate with the force of a mace and entered the garden. As it happened ‘Ubayd Khān was talking to Sevinjūk Muḥammad Sulṭān when a number of anxious Uzbeks hurriedly ran towards them and delivered the news of the Qizlibāsh entry. Fearing for his life, Sevinjūk Sulṭān fell in a stream of water and ‘Ubayd Khān fled through an opening in the wall and rode to his troops. The warriorss (*ghāzīyān*) overcame the [Uzbeks], returned to the citadel and sounded the kettledrums. The Uzbeks were unable to stay so they retreated, lifting the siege of the citadel, and returned to Tūrān. The illustrious guardians of the citadel requested His Highness the valiant Prince for permission to pursue the Uzbek army but the progeny of the dynasty of humanity and benevolence did not permit the pursuit of the defeated army as this was against the custom of the victorious dynasty. [Sām Mīrzā] ordered the gates of the citadel to be opened and the letters of victory to be despatched to the districts (*vilāyāt*) of Khurāsān, and attempted to capture the minds and hearts of the poor and the farmers (*mazārīn*). [Sām Mīrzā] wrote a loyal and sincere petition (*‘arīza- i ikhlāṣ āin*) to his reigning elder brother His Majesty Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ghāzī. Qarā Ishīk Shāmlū delivered the petition which besought [the Shāh] to bestow favours upon the felicitous tutor (*lala*) Durmīsh Khān, the wise counsellor Khvāja Ḥabīb Allāh Sāvajī, the devoted Amirs and the courageous Ṣūfis. The Prince's petition reached the Pādishāh, the refuge of mankind, at the end of winter in the capital city of Tabriz. [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] was delighted by the news of this victory and considered it as a harbinger of growing power and felicity (*daulat*) [of the state].⁴⁷ [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] sent an excellent horse with a [9a] precious jewel studded saddle, some cloth from Rum and Irāq, a bejewelled scabbard, which had belonged to the enemy-destroying Shāh Ismā‘īl, whose abode is with ‘Alī, and one of his own worn garments, to his fortunate brother Sām Mīrzā. Durmīsh Khān the Commander-in-Chief, Khvāja Ḥabīb Allāh, the Amirs, and the devoted followers (*mukhliṣān*) who had distinguished themselves in service, received honorific gifts

⁴⁷ At this point the text is damaged and the reading is uncertain.

and favours. Again the decree confirming the appointment of Durmīsh Khān as the governor-general of Khurāsān was issued and he was also rewarded with the grant (*in'ām*) of the taxes (*māl va jihāt*) of the district (*ulkā'*) of Qā'in which formed part of the royal demesne (*khāṣṣ- i sharīfa*).⁴⁸

[Shāh Ṭahmāsp] engaged in pleasure with peace of mind and wrote letters of victory to the august dominions informing the devoted followers (*mukhliṣān*) of the victory which had been achieved by divine assistance and the good fortune of His Majesty at the beginning of the august reign. [His Majesty] enlisted Qarā Ishīk in the rank of the personal royal attendants (*dar silk- i bandigān- i khāṣṣ-i sharīfa*), granted him the title of Sulṭān and assigned to him the fief (*tiyūl*) of the district of (*ulkā'*) of Ṭabas.

The account of the burning of the Grand Vazir Khvāja Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, the appointment of Qāzī Jahān to the august office of Vizārat, and the appointment of Dervīsh Muḥammad Khān to the government of Shakkī.

At the time of Shāh Ismā'īl, enmity had developed between His Excellency the Pillar of the State Dīv Sulṭān Rūmlū and the Grand Vazir Khvāja Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Tabrīzī. Such enmity and hostility is one characteristic of the relationships between the office holders (*mutiṣadiyān*) in the state administration (*divān*). Now Dīv Sulṭān, who had gained absolute authority, sought to unveil the deeds of that wise counsellor of Iran. He disclosed many of his treacheries and wrongdoings to the Just Pādishāh and thus instigated the murder of that able minister. Many people were vexed by the wrongdoing and the crimes that the Khvāja had committed during the reign of Shāh Ismā'īl, and consequently spoke against him. [9b] The just and righteous Pādishāh was troubled by his behaviour and ordered that able minister whose life had been safe until that day, to be burnt alive. [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] entrusted him to⁴⁹ It was ordained that the inhabitants of Tabriz should burn Khvāja's body, who himself was

⁴⁸ For Qā'in see the commentary.

⁴⁹ The text is damaged and illegible at this point.

a native of Tabriz, in the fire of his own perfidy in the Şāhibābād square. This was to be a lesson to the impious impostors. After they heard the charge of treachery brought against Khvāja the notables of the capital city of Tabriz, who are all devoted Şūfis, gathered and burnt the body of that slanderer in the flames of royal anger and scattered his ashes to the wind of selfishness. The pure earth then turned to the sky and supplicated the blessing of divine compassion for infinite clouds of rain to wash the earth where the Khvāja's bones had been burnt and to cleanse the air which had scattered his ashes. After the death of the impious Khvāja it began to rain. This cleansed the world from his existence to the astonishment of the people.⁵⁰ There had existed an intimate friendship between Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain Işfāhānī the Vicegerent (*vakīl*) of Shāh Ismāīl and Khvāja Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad. When Khvāja Jalāl al-Dīn heard that Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain had been murdered at the hands of Mihtar Shāh Qulī, as has been recorded in the first volume of *Afzal al-Tavārikh*, Khvāja by divine inspiration uttered this quatrain in lamentation. Elegy (*marthiyya*) :

O the world-enlightening light of my two eyes

You left and darkened my days as night.

As if you and I were two candles

The times killed you and I burn.

And in the midst of the fire which had enveloped him, he uttered this verse :

I made home in the abode of calamity and I caught fire

As he who nestles in the land of evil does, like me.

[10a] After Khvāja's body was burnt Qāzī Jahān Sayfī Qazvīnī who is one of the exalted sayyids of.....⁵¹ was considered worthy of the robe of Vizārat, and was appointed the Vazir of the august dominions and received worthy favours.

⁵⁰ This sentence has been recorded in the margin of the folio as a note. Although it is partially covered by a tape, it is possible to convey the meaning of the sentence.

⁵¹ The text is damaged and this word is illegible. However, as his name implies, Qāzī Jahān was one of the sayyids of Qazvin.

The news of the death of Qāsim Khān the frontier Amir (*vālī*) of Dasht- i Qipchāq who was a descendant of Jūji Khān and was a brave Pādishāh, reached His Majesty the Emperor of the World (*khāqān- i jahān*) in this winter camp. Shaykh Shāh b. Farrukh Yasār, the frontier amir (*vālī*) of Shīrvān, succumbed to the call of God and two months after the death of Shāh Ismāʿīl, he too died. His son Sulṭān Khaḷīl ascended the throne of Anūshīrvān and declared his allegiance [to Shāh Ṭahmāsp] and sent worthy gifts (*pīshkish*) to the Seat of the Caliphate. His Majesty, may he rest in paradise, assigned Mīrzā ʿAṭā Allāh Khūzānī Iṣfāhānī, who at the time of Shāh Ismāʿīl oversaw and administered the affairs of the private establishment of His Majesty (*nāzir va ṣāhib- i nasaq- i muhimāt- i sarkār- i ḥazrat- i ʿlā*),⁵² to take the robe of honour to the kingdom of Shīrvān with many precious fabrics for his chaste sister who was married to Sulṭān Khaḷīl and thus honoured them.

His Majesty received the news that after the death of Shāh Ismāʿīl, Lavand Khān the governor (*vālī*) of Kākht, due to the enmity that existed between him and Ḥusain Beg the governor of Shakkī, had invaded Shakkī and had killed Ḥusain Beg. But he did not have the power to capture Shakkī and returned to Georgia. Ḥusain Khān's officers appointed his son Dervīsh Muḥammad Beg the governor of the province of Shakkī and reported it to the seat of the throne of the Caliphate. By royal command the robe of honour of governorship with the decree (*farmān- i qaḏā jaryān*) in the name of Dervīsh Muḥammad Khān were despatched [to Shakkī].

[Shāh Ṭahmāsp] spent the winter in Shahibābād⁵³ district of Tabriz, engaged in leisure and rest and endeavoured to conciliate the hearts of the friends, devotees, the subjects, the infirm and the weak.

The List of Contents (*fihrist*). The years of the reign of His Majesty Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ghāzī, may he rest in paradise, [10b] and an account of his wars and victories from the year of the Horse (*yunt īl*), 931/1524-5 which was the first Naurūz of his

⁵² It is not possible to arrive at a precise definition of this office. Minorsky does not identify such a department in *TM*.

⁵³ Reading is uncertain.

accession to the year of the Pig (*tangūz il*), 984/1576-7 and the narrative of the death of that progeny of the dynasty of the peerless Prophet. The account of the accession of Shāh Ismā‘il II, may he rest in paradise.

The year of the Horse (*yūnt il*), 931/1524-5. The appointment of Mīrzā ‘Aṭā Allāh Iṣfāhānī as Vazir of Āzarbāyjān, Shīrvān and Shakkī. The burning of Maulānā Ibrāhim Munshī and appointment of Mīrzā Kāfi Ṭūsī as Secretary (*munshī*). The development of enmity between Dīv Sulṭān Rūmlū and Köpek Sulṭān Ustājlı over the office of Vicegerency (*vikālat*). Köpek Sulṭān was sent to Georgia. The dismissal of the Grand Vazir (*vizārat-i dīvān ʿlā*) Qāzī Jahān and the transfer of that exalted office to Mīr Ja‘far Sāvajī. Chuha Sulṭān shared the office of Vicegerency with Dīv Sulṭān. The arrival of Mīr Ghīyāth al-Dīn Manṣūr Shīrāzī at the exalted threshold. Ibrāhim Khān, the frontier governor (*vālī*) of Lār, paid homage. The death of Durmīsh Khān, the governor-general of Khurāsān and transfer of that office to his brother Ḥusain Khān. Winter camp at Qarābāgh. The deaths of the Ṣadr Mīr Jamāl al-Dīn, Mīr Muḥsin Raḥavī Qumī and Maulānā Hilālī.

The year of the Sheep (*qūy il*), 932/1525-6. The war between Dīv Sulṭān and Köpek Sulṭān and the defeat of Köpek Sulṭān. The murder of Khvāja Ḥabīb Allāh Sāvajī at the hand of the Shāmlūs of Harat. ‘Ubayd Khān attacked Khurāsān and captured the sacred Mashhad. Jaghatāy Bahādur went to Isfirāyin. He fought Zain al-Dīn Sulṭān and was defeated. Köpek Sulṭān petitioned the exalted threshold. Kār Kīā Sulṭān Aḥmad, the Vālī of Gilān, arrived in the exalted threshold. Mīr ‘Abd al-Vahhāb Tabrīzī was martyred in the province of Rūm. Winter camp in Qazvīn.

The year of the Ape (*pīchī il*), 933/1526-7. Köpek Sulṭān fought with Dīv Sulṭān and was killed. Dīv Sulṭān was murdered by the orders of His Majesty. The office of Vicegerency was transferred to Chuha Sulṭān. ‘Ubayd Khān attacked and captured Āstārābād. Demrī Sulṭān, Ukhī Sulṭān and Jagarna Sulṭān were murdered by the officers of ‘Ubayd Khān. Winter camp in Qazvīn.

The year of the Fowl (*takhāqūy il*), 934/1527-8. ‘Ubayd Khān besieged Harat but returned unsuccessful. Zaynash Bahādur attacked the citadel of Firūz Kūh and murdered Zaynal Khān Shāmlū. [11a] Zulfiqār Turkoman rebelled in Arab Iraq. Winter camp in Qazvīn.

The year of the Dog (*Īt il*), 935/1528-9. His Majesty turned his attention to Khurāsān. Zaynash Bahādur was murdered. The citadel of Dāmghān was captured. Āstārābād, Sabzivār and Nīshāpūr were conquered. His Majesty entered the sacred Mashhad. His Majesty fought ‘Ubayd Khān in Jām and ‘Ubayd Khān was defeated during the second battle. The government of Kermān was entrusted to Āqā Kamālī and Aḥmad Sultān Afshār was dismissed. His Majesty turned his attention to Baghdād, Zulfiqār was killed and Arab Iraq was conquered. Winter camp in Qazvīn.

The year of the Pig (*tangūz il*), 936/1529-30. ‘Ubayd Khān attacked the citadel of Harat and captured the whole of Khurāsān. Maulāna Ḥilālī was murdered. His Majesty turned his attention to Khurāsān and ‘Ubayd Khān fled. The ambassador of the above-mentioned [‘Ubayd Khān] arrived at court with a letter of friendship. The enemy-destroying Pādīshāh replied to the above letter. The throne (*takht-nishūn*) of Harat was entrusted to Bahrām Mīrzā and Ghāzī Khān Tekkelū was appointed the governor-general of Khurāsān. The tomb of Maulānā Jāmī was desecrated. [His Majesty] went to Iṣfāhān and appointed Khvāja Ni‘matullāh Nāylarī⁵⁴ Vazir of Iṣfāhān.⁵⁵

The year of the Mouse (*sīchqān il*), 937/1530-1. His Majesty married. Sām Mirzā and Ḥusain Khān Shāmlū arrived in the exalted threshold. The fight between Chuha Sultān [Tekkelū] and Ḥusain Khān [Shāmlū] and the massacre of the Tekkelūs. Ulma Tekkelū fled to the province of Rūm [the Ottomans]. Qumish Ughlān Uzbek was defeated in Khurāsān. The office of Vicegerency was transferred to

⁵⁴ Reading of the last name is uncertain.

⁵⁵ The text immediately following this sentence continues as a note in the margin. It is in parts crossed out but seems to refer to the appointment of Āqā Kamālī as the governor of Kermān. Although it is not listed here, according to the main account of the events of this year Shāh Ṭahmasp spent the winter in Iṣfāhān.

‘Abd Allāh Khān Ustājīlū and Ḥusain Khān Shāmlū. Bābūr Padishāh Gūrkānī died. Mūsā Sulṭān was appointed the governor-general of Tabriz. Winter camp in Tabriz. **The year of the Cow (*ūd īl*), 938/1531-2.** ‘Ubayd Khān besieged Harat. Fīl Pāshā and Ulma [Tekkelū] attacked the citadel of Bitlis and were defeated. Mīr Ja‘far was murdered and the office of Vizārat was entrusted to Aḥmad Beg Iṣfāhānī. Mīr Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maṣṣūr was removed from the office of Ṣadr and Mīr Mu‘izz al-Dīn Muḥammad Iṣfāhānī was appointed Ṣadr. The Uzbeks were defeated in Baṣṭām. Winter camp in Tabriz.⁵⁶ [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] turned his attention to Āstārābād and entrusted its government to Badr Khān Ustājīlū. Sulṭān Sulaimān attacked Iraq. He returned to Baghdād and conquered Arab Iraq. His Majesty launched a campaign against the citadel of Vān. The Uzbeks were defeated in Khabūshān. Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā was born. Ḥusain Khān and Malik Beg Khu‘iy were killed. Aḥmad Beg was removed from the office of Vizārat and the office was entrusted to Amir ‘Ināyat Iṣfāhānī. Shaykh ‘Alī b. ‘Āl, Shaykh Ni‘matullāh Ḥillī and Maulānā Lisānī died. Winter camp at the foot of the citadel of Vān.

The year of the Leopard (*bārs īl*), 939/1532-3. Alqās Mīrzā was appointed the governor of Āstārābād. Mashhad was conquered. Departure towards Harat. ‘Ubayd Khān fled. The throne of Harat was entrusted to Sām Mīrzā and Aghzīvār Khān Shāmlū was appointed the governor-general of Khurāsān. Shāh Qulī Sulṭān Ustājīlū was appointed governor of Mashhad. Khvāja Ruḥ Allāh Iṣfāhānī was appointed Vazir of the sacred Mashhad. Shāh Qulī Khulafā was appointed the Keeper of the Seal. Qarāvulī ‘Arabgīrlū was appointed the senior officer of all the aides-de-camps, eunuchs, door-keepers and ushers (*Eshīk āqāsī bāshī garī*).⁵⁷ Ghāzī Khān Zu‘l-Qadr was appointed the governor of Fārs. Winter camp in Tabriz.

The year of the Rabbit (*tūshqān īl*), 940/1533-4.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ The events of the year of 938 to this point have been noted on the right margin. The remainder of the events of this year are recorded in the main text.

⁵⁷ *TM*, p. 47.

⁵⁸ This heading is recorded on the margin but no text follows. The author or the copyist omitted or simply forgot to record the summary of the events of 940/1533 under this heading.

The year of the Whale (*lūy īl*), 941/1534-5. The Ottoman Sulṭān (*Qayṣar-i Rūm*) moved from Baghdād to Iraq. His Majesty left Vān and clashed with the Ottoman army and the Ottomans are defeated. [11b] His Majesty returned to Vān. Vān and Arjīsh were captured. Aghzīvār Sulṭān incited Sām Mīrzā to invade Qandahār but he was defeated. Farāh was granted to Khalīfa Sulṭān and Mashhad to Şufyān Khalīfa Rūmlū. After the death of Āqā Kamālī, Amir Beg Mihr (or Muhr ?) Tabrīzi was appointed Vazir of Khurāsān. Alvand Khān Afshār was murdered by royal command. Birām Ughlan attacked Harat and Khalīfa Sulṭān was defeated and killed. Şufyān Khalīfa departed from Mashhad to capture Harat and Birām Ughlān left. Winter camp in Tabriz.

The year of the Snake (*yīlān īl*), 942/1535-6. ‘Ubayd Khān attacked the sacred Mashhad and Şufyān Khalīfa was killed. [Şufyān] Khalīfa's wife (*mankūha*) took possession of the citadel of Mashhad. The mob (*ajlāf*) took control of the citadel of Harat and Khiẓr Chelebī, the deputy of Şufyān Khalīfa, was murdered in the citadel of Harat. ‘Ubayd Khān came to the aid of the [rebellious] mob of Harat and occupied the citadel of Harat. Sulṭān Khalīl, the Vālī of Shīrvān, died and the hereditary land was transferred to Shāhrukh. The Vālī of Gīlān Amīra Muṣṭafā and Amir ‘Ināyat Iṣfāhānī were burnt alive. Qāẓī Jahān was once again appointed Vazir. Maulānā Ahli [Shīrāzī] died. Winter camp in Tabriz.

The year of the Horse (*yūnt īl*), 943/1536-7. His Majesty turned his attention to Ardabil and departed for the plain of Baṣṭām. Sām Mīrzā was pardoned and was summoned from the citadel of Ṭabas. ‘Ubayd Khān fled from Harat. Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā was appointed to the throne (*takht-nishīn*) of Harat and Muḥammad Khān Sharaf al-Dīn Oġlu Tekkelu was appointed the governor-general of Khurāsān. Nisā and Abīvard were captured. Ismā‘īl Mīrzā was born. Qandahār was captured and Būdāg Khān Qājār was appointed [governor]. Kaskan Qarā Sulṭān Chingīzī was appointed to Balkh. Dīn Muḥammad Sulṭān and

‘Alī Sulṭān Khvārazmī arrived in the exalted threshold and Nisā and Abivard were granted to them. Kār Kiā Sulṭān Ḥusain died and Bahrām Mīrzā was appointed to Gilān Lāhījān and the dependencies of Gilān. Khān Aḥmad's rebellion (*khurūj*) in Gilān. Khvāja Kalān Ghūryānī was burnt alive and Mīr Qavām al-Dīn Ḥusain Nūrbakhsh was imprisoned in the fortress of Alanjaq (in Āzarbāyjān). Winter camp in Qazvin.

The year of the Sheep (*qūy īl*), 944/1537-8. The Zu’l-Qadr *ghāzīs* attacked and captured the citadel of Ustā’ in Māzandarān.⁵⁹ ‘Alī Beg Bayāt was appointed governor [of the citadel]. Khvāja Kalān was murdered. Rukn al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Ṭabīb Kāshī was burnt alive. Mīrzā Kāmran Gūrkanī attacked and captured Qandahār.

[12a] Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Butakchī's rebellion and his capture. Sulṭān Murād Mīrzā was born. Winter camp in Tabriz.

The year of the Ape (*pīchī īl*), 945/1538-9. Alqāṣ Mīrzā fought and captured Shāhrukh, the Vālī of Shīrvān. Alqāṣ Mīrzā was appointed to Shīrvān and Dervīsh Muḥammad Khān, the Vālī of Shakkī, declared his allegiance. In Hizār Asb-i Qipchāq⁶⁰, His Majesty assisted the Sulṭāns of Khvārazm to capture it and appointed Dīn Muḥammad Khān [as its ruler]. Winter camp in Tabriz.

The year of the Fowl (*takhāqūy īl*), 946/1539-40. The dominion of Āstārā in Ṭālīsh was granted to Bāyandur Khān. Bahrām Mīrzā attacked Kurdistān. Ḥaydar Qulī Sulṭān Afshār was appointed the governor of Shūshtar. ‘Ubayd Khān Uzbek died. Winter camp in Tabriz.

The year of the Dog (*īt īl*), 947/1540-1. Ghāzī Khān Tekkelū arrived from Rūm and was appointed the governor of Maḥmūdābād in Shīrvān. Shāh Qulī Khalīfa, the Keeper of the Seal, attacked Kurdistān. The citadel of Tiflis was captured; Luārṣāb Khān fled and Gurgistān Kārtīl was invaded. His Majesty returned to Tabriz. Pīr Sulṭān Khalīfa Rūmlū attacked Malik Jahāngīr b. Malik Ṭāvūs but returned

⁵⁹ Reading of "Māzandarān" is uncertain.

⁶⁰ The reading of "Qipchāq" is uncertain. It may be an scribal error for "Urgang" the capital of Hizār Asb.

unsuccessful. Rayyshahr was captured. The fortress of Bādkūya in Shīrvān was captured. Ghāzī Khān Zu'l-Qadr died and Ibrāhīm Khān was appointed governor of the province of Fārs. Sulṭān Ḥaydar Mīrzā was born. Winter camp in Tabriz.

The year of the Pig (*tangūz īl*), 948/1541-2. The campaign to Aḥvāz and Khūzistān. The Arabs and the Alvār surrendered. The assault on the people (*alūs*) of Bayāt. The sayyids of Uskūya fell from favour. The ambassadors from Tūrān arrived. Sulṭān Muṣṭafā Mīrzā was born. Winter camp in Qum.

The year of the Mouse (*sīchqān īl*), 949/1542-3. Mīr Qiyath al-Dīn Maṣṣūr Shīrāzī died. Winter camp in Qum.

The year of the Cow (*ūd īl*), 950/1543-4. His Majesty recovered from illness. The invasion of Rustamdār. The war between Dīn Muḥammad Khvārazmī and Ṣadr al-Dīn Khān Ustājilū in Āstārābād and the defeat of the Khvārazmīyān. Ghāzī Khān Tekkelū was murdered by royal command. Winter camp in Qazvīn.

The year of the Leopard (*bārs īl*), 951/1544-5. Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādīshāh Gūrkānī arrived in the exalted threshold and then returned to India with the aid of the Ṣūfis of ?. The conjunction of the planets (*qirān-i 'ulvīn*).⁶¹ Winter camp in Qazvin.

The year of the Rabbit (*tūshqān īl*), 952/1545-6. [12b] Dīn Muḥammad Khān Ūrganjī invaded Mashhad but returned without capturing it. Mīr Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad Iṣfāhānī and Maulāna Ṣadafī Āstārābādī died. Sulṭān Sulaymān Mīrzā was born. Winter camp in Qazvin.

The year of the Whale (*lūy īl*), 953/1546-7. Alqās Mīrzā's rebellion and reconciliation. The war between the Afshār and the Zu'l-Qadr in Tabriz. Georgia was conquered. Alqās Mīrzā rebelled again. Sulṭān Jaghatāy Turkoman and Maulāna Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusain Ṭabīb Kāshī died. Winter camp in Shīrvān.

The year of the Snake (*yīlān īl*), 954/1547-8. The Amirs fought Alqās Mīrzā and he escaped to Rūm. Mihtar Daulatyār, the *ghulām* of Alqās Mīrzā fought and was killed in Shīrvān. The throne of Anūshīrvān was entrusted to the young Ismā'īl

⁶¹ Reading uncertain.

Mīrzā and Kūkja Sulṭān Qājār was appointed his tutor and governor-general. The Rūmīs (the Ottomans) were defeated in Alashkard and Sulṭān Burhān in Shīrvān. Idham Beg Rūmlū went on a mission to the Deccan. Winter camp in Qazvin.

The year of the Horse (*yunt ʿil*), 955/1548-9. Sulṭān Sulaymān and Alqās Mīrzā invaded Iran but they returned unsuccessful. The Ottomans captured the citadel of Vān. Ismāʿīl Mīrzā attacked ʿĀdiljūz and [the citadel of] Qāris. Bahrām Mīrzā attacked Ulma Tekkelū. [Ulma] fled and captured the citadel of Tarjān and Arzanjān and returned to Erivan. Ismāʿīl Mīrzā departed for Shīrvān and the Chief of the Qūrchīs (*qūrchī-bāshī*) attacked Shakkī. Alqās Mīrzā came to Iraq and fled towards Baghdad. ʿAlī Sulṭān Uzbek was defeated in Āstārābād. Winter camp in Tabriz.

The year of the Sheep (*qūy ʿil*), 956/1549. Muḥammad Khān Tekkelū attacked the state (*vilaāyat*) of Ghurjistān. Alqās Mīrzā came from Baghdād and arrived in the exalted threshold. Sām Mīrzā was appointed the governor of Ardabil and the custodian (*mutivalī*) of the tomb of the guiding ancestor [Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn]. ʿAbd Allāh Khān [Ustājilū] was appointed the governor-general of Shīrvān. Iskandar Pāshā was defeated in Erivan. Bahrām Mīrzā died. Winter camp in Tabriz.

The year of the Ape (*pīchī ʿil*), 957/1550. [13a] The Sulṭāns of Tūrān invaded Khurāsān but returned unsuccessful. The Chief of the Qūrchīs went to the aid of Surkhāb Khān Ardalān and the servants of the seat of the Caliphate defeated the Kurds and the Ottomans. Shāh Qulī Sulṭān Ustājilū, the governor of Āstārābād died. Shāhverdī Sulṭān Zuʿl-Qadr was killed by the Abā Yaqa Turkoman in Āstārābād. Abā Yaqa Turkoman rebelled. Sulṭān Amir Ghayb Beg Ustājilū was appointed the governor of Āstārābād. The governor-general of Khurāsān captured the state of Ghurjistān and Qarāq Beg, the son of Muḥammad Khān was appointed governor of Ghurjistān. Construction of buildings in Bardaʿ.

Khānūlī Sulṭān Bahārlū was appointed the governor of Bardaʿ. The district of Jālart in Ārān was granted to ʿAlī Sulṭān Ikramī Durt. Sulṭān Maḥmūd Mīrzā was born. Winter camp in Qarābāgh.

The year of the Fowl (*takhāqūy il*), 958/1551. His Majesty turned his attention to Shakkī and captured that dominion. Tuyqūn Beg Qājār was appointed governor of Shakkī. Lavand Khān, the Vāfi of Kākht in Georgia paid homage by kissing the feet of [Shāh Ṭahmāsp]. [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] departed on a campaign to capture Kārtīl in Georgia. Shāhverdī Sulṭān Qājār was appointed the governor-general of Qarābāgh. The Frankish Pādishāh sent an ambassador (*ilchī*). Tabt Āqā was sent on a mission to the Ottoman Sulṭān. Dīn Muḥammad Khān Uzbek sought refuge at the exalted threshold. Khvāja Amir Beg Mihr was imprisoned. Khvāja Rūḥ Allāh Iṣfāhānī was appointed the Vazir of Khurāsān. Alqāṣ Mīrzā died in the fortress of Alamūt. Winter camp in Qarābāgh.

The year of the Dog (*ūt il*), 959/1551-2. The Amirs attacked ‘Ādiljūz and Arjīsh in Rūm. The citadel of Akhlāt was captured. Vān (in Kurdistān)⁶² was invaded. Ismā‘īl Mīrzā departed on the campaign to attack and capture the citadel of Pāsīn. Iskandar Pāshā was besieged in the citadel of Arz al-Rūm. Ismā‘īl Mīrzā was appointed the governor of ‘Alīshikar. The ambassador (*ilchī*) of Humāyūn Pādishāh was granted permission to leave with a letter of friendship. ‘Ādiljūz was captured and Arjīsh was encircled and that province was destroyed. Winter camp in Kurdistān.

The year of the Pig (*tangūz il*), 960/1552-3. The citadels of Arjīsh and Bārgīrī were captured. Ismā‘īl Mīrzā attacked and sacked Kurdistān. [13b] Qāz ‘ī Jahān died. Sayyid Shams al-Dīn Ilkhānī went on a mission to the Ottomans carrying a letter of friendship. Winter camp in Nakhjivān.

The year of the Mouse (*sīchqān il*), 961/1553-4. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā went to the aid of Surkhāb Ardalān. Mīr Shams al-Dīn returned from the Ottomans. The Ottoman Sulṭān invaded the provinces of Iran for the fourth time but returned unsuccessful. The Amirs invaded the Ottoman provinces. The Ottoman Sulṭān wrote a letter to His Majesty seeking peace. His Majesty turned his attention to Georgia Kārtīl and captured it. His Majesty sent Shāh Quḷī Beg Ustājilū once again with a

⁶² In the manuscript the word Kurdistān has come before Van.

letter to the Ottoman Sulṭān. ‘Abd Allāh Khān the governor-general of Shīrvān fought with Qāsim Shīrvānī and the Shīrvānīs were defeated by Tājlu Begum, the sister of His Majesty.⁶³ Farrukhzād Beg departed on a mission to the Ottomans. Selim Shāh the governor of Delhi, the Vālī of Gūjurāt Sulṭān Maḥmūd, and Nizām al-Mulk, the ruler of Daulatābād in India, died. Maulānā Ḥairatī died. Winter camp in Barda‘ in Qarābāgh.

The year of the Cow (*ūd īl*), 962/1554-5. Kūkija Sulṭān Qājār went to punish Abā’ Yaqa Turkomān. Amir Ghaib Sulṭān Ustājlu was appointed the governor of Āstārābād. Jarandāb Sulṭān Shāmlū⁶⁴ was appointed the *dārūgha* (governor or prefect of police) of Qazvin. Ismā‘il Mīrzā married. Winter camp in Birda‘.

The year of the Leopard (*bārs īl*), 963/1555-6. Shāhverdī Sulṭān Qājār attacked Georgia Kārtīl. He fought and killed Lūarṣāb Khān. Humāyūn Pādīshāh Gurkānī died. Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā Ṣafavī attacked the citadel of Qandahār and captured the citadel of Zamīndāvar. His Majesty prohibited all the reprehensible acts and Imām Qulī Mīrzā was born. The governor of Tāshkand Burāq Khān and the Ṣadr Mīr Asad Allāh died. Sayyid ‘Alī Shūshtarī was appointed Ṣadr. Mīrzā Shukr Allāh Iṣfāhānī was appointed the Financial Controller (*mustaufī al-mamālik*) of the protected

⁶³ This Tājlu Begum should not be confused with Tājlu Begum, Shāh Ismā‘il’s favourite wife and Ṭahmāsp’s mother. According to Fazlī, this lady was Maḥd Auliya Fāṭima Sulṭān Begum whom he claims was Shāh Ismā‘il’s eldest daughter, Shāh Ṭahmāsp’s sister, the wife of Qarā Khān Ustajlu and the mother of ‘Abd Allāh Khān Ustajlu, Shāh Ṭahmāsp conferred the title "Tājlu Begum" on her in appreciation of her bravery and military success in battle against Sulṭān Qāsim Shīrvānī and his Ottoman allies, *Afzal II*, ff. 203a-204a. However, *Khulāṣa*, p. 372, identifies this lady as Parī Khān Khānum, the wife of ‘Abd Allāh Khān and not his mother. It is not possible to account for the different identification of this Princess by Fazlī and Qāzī Aḥmad. Zuppe has shown that Shāh Ṭahmāsp did not have a sister with the name of Maḥd Auliya, as Fazlī claims. Maḥd Auliya was in fact the sister of Shāh Ismā‘il. However, she argues that although the two narratives present two different women, it concerns the same military episode which is undoubtedly authentic. She further argues that it is likely that both Maḥd Auliya, the mother of ‘Abd Allāh Khān, and Parī Khān Khānum, his wife, fought in this battle. Therefore Fazlī and Qāzī Aḥmad complement each other. Maria Zuppe, "La Participation des Femmes de La Famille Royale À L'Exercice du Pouvoir en Iran Safavides au XVI^e Siècle, L'Importance Politique et Sociale de La Parenté Matrilinéaire" (Première Partie), *Studia Iranica* 23, (1994), pp. 215 note 19, 221, 224. and "La Participation des Femmes de La Famille Royale À L'Exercice du Pouvoir en Iran Safavide au XVI^e Siècle, L'Entourage des Princesses et Leurs Activités Politiques" (Seconde Partie), *Studia Iranica* 24 (1995), pp. 64-5.

⁶⁴ The reading of "Shāmlu" is uncertain.

dominions. Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā returned from Khurāsān and married the daughter of Qāẓī Jahān. ‘Alī Sulṭān Tekkelū was murdered. Winter camp in Qazvin. **The year of the Rabbit (*tūshqān il*), 964/1556-7.** Qāẓī Muḥammad and Ḥaydar Beg Tabrīzī were imprisoned in the fortress of Alamūt. Mīr Mīrān [‘Abd al-Vahhābī] was appointed the army chaplain (*qazāy-i ‘askar*). Sulṭān Ibrāhim Mīrzā was appointed the governor of the sacred Mashhad. [14a] Shāhverdī Sulṭān Qājār invaded Georgia (*vilāyat-i Gurgistān*) and punished Sīmāyūn Khān. Tabt Āqā returned from the Ottomans. Muḥammad Khān, the governor-general of Khurāsān died and his son Qazāq Khān was appointed to that office. Khvāja Rūḥ Allāh, the Vazir of Khurāsān, arrived [at court] and royal favours were conferred on his son Mīrzā Beg. Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā was once again appointed to the throne (*takht-nishīnī*) of Khurāsān. Ismā‘īl Mīrzā was imprisoned in the fortress of Qahqaha. Winter camp in Tabriz.

The year of the Whale (*lūy il*), 965/1557-8. Khvāja ‘Abd al-Qādir Kirmānī died. Shāh Quḷī Khalifa the Keeper of the Seal went to war against Abā’ Yaqa Turkomān. Khalifa died; the Qizilbāsh army was defeated; Rustam Khān Qarāmānlū, Badr Khān Ustājilū, Ibrāhim Khān Zu’l-Qadr and Yādigār Beg Ustājilū were martyred, and Abā’ returned to Khvārazm. Qandahāhr was captured and Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā was appointed its governor. Qazvīn was flooded. Abā’ Turkomān was killed. Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn Jabal ‘Āmulī died. Winter camp in Qazvin.

The year of the Snake (*yīlān il*), 966/1558-9. Sulṭān Bāyazīd came to Iran (*mamālik-i Iran*). Sinān Pāshā arrived on a mission from the Ottoman Sulṭān. Maulānā Abu’l Ḥasan Abīvardī⁶⁵ died. Winter camp in Qazvīn.

The year of the Horse (*yūnt il*), 967/1559-60. Sulṭān Bāyazīd and his sons met His Majesty. Sinān Pāshā received the honour of kissing [Shāh Ṭahmāsp]’s feet. ‘Alī Āqā Qājār and Arshī⁶⁶ Āqā Zu’l-Qadr were sent on a mission to the Ottoman Sulṭān with

⁶⁵ This is "Bāvardī" in the manuscript which must be an error.

⁶⁶ Reading is uncertain.

a letter of friendship. ‘Alī Sulṭān Uzbek attacked Nīshāpūr and his army was defeated. His Majesty became ill. ‘Īsā Khān Gurjī converted to Islam. Ḥusain Beg Chāvushlū and Mīrzā ‘Aṭā Allāh Vazir of Āzarbāyjān died. Khvāja Qāsim was appointed Vazir of Āzarbāyjān and Khvāja Zīā’ al-Dīn Iṣfāhānī was appointed Vazir of Shīrvān and Shakkī. Winter camp in Qazvīn.

The year of the Sheep (*qūy īl*), 968/1560-61. Sulṭān Bāyazīd's treachery towards His Majesty. He and his sons were imprisoned. An ambassador was despatched to the Ottoman Sulṭān delivering a letter of friendship. Sīmāyūn Khān and Gurgīn Khān attacked the citadel of Tiflis. [14b] Gurgīn Khān was killed and Sīmāyūn Khān fled. The title of *muṣāhibat*⁶⁷ of the exalted dynasty was conferred on Shāhverdī Sulṭān Qājār. Winter camp in Qazvīn.

The year of the Ape (*pīchī īl*), 969/1561-2. Farrukhzād Beg Qarāja Dāghī arrived on a mission from the Ottomans and concluded a royal agreement to return Sulṭān Bāyazīd back to the Ottoman kingdom. Sūndūk⁶⁸ Beg *Qūrchī-bāshī* Afshār, the Chief of the qūrchīs, and Mīrzā Kāfī *Munshī al-mamālik*, the Secretary of State, died. Dāvūd Khān Gurgī was appointed the governor of Kārtil. Sulṭānum, the sister of His Majesty, died. Mīrzā Beg Iṣfāhānī was appointed the Vazir of Chakhūr-i Sa‘d. Winter camp in Qazvīn.

The year of the Fowl (*takhāqūy īl*), 970 A.H. ‘Īsā Khān Gurjī, the support of Islam (*madīd al-Islam*), was imprisoned in the fortress of Alamūt. Ilyās Beg arrived on a mission from the Ottomans. His Majesty sent ambassadors [to the Ottomans]. Mīr Muḥammad Yūsuf Āstārābādī was appointed the Ṣadr of the royal demesne (*ṣidārat-i miḥāl-i khāliṣa*). Maulā Quṭb al-Dīn ‘Allāma Baghdādī and the physician Ḥakīm

⁶⁷ The term "*muṣāhibat*" generally means companionship. However, Fazli claims that *muṣāhibat* denotes a formal position in the hierarchy of a Ṣūfī order: in a Ṣūfī order (*dar ṭarīq-i Ṣūfīgarī*) a *muṣāhib* is a "brother" whilst the spiritual guide (*murabī*) is considered to be a "father", *Afzal II*, f. 242b. Membré also notes that "*muṣāhib*" was a friend and beloved of the Shāh. The *muṣāhibān*, who numbered 6 or 7, were the *Yasāvuls* (aides-de-camp) closest to Shāh Ṭahmāsp, Michele Membré, *Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia (1539-1542)*, Trans. A. H. Morton, (London, 1993), p. 19. See also *TM*, p. 133.

⁶⁸ Reading is uncertain.

Nūr al-Dīn Shīrāzī died. Winter camp in Qazvīn. Ḥakīm ʿAbd Allāh was appointed the physician of the hospital of Fārs (*dār al-shafāy-i Fārs*).

The year of the Dog (*īt il*), 971/1563-4. His Majesty concluded peace with the Sultāns of Tūrān. ʿAlī Sulṭān, the Vālī of Khvārazm, invaded Khurāsān but returned unsuccessful. Mīr Murād Khān, the Vālī of Māzandarān, was granted a drum (*tabl*) and a banner (*ʿalam*). Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā married the daughter of Mīr ʿAbd Allāh Khān. The envoy of Abu'l Khān, the governor of Abīvard, and also the envoy of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khān, the Vālī of Bhakkar in Sind, arrived. Khānish Khānum, the sister of His Majesty, died.⁶⁹ Winter camp in Qazvin.

The year of the Pig (*tangūz il*), 972/1564-5. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā fought and captured Qazāq Khān Tekkelū. Shāh Quṭb Sulṭān Yikān Ustājilū was appointed the governor of Harat. The citadel of Khabūshān was captured. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā married. The stamp-tax (*tamghāvāt*)⁷⁰ of the protected dominions was reduced. Sulṭān ʿAlī Mīrzā was born and Sām Mīrzā died. The government and custodianship (*tuḷiyat*) of sacred Ardabil was entrusted to Ḥaydar al-Dīn Khān. Winter camp in Qazvīn.

The year of the Mouse (*sīchqān il*), 973/1565-6. Abu'l Khān, the Vālī of Abīvard, declared his allegiance. ʿAlī Sulṭān Khvārazmī attacked Āstārābād and died. Winter camp in Qazvīn.

The year of the Cow (*ūd il*), 974/1566-7.⁷¹ [15a] Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā, the son of Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā, came from Harat to the exalted threshold. ʿAbd Allāh Khān Uzbek attacked the citadel of Turbat in Khurāsān but returned unsuccessful.

⁶⁹ The next sentence in connection with the death of Khānish Khānum is not legible.

⁷⁰ It is not possible to arrive at a precise translation of "*tamghā*" but it is clear that it was some form of tax. *Tamghā* was also the brand of a horse or a camel which was impressed on the back of the animal with a hot iron. In monetary terms "*tamgha*" may have been the equivalent of modern day road tax : the tax imposed on each branded horse or camel. Rūmlū also reports that in this year Shāh Ṭahmāsp waived the *tamghāvāt* of the protected dominions to the value of 30000 tumans. He also notes in a poem that thereafter "nothing was left of *tamghā* but its burn", *Aḥsan*, p. 428; See also *TM*, p. 68.

⁷¹ Part of the text following this heading has been cut away, no doubt during the conservation of the manuscript.

The government of Tūn and Ṭabas was entrusted to Shujā' Beg Virsāq. The Ottoman Sulṭān Sulaymān and 'Abd Allāh Khān, the governor-general of Shīrvān died. And Shīrvān was entrusted to his son Shāh 'Alī Beg.

The year of the Leopard (*bārs il*), 975/1567-8. Shāhverdī Sulṭān Qājār died.

Ibrāhim Sulṭān was appointed the governor-general of Qarābāgh. He fought Simāyūn Khān and the Georgians were defeated. The ambassador from the Ottoman Sulṭān arrived and Tīb Āqā went on a mission to the Ottomans. The Vālī of Kirmān Khān Aḥmad rebelled and was imprisoned in the fortress of Iṣtakhr. The throne (*takht-nishīnī*) of Gīlān was entrusted to Sulṭān Maḥmūd Mīrzā and Allāh Qulī Sulṭān Ustājlu was appointed the governor-general. Khvāja Rūḥ Allāh Iṣfāhānī was appointed the Vazir of the royal demesnes (*vizārat-i khāliṣṣa*). Jamshīd Khān⁷² was appointed the governor of Rasht and Amīra Sāsān the governor of Kaskar.

The year of the Rabbit (*tūshqān il*), 976/1568-9. Simāyūn Khān Gurjī was

captured and imprisoned in the fortress of Alamūt. Davūd Khān was appointed the governor of Kārtīl. Ma'sūm Beg Ṣafavī was martyred on pilgrimage (*ḥajj*).

The year of the Whale (*lūy il*), 977/1569-70. Jarūnāt and Garmsīrāt in Kermān were captured. Uzbek Sulṭān fought the Qizilbāsh at Jām and Mīr Ḥusain Tavakulī and Zainal Beg Zu'l-Qadr were killed. The son⁷³ of Ḥusain Khān was appointed governor of Jām.

The year of the Snake (*yūlān il*), 978/1570-1. Sulṭān Aḥmad Mīrzā was born.

Sulṭān Maḥmūd Mīrzā was appointed governor of Shīrvān. Sulṭān 'Alī Mīrzā was appointed to Ganja, and Sulṭān Sulaymān Mīrzā was appointed the custodian (*taulīyat*) of the [shrine] in the sacred Mashhad. Sulṭān Ibrāhim Mīrzā was appointed the Pillar of the State (*rukn al-sanḥtāna*). The royal seal was entrusted to Parī Khān Khānum. Imām Qulī Mīrzā was appointed governor of Gīlān. Khvāja Rūḥ Allāh,

⁷² Reading of "Jamshīd" is uncertain. Jamshīd Khān was Shāh Ṭahmāsp's nephew, whom, according to Rūmlū, had been sent to govern Gīlān in this year, *Aḥsan*, p. 436.

⁷³ Reading uncertain.

Vazir of Khurāsān and Gilān, died. Tabt Āqā returned from his mission to the Ottomans.

The year of the Horse (*yūnt īl*), 979/1571-2. The people of Gilān rebelled and were punished.

The year of the Sheep (*qūy īl*), 980/1572-3. Maulānā Āqājānī was appointed teacher at the Shāhrukhīyya *madrasa*.

The year of the Ape (*pīchī īl*), 981/1573-4. The rabble (*ajlāf*) of Tabriz were massacred and Yusūf Beg Ustājilū was appointed governor of the city. Plague struck Ardabil. Sayyid Ḥasan Farāmānī was appointed Vazir (*vazir-i qalamrau*). Khvāja Jamāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī was appointed the Vazir of the royal demesne (*miḥāl-i Khāṣṣ*). Maulānā ‘Abd Allāh Yazdī died. The water of Khumār-i Ṭāshī in Qazvīn was constructed. Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā became blind. ‘Abbās Mīrzā was appointed the governor of Khurāsān.

The year of the Fowl (*takhāqūy īl*), 982/1574-5. The Portuguese ambassador arrived. The Ottoman Sulṭān Selim died. Muḥammad Khān Ustājilū departed for the Ottoman land.⁷⁴ Mīrzā Qāsim Junābādī died.

The year of the Dog (*ūt īl*), 983/1575-6. Muḥammad Sulṭān, the Vālī of Khvārazm, came to the exalted threshold. By royal command, Ṣūfī cloisters (*ribāt*) were constructed in Sulṭāniyya and Zanjān.

The year of the Pig (*tangūz īl*), 984/1576-7. The account of the death of Shāh Ṭahmāsp *ghāzī*. And the conclusion of *daftar* (part) one of volume 2 of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh*.

**The Naurūz of the year of the Horse (*yūnt īl*) , 931/1524-5. which is
the first year of the reign of His Highness Shāh Ṭahmāsp.**

[The world] came forth from behind the veil of inexistence into the plain of life and clothed the world in green attire. [It] removed the carpet of snow from the surface

⁷⁴ This sentence is barely legible but according to the main account of the events of this year, Muḥammad Khān was sent to the Ottoman court to convey a message of condolence for the death of Sulṭān Selim and to congratulate the accession of Sulṭān Murād, *Afzal II*, f. 271 a+b.

of the earth and loudly sang this couplet to rouse from winter sleep those who had been waiting for the call of the advancing dawn.⁷⁵ [15b] The sincere devotees (*mukhlīṣān*) and the aids (*naṣrīyān*) were granted a week's leave and thus were honoured from the beginning of the reign. At the end of the festivities and discourse which was customary among both the nobility and the common people,⁷⁶ [His Highness] engaged in pursuit of pleasure and bestowed honorific gifts and rewards upon the fortunate brothers Sām Mīrzā, Alqās Mīrzā, and Bahrām Mīrzā, all the Chiefs, the commanders of the enemy-destroying army, the scholars (*fuṣalā*), the Ṣadrs and the mayors (*kalāntrān*) of the provinces and the notables of the august empire. The Chiefs and the mayors of the provinces who were not present at the court, sent their gifts (*pīshkish*) to the exalted threshold. [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] sent honorific gifts [to them] and delighted the poor and the deprived with abundant bounty and innumerable favours. [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] then attended to the affairs of the land (*mulk*).

Mīrzā ‘Aṭā Allāh returned from Shīrvān and received the honour of appointment to the office of Vizārat of Āzarbāyjān. Maulānā Idham Munshī was burnt alive and the office of the State Scribe⁷⁷ (*inshāʿ*) was entrusted to Mīrzā Kāfi. Dīv Sulṭān arrived with the Chiefs to the exalted threshold, and his enmity with Köpek Sulṭān over the vicegerency (*vikālat*). His Highness sent Köpek Sulṭān on a holy war in Georgia. Removal from office and captivity of Qāzī Jahān and the transfer of the august Vizārat to Mīr Ja‘far Sāvajī.

⁷⁵The narrative of the events of the year 931/1524 begins on the margin of folio 15a, as an extension of the main body of the text, and immediately follows the list of contents. Part of this text is concealed by a conservation tape, The translation is therefore an abridged version.

⁷⁶ This part of the text is written on the top margin of folio 15b. The amount of the text written in tight script on the margins may suggest these were late additions to replace lost folios.

⁷⁷ This was the office of *Munshī al-Mamālik* which Minrosky has translated as the "State Scribe". This office seems to be distinct from the office of *Majlis-nivīs* or *Vāqīʿ-nivīs* (the Recorder of the King's audiences). *TM*, pp. 52-3,132

After the Sulṭānī Naurūz, Mīrzā ‘Aṭā Allāh Khūzānī, who by royal command had taken the decree of governorship and the robe of honour to the young prince Sulṭān Khalīl, the Vālī of Shīrvān, returned. He presented the petition (*‘arīza*) and the gift of the above-mentioned to the exalted threshold and declared the devotion and allegiance of the heir of the throne of Anūshīrvān [to the Shāh]. Mīrzā ‘Aṭā Allāh, who had been a long serving official, was honoured by royal favour. [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] entrusted the Vizārat and tax inspectorate (*mumayazī*) of the whole of Āzarbāyjān, which is a quarter of the provinces of Iran, with absolute authority to him.

Under the instructions of the burnt Vazir, Maulānā Idham Munshī had committed acts of treachery in writing the royal decrees (*aḥkām- i muṭā‘a*). Hence he was burnt in his own fire of deceit in the summer quarters of Sahand in Tabriz. The office of the State Scribe of the whole of the God-protected dominions was entrusted to Mīrzā Kāfī, the son of Khvāja ‘Aṭīq Urdūbādī, who received the title of the "State Scribe". Khvāja ‘Aṭīq Urdūbādī was a son of the disciple (*murīd*) of Shaykh Rabbānī Qāzī ‘Imād al-Dīn Ṭūsī whose life has been extensively recorded at the time of the spiritual guide Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn Ishāq.⁷⁸

The hostility which existed between Dīv Sulṭān Rūmlū and Köpek Sulṭān Ustājlı concerning the sharing of Vicegerency, had intensified [16a] as they prepared to murder and pillage each other's army and camp (*urdū*). Köpek Sulṭān enjoyed the support of a large number of the Ustājlıs and Dīv Sulṭān, despite his courage and daring, was powerless before his enmity. The Grand Vazir Qāzī Jahān proposed to His Majesty that Dīv Sulṭān be made the commander of the army of Khurāsān. In this way both the security of Khurāsān would be ensured and the hostility between Köpek Sulṭān and him [Dīv Sulṭān] would be defused. Furthermore, it would save many devoted followers (*mukhlīṣān*) and Ṣūfīs from perishing in the midst of their

⁷⁸ This sentence is crossed out and in parts the reading is uncertain. The translation however conveys the meaning.

hostility. His Majesty, may he rest in paradise, found this agreeable and bestowed honours on Dīv Sulṭān and granted him permission to leave for Khurāsān. It was ordained that the army of Fārs, Kirmān, Persian Irāq, and Khurāsān submit to the command of the Pillar of the State of Iran and the confidant [of the Shāh], Dīv Sulṭān, and deem his prudence in every matter worthy of their loyalty and Ṣūfī probity (*ṣūfī-garī*).⁷⁹ It was also ordered that as was customary he should act as the regent (*nāʿib*), and leave his seal at court so that the incumbent decrees (*aḥkām-i muṭāʿa*) are endorsed by the seal of the Pillar of the State.⁸⁰ Dīv Sulṭān was comforted by the Shāh's favours and with complete authority set off for the summer-quarters at Lār in Māzandarān. He sent an envoy to summon the governors of Fārs, Kerman and Irāq, especially Chuha Sulṭān Tekkelū the governor of Gulhar⁸¹, ʿAḥī Sulṭān Zuʿl-Qadr, the governor-general of Fārs, and Qarāja Sulṭān Tekkelū, the governor of Hamadān, to the summer quarters in Lār. The governors of Māzandarān, Gīlān (*Gīlānāt*),⁸² Rustamdār and Āstārābād sent their militia with gifts (*pīshkish*) to the Pillar of the State of the Pādishāh of Iran and declared their allegiance. [Dīv Sulṭān] sent an agent to Qazvīn, Kāshān, Yazd and Iṣfāhān to purchase weapons from the arsenal (*qūr-khāna*) and *karkīrāq-khāna*⁸³. He obtained every kind of weapon and armaments and filled the chests with precious cloths, and rare weapons. The Sulṭāns, the Amirs and military men from all quarters gathered in the summer camp at Lār [16b] for leisure and discourse. As the weather turned cold they planned a grand celebration and organised what was necessary for the festivities and granted permission to the whole of the army and the notables of the noble camp to drink wine. Red goblets appeared in the hands of rosy-cheeked wine-bearers and

⁷⁹ This last clause has been written in the margin.

⁸⁰ This sentence has been scored over possibly by a later critical reader of the chronicle. See the commentary.

⁸¹ According to *Takmilat al-Akhhbār*, Chuha Sulṭān was the governor of Iṣfāhān at this time. ʿAbdī Beg Shīrāzi, *Takmilat al-Akhhbār*, (ed.) ʿAbdʿl Ḥusain Navāʿī. (Tehran, 1369). p. 61.

⁸² This is a reference to the *Gilan-i pīsh* and *Gilan-i pas*.

⁸³ Reading of this word is uncertain, though my reading may be accurate. The same term appears in TAAA as *karkīrāqān* in the sentence "... they captured all the *karkīrāqān* of all the Amirs and the Pillars of the State who were in Kāshān", p. 354. Its meaning however is unclear.

the song of the singers and the melody of the minstrels passed the pleasure house of Venus (*nāhīd*). For three days they feasted and on the third day [Dīv Sulṭān] offered the honorific gifts of horses, coats of mail (*jiba*)⁸⁴ and arms which he had collected, to all the Amirs, the civil functionaries, the enemy-destroying troops, the grandees of the supreme provinces, and the officers and the notables in his own entourage. He demonstrated much favour towards those who merited it and obliged them all with his kindness.

[Dīv Sulṭān] deliberated with them : it was decided that Durmīsh Khān did not need any assistance and that Khurāsān was secure. Since there had been no news of the Uzbek invasion of Khurāsān from Transoxianā, [the Amirs] could pay their respect to the threshold of the seat of the Caliphate. [He] urged them to move towards the capital city of Tabriz and assist him at once in divesting Köpek Sulṭān of the Vicegerency by force. [He argued] that this would not be contrary to the principles of decency and gratitude and that, His Majesty, the refuge of the Caliphate, would also seek to appease his long-serving officials and would withhold assistance from Köpek Sulṭān. All the Amirs and the army agreed and all united and set off for Tabriz.

[17a] As the news of the advance of Dīv Sulṭān and his army reached Tabriz, the Ustājlū Amirs assembled in the house of Köpek Sulṭān to deliberate. Qāranja Sulṭān, Qārūq Ḥamza Ustājlū and Nārīn Beg Qājār deemed it wise to wage war on Dīv Sulṭān who had disobeyed the royal command, had disregarded the royal prerogatives, and without the orders of the Vicegerent (*navvāb-i aʿlā*)⁸⁵ had led an army to the sacred capital and had opposed him. They concluded that, God willing, Dīv Sulṭān might be troubled by his own presumption. His Highness too was of the

⁸⁴ Reading is uncertain. The text reads something like *jīqa* which is almost certainly an error. It could read *jīgha* meaning "a jewel worn in the turban" but in view of the context, *jiba* or coat of mail is a more likely reading.

⁸⁵ It is not clear who the author means by the title "*navvāb-i aʿlā*", Shāh Ṭahmāsp or Köpek Sulṭān. This is not a title he usually uses to refer to Shāh Ṭahmāsp. In view of the assertion, in the same sentence, that he [Dīv Sulṭān] had led an army against the *navvāb-i aʿlā*, we may interpret the title to refer to the co-Vicegerent Köpek Sulṭān, hence I have opted for the translation "Vicegerent".

same mind but Köpek Sulṭān and Qāẓī Jahān did not consent to war and said that they were both servants of the same royal threshold and there was no glory in shedding the blood of the Qizilbāsh tribes in pursuit of the office of Vicegerency (*vikālat*) and authority. Then together with the court nobility they moved to greet Dīv Sulṭān. They met and presented the Amirs and the centurions (*yūzbāshīyān*) of Irāq, Fārs and Kermān, and as was customary they jointly carried out the affairs of state. Gradually Dīv Sulṭān's power and authority at court⁸⁶ increased and he instigated the murders of Qāranja Sulṭān Ustājilū and Nārīn Beg Qājār, the supporters of Köpek Sulṭān, and instigated the imprisonment of Qāẓī Jahān in a fortress. In Zu'l-hijja of the year 931/September 1525, His Highness removed Qāẓī Jahān from the office of Vizārat of the empire and sent him to the fort of Lurī in Qarābāgh.⁸⁷ He then appointed Mīr Ja'far Sāvajī who was of the Iraqi sayyids of pure descent, to the office of Vizārat, bestowing the title of Grand Vazir (*i'timād al-daula*) on him. His Highness also sent Köpek Sulṭān in command of the army of Āzarbāyjān on a mission of holy war (*ghazā*) against the infidel Sulṭāns of Georgia to subjugate them to the Pādishāh of Islam. [17b] In the event of any resistance, Köpek Sulṭān was instructed to attack and plunder their territories. As had been commanded, Köpek Sulṭān, who was concerned about the growing power and influence of Dīv Sulṭān, agreed to leave for Georgia. He accepted the nominal title of Vicegerent (*vakil*) and together with the Ustājilū Amirs and the lower ranking Sulṭāns (*salāfīn-i tābīn*) was granted leave to wage holy war in Georgia. They set up winter camp in Qarābāgh.

⁸⁶ The text reads "power and authority at the service of His Highness grew."

⁸⁷ *Aḥsan* and *Afzal* disagree on the location where Qāẓī Jahān was imprisoned. *Aḥsan*, p. 189, cites the fort of *Nūrī*, and Savory identifies it as "the fortress of *Nūrī* in Māzandarān", R. M. Savory, "The Principal Offices of the Ṣafavi State During the Reign of Ṭahmāsp I (930-84/1524-76)", *BSOAS* XXIV (1961), p. 66. However, *Khulāṣa*, vol. 1, p. 160, agrees with *Afzal* and records "Dīv Sulṭān detained Qāẓī Jahān and sent him to the fortress of Lurī". Either of these locations were likely to have been chosen to incarcerate Qāẓī Jahān, since both Qarābāgh and Māzandarān were by this time under Ṣafavid control. Shāh Ismā'īl's commanders conquered both Mazandarān and the citadel of Luri, in Qarābāgh, in the year 924/1518, *Khulāṣa*, vol. 1, p. 140.

Dīv Sultān cancelled the fiefs (*tiyūlāt*) of Köpek Sultān and the Ustājlūs. Chuha Sultān shared the Vicegerency (*vikālat*) [with Dīv Sultān]. Mir Ghīyāth al-Dīn Maṣṣūr arrived at court. The letter to Ibrāhim Khān at the frontier of Lār and the reply from the above-mentioned. The news of the death of Durmīsh Khān arrived and the appointment of Ḥusain Khān as the governor-general of Khurāsān and tutor (*lala*) of Sām Mīrzā.

After Köpek Sultān departed for Qarābāgh Dīv Sultān, in an act of hostility towards him, appointed Chuha Sultān Tekkelū as his co-Vicegerent at the chancery (*dīvān-i ʿlā*). He removed the seal and the name of Köpek Sultān from all the decrees and cancelled the fief (*tiyūl*) of the Ustājlū Amirs. Thus he fanned the flames of enmity. Mir Jaʿfar and other men of authority, who had the power of veto, told Dīv Sultān that the tribe of Ustājlū would not be excluded from the threshold of the Caliphate and that the feud between the two noble men would cause many deaths. However, Dīv Sultān was unrepentant and resolved to sever the lifeline of the Ustājlū Amirs. So when the news of the confiscation of their land (*tiyūl*) reached the Ustājlū Amirs in Qarābāgh, they abandoned the Georgian campaign and waited for spring to take revenge from Dīv Sultān. His Highness also planned to set up winter camp in the capital Tabriz. He was much disturbed by the power of Dīv Sultān and the latter's conflict with Köpek Sultān.

[18a] At this time the news of the death of the loyal servant Durmīsh Khān Shāmlū, the governor-general of Khurāsān, reached the young Shāh. The Shāh regretted the death of this man of great felicity and issued the farmān of the governorship of Harat and the office of governor-general of Khurāsān to Durmīsh Khān's brother Ḥusain Beg. Shāh Ṭahmāsp bestowed the title of Khān on Ḥusain Beg and named him the tutor (*lala*) of Sām Mīrzā and sent [the decree] with a robe of honour, a horse adorned with gold and precious stones, a small sash (*dastār*), and the crown (*tāj*) [to him]. Maulānā Nujūmī Haravī, the historian of Khurāsān, has written much about the

justice and magnanimity of Durmīsh Khān in his history. This author will briefly point to two entries. One that the forty years sovereignty of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā⁸⁸ was the time of the world's nuptials and the four years of the governorship of Durmīsh Khān were the gifts (*sājūq va nithār*) of that wedding. The other that one day during the month of Ramadān Durmīsh Khān was sitting in his own trabated hospice (*‘imārat- i chihil sutūn*)⁸⁹ when he noticed an old man (*pīr- i zāl*) who brought a jug of water onto the roof and placed it facing the north to chill. The Khān thought the old man was unable to buy ice, so he ordered his water- man (*ābdār*) to secretly go to the rooftop and place one thousand silver mithqāl in the man's jug.⁹⁰ When the old man saw his jug full of silver he realised that it was a gift from Durmīsh Khān. He took possession of the [money] and was relieved of deprivation and his children prospered.

[18b] May almighty God have mercy upon him, ‘Alī Sulṭān Zu’l-Qadr the governor-general of Fārs died and His Majesty granted the governorship of Fārs to Murād Sulṭān Zu’l-Qadr. Towards the end of this year Amir Jamāl al-Dīn Ṣadr Āstārābādī together with Mīr Muḥsin Raḥavī Qumī died. Perceptive advisors (*arbāb- i idrāk*) found the chronogram *adkhalū hā bilsalām āminīn*, 931/1524-5, yielded the date of death of the two learned sayyids. On the orders of His Highness their pure bodies were taken to the tomb of the sayyid of martyrs and were buried in the burial place of Ḥusain (*ḥā’ir*) in Karbalā. In this year the poet Maulānā Hilālī was martyred at the hands of ‘Ubayd Khān in Khurāsān.

Mīr Ghīyāth al-Dīn came to take the office of Ṣadr of the God- protected dominions and received the honour of audience with the Pādishāh, the refuge of mankind. On

⁸⁸ This refers to Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqara, the Timurid ruler of Herat, 1469-1506 A.D.

⁸⁹ In modern Persian, "*‘imārat*" refers to a grand building but the definition of the function of the building as "hospice" or a public kitchen where food was provided for the needy, as given by Robert Hillebrand, is more historically accurate. *Chihil sutūn* or a trabated building consisted of either an open-ended entrance hall supported by forty columns or like the *chihil sutūn* palace in Iṣfāhān, the reflection of the many columns in the pond outside, made up the number forty. Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture*, (Edinburgh, 1994), p. 598.

⁹⁰ The copyist uses both "*pīr-i zāl*" (old man) and "*zā’ifa*" (a weak female) to refer to this person. One is clearly a clerical error and I have opted for the translation "old man".

his day of arrival into the city the Mujtahid of the Age Shaykh ‘Alī b. ‘Āl and all the men of learning and sayyids went to welcome him and to present him to the Shāh. His Majesty bowed before Mīr Ghīyāth al-Dīn Maṣṣūr. [Mīr Ghīyāth al-Dīn] behaved in a manner not befitting a scholar and a sayyid who aspired to a noble life of learning. Thus, he repeatedly sought to have learned discussions with Shaykh ‘Alī b. ‘Āl at the King's audiences (*Bihisht Āīn*). After Khvāja Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ṭūsī, *muḥḥaqiq- i bārgāh-i quds*, no one had endeavoured more in proclamation of the Ja‘farī religion as had [Shaykh ‘Alī b. ‘Āl] and he was also His Majesty's teacher. [This] angered Mīr Ghīyāth al-Dīn. Finally wise arbiters mediated between the religious doctors. They determined that every week each man in the other's presence, would present a science in which he surpassed [his rival]. [19a] It was arranged that one week Mīr should study grammar (*qava‘id*) with Shaykh ‘Alī and the next week Shaykh ‘Alī should study the commentary of *tajrīd* of Maulānā ‘Alī Qūshchī with Mīr. Mīr however sought excuses and said study of scholastic theology (*kalām*) this week and study of jurisprudence (*fiqh*) next week would be propitious. Shaykh ‘Alī believed excellence, dignity and forbearance to be his virtue. He therefore accepted Mīr's excuse and attended his teaching. Within one week he acquired that science from Mīr Ghīyāth al-Dīn so that he was able to instruct his own students without a book. The following week the group who sought instruction in jurisprudence gathered but Mīr Ghīyāth al-Dīn abandoning all manner of propriety and good manners did not attend the class and considered his action to be the ultimate perfection and integrity. His Majesty took offence at Mīr's inappropriate behaviour. He was inclined to show Mīr his displeasure and regretted the kindness he had shown him in the past. Mīr was disgraced and returned to Fārs. He took his leave from His Majesty. By the order of [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] the fief (*suyurghālāt*), pension (*vaṣīfa*), and the regular salary (*muqarrarī*) which in the past had been assigned to him were endorsed and [Mīr] departed for Shīrāz with a robe of honour.

His Majesty, the sublime threshold, engaged in pleasure and rested in Tabriz and waited for spring to resume travelling. The reply to the affectionate letter which His Majesty had written to Ibrāhim Khān Kīānī, the Vāli of Lār [19b] arrived with a gift (*pishkish*) and curiosities (*tuḥaf*) from that province. Ibrāhim Khān had been an official at the exalted threshold, and as has been related in the first volume of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh*, he had been the *divān-bāshī garī- i sarkār- i ʿlā*.⁹¹ This caused His Majesty great happiness, he bestowed favours on him and as was customary granted the envoy permission to leave.

The letter to Ibrāhim Khān, the Vāli of Lār.

The repository of royal authority, the illustrious and the most noble Sulṭān of the dynasty of the great kings and khans, the protector of kingship Ibrāhim Khān, the governor of the territory of Lār and the Amir of the just *divān* (*divān-i ʿadālat-madār*) has been honoured with innumerable royal favours. He should consider our endeavours and our honourable royal aspirations to be a prerequisite for his attainment of felicity and prosperity. Our absolute compassion and our undivided affection continue to safeguard his interests and to benefit him and the resentments of the envious and the malice of the opponents do not and will not affect that. Our penetrating mind and affectionate heart are directed towards promoting and enhancing the dignity of that supreme Sulṭān of the time in such a way that it will soon be the object of the envy of the rivals, the peers, the governors and the governed of the world, God willing. Your duty is to be confident and untroubled, and to endeavour to protect the subjects and the subordinates, and to eliminate the

⁹¹ It is not possible to arrive at a precise definition of this title. The title "*divān-bāshī garī- i sarkār- i ʿlā*" does not appear in *TM*. It may however be a variant of "*divān begī*" or the Chief Judge who sat at the trials and with the approval of the Ṣadr dispensed justice, *TM*, p. 42. Röhrborn cites this evidence in both volumes of 1 & 2 of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* as the oldest evidence to support the notion that senior officials in the Ṣafavid government often held more than one post/function: the family of Ibrāhim Khān were the hereditary rulers of Lār (Southern Iran) and also they, as vassals of Shāh Ismāʿil and Shāh Ṭahmāsp, were appointed as "*divān bāshī*" and in that capacity they sealed the royal documents. Klaus-Michael Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, (Berlin, 1966). Trans. Kaikāvūs Jahandārī as : *Nizām-i ʿiyālāt dar दौरā-i Ṣafaviyya*, (Tehran, 2537). p. 135.

wicked, the oppressors and those in power, and to prevent the powerful from oppressing the weak. A couplet:

You should resolve that your wishes are to the advantage of the subjects. This will ensure eternal felicity and guarantee enduring prosperity. [You] may offer your prayers and [express] your desires daily as all that you require is obtainable. May your reign and prosperity endure.⁹²

Ibrāhim Khān's reply.⁹³

The royal patent arrived at an auspicious hour. As it embraced [the subject of] administration of the august kingship and the equity of the pillars of the eternal Caliphate, [we] express our gratitude for the benevolence bestowed on the subordinates and offer our services and the gift of servitude to that heavenly threshold. O God, may the chain of servitude rest on [our] neck. [We] have been and are steadfast on the path of submission, sacrifice, service and prayer. We consider this to be the means of attaining honour and dignity. This servant has the honour to report to the heavenly court, [20b] the light of the threshold of the Sulṭāns, that praise be God the exalted royal servants have been endowed with the task of administration of the affairs of the kingdom by divine will. The dishonourable opponents have become the target of the arrows of the benefactors and the sincere devotees sense no opposition from any quarter. [We] welcome the sublime commands which were issued in regards to different affairs and in all matters we obey. From day to day its effects will become apparent to His Majesty and it is hoped that [His Majesty] will aid the servants by favours and compassion and will honour them with his commands and prohibitions. [I] will no longer overstep the bounds of propriety.

⁹² The next and last sentence appears to be incomplete and only a summary is given here.

⁹³ Much of the stylised Persian and the panegyrics at the beginning of this letter have been omitted and the translation forms only the second part of the letter.

The year of the Sheep (*qūy īl*), 932/1525-6 which was the second year of the accession of His Majesty, whose abode is in paradise.

The account of the battle between Dīv Sulṭān and Köpek Sulṭān and the defeat of Köpek Sulṭān and his flight to Gīlān.

The old world was rejuvenated and the iris, the flower, the tulip, the hyacinth, the jasmine, the sweet basil, the pansy, and the *arghavān* made the earth the envy of paradise. The nightingale sang the praise of the gardener of the rose-garden of the world in a thousand tongues. His Majesty engaged in pleasure and bestowed favours upon the servants and loyal friends. [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] sent robes of honour to the frontier Amirs and began to attend to the affairs of the state and the organisation of the army.⁹⁴

After the Naurūz celebrations news arrived that Köpek Sulṭān and the group who had been sent to subjugate the Sulṭāns of Georgia were on their way to Sulṭāniyya in Iraq via Ṭavālish and Khalkhāl, in order to avenge Dīv Sulṭān. Muntashā Sulṭān and Qilij Khān Kurd (?) Beg, Badr Beg and the Ustājlū commanders of Āzarbāyjān and Iraq had united and were preparing to rebel. His Majesty, the throne of the Caliphate the Sublime threshold, ordained that the Dīv Sulṭān and the Amirs of the victorious camp together with the loyal devotees of Āzarbāyjān should mobilise and depart for Iraq. Within a week the militia, the loyal devotees and the Ṣūfis had prepared for the campaign. It was ordained that the tent of felicity should be pitched towards the abode of Guidance Ardabil (*dār al-irshād-i Ardabil*) so that [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] would receive the honour of pilgrimage to the pure tomb of the great grandfather and the father, whose abode is with ʿAlī, to seek intercession in the battle against the ungrateful rebels.

[21a] His Highness appointed the fortunate Prince and the noble brother Alqāṣ Mīrzā the vicegerent in Tabriz to safeguard the security of Āzarbāyjān against all

⁹⁴ The text so far has been recorded on the margin of the folio in the same hand, it seems as an afterthought by the author.

opponents and to subdue the rebellious fortresses. In response to the appeal from Alqāṣ Mīrzā, His Highness pardoned Qaṣī Jahān , the previous Vazir, who was held in the fortress of Lurī, and despatched orders for his release. He then left Tabriz for Ardabil in great haste to make a pilgrimage to the Sacred and Illuminated Tomb of the Ṣafavids. His Highness bestowed favours on the relatives of Shaykh Āvandī who are the descendants of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn and the residents, the Ṣūfīs and the poor of the Abode of Guidance. The royal party then left for Sulṭānīyya, via Khalkhāl.

The wise Amirs and the righteous Vazirs thought to extinguish the flames of enmity which raged between the two powerful generals with waters of conciliation. In the cause of good-will and to prevent war, [they] sent Qāsim Khalifa Vīrsāq, accompanied by several others, to the Ustājīlū Amirs. On behalf of His Highness the said party exhorted that ignorant army to consent to reconciliation and offered appeasement. Qāsim Khalifa, the Khalifa of the Ṣūfī house of unity (*khalīfa-i tauḥīd khāna*) and the elder of the tribe of Vīrsāq, went to visit Koḥek Sulṭān. He endeavoured in the interest of both sides to reiterate the advice and promises of His Highness, the spiritual guide (*murshid*) may he rest in paradise, but he did not succeed. After Qāsim Khalifa returned, the Grand Vazir Mīr Jaʿfar and Shaykh ʿAlī b. ʿĀl, the Muḥtāhid of the Age, proposed to visit those ignorant men to persuade them to accept an audience with the Shāh. Dīv Sulṭān who was corrupted by his own pride and depravity did not consent to the proposed mediation by the above-mentioned. He refused them permission to leave and thus inflamed the fire of [discord]. Dīv Sulṭān breached all principles of loyalty and called his followers and the victorious army to prepare for war. He resolved to sacrifice his relatives and fellow tribesmen. He ordered his troops to align on two fronts and to gather the lances and the swords. The following day His Highness ordered Dīv Sulṭān and Chuha Sulṭān together with the victorious standing corps of royal troops, the brave *āqāyān*, the just and pious Ṣadrs, and the Vazirs and the powerful civil functionaries to take position at the centre.

[22a] [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] assigned Būrūn Sulṭān, Qarāja Sulṭān and Ukhī Sulṭān Tekkelū to the right flank and Demrī Sulṭān Shāmlū and Muḥammad Khān Zu'l-Qadr Oġlū to the command of the left flank. Under the command of Ziād Beg Qājār close to five thousand trained young [fighters] were assigned to the reserve (*tarḥ*), to be called upon in emergency. The fortunate [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] mounted the charger to rout the enemy in what was the first battle of that sovereign of the world against the instigators of discord. Imploring God⁹⁵ for assistance [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] lined the troops against the ungrateful and rebellious militia and armed, like an angry lion, stood under the banner of victory. When Köpek Sulṭān heard that His Majesty had adorned the centre with his noble presence, he too, intent on killing Dīv Sulṭān, stood in opposition to his benefactor and his spiritual guide (*qibla- i ḥaqīqī*) and took up position at the centre. [He] strengthened the right flank with the splendour of the power of Muntashā Sulṭān and adorned the left flank with the dazzle of Qazāq Sulṭān's murderous sword. [He] assigned Qāzūq Ḥamza to the reserve and himself took position. From both sides the sound of the battle drum deafened the sky. The two armies drew closer but Köpek Sulṭān knew His Majesty's army would not commence the battle, so he rode forward and demanded Dīv Sulṭān. Horsemen from those two vindictive armies rode into the battle field and sought warriors. In sorrow the world yearned for these two armies to unite and conquer the enemies of the state and the faith. The deceitful and proud Dīv Sulṭān did not enter the battle field and sent Burūn Sulṭān and Qarāja Sulṭān into the fighting. The commanders abandoned the principles of gratitude and relationship and drew swords and lance on each other and struck with mace and spear.

Köpek Sulṭān and Muntashā Sulṭān charged with the war cry "Dīv Sulṭān" and the desert, drenched in the blood of the Rūmlūs, shimmered like Badakhshān rubies. With each attack a group on both sides fell to the sword. Burūn Sulṭān and Qarāja Sulṭān fought courageously but were defeated by the seditious Ustājilūs and both

⁹⁵ *Afzal* uses the epithet "*vahhāb*" for God.

drank from the chalice of mortality. [23a] After the killing of those brave commanders the Tekkelū army dispersed. When the Ustājlū army learnt of their killing they abandoned all rules of warfare and fearlessly pursued the Tekkelū and Rūmlū armies. Upon hearing the news of the Ustājlū bravery the warrior Shāh could no longer wait, he mobilised the centre and himself separated from the army and charged into the battlefield.

Köpek Sulṭān and the Ustājlū army became fearful of the royal offensive, and frustrated and broken, they fled from the battlefield. The standing corps of royal troops (*qūrchi*) and the courageous [troops] in the centre flank [under the command] of His Majesty, may he rest in paradise, pursued the Ustājlūs and killed scores of them. Köpek Sulṭān and the survivors moved to Rasht in Gīlān and sought refuge with Muẓaffar Khān the Vālī of that province who was married to the sister of His Majesty, may he rest in paradise.⁹⁶ His Majesty departed for the capital Qazvīn, consoled the notables of that region and dispensed justice. It was ordained that grand buildings be built and the architects (*ṭarāḥān*) lay down the detailed plans for a *nishīman* (a royal residence) and royal workshops in Qazvin, and hasten to complete the construction. [The Shāh] himself rested and engaged in leisure, and sent letters of victory to Āzarbāyjān ordering the subjugation of the frontier regions. [His Majesty] granted the district of *dār al-mūjān*⁹⁷ of Qum as fief (*tiyūl*) to Chuha Sulṭān Tekkelū [23b] and awaited the news from the corners of the kingdom to act as was expedient.

**The news of the murder of Khvāja Ḥabīb Allāh Sāvājī, the Vazir of
Khurāsān, arrived in the exalted threshold and His Majesty
bestowed favours on his children.**

At this time it was reported [to Shāh Ṭahmāsp] that a group of Shāmlū *āqāyān* on the staff of the governor-general of Khurāsān Ḥusain Khān had at his instigation demanded their regular salary (*mavājib*) from Khvāja Ḥabīb Allāh. By the order of

⁹⁶ For Köpek Sulṭān's defeat and flight to Gīlān see the commentary.

⁹⁷ Reading is uncertain.

His Majesty, may he rest in paradise, Khvāja Ḥabīb Allāh had been appointed to the office of Vizārat of Ḥusain Khān. Confident of the immense authority that he exercised as Vazir, he ignored the men's plea and feigned negligence. The men shamelessly told Khvāja that if he did not intend to pay their salaries he should dismiss them from service and grant them letters of dismissal. Khvāja proudly wrote and sealed the letters of dismissal in his own hand. The aforementioned crowd took the letters to Yār Aḥmad Khalifa, their elder (*rīsh safaid*). In agreement with them, Khalifa and the lower ranking Amirs (*tābinān*) besieged Khvāja Ḥabīb Allāh's house. Khvāja's militia attempted to repel them and fighting broke out but they were unable to withstand the Shāmlū assault and fled. Khvāja was captured and his two sons were killed. Dervīsh Beg Rūmlū sought to protect Khvāja and hand him over to the judicious Prince Sām Mirzā and Ḥusain Khān alive, but the strong and violent Shāmlūs murdered Khvāja. His Majesty and the grantees at the royal camp (*urdū*) were saddened by the murder of Khvāja Ḥabīb Allāh. The royal decree arrived instructing Ḥusain Khān to punish Khvāja's killers. [His Majesty] bestowed favours on Khvāja's children and entrusted them to the care of the Grand Vazir Mīr Jaʿfar Sāvajī who was a relative. *Tārīkh- i Ḥabīb al-siyār* by the celebrated and magnanimous author Khvānd Amir which will remain in this world for many years, is left in memory of that martyred wise counsellor. [24a] It was noted in *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*, by Ḥasan Rūmlū, that Khvāja Ḥabīb Allāh's administration (*sarkār*)⁹⁸ had commissioned several butcher's shops in Harat where sheep were butchered and the meat was distributed among the poor and the needy who did not have the means to purchase it. The militia of Khvāja Ḥabīb Allāh were assigned to search the city and the districts and to inquire into the lives of the poor and the needy and report back to Khvāja. They were to distribute among the poor Khvāja's favours, admit the sick to

⁹⁸ Minorsky translates "*sarkār*" as both "administration" and "department", depending on the context, TM. p. 105, note 3 & p. 174. I have chosen "administration" to allow for the ambiguous use of the term.

the hospital which [Khvāja] had founded, and make every effort in his treatment. If an unknown stranger died, Khvāja's administration would arrange the burial.

It appears that once in Tabriz a talented and accomplished son of a Qizilbāsh Rūmlū Amir, who lived in poverty, took a sour orange (*nāranj*) for the Grand Vazir Qāzī Jahān Sayfī and petitioned him. Qāzī did not accept the orange and told him to take it to Ḥabīb Allāh the tall (*dirāz*) as he would have some news for him. The dervīsh asked who Ḥabīb Allāh the tall was and was told that he was the Vazir of Khurāsān. The dervīsh put the orange in his bag (*chihil bandī*)⁹⁹ and set off for Harat.

One day Khvāja Ḥabīb Allāh the tall was leaving the bath when [the dervīsh] stopped him and offered him the decaying orange. Khvāja took the orange and left him in the care of one of his attendants. The attendant was instructed to present him to Khvāja in his private quarters after the Dīvān assembly. As the time of the meeting approached, the attendant presented the faithful (*vafā- kīsh*) darvīsh at Khvāja's residence. After much kindness he was questioned as for his reasons in bringing a rotten orange to Harat, the fruit orchard of the world. The dervīsh recounted his conversation with Qāzī Jahān and apologised for the rotten orange. He then revealed his noble birth. [24b] Khvāja showed him much kindness and said that whatever accrued to him that day in the way of fees (*rusūm*) and profits would belong to the dervīsh. It so happened on that day the fees of four hundred tumāns came to Khvāja Ḥabīb Allāh from the districts (*vilāyāt*) of Khurāsān and he gave the total to that dervīsh who had surrendered to the divine will (*dervīsh- i tavakul- kīsh*). [Khvāja Ḥabīb Allāh] also married one of the daughters of his family to the dervīsh. He then sent that fortunate but long suffering [man] with a Naurūz gift for His Majesty to the exalted threshold. The gift was so large as to expose the Grand Vazir's meanness. In the letter which [Khvāja] wrote to Qāzī Jahān he stated that in this transient world after death nothing could be expected to remain of a man but a good name. Philanthropy dictates that the bearer of this letter of friendship be enlisted in

⁹⁹ Reading is uncertain.

the rank of the attendants of that wise counsellor, receive the honour of prostration before the Pādishāh of the sea of benevolence and be enlisted in the rank of the servants of the threshold of the refuge of mankind. Thus, due to the efforts of the sagacious and benevolent Vazir, that unfortunate man found fortune and came to the attention of the August Emperor. He was enlisted in the rank of attendants at court and [Khvāja Ḥabīb Allāh] too left an illustrious reputation on the face of the world. *Tārīkh-i Ḥabīb al-siyār* which the seal of authors Khvānd Amir wrote in the celebrated name of that fortunate [man] is a categorical and clear evidence of his integrity. May God the most exalted guides all the believers on the path of benevolence and beneficence. May God have mercy on that blessed and wise counsellor.¹⁰⁰

‘Ubayd Khān Uzbek came to Khurāsān for the second time and captured the Sacred Mashhad.

After the news reached ‘Ubayd Khān Chingīzī that Burūn Sulṭān Tekkelū, the governor of sacred Mashhad, had been killed and that His Majesty had not appointed another governor to command Burūn Sulṭān's militia, he crossed the Oxus river to capture Khurāsān. [‘Ubayd Khān] led an expedition to the sacred Mashhad. [25a] Burūn Sulṭān's wife (*mutā‘aliqa*) assumed the command of the triumphant Takalū warriors of the faith and the militia of the dead Sulṭān and ordered them to rise to the defence of the city and to erect barricades (*kuchiband*) throughout [Mashhad] . That illustrious woman with the heart of a lion stood opposite the exalted Pādishāh of Tūrān and provided the militia of Burūn Sulṭān with bounty (*kharjī*) , horses and swords and thus encouraged them to fight. She also sent news of the siege to the Shāh and appealed to Ḥusain Khān, the governor-general of Khurāsān, for help.¹⁰¹ The brave and devoted Mashhadī Tekkelū warriors put up a fierce resistance. They endeavoured from morning till evening. They [The Tekkelūs]

¹⁰⁰ See also the commentary "The killing of Khvāja Ḥabīb Allāh Sāvajī".

¹⁰¹ This sentence is noted on the margin.

could not withstand a large army outside the city walls so they retreated into the city. ‘Ubayd Khān surrounded and besieged the sacred city of Mashhad with his innumerable army. The young Tekkelūs, the relatives of Burūn Sulṭān and the residents of Mashhad fought the Uzbeks with bravery and valour, and for two months the lioness [the widow of Burūn Sulṭān] waged war against the Uzbek army and not for a moment did she abandon the rules of military organisation which she had learnt from her father, brother and husband. In the words of Shaykh Niẓāmī, she spared no effort, hemistich :

"Whether it is a lioness or a lion, on the day of the battle"

Aid and assistance were not forthcoming from the Shāh the Shadow of God, or Ḥusain Khān, the governor-general of Khurāsān. Extreme hunger afflicted the besieged. The shortage of food was such that they would eat old leather and would make a meal of it. The besieged were suffering such misery that many brave young men thought that martyrdom before the fragrant tomb of the Sulṭān of Khurāsān would bring happiness in this world and the next. They made a death pact and large numbers set off on their way.

[25b] The wife of Burūn Sulṭān finally capitulated and pleaded for mercy. ‘Ubayd Khān agreed to grant Burūn Sulṭān's household (*Khāna kūch*) and the Qizilbāsh survivors safe passage to Iraq.¹⁰² He then began to console the residents of Mashhad. After he had occupied the surrounding districts of Ṭūs he left the Holy city in the care of one of his trustworthy militia. He then left to capture Āstārābād and Jurjān Zamīn.

**Jaghatāy Bahādur attacked Isfarāyin. He fought Zayn al-Dīn Sulṭān
and was defeated.**

After ‘Ubayd Khān turned his attention to Āstārābād, Jaghatāy Bahādur Uzbek, the governor of Mashhad, raised an army of three thousand young warriors to capture Isfarāyin and set off on a campaign of territorial expansion.

¹⁰² See also the Commentary "The siege of Mashhad in 932 A.H."

When the news arrived that Jaghatāy Bahādur was approaching, Zayn al-Dīn Sulṭān Shāmlū, the governor of Isfarāyin, raised an army of eight hundred young Qizilbāsh fighters and vowed to remove the Uzbek menace. He also sent a petition to the threshold of the Refuge of Mankind and prepared to fight that large army. Under the command of Maḥmūd Beg he despatched the vanguard of the victorious army which except for the love and authority of the dynasty of ‘Alī (*dūdmān-i iṣṭifā va irtiza*) did not anticipate any assistance from any quarter. He himself, trusting in God, followed Maḥmūd Beg. Six farsakhs from Isfarāyin fighting broke out between Jaghatāy Bahādur and Maḥmūd Beg. In a short time large numbers of troops from both sides fell to the swords. The Qizilbāsh army was agitated. Maḥmūd Beg was waiting for reinforcements when Zayn al-Dīn Sulṭān arrived with the Qizilbāsh army and the people of Isfarāyin to help Maḥmūd Beg. They attacked the Uzbeks and killed many of them in the first offensive. [26a] The Uzbeks resisted and endeavoured to preserve their name and honour. After seven hundred young Uzbeks and three hundred Qizilbāsh had been killed in battle, the Uzbeks fled and abandoned all ambitions of territorial gain. They fled in all directions.¹⁰³ Zayn al-Dīn Sulṭān returned to Isfarāyin triumphant and at Sulṭānīyya presented the news of the victory to the threshold of the heavenly power, who at this time was caught in the seditious tumult instigated by the Sulṭāns of the Tekkelū, Rūmlū and Ustājlū [tribes]. His Highness rewarded Zayn al-Dīn for his victory which had left a token of his courage on the face of the world.

¹⁰³ Reading is uncertain. The text reads "*hartama*" which is probably an error. It should read "*harta*" meaning "everywhere".

Köpek Sultān petitioned [Shāh Ṭahmāsp]. Kār Kīyā Sultān Aḥmad arrived at the exalted threshold. The news arrived of the martyrdom of Mīr ‘Abd al-Vahhāb Tabrīzī in Rūm in the hands of the Ottomans (*Rūmīyān*).

Towards the end of this year Köpek Sultān Ustājilū who had taken refuge in the province of Gīlān Rasht petitioned the Shāh for clemency for himself and the Ustājilū tribe. His Highness pardoned Köpek Sultān and his followers and ordered [Köpek Sultān] to spend the winter in Gīlān before he returned to court after the Naurūz of 933/March 1527, the year of the Ape, as the chief of the illustrious Khāns.

His Highness then left for the capital Qazvīn to pass the winter and appointed the Amirs of Āzarbāyjān to safeguard the fortresses of that province and thus ensured the security of the region against opponents in Irāq and Āzarbāyjān.

At this time Kār Kīyā Sultān Aḥmad, the Vālī of Lāhījān, arrived at court and expressed his sincere faith. For several days he was received at the special assembly (*majlis-i khāṣṣ*) and, then as was customary he returned.

In the year 921/1515, Mīr ‘Abd al-Vahhāb Tabrīzī, the righteous and sincere sayyid had, by the order of Shāh Ismā‘īl, been sent on a mission to the Ottoman Sultān. He had remained there until this time and had sown twelve thousand *tāj*.¹⁰⁴ He had converted many who wore this habit which is a sign of sincere belief in the Infallible Imāms. At this time his secret was revealed and together with many loyal devotees of the dynasty of ‘Alī (*iṣṭifā va irtiza*) was martyred by the army of Rūm. [26b] The Pillars of the State gave the news of his martyrdom to His Highness. His Majesty regretted the death of Mīr ‘Abd al-Vahhāb, bestowed favours upon his children and entrusted the office of the supreme judge and the army chaplain (*aqzī al-qazā va qizā-i ‘askar*) of all the province of Āzarbāyjān to them. The children of the martyred Mīr ‘Abd al-Vahhāb were also granted an allowance to the value of six

¹⁰⁴ Here "*tāj*" is a reference to the Qizilbāsh headgear wearing of which symbolised devotion to the Safavid dynasty and adherence to Shī‘ism.

Tabrīzī dīnār made on the poll tax of the *ghabr millat*¹⁰⁵ [the Christian or Jewish communities ?] of the whole of Āzarbāyjān. A royal patent (*lughat nāma*) esteemed his children and endorsed their fief (*suyūrghāl*), the regular salary (*muqarrarī*) and the pensions (*vazīfa*). From that date to present that Shāh ʿAbbās Bahādur Khān, the son of the dynasty of ʿAlī ʿUmrān and the exalted¹⁰⁶ Pādishāh, adorns the Caliphate (*khilāfat*) and the throne of the great kings, the order (*silsila*) of ʿAbd al-Vahhābiyya has been honoured and respected and their grant of land (*suyūrghāl*) and regular salary (*muqarrarī*) continue .

The Naurūz of the year of the Ape (*pīchī ʿil*), the year 933 / March 1527 which was the third year of the reign of His Highness, may he rest in paradise.

The world-enlightening Naurūz has covered the earth with resplendent verdure and has called the intoxicated and the sober alike to pleasure and enjoyment. The licentious and pleasure-loving youth have risen from inebriation to the joyful news of spring and have filled the chalice of desire to the brim. [The youth] drank to the friend-loving and enemy-destroying Pādishāh.¹⁰⁷ His Highness, the seat of Caliphate the Shadow of God, Abu'l Faṭḥ Shāh Ṭahmāsp Pādishāh ordered the Naurūz celebration to resume and sat on the throne of prosperity. [27a] The amirs, the vazirs, the ṣūfis, the mayors (*kalāntrān*), and the notables of the conquered territories congratulated the arrival of spring and the appearance of the tulip and flowers. Each, according to their means, offered gifts (*pishkish va nisār*) to His Highness and received royal favours. A week of celebrations followed which wiped the shadow of alienation from the heart of gardens and mountains. The notables then returned to administer the political and financial affairs of the state.

¹⁰⁵ Reading is uncertain. See chapter two "*Afzal al-Tavārikh* and Mīr ʿAbd al-Vahhāb".

¹⁰⁶ Reading is uncertain.

¹⁰⁷ The sentence reads : "*bi tāq-i abrū-i pādishāh-i dust-navāz va dushman-gudāz bar lab nihādi*".

**The Battle between Köpek Sultān and Dīv Sultān at Chakhūr- i Sa‘d
and the killing of Köpek Sultān.**

As the licentious youth continued the festivities, His Highness, on Friday the twenty-fourth of Rajab of the year 933/ 26 April 1527, left the capital Qazvin for Sāvukh Balāgh with the intention to invade Khurāsān. His Highness summoned the victorious troops (*‘asākir*) . [The Shāh] went hunting for a few days while waiting for the arrival of the amirs to repel the Uzbeks and fly the banner of victory over Khurāsān.

News came that Köpek Sultān with a large army had left Gilān and was moving towards the abode of guidance Ardabil. Bādinjān Sultān Rūmlū who at the age of ninety was the governor of Ardabil and the custodian (*mutavallī*) of the Sacred Tomb of Şafaviyya together with Maqsūd Beg Chepenī and Āyqūt Beg Rūmlū, the amirs of Tālīsh and Arsaq, with nearly four thousand men went to meet Köpek Sultān and the Ustājlū amirs. Both sides drew up their troops and were intent on eliminating each other. Muntashā Sultān Ustājlū and many valiant [troops] who understood the dust of the battlefield to be the remedy for the state affairs (*tūfiā-i dāda-i daulat*) thought it propitious to strike at the heart of the Rūmlū army. Despite his large army, after a brief skirmish, Bādinjān Sultān dishonoured himself by fleeing before the Ustājlū army.¹⁰⁸ [27b] The Ustājlū army followed in pursuit of the Rūmlū army and Aḥmad Āqā Chāvushlū, the standard bearer (*tuqāchī*) of Qārūq Sultān,¹⁰⁹ killed Bādinjān Sultān and carried his severed head to the Ustājlū amirs. Köpek Sultān considered this to be the beginning of the victories he had anticipated and without delay entered Ardabil. Köpek Sultān went on a pilgrimage to the tomb of the Sultān of the Saints and the proof of excellence¹¹⁰ Shaykh Şafi al-Dīn Ishāq

¹⁰⁸. The wording of this sentence is almost an exact copy of *Aḥsan* (p. 199) which differs from *Khulāṣa*'s account. By contrast both *Khulāṣa* (p. 170) and *Jahān Ārā* report that Bādanjān Sultān was killed after much fighting and slaughter.

¹⁰⁹. *Khulāṣa*, p. 170, and *Jahān Ārā*, p. 283, introduce Aḥmad Āqā Chāvushlū as the standard bearer (*tuqāchī*) of Köpek Sultān and not of Qārūq Sultān.

¹¹⁰ Reading is uncertain.

and performed the rites of servitude and Şūfī probity (*şūfigarī*). He then flew the banner of departure towards the capital Tabriz.

As soon as the news of the events reached His Highness, the refuge of mankind, in Sāvukh Balāgh, he abandoned the plan of departure for Khurāsān and sent Dīv Sulṭān, Chuha Sulṭān and Muḥammad Khān Zu'l-Qadr Uqlī at the command of eight thousand young fighters and one thousand standing corps of royal troops to Alqās Mīrzā in Tabriz. Their mission was to fight Köpek Sulṭān. The royal camp at Sāvukh Balāgh too struck camp and they made for the plain (*chaman*) of Sulṭāniyya.

Once Köpek Sulṭān learnt that Dīv Sulṭān and his large army were approaching, he went to Chakhūr-i Sa'ad. The amirs followed and [the armies] clashed at Sharūr of Chakhūr- i Sa'ad. Köpek Sulṭān and the courageous Ustājlūs drew up in battle array and fought Dīv Sulṭān. Dīv Sulṭān took position at the centre, Chuha Sulṭān on the right flank. Muḥammad Khān on the reserve, and Ḥamza Sulṭān on the left flank. Tāj al-Dīn Beg Ustājlū who was peerless in bravery saw both lines of troops¹¹¹ and charged towards the Rūmlū army. [28a] He penetrated their line of defence, killing many brave men. From his rear, Köpek Sulṭān, Qārūq Sulṭān, Muntashā Sulṭān, Badr Beg and the young Ustājlū warriors attacked and overcame the enemy. The harvest of young lives burnt in fire, and the wind of the heroes' assault rekindled the flame of hatred. On that day the Ustājlūs fought with such bravery that the world forgot the story of Rustam and Esfandīyār.

With spearheads and arrows of poplar they stole the colour from the face
of the Sun.

In the thick of the battle Muḥammad Khān Zu'l-Qadr Öghlū attacked the flank of the Ustājlū army and the Rūmlūs surrounded the Ustājlūs whose number did not exceed two thousand fighting men.¹¹² Köpek Sulṭān, Tāj al-Dīn Beg Ustājlū, Dervīsh Beg Ishīk Āqāsī Turkoman and Muḥammady Beg, the son of Baýrām Khān Qārāmānlū

¹¹¹. Reading is uncertain. It could read "*khā'inīn*" traitors or "*Khānain*" the Khāns, or even "*jānibīn*" both sides.

¹¹². *Aḥsan* (p. 199) puts the number of the Ustājlū fighters on that day at nearly 1000.

were killed. Muntashā Sulṭān, Qārūq Sulṭān and the survivors broke the line and fled as they fought. They reached Gīlān with great difficulty.

Dīv Sulṭān returned triumphant and in the district of Zanjān he was granted the honour of an audience with His Highness. A few days later, by the order of His Highness, Dīv Sulṭān who was responsible for much political intrigue and sedition was murdered in the summer camp of Gūzel on Thursday 4 Shavvāl of the year 933/ 4 July 1527. His army (*qushūn va lashgar*) was entrusted to Sulaymān Beg Rūmlū and the office of Vicegerency (*vikālat*) was transferred to Chuha Sulṭān Tekkelū. The office of Vizārat too went from Chuha Sulṭān to Khvāja Hidāyat Allāh Sāvajī, one of the illustrious notables of Iraq and the grandson of Khvāja Zuhar. The seal (*muh*) of the Vicegerent was entrusted to him.¹¹³ And because of his weak stature he was named Ārūq Vazir [Belching Vazir]. [28b] His Highness punished the rebels of the land and the disobedient servants of the court and returned to the capital Qazvīn.

**‘Ubayd Khān attacked and captured Āstārābād. Demrī Sulṭān,
Ukhī Sulṭān, and Jagarna Sulṭān were killed.**

Fazlī Iṣfāhānī the author of these confused lines has already noted that after the capture of the sacred Mashhad, ‘Ubayd Khān set out to capture Āstārābād and the whole of Jurjān. His Highness ordered the Pillar of the State (*rukn al-salṭana*) Chuha Sulṭān Tekkelū to hasten to muster the glorious army to invade Khurāsān. While Chuha Sulṭān was busy assembling his army a letter (*‘arīza*) was received from Zaynal Khān Shāmlū the governor of Āstārābād. It told of the approach of ‘Ubayd Khān and his large army towards the city and deployment of his army for battle. Zaynal Khān, Demrī Sulṭān Shāmlū, the governor of Dāmghān, and Ukhī Sulṭān Zu’l-Qadr, the governor of Baṣṭām¹¹⁴, drew up their small army in battle array against ‘Ubayd Khān. Zaynal Khān appointed Qiyā Pā Beg Yīva Qājār to command a

¹¹³ It is not clear to whom the seal of Vicegerent was entrusted, to the Vicegerent Chuha Sulṭān or the Vazir Khvāja Hidāyat Allāh Sāvajī. My reading of the text suggests the seal was entrusted to the Vazir. It may be a clerical error and in fact the seal of Vizārat was intended.

¹¹⁴ See the commentary for "The question of the identity of Ukhī Sulṭān Zu’l-Qadr, the Governor of Baṣṭām, and the first Uzbek conquest of Āstārābād".

group of lion hearts (*hizhbar*) at the vanguard (*qaravulī va charkhchī-garī*). Qiyā Pā Beg who was a hero of his time confronted the Uzbek army and battle ensued. With a show of force and bravery he broke up the scouts of the plundering army. Once the news of the valour of the Qizilbāsh army reached the Uzbeks, their vanguard came to assistance. [The Uzbeks] then fought Qiyā Pā Beg on equal terms.

Zaynal Khān too with Ukhī Sulṭān and Demrī Sulṭān, who expected assistance from nowhere but from the dynasty of Imām ‘Alī (*dūdmān- i Iṣṭifā va Irtizā*), rode the horse of courage to the aid of Qiyā Pā Beg. They killed many Uzbeks who, in return, confident of the aid of ‘Ubayd Khān and his large army, routed the Qizilbāsh by the whizz of their heart piercing arrows. [29a] Qiyā Pā Beg Qājār and his brave warriors hunted down the murderous Uzbeks with their spears as if killing wild beasts. Each flank which they attacked, scores of Uzbeks were slain by their swords.

The fighting continued for nearly two (astrological ?) *nujūmī* hours.¹¹⁵ ‘Ubayd Khān arrived with his army and routed the Qizilbāsh. Zaynal Khān weakened and fled.

Qiyā Pā Beg who did not wish to bear the dishonour of defeat, drank from the chalice of martyrdom, fighting to the last. The amirs of Jurjān Zamīn returned to their provinces. Zaynal Khān moved his small household from Āstārābād to Rayy and reported the news of their defeat to the Throne of the Caliphate.

‘Ubayd Khān entered Āstārābād and granted many favours to the Shī‘ites, the sayyids and residents of that city. After a few days in Āstārābād, he transferred the governorship of that province to his favourite/successor son ‘Abd’l ‘Azīz Sulṭān and returned to the sacred city of Mashhad.

The region lying between Āstārābād and Mashhad except for Isfirāyīn was occupied by the Uzbeks. The governors of Sabzivār and Nīshāpūr assembled in the citadel of Isfarāyīn and strengthened its fortification.

¹¹⁵ It is not clear what Fażlī means by "*dau sā‘at-i nujūmī*" (2 astrological hours). It is clearly a term of reference to measurement of time.

Once the news reached the just and pious Shāh, he ordered Pīr Quḷī Sulṭān Kangarlū, the governor of Khvār and Semnān, Muṣṭafā Sulṭān Shāmlū the governor of Sāva [29b] and Aḥmad Sulṭān Kangarlū¹¹⁶ the governor of Rayy to go to the aid of Zaynal Khān. His Highness issued a similar order to Demrī Sulṭān Shāmlū the governor of Dāmghān, Ukhī Sulṭān Zu'l-Qadr the governor of Baṣṭām, Jagarna Sulṭān Shāmlū the governor of Sabzivār and Bābā Ilyās Bayāt the governor of Nīshāpūr asking them to put 'Abd'l 'Azīz Sulṭān the son of 'Ubayd Khān to the test of manhood.

The above mentioned Amirs hurriedly prepared and set off to capture Āstārābād. As the victorious army approached Āstārābād, 'Abd'l 'Azīz fled from the city in distress to deliver the news of the approach of the Qizilbāsh army. The Amirs of Jurjān placed their trust in divine favour and the royal protection and at once returned to their own provinces. The remaining Amirs in command of the reinforcement returned to their fiefs (*tiyūls*). Jagarna Sulṭān Shāmlū together with his officers and a number of Amirs captured Sabzivār. The governor of Sabzivār deserted his post and with 'Abd'l 'Azīz Sulṭān entered the service of 'Ubayd Khān who by now had reached the Oxus River (*Jaihun*).¹¹⁷ When 'Ubayd Khān received the news of the activities of the Qizilbāsh army, he assembled his vengeful army and marched towards Āstārābād.

Jagarna Sulṭān did not consider it in his power to resist the Uzbek army and entrusted Sabzivār to Mīr Shams al-Dīn 'Alī, a descendant of 'Alī (*dudmān-i iṣṭifā va irtizā*) and to the nobility of that region. He then left for Baṣṭām to convey the news of the approach of the enemy to Ukhī Sulṭān. Ukhī Sulṭān despatched a messenger to Āstārābād to inform Zaynal Khān. [30a] He also asked Demrī Sulṭān for assistance. Demrī Sulṭān without delay organised an expedition and moved to Baṣṭām. He also sent an envoy to the Amirs who by the universally incumbent royal decree (*jahān muṭāf*), had been appointed to provide military reinforcements. He also reported the

¹¹⁶ For the "Kangarlū tribe" see the commentary.

¹¹⁷ This river is also known by the name *Āmū Daryā*.

news to the Seat of the Caliphate. Before the arrival of Demrī Sulṭān, ‘Ubayd Khān had attacked Baṣṭām and had plundered most of the villages on his way. Jagarna Sulṭān who in intelligence, horsemanship and military organisation was superior to the other Amirs, deemed it wise to surrender Baṣṭām to ‘Ubayd Khān. He also recommended that the Qizilbāsh forces should assemble in Āstārābād, the metropolis of Jurjān, and join forces with Zaynal Khān, the governor-general. He argued that should [the Qizilbāsh forces] be besieged, it would be advisable that Demrī Sulṭān should command the fortress of Dāmghān and the remaining Amirs should consolidate the fortress of Mubāraka in Āstārābād until the royal reinforcements arrive. Ukhī Sulṭān and Demrī Sulṭān disagreed with this plan and having embraced the prospect of death, resolved to wage war. He uttered this verse:

The evil enemy will see nothing of me but the face of my
sword and the curve of my arch.

Jagarna too contemplated martyrdom and preferred war to flight. Ukhī Sulṭān took position at the centre and assigned Jagarna Sulṭān to the right flank of the army and Demrī Sulṭān to the left flank. ‘Ubayd Khān observed the courage and bravery of the Amirs and adorned the centre [of the Uzbek army] by his own presence. He positioned Zaynash Bahādur on the right wing and Qanbar ‘Alī Mīrzā on the left wing of the army and entered the battlefield. The victorious warriors of the faith took to the battlefield and with two thousand and five hundred young warriors faced an army of twenty thousand fighters. The sound of the battle cry of the Uzbeks and the fife (*nafir*) of the Qizilbāsh echoed in the blue sky. Warriors attacked in all directions. [30b] The dust of the battleground blackened the sky and the stars were dazzled by the actions of the army.

Demrī Sulṭān killed many of the [enemy troops] and struck at the heart of the Uzbek army. The Uzbeks launched a counter offensive and repelled Demrī Sulṭān. Ukhī Sulṭān, who found Demrī Sulṭān in danger, mobilised the centre (*ūb*) and attacked the heart of the bloodthirsty Uzbek army. Jagarna Sulṭān deemed weakness not

worthy of himself and followed him. The armies of the foe and the friend witnessed the three noble warriors display such excellence in fighting that could not be matched by any other human beings. Demrī Sultān and Jagarna Sultān were martyred and thus sacrificed themselves for ¹¹⁸ His Majesty. Ukhī Sultān was caught in the grip of destiny. He was taken captive to ‘Ubayd Khān who failed to persuade the young nobleman to agree to end the enmity and thus save his own life. Ukhī Sultān was martyred, defiant to the last.¹¹⁹ The rest of the Uzbek and the Qizilbāsh army dispersed. The Qizilbāsh went towards Irāq and the Uzbeks moved towards Āstārābād with peace of mind. A group of loyal Qizilbāsh reached Dāmghān and took with them the family of Ukhī Sultān and the Qizilbāsh to Irāq.

The terrifying news reached the Throne of the Caliphate in Qazvīn. His Highness commanded Chuha Sultān to summon the army of the conquered territories (*mamālik- i mutiṣrafa*) and endeavour to capture Khurāsān and Transoxiana and punish the Uzbeks. ‘Ubayd Khān entered Āstārābād and bestowed many favours on the inhabitants of that city. ‘Ubayd Khān appointed Zaynash Bahādur to the governorship of Āstārābād and left for Khurāsān. He set up winter camp at Ghūriyān and despatched envoys to Transoxiana and Turkistān to raise an army.

His Highness too set up winter camp at the capital Qazvīn. The Shāh sent officers of the standing corps of royal troops (*qūrchi*) to summon an army. His Highness waited for Naurūz to march towards Khurāsān to free the subjects (*ra‘āyā*) of this province from the tyranny and injustice of ‘Ubayd Khān.

[31a] Naurūz of the Year of the Fowl (*takhāqūy il*), the year 934/

February 1528, the fourth year of the accession of His Highness,

may he rest in paradise.

After the joys and pleasures of winter, the world- enlightening Naurūz set foot from behind the veil of gloom into the meadow of life and unveiled a new world before

¹¹⁸ The text reads "*fadā-i farq-i mubārak-i ḥazrat-i a‘lā shudand*".

¹¹⁹. According to *Khulāṣa*, p. 172, Ukhī Sultān was killed in battle and Demrī Sultān was taken prisoner and killed in captivity. *Aḥsan*, p. 202, however agrees with *Afzal*.

the intoxicated (and) worshippers of vanity (sensuality and ambition). The Iris, the tulip and the flowers made the earth the envy of the highest heaven. The tired earth breathed the scent of life. As was customary, His Highness engaged in a week of spring rest and festivities.¹²⁰ After a week the Shāh bestowed robes of honour, horses, *jiba*¹²¹, and swords on the Amirs, the Khāns, the court officials, the honourable Mayors and the subjects. His Highness sent robes of honour to the Amirs of the frontiers of the God-protected dominions whose Naurūz gifts the Shāh had received. His Highness also emphasised the importance of securing the possession of the citadels and planned to invade Khurāsān.

‘Ubayd Khān's second unsuccessful siege of Herat¹²²

As already noted ‘Ubayd Khān captured the province of Āstārābād and set up winter camp at Ghūriyān in the vicinity of Harat. Ḥusain Khān Shāmlū the Commander-in-Chief of the army and the governor of Herat repaired the tower and walls of the citadel of Harat and appointed able men to guard the gates of the city.

After the Naurūz of the year of the Fowl (*takhāqūy il*) which was the beginning of the spring, [31b] ‘Ubayd Khān set up the royal camp at the village of Shāmiyāna near the walls of the city of Harat and planned for war and conquest (of the citadel). He attacked the fortress and the tower of Harat three times. and each time his army was repelled by the courageous Qizilbāsh army. Every time, the Qizilbāsh turned the Uzbeks away from the gates of the city by the force of their arrows and muskets and prevented them from capturing [the citadel]. They did not permit the seditious Uzbeks to reassemble and killed a group of them. Ḥusain Khān and the Shāmlūs attacked the Uzbeks several times like fierce lions. Once it became apparent to ‘Ubayd Khān that it was not possible to capture Harat through war he stationed his troops along the roads to intercept and prevent any import of food and provisions for

¹²⁰ See the commentary "Shāh Ṭahmāsp and the year 934 A.H."

¹²¹ Reading is uncertain. It could be an error for either *jiba* (weapon or a mailcoat) or *jigha* (a jewel worn in the turban). I have opted for *jiba* since it fits the context.

¹²² See the Commentary "The Siege of Harat".

the army into the city. The Uzbeks also prevented the besieged inhabitants of Harat from any access to the water supply and filled the [water] canal with the soil of tyranny. It is noted in *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* that a man in the guise of a beggar took supplies of salt into the city. A wicked Uzbek brought it to the attention of ‘Ubayd Khān who ordered the man to be killed in a hideous manner.

After four months' siege of Harat and death of many troops, ‘Ubayd Khān lifted the siege and decided to return just as the [Uzbek] reinforcements arrived. Yārī Beg the son of Jān Vafā Mīrzā whose father's bravery in the battle of Shaybak Khān¹²³ has been noted in volume 1 of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh*, arrived from Turkistān with reinforcements. [Yārī Beg] was intent on capturing Herat. He criticised ‘Ubayd Khān saying that his siege tactics were not compatible with the desire to capture the citadel of Herat. He thought it expedient to attack the fortress from all flanks and capture the precious jewel within two days. [32a] ‘Ubayd Khān recognised the courage and valour of Yārī Beg to be a sign of good fortune¹²⁴ and ordered the attack on the citadel to commence. Yārī Beg and the commanders (*sardārs*) who had travelled with him from Transoxiana set off to inspect the barricades (*kucha-band*), the city walls (*hiṣār*) and the moat (*khandaq*) and to devise a plan of invasion. He came to the lane which passed by the Grey/ Ash tower (*burj- i khākistar*) where he left his militia and continued his inspection. By chance the musketeer who guarded the tower, shot Yārī Beg. Yārī Beg who by divine intervention was unaware of the felicity of the worthy heir of the family of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn Ishāq, was hit and fell off his horse of authority. The proud musketeer severed the head of Yārī Beg and together with his horse and arms presented them to Ḥusain Khān. This caused jubilation [among the Ṣafavid troops] but nobody knew of the dead man's identity. They searched [his] belt (*kamar-i fir kish*) and found a seal bearing the name of

¹²³ Reading is uncertain but this could be a reference to the famous battle between Shāh Ismā‘īl I and Shaybak Khān Uzbek in 916/1510 in the vicinity of Merv. Shaybak Khān was killed in this battle. *Khulāṣa*, vol. 1, pp. 101- 114.

¹²⁴ Reading uncertain.

Alʿabd Yārī b. Jān Vafā Mīrzā. This pleased Ḥusain Khān who saw the killing of this powerful adversary as an act of divine favour.

In the morning of the same day the news of the murder of Zaynal Khān Shāmlū at the hands of Zaynash Bahādur the governor of Āstārābād [which occurred] during the campaign to recapture that city, delighted ʿUbayd Khān. His old confidants had never witnessed such excitement and feeling of euphoria in ʿUbayd Khān. The account of martyrdom of Zaynal Khān will be told later. Towards the afternoon the militia of Yārī Beg poured the soil of calamity over their heads and brought the news of his murder to ʿUbayd Khān. His euphoria changed to sadness and he lost any hope of capturing Harat.

Ḥusain Khān witnessed much scarcity of provisions and famine among the inhabitants of the citadel and ordered those from the middling social groups (*avsaf al-nās*) who were known not to adhere to Shīʿism to leave the fortress and their food and provisions to be confiscated.¹²⁵ [32b] Prices rose so high that one *mann* of salt could not be found even for a price of one thousand *dīnārs*.¹²⁶ The upshot according to the author of *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* was that Ḥusain Khān fought the Uzbeks for seven months in the fort of Harat and never lost control to them. Ḥusain Khān had been waiting for seven months for the arrival of the royal army when the news arrived that Shāh Ṭahmāsp and his large army were approaching Harat to eliminate the Uzbek menace.

Zaynash Bahādur was killed in an skirmish with the advanced guard (*muqaddam al-jaish*) of the Qizilbāsh army in Dāmghān. Upon hearing this news ʿUbayd Khān lifted the siege of Harat and escaped. Ḥusain Khān and the young warriors came out of the citadel and having been freed from the defence of the citadel, they felt a new lease of life

¹²⁵ "*muqarar dāsht ki jamʿī rā ki bi tashayuf ishtihār nadāshtand az qalʿa bar āvarda āzūqa-i īshān rā zabt namāyand.*" See also the commentary "The Siege of Harat".

¹²⁶ See the commentary "Expulsion of the civilians from Harat".

**Zaynash Bahādur Uzbek came to Firūz Kūh and Zaynal Khān
Shāmlū and a number of Amirs were killed.**

The news of ‘Ubayd Khān's campaign to Khurāsān reached the loyal servants of the exalted court and His Highness summoned the army and planned to march towards Khurāsān. At this time news arrived that Zaynash Bahādur, the Uzbek governor of Āstārābād and the governor-general of Jurjān Zamīn, together with a large army had embarked on an expedition towards the district (*vilāyat*) of Firūz Kūh where Zaynal Khān Shāmlū and many other Amirs were stationed. While hunting the Amirs were ambushed and fighting broke out.

[33a] During the brief skirmish which followed, Zaynash Bahādur was struck by the lance of a Shāmlū soldier and fell to the ground. When the young Shāmlū soldier saw the diminutive stature of Zaynash Bahādur, he hesitated to kill him and left him. Bahādur recovered, mounted his horse, reassembled the army and attacked the Qizilbāsh army. A courageous battle ensued but Zaynal Khān and the Qizilbāsh Amirs could not resist the numerically superior Uzbek army and their army broke up. Zaynal Khān and Muṣṭafā Sulṭān the governor of Sāva were martyred on Sunday 21 Sha‘bān 934/ 11 May 1528.¹²⁷ Zaynash Bahādur severed the heads of the chiefs and sent to ‘Ubayd Khān who was at the foot of the citadel of Herat. The killing of these amirs emboldened Zaynash Bahādur.

After this event His Highness found it difficult to delay the military campaign to Khurāsān any longer and he commanded the Pillar of the State Chuha Sulṭān to hasten to Dāmghān to avenge the murder of the Amirs and punish Zaynash Bahādur.

**The account of the rebellion of the unfortunate Zulfiqār in Arab
Iraq and the killing of Ibrāhim Khān, the Vālī of Baghdād.**

On the 4th of Ramadān of the year 934 / Saturday 23 May 1528, the news reached the Throne of the Caliphate that Zulfiqār the son of ‘Alī Beg Turkoman, the

¹²⁷. According to both *Aḥsan*, p. 208, and *Tārīkh-i Jahān Ārā*, p. 284, Jagarna Sulṭān, the governor of Sabzivār was also among the Amirs killed on that day.

governor of Gulhar, and the nephew of Ibrāhim Khān, the governor-general of Baghdād (*dār al-islām-i Baghdād*), arrived in the summer camp of *māhī dasht* where Ibrāhim Khān and a group [of his people] had camped. Ibrāhim Khān did not suspect Zulfiqār of any intentions of rebellion and opposition. Both publicly and privately a number of [companions] who were aware of Zulfiqār's wicked intentions warned Ibrāhim Khān [33b] that his arrival with such a large army signalled his rebellious intentions.

Ibrāhim Khān who was on his death bed did not regard his nephew's opposition and disobedience, who was like a son to him, a threat to himself. He sat in the audience chamber (*divān-khāna*) with a group of his companions when Zulfiqār descended on him like death. Ibrāhim Khān became anxious and tried to leave when Zulfiqār and his companions broke the ropes of the tent with their swords. Ibrāhim Khān and those inside the tent were all martyred. The inhabitants of Gulhar and the horse guards (*mulāzima-i mutifariqa*) at the service of Ibrāhim Khān, some in obedience and others in fear for their lives, obeyed Zulfiqār and accepted to enter his service. Sayyid Beg, the son of Sayyid Muḥammad Kamūna, together with five hundred cavalry, had arrived from Baghdād as the guests of Ibrāhim Khān to hunt lions and fish in *māhī dasht*. When he heard these events he too felt obliged to enter into an alliance with Zulfiqār. Fearing for his life he bestowed on Zulfiqār the title of Khān. Sayyid Beg then led his army back to Baghdād, the abode of Islam.

The guardians of the citadel and the family of Ibrāhim Khān closed the gates of the fort and sent an envoy to His Highness to seek help.

[34a] It was the opinion of the young and exalted Padishāh that punishment of the opponents in Khurāsān was urgent. Therefore he ignored Zulfiqār's shameful action and directed all efforts towards Khurāsān.

Zulfiqār captured the citadel in a short time and put many of his close associates and relatives to death and ordered the heads and beards of the majority [of the inhabitants] to be shaved. Marjūmak Sulṭān the son of Amir Khān who was in the

ranks of the Amirs of Baghdād was also killed. The wicked Zulfiqār proclaimed himself the Vāli of Baghdād and the ruler (*farmān-farmā*) of Arab Irāq with absolute authority.¹²⁸

The Shāh spent the winter in Janatābād of Qazvīn while waiting for the spring to annihilate the enemy.

[34a]The Naurūz of the year of the Dog (*it il*), the year 935 / March 1529, which was the fifth auspicious year [of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's reign]

With spring the old world renewed its life. The iris, the hyacinth, the tulip, the flower, the jasmine, the sweet basil, the pansy and *arghavān* painted the earth with the colours of the highest heaven. The breath of God and the dew of spirit touched and aroused the earth from winter sleep which embellished the festive gathering and the assembly of speakers.

His Majesty, the Sublime Threshold,¹²⁹ ordered the stewards (*kārdārān*) to adorn the Naurūz assembly and the convention of prosperity. The arrival of the spring and the freshness of the plains and mountains inaugurated a new world for both the intoxicated and the prudent [men]. [The stewards] endeavoured to organise the festivities. An assembly (*majlis*) was prepared where the sound and melody of the harp astounded Venus. Heaven was so jealous of that ravishing season and the joyful assembly that it plunged paradise into the infernal censer (*mijmar*) a hundred times. His Majesty Shāh Ṭahmāsp, may he rest in paradise, with the exalted Amirs, the victorious centurions, the honourable Vazirs, the illustrious grandees, the court officials and the special companions (*muqarrabān va makḥṣūṣān*) celebrated the Naurūz and drank from the chalice of manliness and action to the castigation of the Uzbeks and reconquest of Khurāsān. Each received a robe of honour and many royal gifts. Each presented the Shāh with gifts befitting their station. The notables and the common people feasted for one week and then the royal party resumed

¹²⁸ See the commentary "Zulfiqār's rebellion in Baghdād, 934-5 A.H."

¹²⁹ The title reads "*ḥāzrat-i sipihr rikāb-i 'alā*".

preparation for the campaign to Khurāsān and endeavoured to defeat the unfortunate enemy.

**His Highness Shāh Ṭahmāsp the young Pādishāh turned his
attention to Khurāsān. Zaynash Bahādur the governor of Dāmghān
was besieged and killed.**

During the Shāh's residence in the capital Qazvīn, every day news of new waves of attacks by ‘Ubayd Khān, the son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khān, reached [the court] from Khurāsān. ‘Ubayd Khān had already made three unsuccessful attempts at capturing this province. He had ruthlessly suppressed the inhabitants of Khurāsān and had innovated bad customs and [Sunnī] orthodox laws (*qavānīn-i muḥaddith*). ‘Ubayd Khān followed the impulses of his restless spirit and consistent with his base and reprehensible habits and his ignoble disposition he subjected [the people] to his cruelty. Day and night the people of Khurāsān suffered from his injustice and tyranny and many fled.

[35a] The victorious Pādishāh was indignant to learn that the poor were suffering and ordered the military inspectors (*tavājjiyān*) to send envoys to the corners of the kingdom to inform the victorious troops of the decision to conquer Khurāsān and to punish ‘Ubayd Khān. An immense army of victorious troops, as innumerable as calamities of the world and a number greater than the particles of sunshine, assembled under the triumphant banner. On Saturday the 1st of Ramadān 935 / 9 May 1529, the advancing army camped on the plains of Makhūr and when the crescent of the moon mirrored the lip of the thirsty,¹³⁰ the army of that powerful Pādishāh moved to the district of Semnān. In that beautiful and prosperous place [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] performed the rites of the ‘*id* of Ramadān and bestowed much favour on the poor and the needy. When the murderous warriors reached the plain of Sulṭān-i Maydānī, His Majesty ordained that Chuha Sulṭān Tekkelū, Ulma Sulṭān

¹³⁰ This is a literal translation of the astrological expression. It also appears in *Aḥsan*, p. 210, but Fażlī has modified his reading from *lab-i bastigān* to *lab-i tishnigān*.

Tekkelū and Zu'l-Qadr Öglū¹³¹ should launch an attack on Dāmghān to fight and punish Zaynash, who was the governor of Dāmghān and had a reputation as the best and the bravest [commander] of 'Ubayd Khān's army. After having killed Zaynal Khān, Zaynash had dreamt corrupt and depraved thoughts and had strayed [from his path under the influence of] false imagination. [35b] He prided himself on having subjugated the citadel of Dāmghān and was impervious to the Qizilbāsh army. His Majesty, may he rest in paradise, resigned [himself] to the divine will and with the heroes of the killing fields followed the Amirs. [They] departed for Dāmghān which was on the border of the provinces which 'Ubayd Khān had occupied. [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] commanded the victorious troops in the order of their weapons (*asbāb-i muhāriba*). The brave warriors, who [perceived] the dust of the battlefield to be the cure for the affairs of the state and sought the fountain of life in the darkness of battle, adorned themselves with armour with utmost sincerity of faith, and did not hesitate.

The Commander-in-Chief of the Qizilbāsh forces Chuha Sultān together with the brave young [warriors] descended on Dāmghān like a sudden calamity. [He] sounded the kettle-drum of Nūshīrvān and shouted the battle cry. The thunder of the outcry of the friends of the dynasty of 'Alī and the sincere devotees of the saintly dynasty (*khāndān-i sultān al-asfiyā*) caused tumult in the world. The dead heard the horrific sounds and their decayed bones trembled. Zaynash was unable to withstand this powerful army and reached the citadel with difficulty and was then besieged.

[36a] Chuha Sultān Tekkelū ordered the Amirs to encircle the citadel of Dāmghān and sent an envoy to deliver the news of the siege of Zaynash Bahādur to His Majesty who was hunting birds of prey, wild asses and beasts at the frontier station of Āhūyān on the day of his fourteenth birthday. His Majesty sent Ustād Shaykh Tūpchī Bāshī with a troop of men experienced in capturing fortresses to make their utmost effort to recapture the citadel. Ustād Shaikh together with the Rūmlū and

¹³¹ According to the sources this is Muḥammad Khān Zu'l-Qadr Öglū.

İsfāhānī gunners (*tūpchīyān*) took up a position on top of a plane tree overhanging the citadel, and opened fire on the enemy. They fired on the parapet.

The Uzbeks held their ground and bombarded the Qizilbāsh army with a barrage of gun and cannon fire. Those inside and outside the citadel did not sleep all night and in a soldierly manner kept guard, writing death certificates with tulip-coloured bloody arrows on each other's chest. During the assault on the citadel a large number of the Qizilbāsh were killed¹³² and [36b] the amirs took refuge in the sanctity of the infallible Imāms and the intercessors of the Day of Judgement. The Amirs attacked this sea of fire and penetrated the tower and the walls of this mighty fortress in several places. Two or three times Zaynash Bahādur emerged from the citadel, fighting the Şūfi army with his few able troops and each time retreated into the fortress after inflicting casualties. Finally Zaynash Bahādur could not withstand the siege and fled from the citadel. Outside the walls he met his death at the hands of the Qizilbāsh troops.¹³³ The brave young warriors took his severed head to Chuha Sulṭān before storming the fortress and taking control of the walls and the defences. A group of the Uzbeks and the rebellious inhabitants of Dāmghān were put to death and the survivors pleaded for mercy. According to the tradition of the exalted Şafavid dynasty which had become customary from the time of Abu'l Baqā Shāh Ismā'īl the Ghāzī Pādishāh, whose abode is with 'Alī, those seeking clemency were granted royal pardon. Those who wished to leave for Khurāsān and enter into the service of 'Ubayd Khān were given enough provisions, carriers and permission to leave, so that they might take the news of the bravery of the young Qizilbāsh, whose countenance was moon-like and whose fury resembled Mars, to 'Ubayd Khān. Chuha Sulṭān brought to the attention of the sovereign of the world the Pādishāh of

¹³² Reading uncertain.

¹³³. According to *Aḥsan*, p. 212, Zaynash escaped at night using a rope to climb down the wall when he was captured and put to death. Fażlī İsfāhānī clearly began to report this but changed his mind, the words "night with rope" are crossed out at mid-sentence.

the sea of benevolence the world- conquering Abu'l Manşūr Shāh Ṭahmāsp¹³⁴ those who wished to join the rank of the loyal servants of the Sublime Threshold. [37a] Chuha Sulṭān presented the loyal subjects to the Shāh. They were enlisted into the Ṣūfī ranks as militia, and were granted a fief (*tiyūl*) and regular salaries (*mavājib*). Those who had escaped and those who had been granted royal permission to leave, took the news of the death of Zaynash Bahādur and the capture of the fortress of Dāmghān, a key stronghold in Khurāsān, and coming of the Sovereign of the World to ʿUbayd Khān. As has been related under the events of the previous year, ʿUbayd Khān was at the time engaged in the siege of the citadel of Herat:

When the *Khān* heard of the *khāqān*'s arrival and of his
intention to capture Khurāsān,
Fearful of that Rustom-like cavalry, he fled Harat for
Samarqand.

At the foot of the fortress of Harat ʿUbayd Khān learnt of the news of the murder of Zaynash Bahādur who was unrivalled in bravery, the coming of the Shāh, and the murder of Yār Beg the son of Jān Vafā Mīrzā. He also witnessed the courageous and Rustom- like resistance of the young warriors in the fortress. Unable to continue his campaign in Khurāsān, with his pride wounded, ʿUbayd Khān rose from the foot of the citadel of Harat and crossed the river Oxus to enlist the support of the Sulṭāns of Turkistān and to raise a new army.

When Ḥusain Khān Shāmlū and the besieged garrison (at Dāmghān) heard that Zaynash Bahādur had been killed and that His Majesty was approaching, they found a new lease of life. They prayed the Almighty God for the assistance of the royal army and lifting of the siege and were thus relieved of the task of defending the citadel. Having been freed from the Uzbek tyranny by divine favour, the survivors celebrated and awaited the arrival of His Majesty, may he rest in paradise, and

¹³⁴ Shāh Ṭahmāsp's titles and attributes read "*khādīv-i jahān va pādīshāh-i baḥr-i iḥsān abu'l manşūr shāh Ṭahmāsp*".

security and prosperity under the auspicious reign of the just Pādishāh in that province.

Āstārābād, Sabzivār and Nishāpūr were captured without war and His Majesty entered the sacred Mashhad. The Uzbeks left Khurāsān for Transoxiana to deliver the news of the approach of His Highness the Shadow of God.

[37b] With divine favour the fathers of the august state captured the fortress of Dāmghān , Zaynash Bahādur the most warlike of the Uzbek army was killed, and the region of Dāmghān which was the key to Khurāsān together with the entire state provinces (*mamālik*) of Jurjān and Āstārābād came into possession of the relatives (*mansūbān*) of the dynasty of Glory and Supremacy (*dudmān-i ‘iz va ‘alā*). His Highness, the Sublime Threshold, may he rest in paradise, entrusted the governorship of the province(*vilāyat*) of Āstārābād and Jurjān Zamīn to Shāhverdī Beg Ziyād Ughlī Qājār and bestowed royal favours upon the exalted sayyids of that province and then proceeded to the sacred Mashhad to visit the sacred tomb of the Sulṭān of Khurāsān and the *qibla* of the righteous, the Imām of the universe from the earth to the Pleiades, Sulṭān Abu'l Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Mūsā al-Rizā and to punish ‘Ubayd Khān.

The royal army camped in the plain (*chaman*) of Kāliyūsh and when the chamberlains (*hujjāb*) of the Threshold of the Refuge of Mankind received the news of departure of ‘Ubayd Khān from Herat towards Transoxiana, [His Majesty] decided to conquer and capture Khurāsān and placed greater emphasis on the Mashhad campaign. News came that Qanbar ‘Alī the governor of Isfarāyīn, whom ‘Ubayd Khān had appointed, had strengthened the fortress of Khabūshān and had declared his independence and autonomy. His Majesty commanded the Pillar of the State Chuha Sulṭān with the victorious Amirs to depart for Isfarāyīn to free the inhabitants of that district (*vilāyat*) from the injustice and tyranny of Qanbar ‘Alī Uzbek and to capture the fortress of Khabūshān and place it under the governorship

of a loyal and able servant. The Commander-in-Chief of the Qizilbāsh forces mounted an expedition to Isfarāyin to punish Qanbar ‘Alī. Qanbar ‘Alī who had received the news of approach of the pugnacious Qizilbāsh army, the departure of ‘Ubayd Khān for Transoxiana, the conquest of Jurjān and murder of Zaynash Bahādur, felt powerless without the supporting shield of a lord, and before Chuha Sulṭān arrived, he with his family and subjects left for Transoxiana.

[38a] Chuha Sulṭān entered the township (*qaṣaba*) of Isfarāyin, captured it and placed the citadel and the town of Khabūshān under the control of the Chekenī warriors of the faith who had distinguished themselves in bravery. Chuha Sulṭān informed the Throne of the Caliphate of the developments and himself stayed for a few days to put in order the affairs of that region and the armies of Abīvard, Nisā and Bāghbād. Chuha Sulṭān also reassured the landlords (*arbāb*), the peasants (*ra‘āyā*) and the head farmers [of the villages] (*dihāqīn*). After Isfarāyin was recaptured, His Highness left for the town of Sabzivār. The governor of Sabzivār and his dependants left for Transoxiana. The governor of Nishāpūr and [the governors of] other towns of Khurāsān renounced any claim to their seats of governments and received the honour of service within the ranks of the militia of the Exalted Threshold, each receiving royal favours. Those who wished to leave, surrendered their territories (*vilāyat*) to the heir of the dynasty of Imāmate and Divinely- Ordained Authority (*imāmate va vilāyat*) and departed.

The Banī Mukhtār Sayyids of Sabzivār, especially Mīr Shams al-Dīn ‘Alī Sulṭān had the good fortune to prostrate before the magnanimous Pādishāh and to receive the *suyurghāls* and pensions (*vazā‘if*) of the time of Shāh Ismā‘īl, the valiant warrior of the faith. His Highness appointed the governors and the guardians (*mustahfizān*) of the citadels of Sabzivār, Nishāpūr and other regions (*vilāyāt*) of Khurāsān before departing for Mashhad.

The exalted Razavīyya Sayyids and the notables of the city hastened to greet the Shāh and strew silver and gold on the felicitous procession. At an auspicious hour,

in deference to the Shāh of Khurāsān, His Highness the Sayyid Pādishāh, the source of spiritual guidance,¹³⁵ began to walk from the Tunī pool which lies approximately one *farsakh* from the shrine. [38b] On arrival at the Sacred Mashhad [the Shāh] went on a pilgrimage to the eight Imām and the seventh *qibla* of the pupil of the eye of the people, the martyr of Khurāsān Sultān Abu'l Ḥasan 'Alī b. Musa al-Rizā. [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] prided himself on having the honour of kissing this Ka'ba- like shrine and sang this couplet :

I had heard the dust of his quarters to be the remedy (*kuhl*)
for the eyes,
Praise be to God that I did not die and saw it with my own
eyes.

After offering servitude to the holy shrine and kissing it which was a prerequisite of humility and sincere devotion, [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] bestowed gifts on the virtuous and pious Sayyid Mīr Nizām al-Mulk Rażavī, the custodian of the shrine, and the exalted sayyids of the sacred Mashhad and bestowed favours upon the dervīshes (*fuqarā*) and the needy. [The Shāh] sent robes of honour, horses and swords to Ḥusain Khān Shāmlū, the governor general of Harat, and those who had shown great courage during the siege of the city, to the landlords of the province, the suffering notables and the syndics (*kadkhudāyān*) of the guilds, gifts befitting their station.¹³⁶ [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] also commanded them to repair the citadel, to obtain provisions and strengthen the defences and endeavour to be vigilant against the ever-present threat of another Uzbek offensive.

[Shāh Ṭahmāsp] himself remained in Mashhad for pilgrimage and worship, to organise the army and to console the souls of the inhabitants of Khurāsān while waiting for the return of 'Ubayd Khān and his large army. [39a] Chuha Sultān too

¹³⁵ Shāh Ṭahmāsp's title reads "*ḥaẓrat-i pādishāh-i sayyid-i ṣāhib-i irshād*".

¹³⁶ Both *Khulāṣa*, p. 179, and *Iran dar rūzigār-i.....*, pp. 258-9, report that when Ḥusain Khān heard that Shāh Ṭahmāsp had arrived in Mashhad, he joined the royal camp and received much favour from the Shāh and his presence at the camp "heartened and inspired the Rustam-like warriors of the faith". *Aḥsan* and *Afzal* do not report this and suggest that gifts were sent to Ḥusain Khān, possibly in Harat.

ensured the security of Isfarāyin, the citadel of Khabūshān and the frontier province of Ūrganjiya. He then returned to Mashhad and together with the lower-ranking Amirs (*umarā-i tābīn*)¹³⁷ who were the generals of the advancing army, received the honour of pilgrimage to the Sulṭān of Khurāsān and audience with the young Pādishāh. [Chuha Sulṭān] jointly with the Grand Vazir Mīr Jaʿfar Sāvajī and the commanders of the army began to train the troops.

The Account of the Battle of His Majesty Shāh Ṭahmāsp, may he rest in paradise, at Khargird of Jām with ʿUbayd Khān Uzbek and the Sulṭāns of Turkistān and the defeat of Shāh Ṭahmāsp.¹³⁸

After the siege of Harat had been lifted, ʿUbayd Khān crossed the river Oxus to enlist the military support of Kūchkūnchī Khān and the Sulṭāns of Turkistān. Now after a few days royal residence in Mashhad, His Majesty Abu'l Fath Shāh Ṭahmāsp the warrior of the faith, may he rest in paradise, received the news of his return with a large army, a great multitude beyond the patience of numbers and more numerous than desert sands. ʿUbayd Khān was intent on defeating the just Pādishāh whose army was less than a sixth of the Uzbek army in size, and on capturing the entire province of Khurāsān.

His Majesty the Sublime Threshold too commanded the tent of fortune and the portico (*pīshkhāna*) of victory and glory to be pitched facing the Oxus water and to await divine victories and indubitable bounties. The Commander-in-Chief of the Qizilbāsh forces Chuha Sulṭān Tekkelū with all the Amirs of the vanguard

¹³⁷ The meaning of the word "*tābīn*" is uncertain. Navāʿī in his list of the Turkic and Mongolian words in *Aḥsan al-Tavārikh*, suggests any party of people numbering forty, is a "*tābin*". According to the same source it also means any crowd of people who take part in warfare. In *Tārīkh-i Jahān Āra*, p. 288, we also find this reference "When His Majesty encamped in Zanjān, each of the Zu'l-Qadr centurions (*yūzbāshiyān*) departed with his *tābin* in the vanguard". According to Röhrborn, however, an "*amir-i tābin*" was a lower ranking governor (*hākīm*) who in the later Ṣafavid period was appointed or dismissed by the *beglarbegī* (the governor-general) and was the *beglarbegī*'s personal functionary or *dārūgha*. Klaus-Micheal Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens, im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, (Berlin, 1966). Trans. Kaikāvūs Jahāndarī as : *Nizām-i īālāt dar दौरa-i Ṣafavia*, (Tehran, 2537). pp. 30, 38. Röhrborn's definition has been employed here.

¹³⁸ For a commentary of the battle of Jām see chapter 2 "A Critical Evaluation of *Afzal al-Tavārikh*".

(*charkhchī*) led the victorious army out of Mashhad. His Highness the Refuge of the Caliphate also performed the last religious rite, circumambulated (*tavāf-i vidāʿ*) the tomb of Sulṭān Abu'l Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Musa al-Rizā for the last time and set out on the journey towards the royal camp imploring the pure spirits of his ancestors to intercede on his behalf. [39b] The notables of Khurāsān received the Shāh with pomp and ceremony and offered gifts (*pīshkish va pīshandāz*), and thus obliged him. His Highness did not accept the gifts of the notables of Khurāsān and returned them. [The Shāh] then made a gift of a robe of honour to each of [the notables], entrusting them to the care of the Sulṭān of Khurāsān, and set out on the journey towards his destination.

As the victorious army encamped in the district of Khargird, a dependency of Jām, news reached the Emperor [Shāh Ṭahmāsp], whose sign is Pisces,¹³⁹ that a division of the Uzbek army was on the move in the area. Shāh Ṭahmāsp Abu'l Faṭḥ, the warrior of the faith, may he rest in paradise, sent fourteen trustworthy and able young scouts (*qarāvul*) who by the love of the fourteen pure souls had come from the fold of inexistence to the meadow of life, to reconnoitre the area and bring back news of the Uzbek army and scouts. The young devoted scouts were granted permission to leave and set out towards the Uzbek army. After a few *farsakhs* they came into sight of four hundred young troops¹⁴⁰ and returned. The audacious Uzbeks pursued and captured a number of the scouts, the rest escaped unharmed and took the news to the great Emperor.¹⁴¹ The next day His Highness appointed Ulma Sulṭān Tekkelū and Muḥammad Khān Zu'l-Qadr Oġlū to the vanguard of the army and thus adopted caution and followed the rules of military profession. Muḥammad Khān Zu'l-Qadr Oġlū was the son of Gūr Shāhrukh, the son of ʿAlā'l-daula Zu'l-Qadr who was the Padishāh of Iīstān and Marʿash.¹⁴² The Amirs reached the

¹³⁹ Shāh Ṭahmāsp's title reads "*Khāqān-i jamshīd ʿilām*".

¹⁴⁰ Reading is uncertain.

¹⁴¹ Shāh Ṭahmāsp's title reads "*khāqān-i jam iqtidār*".

¹⁴² This biographical note is recorded on the margin of this folio.

vanguard of the Uzbek army. They encountered a large army but deemed it unwise to engage in battle. They returned and informed His Highness of the magnitude of the army of the Khāns of Uzbekistān and Turkistān. That night they camped at Zir Ābād, in the vicinity of Jām, which was two farsakhs from Farīqī, where the Qizilbāsh and Uzbek scouts (*qarāvulān*) clashed. [40a] After the brief skirmish between the scouts of the two armies each side knew of the close proximity of its opponent, and camped nearby to prepare for war. The dark night descended. In that dark night, the intrepid warriors lay restless thinking to prove their bravery and manliness before their equals, peers, and their spiritual guide and the *qibla* of the Sūfis.¹⁴³ They contemplated accomplishing glory in life or attaining fame for bravery in the event of martyrdom, and thus assuring distinction for their children and descendants. [40b] Both armies stood guard, waiting for sun rise to draw ranks. Until near sunrise, His Highness, the shadow of God and the vicegerent of God,¹⁴⁴ prayed for the victory of the fathers of the august State. In the morning when the sun destroyed the legions of the stars and the universe was cleansed of darkness, [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] woke up and prayed. Chuha Sulṭān, the Commander-in-Chief of the Qizilbāsh forces, received the honour of prostration before the Shāh and requested the royal command to sound the drum of Anūshīrvān. [The Ṣafavid army would sound their drum] only after the Uzbeks called for battle. The military inspectors were ordered, on hearing the sound of the drum of Anūshīrvān the second, to call the Amirs, the centurions, and the standing corps of royal troops to arms. His Majesty the Shadow of God also dressed for battle and adorned his peerless body with the armour of divine protection, the assistance of the pure spirit of His Holiness the refuge of prophecy and the Infallible Imāms, and waited for the sound of the battle drum of the *Chingīzī* army. Following the tradition of his munificent ancestors, Shāh

¹⁴³ Shāh Ṭahmāsp's title reads "*murshid va qibla-i sūfiyān*".

¹⁴⁴ Shāh Ṭahmāsp's title reads "*ḥazrat-i zill-i subḥānī khalifat al-raḥmānī*".

Ismāʿīl Abu'l Baqā, whose abode is with ʿAlī, too had allowed the enemy to open fire.

[41a] As his Highness the Shadow of God dressed in the hereditary garb of courage, the sound of the Uzbek battle drum reached the World Sovereign the Shadow of God and the progeny of the Lord of the Age.¹⁴⁵ The Commander-in-Chief of the Qizilbāsh forces Chuha Sulṭān also ordered the drum of Anūshīrvān to be beaten and His Highness's horse to be prepared. After hearing the beat of the drums, the victorious Amirs and troops (*ʿasākir*) mounted the horses of hope and fear and entrusted the reins to divine will. His Highness the Refuge of the Caliphate and the Hope of the Ṣūfīs mounted a fierce horse which by night roams a man's dreams and by day leaps from the northern wind, and drew up the Ṣūfī ranks in line.

Chuha Sulṭān Tekkelū, the Commander-in-Chief of the Qizilbāsh forces, Ḥamza Sulṭān Tekkelū, Aḥmad Sulṭān Afshār, Yaʿqūb Sulṭān Qājār, and Muḥammad Sulṭān Sharaf al-Dīn Oġlū Tekkelū took position on the right wing. [41b] Ḥusain Khān Shāmlū, Tabaruk Khalīfa¹⁴⁶, Muḥammad Khān Zu'l-Qadr Oġlū, Pīr Qulī Sulṭān Shāmlū, Aḥmad Sulṭān Ustājilū, Ḥasan Sulṭān Durghūd Oġlū, and Malik Beg Khuʿiy took position on the left wing. Ulma Sulṭān Tekkelū led the vanguard (*charkhchī*). [Shāh Ṭahmāsp], the Grand Vazir Mīr Jaʿfar Sāvajī the court officials, the centurions, the standing corps of royal troops, and the gentlemen of the workshops (*āqāyān-i kārkhānijāt*) took position at the centre. The army of His Highness, may he rest in paradise, which did not exceed twenty thousand troops in number, stood in readiness for battle.

On the opposite side ʿUbayd Khān and Kuchum Khān too deployed the vengeful Uzbek army. They themselves took position at the centre. Barāq Khān, Fūlād Sulṭān, and ʿAbd'l ʿAzīz Sulṭān were assigned to the left wing and Jānī Beg Sulṭān, Gildī Muḥammad Sulṭān, and Abū Saʿid Sulṭān to the right wing. Sevinjūk Muḥammad

¹⁴⁵ Shāh Ṭahmāsp's titles read "*khādiv-i jahān va zill-i subḥān va farzand-i rasūl-i ākhar-i zamān*".

¹⁴⁶ *Aḥsan*, p. 214, identifies him as Tabaruk Khān Shāmlū.

Sulṭān, Qanbar ʿAlī Beg, Shaykh Dervīsh Beg, and Rustam Qulī Beg were appointed to the reserve so that they could provide reinforcements wherever the need arose. Ṭabl Khvāja and Qarāja Bahādur were appointed to the vanguard. Kaskan Qarā Sulṭān, Qumish Ughlān, Tanish Beg, Sayyidum Mīrzā, Jughtāy Bahādur, Biyāqū Bahādur, Ḥāfiz Qanqarāt and Shaykh Abū Saʿid Afrāsiyāb took position at the centre with ʿUbayd Khān and Kuchum Khān. The entire armies of Transoxiana, Kāshghar, Turkistān, Andijān, Qāzāq, and Dasht-i Qipchāq and Qirqiz prepared for battle and drew up opposite the victorious army. Such a large army had not crossed the Oxus river since the time of Chingīz Khān.

More innumerable than ants and locusts, they had seized the
mountains and the seas.

[42a] The victorious warriors of the faith too drew up in battle array and each man took up his position. The sound of fife and drum and the *Allāh Allāh* battle cry of the enemy- capturing warriors of the faith could be heard by the inhabitants of the universe. The two armies undulated like two green seas and came to grips with each other . The lion-hearted men and the enemy- destroying heroes advanced to the attack. Such battle ensued that the noise of the horses' feet thundered through the air, and the cloud of dust concealed the sun. The mighty Qizilbāsh army kindled the flames of war with the boisterous wind of courage. The deadly poplar arrows of the lightning Uzbek troops fastened the stars of the Pleiad to the belt of Orion. [42b] In the midst of the battle, Jānī Beg Khān and a division of the Uzbek army attacked the Tekkelū Amirs. Chuha Sulṭān Tekkelū with the right wing of the Qizilbāsh army were unable to repulse the assault and were forced to flee the battle ground. Muḥammad Sulṭān Sharaf al-Dīn Oġlū fell from his horse and the Uzbeks rushed upon him but Ḥasan Sulṭān Durghūd Oġlū came to his assistance and mounted him on his horse. Next came the officers of Muḥammad Sulṭān who took him to safety. The defeat of the Tekkelū contingent and the heavy loss of men that it sustained

prompted the Uzbeks to attack the Qizilbāsh army with greater boldness and courage.

The reserve, the right and the left wings and the vanguard broke ranks. Without pausing to stop, Aḥmad Sulṭān Afshār returned to his province (*ulkāʿ*) of Kermān, and Yaʿqūb Sulṭān Qājār and Malik Beg Khuʿiy returned to Semnān. The fearless Uzbeks pursued the retreating army attacking the Qizilbāsh and the army stores which were positioned at the rear of the army.

The courageous men of the army stores fought the Uzbeks killing large numbers. Finally they too were overpowered and abandoned all belongings and equipment and fled for their lives. The pious Shāh remained in his pivotal position and was not at all perturbed by the turn of events. The gunners and musketeers who were at the service of His Majesty opened fire on the Uzbeks. [43a] The air was filled with dust and in the darkness one could not distinguish friend from foe.

When the dust settled, it appeared to the Shāh that except for the centre, not one of the troops who had earlier been engaged in battle remained on the field .

The author of *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* who himself was at the service of His Highness Shāh Ṭahmāsp the Warrior of the Faith, may he rest in paradise, as an arm-bearer in the rank of the Qūrchīs (*qūrchīyān-i yarāq bardār*), has noted in his history that after the sky had cleared, the Shāh led the centre, attacked and defeated ʿUbayd Khān and Kuchum Khān. The authors of *Khuld Ārā*, *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh*, *Miftāh al-qulūb*, and Maulānā Nujūmī the author of *Tārīkh-i Harat va Khurāsān*, have written that after all hope of any assistance from the amirs of the right and left wings had diminished, the Shāh firmly held his ground and struck many Uzbeks from their horses with his lethal lance. [The Shāh] then determined to ride to the foot of the banner when the Grand Vazir Mīr Jaʿfar, the Ṣadr Mīr Qavām al-Dīn Ḥusain, and the Qizilbāsh centurions beseeched him to retreat, counselling him that such defeats were prevalent in warfare. [They advised him] that with divine favour, he should muster a new army to take revenge from the Uzbeks on whom the world has turned

its back. They then took His Highness away from the battlefield leaving the entire camp and the equipment of the army stores in possession of the covetous Uzbeks.

The Second Battle of His Majesty Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī, may he rest in paradise, with ʿUbayd Khān the deaf, and the defeat of ʿUbayd Khān. Aḥmad Sulṭān Afshār was removed from the governorship of Kermān and that service was entrusted to his Vazir Āqā Kamālī and an account of the events.

As has already been related, His Highness was defeated by the Uzbek Sulṭāns who commanded an army of eighty thousand men. [43b] Following this defeat Shāh Ṭahmāsp and the company retreated from the camp and after three *farsakh*, they came to a nearby river where they performed supererogatory prayer. The troops of the right and the left wings who had escaped from the battlefield, regrouped and spent that night with His Majesty on the river bank, eating whatever dry bread they could find in their saddlebags, and waiting for divine inspiration (*laṭīfa-i ghaybī*). Shaykh ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿĀl, the Mujtahid of the Age, the Amirs, and the Khāns, tried to console His Highness the Refuge of Caliphate that such events were common in the affairs of kingship and that with divine favour these setbacks would be avenged, but it was to no avail. His Highness, fourteen years of age at the time ¹⁴⁷, could not be consoled and after prayer and offering servitude to God deservedly went to bed and fell asleep with a heavy heart. It was a matter of certainty to the amirs, the Khāns, and those in attendance at His Sacred Throne that whenever the Sulṭāns of Tūrān gained such victories, there was no alternative but to capitulate and leave the entire provinces of Khurāsān and Irāq in their possession for that year.

Four *dāngs* of that dark and calamitous night had passed when His Highness the Spiritual Guide and the Shadow of God woke up and commanded that Mīr Niẓām

¹⁴⁷ An emendation on the margin reads : "In fact the age of Shāh Ṭahmāsp was sixteen years not fourteen as becomes clear after examination of the date of birth and the subsequent events." The date of birth given by *Afzal* on folio 3a, Wednesday 3rd Zi'l-hijja harām 918 A.H., bears this statement out.

al-Mulk Raḡavī, the custodian of the sacred Mashhad who was in attendance, be summoned to be told of the Shāh's dream. When the pious Sayyid entered and before His Highness, may he rest in paradise, could relate his dream, the Mīr said "what is the cause of this delay?" and advised that [the Shāh] should act upon the instructions of Their Holinesses, as prescribed in the dream. With divine favour, the fathers of the state were destined for victory. Shaykh ʿAlī b. ʿĀl, the Ṣadr Mīr Qavām al-Dīn Ḥusain, [44 a] the Grand Vazir Mīr Jaʿfar, the pillars of the State, and the grandees of the kingdom (*ʿayān-i saltanat*) who were present rejoiced and asked His Highness, the Refuge of the Caliphate, to tell them about his dream. His Highness asked Mīr Nizām al-Mulk who that night had been present at the gathering of his "unequaled ancestors" to recount the dream. The Ṣūfī Mīr (*mīr-i ṣāhib-i ḥāl*) said that His Holiness the refuge of Muḥammadan Prophecy, the Shāh whose authority is divinely ordained (*shāh-i vilāyat panāh*), the Guiding Imams and the grand Shaykhs who were the ancestors of His Highness, gathered tonight to focus all attention on the victory of His Highness the Shadow of God, the heir of this dynasty, and declared that unless he personally took part in battle, the banner of victory would not fly. The Ṣūfis and the sincere devotees (*yikjahān va mukhliṣān*) rejoiced at hearing the news of victory, they cried *Allāh Allāh* and vowed to serve their spiritual leader (*pīr va pīrzāda*) and to shed all fear and cowardice from their minds.

There remained two hours to sunrise on the faithful morning when [the contingent] mounted the horses of hope. His Highness, may he rest in paradise, decided to leave behind some of the injured and the foot-soldiers in that camp while he himself and the able-bodied cavalrymen would fight the Uzbeks whose army was in excess of eighty thousand men. Upon hearing the news of the imminent victory, they felt relieved of their bruised bodies and troubled minds; not one man would agree to stay behind; the entire army, a total of no more than seven thousand cavalry and infantry followed their spiritual guide and *qibla*. Three hours (*yik pās*) to sunrise on Saturday the eleventh of Muḥarram 935 A.H., [the contingent] embarked on war against

eighty thousand men. His Highness, the Sublime Threshold, [44 b] reassured the men with these verses by Mīrzā Qāsim :¹⁴⁸

O you valiant Rustam -like men, do not agonise over the war.
 Our numbers may be small and the enemy countless, but do not fear.
 As the grace of God is with us and defeat of the enemy is our vocation.
 A formidable army does not perturb him who is assisted by the grace of
 God.
 God the omnipotent is the source of victory; victory is God's and it is
 imminent.

‘Ubayd Khān and the Sultāns of Tūrān had inflicted an imagined defeat on the army of Iran and having captured their camp, tent and equipment, they were asleep unconscious of the sleight of the hand of the juggling heavens. Near sunrise when friend could not be distinguished from foe, the cry of the Qizilbāsh fife was heard but [the Uzbeks] believed it to be their own trumpeter (*‘amala-i naqqāra*) imitating the Qizilbāsh fifer.¹⁴⁹ At this time ‘Ubayd Khān and Kūchkūnjī Khān received the news that the victorious Shāh Ṭahmāsp had entered the Uzbek camp and that scores of the Uzbek troops had been killed. Hard as they tried they could not mobilise the army to fight the small Qizilbāsh force. The Ṣūfis and the devoted followers (*yikjahān*) all united, followed their *qibla* and *ka‘ba* into the camp. They ambushed the Uzbeks and swiftly killed many of them.

‘Ubayd Khān and Kuchum Khān too mounted their horses to repulse the enemy. [45 a] The glittering sword removed the mask of darkness from luminous faces and began its blandishment to take the lives of fearless men. The bow turned its arched back to the suspicious enemy and despatched its swift arrows bearing the inevitable message to every heart large and small. As the battlefield warmed from the heat of the *ghāzīs*' flaming swords and the breeze of desire blew over the advancing *ghāzīs*' meadow of hope and as the brave warriors smelled the fragrance of victory, ‘Ubayd Khān and Kuchum Khān withdrew from the battlefield and fled.

¹⁴⁸ As in many other parts of the chronicle, here too, the author attributes the poem to Mīrzā Qāsim whose name has been crossed out.

¹⁴⁹ This sentence has been crossed out in the manuscript.

Ḥusain Beg Qūrchī Ustājlū, with his mace, struck ‘Ubayd Khān on the head and threw him off his horse but could not capture him because of his diminutive stature. Instead he pursued a young and handsome Uzbek. Dīn Qilij Bahādur arrived from the rear and rescued ‘Ubayd Khān. From that time, ‘Ubayd Khan who had received a blow to the head was known as ‘Ubayd Khān the Deaf. The above-mentioned Qūrchī then followed Ṭabl Khvāja Amir Ākhur; they fought each other with bow and arrows but finally they exchanged names and Ṭabl Khvāja told Ḥusain Beg that the diminutive man whose head he had struck had indeed been ‘Ubayd Khān. The two men then parted.

Ḥusain Khān and the young Qizilbāsh followed the Uzbek army for some time and having proved their courage then returned to the service of Shāh Ṭāhmāsp. Ḥusain Khān related to the Shāh what he had heard from Ṭabl Khvāja Amir Ākhur. Those who had witnessed ‘Ubayd Khān's diminutive stature confirmed this whilst others disbelieved it, until Aḥmad Sulṭān Ustājlū brought in his Uzbek captives. They confirmed that ‘Ubayd Khān had fallen from his horse and his hearing was impaired. Shāh Ṭāhmāsp bestowed favours on Ḥusain Beg Chāvushlū Ustājlū and honoured him with the position of the bearer of the royal bow and arrow (*fīr va kamān bardārī*).

Mīr Ḥusain Khān Tavakulī, the governor of Jām, had been besieged in the citadel and for many years had struggled with the Uzbeks refusing to submit to their rule. Now he was intent on joining the ranks of the Shāh's militia so he emerged from the citadel in pursuit of the army of Tūrān. He courageously killed and beheaded Kūchkunjī Khān, took his head to the threshold of the Refuge of the Caliphate and threw it at the feet of the horse of the Shī‘ī Pādishāh.¹⁵⁰ He received many royal favours and was ordered to return to the *vilāyat* of Jām, Sarakhs, and Zūrābād which were under his governorship.

¹⁵⁰ For the killing of Kuchkunjī Khān see the commentary.
Shāh Ṭāhmāsp's title reads "*pādishāh-i shī‘ī shu‘ār*".

His Highness, the Sublime Threshold, went to the royal tent (*khayma-i daulat*) which during the previous night ‘Ubayd Khān had occupied, took the armour off his delicate body and prostrated himself in praise of God seeking new and endless victories. [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] also honoured Mīr Nizām al-Mulk who had participated in his dream, with many favours, granting him permission to leave for the pure and sacred Raḡavī Threshold [46a] to take the news of the victory of His Highness the Shadow of God to the residents, the attendants (*khuddām*), and the honourable Shī‘ites of Mashhad. He was also assigned to confer the divine bounty¹⁵¹ on the poor of that city which answered to prayers. The victorious troops all returned to their tent and place, and those without a tent or any equipment took possession of what the Uzbeks had left behind and thus they were in want of nothing.

That afternoon an army was intercepted approaching the [Iranian] camp. His Highness prepared for battle while some troops were sent to identify it. News arrived that it was the army of Jānī Beg Khān Chingīzī who had been in pursuit of the defeated Qizilbāsh troops and believed that ‘Ubayd Khān and the Sulṭāns of Tūrān were waiting for his return to camp. Unaware of the valiant conduct of His Highness and the enemy-destroying warriors of the faith, Jānī Beg had returned and had set up camp near the exalted camp. His Highness asked for a saddled horse in order to hasten towards the enemy camp. Chuha Sulṭān, however, prevented the Shāh from leaving. In the meantime, Jānī Beg Khān had heard the news of the Uzbek defeat and the courage of the Iranians and fled. Ḥusain Khān Shāmlū the governor-general of Khurāsān, Aḥmad Sulṭān Ustājilū, and a number of the amirs and Ṣūfīs pursued him, but Jānī Beg succeeded in extricating himself from danger, leaving all the booty that he had taken from the Qizilbāsh and his own belongings in the possession of the heir of the exalted dynasty (*manṣūbān-i dūdmān-i ‘iz va ‘alā*).

¹⁵¹ Reading uncertain.

[f. 46b(61b)]¹⁵² A number of the Uzbeks were killed and the survivors took the news of the strength of the arms of the enemy- routing Qizilbāsh to Tūrān. That night His Highness remained on that spot, taking account of the troops present, the absentees and the martyrs. [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] also bestowed brotherly and affectionate favours on the worthy and judicious prince Sām Mīrzā who acted as the vicegerent of the province (*mulk*) of Khurāsān at Herat. [The Shāh] despatched Ḥusain Beg, the archer Qūrchī (*qūrchī-i fir va kamān*) whose mace had deafened ‘Ubayd Khān, to take a precious robe of honour, a horse, a sword, a crown (*tāj*),¹⁵³ armour,¹⁵⁴ and equipment manufactured in royal workshops in the honour of the prince, entrusting to him total control over the affairs of Khūrāsān. As was customary, Ḥusain Khān Shāmlū who had distinguished himself in these battles by his courage, was appointed the governor of Herat, the governor-general of Khurāsān, and the tutor of Prince Sām Mīrzā who was ten years old. Having fulfilled his ambition [Ḥusain Khān] received the robe of honour and royal favours and departed for Herat. [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] granted permission to all the governors of Khurāsān to return to their estates (*tiyūl*) and himself returned to the sacred Mashhad. Following the defeat which had occurred before the victory, Aḥmad Sulṭān Afshār fled from the battlefield and returned to Kermān without a pause to stop along the way. However, Āqā Kamālī Kermānī, his Vazir, and a group of the Sulṭān's militia had remained at the service of the Fortunate Throne and had made the utmost effort, therefore receiving the honour of victory. [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] entrusted the governorship of Kermān to Āqā Kamālī and appointed Aḥmad Sulṭān as his officer and the chamberlain (*īshīk āqāsī garī*) of his harem.[47a(62a)] Shāh Ṭahmāsp also removed Ya‘qūb Sulṭān Qājār from the governorship of Qarābāgh and Malik Beg from the

¹⁵² Folios 46 to 63 of the manuscript were misarranged. This has been corrected. The square bracket contains the correct number and the round bracket represents the old number.

¹⁵³ It is not clear the word "*tāj*" denotes a "regal crown" or the Qizilbāsh headgear which was also referred to by the same name. I have however opted for the broader meaning of the word as "crown".

¹⁵⁴ Reading is uncertain. The text reads "*jiqa*" which may be a misspelling of "*jiba*" meaning "armour".

governorship of Khuy and issued their letters of dismissal (*raqam-i ʿazl*), and those who had, in that campaign, shown distinguished service in the performance of their duty received royal favours and thus their every desire was fulfilled.

By the order of the Padishāh, the son of the House of ʿAlī, the eloquent secretaries wrote letters of victory and sent to the corners of the august empire. His Highness Shāhanshāh, the subject of divine protection, prostrated in gratitude for the victory which God had conferred on the fathers of the august state and set off on a pilgrimage to the Sulṭān of Khurāsān. After several days [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] reached the sacred Mashhad. The custodian Mīr Nizām al-Mulk together with the stewards (*khuddām*) [of the shrine], the guardians and the garrison of the blessed estate,¹⁵⁵ the exalted Sayyids, the notables of the city and the districts of the sacred Mashhad hastened to welcome the peerless Pādishāh and received the honour of prostration before the Shāh. They received [the Shāh] with the customary ceremony of *pāy-andāz* and scattered much money (*nithār*) among the poor and the needy. His Highness, may he rest in paradise, directly went to the sacred Threshold and kissed the sepulchre. [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] supplicated [Imām Rizā] for greater prosperity and victory for the fathers of the state and conferred many favours on the stewards and the needy.

Shāh Ṭahmāsp then took leave of the Shāh of Khurāsān and set out towards the Arab Iraq to punish Zulfiqār Turkoman.

Shāh Ṭahmāsp turned his attention towards Baghdād, the abode of Islam (*dār al-islām*). The Murder of Zulfiqār, and the conquest of Arab Iraq.

On the way to Baghdād, the abode of Islam, the main purpose of which was pilgrimage to the holy shrines of the Infallible Imāms and his¹⁵⁶ ancestors¹⁵⁷, [Shāh

¹⁵⁵ Reading uncertain.

¹⁵⁶ The adjective complementing the word "ancestors" is illegible. The word "his" has been inserted instead.

¹⁵⁷ The reference to the religious purpose of Ṭahmāsp's expedition to the Arab Iraq is unique to *Afzal* and is recorded in a note, in the same hand, on the margin of the folio.

Ṭahmāsp] stopped in Nishāpūr for a few days to secure the allegiance of the Amirs of Khurāsān. [47b (62b)] At this time messengers were dispatched to the corners of the august empire to urge those who wished to go on pilgrimage to the holy shrines of the seven Imāms (*a'ima-i sab'a*), buried in the Arab Iraq, to join the auspicious procession. A quarter of the notables of the Persian Iraq and half the notables of Fārs and Kermān, who desired pilgrimage to the [tombs] of the Infallible Imāms, joined the camp of His Highness the Shadow of God at Jarbādqān¹⁵⁸. At an auspicious hour they crossed the old Khāneqi River which is the border between the two Iraqs and entered the Arab Iraq. At that time the world-conquering sun cast a shadow on the tower of Cancer, and the heat was so intense that the earth spread a carpet of fire, the ruby dissolved in the quarry and under the ray of sunshine the pebbles in deep waters [resembled] melted gem.

The villain Zulfiqār heard that His Highness the Seat of the Caliphate¹⁵⁹ was approaching but paid no heed to the advice of his relatives and well-wishers and began to strengthen the fortification of the citadel of Baghdād. His face bereft of any shame, he knelt before disloyalty. The fierce warriors of the faith surrounded the citadel of Baghdād. [They] immediately began the task of digging shelters (*sība*) and opened cannon fire on the tower of the citadel. [48a(63a)]The villain Zulfiqār opened gun and musket fire on the royal camp and thus began the rebellion.

Although his relatives advised him that opposition to one's benefactor was beyond the bounds, he did not accept this and persisted in his rebellion. A few days passed like this. But the residents of the citadel knew that finally they would succumb to the dynasty of Shaykh Ṣafī and that in the event of the fall of the citadel, the Qizilbāsh would not distinguish the innocent from the guilty, and would slaughter the young and the old alike. The residents of the citadel incited 'Alī Beg, a grandson of Ṣūfī

¹⁵⁸ Different spellings of the town of "Jarbādqān" appear in the sources : Jarpādqān, *Niqavat al-Āthār*, p. 573; Jarfādqān, *Ālam Ārā-i Shāh Ismā'il*, p. 510. Jarbādqān is the modern Gulpāygān but under the Ṣafavids it may have been a dependency of Iṣfāhān.

¹⁵⁹ Shāh Ṭahmāsp's title reads "*ḥazrat-i khilāfat-madār*".

Khalīl Mauṣillū, and his brother Aḥmad Beg to murder Zulfiqār. On Thursday the third of Shavval 935 / 10 June 1529, the above-mentioned killed and decapitated Zulfiqār and opened the gates of the citadel. They also sent an envoy to call upon His Highness to pardon the besieged inhabitants and to send the Ṣadr Mīr Qavām al-Dīn Ḥusain Naqīb Iṣfāhānī and Sayyid Beg Kamūna to honour the children of Ṣūfī Khalīl and the besieged inhabitants with prostration before the Shāh. Acting on this request the above-mentioned went to the citadel and brought the afore-mentioned [individuals] to kiss the Shāh's feet. The children of Ṣūfī Khalīl received the honour of kissing the Shāh's feet and uttered the following verse:

He who disobeys the Shāh, time will ruin his fortune.

Shāh Ṭahmāsp pardoned the besieged inhabitants, and bestowed favours on ‘Alī Beg and Aḥmad Beg¹⁶⁰, hung Zulfiqār's head at the gate, and appointed Muḥammad Sulṭān Tekkelū Sharaf al-Dīn Oġlū the Khān. A public royal proclamation was made [48b (46b)] that at a propitious hour Muḥammad Sulṭān should pay homage by kissing the Shāh's feet and take the throne of the caliphs of Baghdad. [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] himself crossed the river Tigris for a pilgrimage to the shrines of Imām Mūsā al-Kāzīm and Muḥammad al-Javād. The Shāh spent that night in prayer and conferred royal favours on the stewards, the residents, and the servants of [the shrine]. The Shāh prayed and worshipped for three days and on the third day entered the blessed citadel of Baghdād, the abode of Islam. His Highness ordained that Muḥammad Khān together with the clerks of offices (*mutiṣadiyān-i khadamāt*) and superintendents of the gardens (*mubāshirān-i rauzāt*) attend to the financial and administrative affairs of the whole of Arab Iraq. Zulfiqār's possessions too were surrendered to the keepers of the royal workshops (*taḥvīldārān-i buyūtāt*). In response to pleas from Chuha Sulṭān, the head of that unfortunate [man] was buried with his body.

¹⁶⁰ See the commentary.

[Shāh Ṭahmāsp] spent a few days hunting in the surrounding districts of Baghdād before setting out on a pilgrimage to his magnanimous ancestor the Amir of the Believers Ḥaydar ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and the Sayyid of Martyrs Ḥusain b. ʿAlī, peace be upon him. [The Shāh] bestowed favours on the stewards and the residents and ordered the construction of new buildings and increased the provision of goods for the workshops (*kārkhānijāt*) and the kitchens (*āsh-khāna*).¹⁶¹

[49a(47a)] [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] was returning to Baghdād when on the outskirts of the city news arrived that after the defeated Sultāns of Tūrān had returned to their own kingdoms, ʿUbayd Khān Uzbek, the deaf, and an Uzbek contingent had returned to capture Khurāsān. And a petition arrived from Āqā Kamālī Sultān, governor of Kerman which declaring Aḥmad Sultān Afshār's allegiance [to Shāh Ṭahmāsp] sought royal pardon for Aḥmad Sultān who had been appointed militia of [Āqā Kamālī]. At the same time [Āqā Kamālī] offered his resignation from the governorship of Kermān. Shāh Ṭahmāsp appointed Shāh Qulī Beg Yūzbāshī Afshār as the governor of Kermān and honoured him with the title of Sultān. The Shāh also pardoned Aḥmad Sultān and appointed him and his army to the defence of the sacred Mashhad. His Highness also pardoned Yaʿqūb Beg Qājār and Malik Beg Khuʿiy and ordered them to assist Aḥmad Sultān in defence of Mashhad until the Shāh's arrival. [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] also conferred the office of Vazir and the tax inspectorate (*mumayizī*) of the whole of Khurāsān on Āqā Kamālī Kermānī and conferred a dignity above all the Vazirs of the realm, on him. [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] also ordained that Aḥmad Sultān should receive the region of Farāh of Khurāsān as his fief (*tiyūl*) in lieu of salary. [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] then returned to Persian Iraq to engage in pleasure. The Sultāns of Khūzistān and the Mushaʿshaʿ Arabs, the Kurds of Ardalān and the governor of Shahr-i Zūr and Azlūjak¹⁶² were received at the throne of the Caliphate and obtained what they desired, each received a robe of honour.

¹⁶¹ See the commentary.

¹⁶² Reading uncertain.

In the capital Qazvīn, Shāh Ṭahmāsp appointed Amir Nʿimatullāh Hillī co-Ṣadr with Mīr Qavām al-Dīn Ḥusain Iṣfāhānī [49b (47b)] to prescribe the Muḥammadan law and to co-operate in propagating the sacred law (*sharʿ-i sharīf*).

[Shāh Ṭahmāsp] ordained the eloquent secretaries to write the letter of victory of Baghdād, the abode of Islam, and despatch it to the protected dominions (*mamālik-i mahrūsa*).

The Royal Farman was issued.

The dominion (*vilāyat*) of the powerful and the exalted Khān Ḥusain Khān Ukhī Shāmlū, the governor-general of Khurāsān, which is blessed by royal favours and compassion, should know that God, may he be praised, daily opens the gates of new victories to our august fortune, and from the repository of ? He affords us protection and fulfilment of our desires. Thanks be to God that whatever I have desired of Him, I have been successful in that undertaking through my own endeavours.

The purpose of this composition and of these introductions is that since the beginning of our auspicious reign, the sayyids, the chiefs of the sayyids (*nuqabā*), the nobility of the Arab Iraq, and the residents of Baghdād the abode of Islam, have called for our victorious standard to unfurl in this direction and have implored the victorious troops in this affair. This mendicant at the threshold of God agitated for the good fortune of pilgrimage to my peerless ancestors, but I could not begin a journey to the Arab Iraq since ʿUbayd Khān Uzbek had hastened the ball of rebellion in Khurāsān, hence the mind could not rest in peace. By divine will the army of ʿUbayd Khān was defeated and the security of Khurāsān was assured.

[50a(48a)] As the news of Zulfiqār Turkoman's rebellion, the nephew of Ibrāhim Khān the governor of Baghdād who is related to the Ṣafavid dynasty, arrived and the residents of the Arab Iraq became more persistent in their request [for assistance] and after return from Khurāsān and the apparent victory, which is the jewel in the conquests of all the Sultāns of the world, against ʿUbayd Khān, I endeavoured to commit my highest aspirations to the aid of the oppressed of that land, that which is

the crown of the affairs of the state and is of paramount importance in the exercise of royal power and Government of the world.

Trust in God, the rein of our determination turned towards that path. As we descended on the city of Hamadān, the great and noble Amirs of Fārs and Iraq gathered under the shadow of our victorious banner and from there the royal march of the warlike troops towards Baghdād gathered pace. At a distance of ten *farsakh* to Baghdād the victorious army encamped and the exalted sayyids, the shaykhs, and the eminent chiefs of the sayyids and the notables and the residents of the abode of Islam [Baghdad] who were not besieged in the citadel, welcomed the glorious banners and received the honour of kissing the Shāh's feet. We sent a number of them, together with Ya'qūb Ustājilū who was an old servant of my father, whose abode is with 'Alī, to the unfortunate Zulfiqār who had hoped to gain possession of Arab Iraq. [The envoys] were to offer him spiritual guidance. But since the horoscope (*tālī'*) did not guide Zulfiqār and he disregarded the merciful advice of our august deputies and that of his allies and relatives in the citadel, he resolved to wage war against the sincere Ṣūfīs. Zulfiqār closed the gates of the citadel and opened gun and musket fire on the victorious camp. Indignant by his disobedience, the lion-like warriors of the faith the conquerors of citadels could not tolerate his improper transgression, they encircled the fort, built barricades and planned to capture it.

Several days passed and the troops fought courageously to capture the fort. The besieged inhabitants of the citadel knew that in a few days it would fall to the fathers of the conquering dynasty (*daulat-i qāhira*). Khaḷīl Beg and 'Alī Beg, the sons of Ṣūfi Khaḷīl Maūṣīlū, who had close relations with Zulfiqār, cut off his head, opened the gates, received the honour of prostration before the Shāh and threw the head under the hooves of His Highness's charger. The besieged were freed from the burden of the siege and received the honour of prostration before the Shāh. I pardoned those who were guilty of sedition and who had incited the perfidious

Zulfiqār, and issued a letter granting amnesty to the residents and the besieged of the citadel. I entrusted the government of that auspicious province to the governor Khalifat al-Khulafā Muḥammad Khān Sharaf al-Dīn Oġlū Tekkelū, and then crossed the river Tigris on a pilgrimage to the heavenly holy shrines of Kāzimīa and Javāḍīa, which are the threshold of compassion and prayer, and was honoured with the good fortune of pilgrimage to the magnanimous Imām (*Imāmī al-hamāmin*) my ancestor Amir al-Mu'minīn ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, [51a(49a)] the Sayyid of the martyrs Ḥusain b. ʿAlī, His Holiness Imām Ḥasan ʿAskarī, the place of disappearance of the commander (*ṣāhib-i amr*) Muḥammad Mihdī, peace be upon him, and the eminent men who were buried in Baghdād, Najaf, Karblā and Samarā.

The Arab nomads of the Arab Iraq arrived with gifts and pious donations (*nuzūrāt*) and received the honour of prostration before the Shāh. The whole of Arab Iraq, the dependencies and the annexations came under the control of Khalifat al-Khulafā Muḥammad Khān, the governor-general and the vicegerent of the Caliphs of Baghdād, and thus enjoyed a prosperity¹⁶³ greater than the time of the occupation and government (*taulīyat*) of my father His Highness, whose abode is with ʿAlī. And that sacred land was cleansed of the thorn of undeserving enemies.

[Ḥusain Khān Ukhī Shāmlū] should rejoice at such joyous tidings and in gratitude for this excellent victory he should prostrate in praise of God and distribute gifts and alms amongst the needy and the devotees, opening the doors of happiness and joy to all subjects.¹⁶⁴ [Ḥusain Khān Shāmlū] should not neglect the affairs of the government and report to me the events and conditions in that province, and should not be oblivious to ʿUbayd Khān the deaf's deceit and treachery, he who receives the blows of the good fortune of our unrivalled august deputies and who as long as he lives will not abandon the ambition of conquering Khurāsān.

¹⁶³ Reading of this word is uncertain.

¹⁶⁴ Part of the sentence is illegible and this is an abridged translation.

For the occasion of this excellent victory the sum of three hundred Iraqi tumans has been paid from our own private treasury (*khāṣṣ-i khud*) to [our] trusted companion ‘Alī Beg Qaljihī Oġlū Zu’l-Qadr in order to make his utmost effort in celebrating.

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51b (49b)] After securing the victory of Iraq and despatch of letters of victory to the Protected Dominions (*mamālik-i maḥrūsa*), Shāh Ṭahmāsp returned to Qazvīn for winter camp. News arrived that after the departure of His Highness from Khurāsān, ‘Ubayd Khān had returned to the sacred Mashhad and captured the whole of Khurāsān. The account of this will be related. To investigate the Uzbek domination of Khurāsān, Shāh Ṭahmāsp sent a special envoy to this province. His Highness also ordained that the victorious troops should return to their own lands for winter and prepare for an expedition to Khurāsān.

[51b(49b)] The Year of the Pig (*tangūz īl*), 936 / 1529-30, which was the sixth year of [His Majesty's] Reign.

The world- enlightening Naurūz illuminated the world with splendour and verdure. Those upon the bed of repose were awakened from indolent sleep. And [Naurūz] reminded the cold world of youth and adorned the earth with flowers and colourful plants. The intoxicated and the lovers of pleasure indulged in drinking and availed themselves of the water's edge and the garden green.

His Highness, may he rest in paradise, ordered the devoted followers to celebrate Naurūz. As was customary (*bi qānūn i sābiq*) [the Shāh] bestowed favours upon the nobility and the common people alike, satisfying their every wish. At the end of the festivities Shāh Ṭahmāsp turned his attention to the general affairs of the State and sat upon the royal throne.

‘Ubayd Khān, the deaf, came to Khurāsān for a fifth time and captured [the province]. Ḥusain Khān Shāmlū fled.

After the Naurūz celebration, the envoy who had been commissioned to investigate the Uzbek invasion of Khurāsān, returned and reported that Sevinjūk Muḥammad

Khān the son of Shaybanī Khān,¹⁶⁵ with ʿAbdʿl ʿAzīz Sulṭān and six thousand Uzbeks had marched towards the sacred Mashhad.

[52a(50a)] Aḥmad Sulṭān Afshār with Yaʿqūb Sulṭān Qājār and Malik Beg Khuʿiy who had been appointed to defend Mashhad and assist Aghzīvār Sulṭān Shāmlū¹⁶⁶, the governor of Mashhad, had assembled in Mashhad and had fought the Uzbek Khāns. During the two months of conflict, none of the Amirs showed any sign of weakness. The governors of Khurāsān did not receive any assistance from Shāh Ṭahmāsp who at this time was engaged in the campaign for Baghdād. ʿUbayd Khān with a large army had encircled the sacred Mashhad. The sound of their large trumpet (*kurnāy*) distressed the exalted troops. Fortification (*ḥiṣār*) of the sacred Mashhad had not yet been completed. So the chiefs were unable to protect the inhabitants until the arrival of reinforcement. ʿUbayd Khān had engaged the entire Uzbek army in the conquest of Mashhad and he too was prepared for war. The musketeers (*tufangchīyān*) of Khurāsān and the young Qizilbāsh fought courageously and in a manner most worthy of their army. They displayed manliness and bravery since they knew that ʿUbayd Khān had arrived with a large army intent on vengeance, and they would be unable to defend the city against this superior army with only barricades (*kuchaband*). The army of Transoxiana captured the barricades and the troops of Khurāsān became fearful of this war and did not deem it prudent to continue to fight. Early one night Aḥmad Sulṭān, Aghzīvār Sulṭān, Yaʿqūb Beg, and Malik Beg together with the Qizilbāsh troops left the city. ʿUbayd Khān entered the city with a large army. Nearly three hundred troops were martyred by the Uzbek army. ʿUbayd Khān left one of his militia in charge of the sacred Mashhad and himself set out to capture Harat.

¹⁶⁵ "Sevinjūk Muḥammad Khān the son of ʿUbayd Khān" as in *Afzal* is an error. Sevinjūk Muḥammad was in fact the son of Shaibāni Khān and the cousin of ʿUbayd Khān. ʿAbdʿl ʿAzīz Sulṭān was ʿUbayd Khān's son.

¹⁶⁶ "Aghzīvār Sulṭān Rūmlū" in *Afzal* is an error.

[52b (50b)] Ḥusain Khān and his experienced commanders knew the food supplies of the citadel were insufficient and that in the event of a siege, war and captivity of the noble Prince Sām Mīrzā would not be advisable. They therefore inclined to peace. With the approval of Khvāja Ishāq Siāvushānī, an agreement was reached that ‘Ubayd Khān would camp several stages away and would grant the troops safe conduct to leave with their wives, children and their belongings.¹⁶⁷ ‘Ubayd Khān honoured this agreement and camped several stages away, while Ḥusain Khān and all the troops left Harat for Sistān.

‘Ubayd Khān and his army entered the city and oppressed the residents of Harat. Where the Uzbeks suspected Shī‘ism and heresy, they destroyed homes and exacted fines from the respected people whom they suspected of having wealth. Many Sunnīs were accused of being Shī‘ites and were persecuted for the wealth they possessed. Maulānā Nujūmī Haravī has written in his History of Harat (*Tārīkh-i Harat*) that those who harboured an enmity against Maulānā Hilālī seized this verse from "The King and the Beggar" :

"Oh you master of the faithful, the least faithful of the companions"

The author of *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* has written that opponents told ‘Ubayd Khān that Maulānā Hilālī had written a quatrain in his criticism. The first verse (*bait*) of which is :

How long will you plunder and despoil Khurāsān. ¹⁶⁸
You plunder and usurp the livelihood of orphans. I am a
heathen if you are a Muslim.

Although Maulānā Hilālī had also composed an eulogy (*qaṣīda*) in [‘Ubayd Khān's] praise, which is "Khurāsān is the heart of the earth and ‘Ubayd Khān its life", ‘Ubayd Khān, in an act of inhumanity, ordered Maulānā to be executed in the market place (*chihār-sūq*) of Harat.[53a(51a)] His compositions include *ghazalīyāt*, The King and the Beggar, Lailī and Majnūn, and "The Attributes of Lovers" (*ṣifāt-i ‘āshiqān*).

¹⁶⁷ See the commentary "Sām Mīrzā and the surrender of Harat".

¹⁶⁸ This first verse is missing from the main text and is found in a note on the margin, probably written in a different hand.

Ḥusain Khān, the chiefs, and the governors, who were the representatives of the Shadow of God in Khurāsān, left their districts (*vilayāt*) for Irāq and Fārs. As Ḥusain Khān approached Sistān, Malik Maḥmud Kiyānī¹⁶⁹, the Vālī of Sistān, greeted him with utmost sincerity and loyalty. The inhabitants of Zarah Sistānī had rebelled against Malik Sulṭān Maḥmūd and had engaged in highway robbery. Ḥusain Khān killed many of them and captured much booty. He then went to the region of Kīj va Makrān. Malik Dīnār, the governor of that province (*vilāyat*) on whose signet ring this verse was inscribed, welcomed Ḥusain Khān and offered his services :

Had not the almighty had so many rulers, he would not have granted Kīj va Makrān so cheaply for a dīnār.

Ḥusain Khān at the service of Sām Mīrzā, the progeny of the *dudmān-i ištifā va irtizā*, departed for Shīrāz and relinquished his position as the governor of Harat and the governor-general of Khurāsān. ‘Ubayd Khān embarked on the conquest of the whole of Khurāsān with absolute power and neglected the mighty power of the victorious warriors of the faith.

**Shāh Ṭahmāsp, the lion heart and the destroyer of the enemy,
turned his attention to Khurāsān. ‘Ubayd Khān fled to Turkistān.
The correspondence between them. The appointment of Bahrām
Mīrzā to the governorship of Khurāsān and Ghāzī Khān Tekkelū as
his tutor (*lala*). The desecration of the tomb of Maulānā Jāmī at
Harat. [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] departed for Iṣfāhān and appointed Khvāja
Ni‘mat Naylarī¹⁷⁰ to the Vizārat of Iṣfāhān. Winter camp in Iṣfāhān.**

When His Highness the Refuge of Caliphate and the Shadow of God Shāh Ṭahmāsp received the news of the Uzbek conquest of Khurāsān, he fearlessly determined to punish ‘Ubayd Khān. The Shāh ordered the chiefs (*umarā*) and the Khāns to prepare

¹⁶⁹ "Kiyānī" is probably an error since Malik Maḥmud is not referred to by that name in any other source. In *Aḥsan*, p. 221, he is identified as Malik Sulṭān Maḥmud and in *TAAA*, p. 1170, as Malik Maḥmud Sistānī. See the commentary for his biography.

¹⁷⁰ Reading uncertain. No reference to this individual can be found in any other source.

an expedition to Khurāsān to teach ‘Ubayd Khān a lesson so that he would never again aspire to capture the province. At an auspicious hour, the Vicegerent (*amir al-umarā*) Chuha Sulṭān pitched the royal tent of felicity and the portico of glory from the capital city of Qazvin towards Khurāsān. He also warned that those chiefs and governors who failed to be present at the plain (*chaman*) of Baṣṭām, on Friday 25th Shavvāl/ 23 June, would be punished by [royal] wrath. The offending chiefs, the standing corps of royal troops and the victorious troops would be punished. Chuha Sulṭān himself, on the auspicious day of ‘*id* of Ramadān which is the glory of the month of Shavvāl, left the capital Qazvin on the campaign for Khurāsān.

On the appointed day of the 25th Shavvāl the royal party arrived in the plains of Baṣṭām, and the victorious chiefs, the Khāns, the centurions, the standing corps of royal troops, the ghulāms, and the troops received the honour of prostration before the Shāh, each received royal favours. For five days they remained in Baṣṭām to review the victorious troops which according to the military recording officer (*lashkar-navīs-i khāṣṣ*) numbered seventy thousand young fighters, the *ṣūfis va irādat*¹⁷¹ not included.¹⁷² This military review created tumult and confusion in Turkistān and alarmed the ignorant Uzbek Khāns. On the first day of Ziqā‘da 936 / 27 June 1530 the royal army left the plain of Baṣṭām¹⁷³ for Sabzivār.

Upon hearing the news of the approach of His Highness, the governors of Sabzivār, Nishāpūr, and the sacred Mashhad, unable to resist the victorious army, evacuated their domains (*vilāyat*) to join ‘Ubayd Khān in Herat and to inform him of the [Shāh's] imminent arrival. ‘Ubayd Khān too was unable to hold the citadel and also found the residents of Herat not united with him. He therefore left Harat for

¹⁷¹ "*ṣūfis va irādat*" is possibly a reference to the tribal non-military and irregular troops. These were the members of the Ṣūfī orders, and the Shāhsevan. Fazlī himself mustered an army comprising the regular troops (*mulūzimān-i muqarrar*), the Ṣūfis and the Shāhsevan during one campaign to Georgia, *Afzal III*, 356a. See also the commentary "The military review at Baṣṭām".

¹⁷² For the details of this important military review see the commentary "The military review at Baṣṭām".

¹⁷³ "Plain of Sulṭāniyya" as in the manuscript must be an error since Sulṭāniyya is situated to the West of Qazvin on the road to Āzarbāyjān.

Merv.¹⁷⁴ Shāh Ṭahmāsp entered the sacred Mashhad for the honour of pilgrimage to the Sultān of Khurāsān.

[54a (52a)] After his departure from Harat, ‘Ubayd Khān sent envoys to the Sultāns of Turkistān to seek help. His Highness, after pilgrimage to the Shāh of Khurāsān and the *qibla* of the Shī‘ites, left Mashhad for Merv-i Shāhijān to admonish ‘Ubayd Khān. On the outskirts of Sarakhs, Mīr Ḥusain Khān declared his allegiance to the Shāh. Shāh Ṭahmāsp praised him for his courage in resistance to ‘Ubayd Khān, which had prevented the fortress of Sarakhs and its dependencies from falling to the Uzbeks, and bestowed royal favours upon him.

The Sultāns of Turkistān who had gathered in Merv-i Shāhijān received the news of the assembly of the mighty Qizilbāsh army. Abū Sa‘īd Khān who at this time was the Pādishāh of all Turkistān, told ‘Ubayd Khān that several times we have joined forces and fought the Qizilbāsh army and suffered defeats with casualties on both sides. The pillars of our state gained nothing from it but loss and injury. This time we hear that an army of seventy thousand strong, without the army of the *Ṣūfis and irādat*, has been mustered in Sultāniyya,¹⁷⁵ and more recruits have joined the army in Khurāsān. This brings the total to ninety thousand men. In this case, another war is not in our interest. It would be wise to be content with your own kingdom and abandon all ambitions of conquering Khurāsān, since from now on, no assistance will be forthcoming from Turkistān. [54b (52b)] ‘Ubayd Khān succumbed and left Merv for Bukhārā, and the Sultāns of Turkistān too returned to their lands.

His Highness was overjoyed to hear the news that the Sultāns of Turkistān were powerless and that ‘Ubayd Khān had escaped. [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] sent ‘Alī Beg Qūrchī Ustājilū to deliver a letter to ‘Ubayd Khān.

¹⁷⁴ ‘Ubayd Khān left Harat on the 21st Zu‘-hijja.

¹⁷⁵ Sultāniyya is probably an error for Baṣtām.

The Letter from His Majesty Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī to

‘Ubayd Khān Chingīzī

Your Excellency the throne of Caliphate, the most noble of noble Sultāns, the most praiseworthy of the Sultāns ‘Ubayd Khān, we are conveying our sincere benediction. It is as evident to all the intelligent humans as the midday sun that since the day when mankind said "yes" to the call of God "Am I not your Lord?", the world has never been without a *valī* or a prophet and kingship has been the prerogative of our great ancestors. Every so often, according to the circumstances of the time, the followers of Marvān and Yazīd (*jamā‘at-i marvānīyya va yazīdīyya*) have predominated over the Infallible Imāms. The Imāms, however, did not pursue power or domination nor did they strive for equality with that sect lest they bear the dishonour of collaboration. God forbid that for reasons of impotence and weakness they should belong to that wretched crowd. Praise be to God, during all this time that sapling the exalted Solomon my father grew from the pleasant meadow of the dynasty of prophecy and divinely-ordained authority. And the world- enlightening and the enemy- scorching beacon of the sovereign dynasty of *Sīyyādat* has come to light. [55 a (53a)] His exalted and illustrious head is crowned with that joyous crown.

"Gone the days when the Arab taunted the Persian. It is now
the turn of those laudable men".

Divine favour befriended him and, in a short time, he ascended the ladder of power and glory and captured the provinces of Iraq, Fārs, Kermān, Āzarbāyjān, Khurāsān, *dār al-marz* [Gīlān], Arabistān, Shīrvān, Shakkī, and Georgia.

When Muḥammad Khān Shaybānī, tempted by evil, expelled the sons of the late Sultān Ḥusain Mīrzā from their old and hereditary kingdoms they entered the service of my father. For a long time Muḥammad Khān enjoyed great power in Khurāsān, divided the regions of Khurāsān among his *umarā*, and with confidence resided in Harat, until my father with his precious soul turned his attention to that region. He

captured and killed [Muḥammad Khān Shaybānī] and conquered the whole of Khurāsān.

For several years the deputies of that Majesty acted according to Muḥammadan justice.¹⁷⁶ The chief (*simā*) Durmīsh Khān who had been appointed to Khurāsān, [55b (53b)] strived to spread justice and eradicate heresy so that the people of Khurāsān, night and day, privately and publicly, prayed in his support. When Durmīsh Khān died and you found Khurāsān unprotected, you stretched the hand of transgression and tyranny and plundered the people of Khurāsān. This news deeply troubled our noble disposition and we, with a group of our esteemed companions, immediately travelled to Khurāsān. At Zirābād, a district of Jām, we met and fought you and the Sulṭāns of Turkistān and Transoxiana. Despite the small number of the victorious troops, you witnessed what the triumphant warriors of the faith achieved with divine will. And as this proverb "remaining in one place is an impossibility" confirms you fled and did not even have a chance to look back. This fact is known to you and the world and does not need to be repeated. You are very ignorant of the affairs of kingship and you have befriended this world which, as this proverb also conveys "Love of this world is the source of all errors", is the chief of all evils. You have renounced all honour and principles thus you have returned to Khurāsān after the wounds of the mace and the sword of the exalted *ghāzis* had healed and continued the tradition of your ancestors and plundered the subjects of the most Holy God. This is against Islam. [56a (54a)]¹⁷⁷ One who has breathed the scent of Islam never sends *yurtāval*¹⁷⁸ to the corners of the world. Wickedness, corruption and injustice are your inheritance, and it is the work of our august deputies to remove the wicked and suppress the corrupt. With divine favour and the guidance of the most exalted God and now that fortune has set foot in the stirrup of victory, I will advance and will turn the rein of the horse of felicity from the capital Qazvīn towards

¹⁷⁶ Reading uncertain.

¹⁷⁷ A verse is inserted at this point.

¹⁷⁸ Meaning is unclear.

Khurāsān. Once the victorious troops reach the region of Bastām, you and the few men in your service will flee, taking refuge in Khitā and Khitan.

The throne of Khurāsān belongs to my father [Shāh Ism‘āil] and he is a descendant of Solomon [*Sulaymān*].

The throne of the Queen of Sheba (*Bilqīs*) is not for demons, the
only man for that throne is Solomon.

Truly if this time as in the past you escape and do not enter the arena of manliness, inevitably our royal banners will soon unfurl in Samarqand and Bukhārā, subjugating their people ignominiously. I will then turn to conquer Khitā and Khitan. If you want to free yourself from the clutches of the ferocious warriors of the faith, whose ferocity resembles Bahrām's (*Bahrām saulat*), and govern Khurāsān, it is fitting that you renounce the path of error and distinguish the truth from falsehood, dismiss the conduct of your ancestors, and profess to Twelver Shī‘ism. [56b(54b)] You and we will be of one faith and could therefore meet.

That the religion of the Infallible Imams is the true religion is evident and if sometimes you openly profess the truest of religions, it will not be reprehensible. The ‘*ulamā* and the learned scholars (*fuḏalā-i ṣāhib-i tadqīq*) should be sent towards this path of reason so that our claim could be proved to them. Another proof of the truth of the religion of the Twelve Imāms is that it can not be aborted : our victory over you was achieved by a small and outnumbered Qizilbāsh force. Our victory would have been impossible without the sanctity of the infallible Imāms and the intervention of divine authority.

O you ill-starred [man], you will be vilified for your enmity
towards ‘Alī.

God's fury will repel any hatred you may harbour towards Ḥaydar.

You stretched a hand to Yazīd but see what the hand of the
divinely ordained authority (*vilāyat*) can do.

God willing, you will soon meet your punishment.¹⁷⁹ The bearer of this letter ‘Alī Beg Qūrchī Ustājīlū will relate the additional matters in the special assembly. I plead with you not to detain him and grant him permission to leave.

va-salam

‘Ubayd Khān's reply to His Majesty Shāh Ṭahmāsp

The eminent letter of the refuge of authority, the bearer of justice, acquirer of majesty the noble Ṭahmāsp Mīrzā was received at an auspicious time and an excellent hour. The statements, which were repeatedly asserted, were noted. [57a (55a)] The destruction of Khurāsān, which has been caused by military campaigns on both sides, is a fact. Our intention is that the religion of the Prophet and the rightly guided Caliphs, which has been established in the world, should not change. If as a consequence of the corruption of the age a wrong is done to the religion and the people of the Prophet, then it is incumbent upon us to fight it where possible and to the best of our ability. From the time when the martyred fortunate Khān¹⁸⁰ drank from the chalice of destiny, the people of Khurāsān have been enslaved by the followers of heresy and error, and for a long time either voluntarily or by compulsion they have professed to heresy and Shī‘ism (*tashayūf*). It has become their innate attribute and for this reason they do not obey and accompany the army of Islam as they should. For that reason they face depravity. Let it be known what favours have been bestowed upon those sincere devotees who follow the army of Islam. And the injustice done to those who sow the seeds of discord and disobey Islam, will not be injustice.

"The injustices of this world, are all justice in the guise of injustice".

Otherwise, our intention is not and will not be anything other than to spread justice and to ensure the prosperity of Islam and cultivation of the country. We hope to attain what our intention merits. Also you have written that despite the defeat

¹⁷⁹ Reading is uncertain.

¹⁸⁰. This is a reference to Muḥammad Khān Shaybānī who was killed in a battle with Shah Isma‘īl on the 26th of Sha‘bān 916 A.H.

inflicted upon us last year, we have aspired to govern Khurāsān again. You know well how the glory of Islam predominated over your army.¹⁸¹

Amidst the dust after the defeat of your army, the pious warriors of the faith began to seize your possessions, unaware that a division [of the Şafavid army] was hidden in the mist. This was destiny and in military affairs such accidents do not bring dishonour. After a *dandān*¹⁸² (?) of His Holiness the Refuge of Prophecy was martyred in the battle of *Uḥud*¹⁸³, the army of Islam gained many victories. If the followers of that majesty were united with him, future victories would not be a dishonour.

The sailors of the sea of Islam have sailed the ship of desire (*shauq*) in the deep sea of Holy War in search of the pearl of truth (*ṣidq*) and they will not rest until they have seized the royal pearl. And because of this temporary set back they will not withdraw from the field of courage and manliness. Verse:

Until we have trapped that rare gem, we will not go ashore.

If on that occasion the army of Islam was admonished, we hope this time divine favour will reverse [the past defeats]. Verse:

Do not despair, Joseph will return to Canaan and one day the abode
of melancholy will be paradise.

The Almighty God has admonished the army of Islam in this manner several times before. Another of our couplets reads:

I will capture Harī [Harat] by the grace of God and surrender
Shām and Tabriz with an army.

¹⁸¹ A verse attributed to Firdausī has been inserted at this point.

¹⁸² It is not clear what is intended by the word "tooth" (*dandān*). This also agrees with Navā'ī's edition of this letter, 'Abd al-Ḥusain Navā'ī, *Shāh Ṭahmāsp Şafavī, majmū'a-i asnād-i tārikhī hamrah bā yāddashthā-i tafṣilī*, (Tehran, 1368), p. 29 and note 2.

¹⁸³ The Battle of Uḥud, 3 A.H./625 A.D., fought near Medina, was the only time that the Quraysh achieved victory against the Prophet Muḥammad.

We always think in accordance with this verse "*alamūr marhūnat bā vaqātihā*". [58a (56a)] As the eternal munificence [God] assists the army of Islam we expect to achieve greater [victories]. Another couplet writes :¹⁸⁴

I am the battle-hardened lion of lions, and the assault of
another lion will not move me.

Meaning that although [we] had captured the capital Harat we abandoned it to haste back to Merv, is against the meaning of this verse. If you do not know, ask those who are informed how at a time when the unbelievers prevailed the Prophet Muḥammad immigrated from Mecca to Medina. The *muhājirūn*¹⁸⁵ and the *anṣār*¹⁸⁶ first appeared at that time. We did not consider it prudent to remain in Harat for it would not be in the interest of the welfare of the believers and the army of Islam. For this reason we left.

It has been said:

Suddenly, by an act of fate, the wise man fled from calamity,
The ignorant taunted that from fate the wise man fled.
If seeking protection for a cause is not admissible, then why did the
man flee from Mecca to Yathrib (Medina).

And His Holiness Amir al-Mu'minīn 'Alī has said ?.¹⁸⁷ He himself fled in the battle of Uḥud, and thereafter great victories were achieved. If I had not emigrated (*hijrat nimī kardam*), the inhabitants of that city would not have had the strength to withstand [the war] and the subjects would have been extirpated. Praise be to God, this emigration (*hijrat*) is a tradition, and in this matter anyone who taunts us taunts the Prophet Muḥammad.

You also wrote that at the time of Durmīsh Khān, who was one of your Amirs, he governed the city in a manner that people forgot the time of the late Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā. But at the time of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā, the schools, the Ṣūfī convents (*khaniqāh*), the places of worship (*ma'ābid*) and the mosques had not been so

¹⁸⁴ Navā'i's version writes " They/you had written".

¹⁸⁵ Those who fled with Muḥammad to Medina.

¹⁸⁶ Muḥammad's supporters in Medina.

¹⁸⁷ An unidentified Quranic quotation.

dishonoured as to be used [58b(56b)] as stables for donkeys and horses, their green (*zangār*) tiles destroyed and the majority of mosques made into places of debauchery and wine drinking. When we entered the city, we undertook to repair the mosques, the places of worship and the Ṣūfī convents of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā and the rest of the charitable buildings and we appointed teachers (*muddaris*) and religious students (*talaba*). The government of Durmīsh Khān becomes clear from this.

You also wrote "Beware of the tempest of the sigh of the oppressed".

Dear one, it is known to God that we have never consented and it has never been our intention or our action that harm should come to any believer from our troops. And if by reason of negligence and error, our army committed such acts, according to this divine verse "no soul shall bear another's burden"¹⁸⁸ I shall be vindicated. We will be held responsible if only after knowledge of such wrongdoing we do not redress the matter.

You also wrote " Anyone who opposed the house of 'Alī diminished".

Any believer and Muslim who hopes for eternal salvation does not lose the tradition (*sunnat*) of the great companions (*aṣḥāb-i kibār*) of the Prophet and His Holiness Murtaẓā 'Alī is one of these grandees. To oppose his descendants is irreligious and far from Islam. But we have disputes with those people who have abandoned the religion and the creed of their fathers and have followed heresy and error and have dismissed the path of their ancestors and adopted heresy and Shī'ism.

Although they know that to curse the highest religious authorities (*shaykhīn*) in Islam is blasphemy, they have made this blasphemy their habit and claim descent from His Majesty ['Alī]. In accordance with this divine verse "he was no kinsman of yours",¹⁸⁹ His Holiness Murtaẓā 'Alī abhors such progeny. Verse:

An offspring is good who is worthy of his father; an unworthy heir
is a waste.

¹⁸⁸ The Quran, *surah* al-An'ām, verse 164.

¹⁸⁹ The Quran, *surah* Hud, verse 46.

A mean and impious son is his father's suffering and his own
tribulation.

[59a(57a)] The bringer of sure news (*mukhbir-i ṣādiq*) has related in the Quran "And when the Trumpet is sounded on that day their ties of kindred shall be broken nor shall they ask help of one another".¹⁹⁰ On the day of judgement, you shall therefore be judged by your deeds and not by your descent.

Furthermore, you claim descent from Murtaẓā ʿAlī. You are either a progeny of that great man or not. If you are not, why do you make such claim? The Prophet has said that anyone who falsifies descent will not see the paradise. And if you are a descendant of Murtaẓā ʿAlī, which grave did that Holiness desecrate and whose body did he burn, and whose beard did he shave and in whose ear did he cast a ring of servitude and make the Caliph of Islam. And which licentious villain, who never prayed in his life, did he appoint as *tabarrāʿī* and commanded him to prostrate before him. His Holiness the Refuge of Prophecy has said that if prostration before anyone other than Almighty God was permissible, we would instruct women to prostrate before their husbands. It was ascertained that this was not permissible and that it would be blasphemy. Yet your order (*silsila*) is replete with such acts and despite such shamelessness and baseness you preach to us.¹⁹¹ His Majesty Amir al-Muʾminīn ʿAlī was so magnanimous that he swore allegiance to the great companions, prayed behind them and pledged loyalty. And after those Majesties he became the true Caliph for a time. If he thought that those Majesties were not the true Caliphs, why did he bury them next to the Prophet, and why did he not desecrate their graves? It was clear that they were the true Caliphs and he did not oppose them. It is universally known that Murtaẓā ʿAlī was the follower of the path of the Prophet and the great companions and never opposed them.

And the late Shaykh Ṣafī your great father was a pious man who observed the tradition (*sunnat va jamāʿat*). We are astounded that you follow neither the path of

¹⁹⁰ The Quran, *surah* al-Muʾminīn, verse 101.

¹⁹¹ This is followed by a verse but it is different from Navāʿī's version.

His Majesty Amir al-Mu'minīn 'Alī nor the path of your great father. So what is the proof of descent from those Majesties?

A lion cub resembles a lion, tell us how you bear a resemblance to
the Prophet.

Doubtless anyone who for worldly desires does not follow the path of that honourable man and falls prey to heresy and error should be a warning to us. We should bear in mind this divine verse "Those whose endeavours in this world are misguided and yet think that what they do is right".¹⁹²

We stopped in Merv-i Shāhijān to wait for His Majesty the Khāqān Solomon Kūjkūnǰī Khān and all the Khāns of Transoxiana, Samarqand, Tāshkand, Turkistān, Andijān, Hiṣār Shādmān, Balkh, Bukhārā, and Shabarghān and their large armies to arrive. They sent many letters saying that they would soon be honoured by the glory of holy war and besought me to postpone the war until the arrival of the victorious troops so that they would not be deprived of such victory. During this time the Khāqāns have gathered here,¹⁹³ and by Divine Providence one by one we embark on holy war and martyrdom, God willing. The grandees of religion and the lords of the true faith have said the following in respect of those who oppose the law of the Prophet and commit heresy and error. Verse:

Anyone whose perfidy violates the faith, and he who does not pay
alms.

He will perpetrate injustice and will be the oppressor of Uḥud.¹⁹⁴

[60a (58a)] When you followed the path of those Majesties, we had no disputes with you. Now that you have deviated from the true path it is incumbent upon us to eliminate you.

If on my part there is always prejudice against you, it is not
because of worldly ambitions. It is inspired by religion.

val-salam ¹⁹⁵

¹⁹² The Quran, *surah* al-Kahf, verse 104.

¹⁹³ This part of the sentence is scored over.

¹⁹⁴ Reading uncertain.

¹⁹⁵ In Navā'ī's edition of this letter, this is followed by verse 19 of *sūrah* of al-Zumar.

After Shāh Ṭahmāsp sent the harsh letter to ‘Ubayd Khān, he spent a few days travelling and hunting in Sarakhs and the environs of Jām, waiting for the return of ‘Alī Beg Qūrchī Ustājīlū and a reply from ‘Ubayd Khān. Ṣālih Beg Bahādur Uzbek and ‘Alī Beg brought the reply, as related above, and received the honour of prostration before the Shāh. Following his arrival news arrived that ‘Ubayd Khān had left Merv for Bukhārā.

His Majesty bestowed numerous favours upon Ṣālih Beg Bahādur and conferred on him rewards and a robe of honour. [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] wrote the reply to ‘Ubayd Khān's letter and granted Ṣālih Bahādur permission to leave. He himself, with peace of mind, set out for the capital Harat.

Shāh Ṭahmāsp's reply to ‘Ubayd Khān

The astonishing letter, written by the wanderers in the desert of error and ignorance and penned by the idolatrous pen of those lost in the valleys of insolence and deception, was received by some of our secretaries and was brought to our noble attention.

First, on the subject that the purpose of coming to Khurāsān is to administer justice [60b] and eradicate heresy, let it be known that that unruly crowd, by the arrival of the malice and the impurity of their existence, have disturbed and defiled the pure cities and regions of Khurāsān and by their base efforts they have destroyed the towns and have tortured the people. They have spilled blood and violated the body and honour of the children and women of the followers of the creed of the holy war and the law of the Prophet. And they have done nothing except plunder the possessions and deceive the followers of the true religion and the straight path of the chief of the Apostles and the Infallible Imāms, may our prayers be upon them.¹⁹⁶

Often that abominable group and that undignified tribe mistakes despoiling the believers for the revival of the religion of the chief of the Apostles and the last of the Prophets. And they regard the unjust shedding of blood as being the supreme deed

¹⁹⁶ A verse follows this.

and believe it to be the ultimate virtue and in the interest of the people of the bringer of sure news (*mukhbir-i šadiq*). All have deviated from the true religion and the right path and because of their extreme ignorance and insolence they consider false doctrines and corrupt desires to be Muḥammadan laws and articles of the creed of ʿAlī. "It is they who are the fools, if they but knew it!"¹⁹⁷ Verse :¹⁹⁸

You are so ignorant that you can not distinguish aberration from
guidance to the path of salvation.¹⁹⁹
God knows that the sacrilege of the idolaters is a hundred times
better than your Islam.

[61a (59a)] Although you are endowed with thousands of faults and vices and afflicted with as many more illnesses and maladies, and are seized by delusions and corrupt thoughts with extreme ignorance and corruption you have taken it upon yourself to guide and direct the faithful and the people of the provinces. And with vain and absurd words and preposterous talk you have thrown the cowl of belief of the weak and the ignorant into the terrible whirlpool of blasphemy, infidelity and transgression. "But they deceive none save themselves, though they may not perceive it. There is sickness in their hearts which God has aggravated: they shall be sternly punished for the lies they tell."²⁰⁰

You have corrupt and insincere intentions and you are filled with pride. Your base efforts are known to corrupt the state and the faith, and your sinister mind is satisfied with tyranny and injustice. Your senses of hearing and sight are impaired and you cannot hear the news or see. Although the victorious warriors of the faith, who act justly and who are impetuous like ʿAlī, stood fast and the lion-hunting warriors echoed the sound of the resplendent miracles in your ears with the blade of their gem-scattering swords, you did not repent and remained lost in the abyss of

¹⁹⁷ The Quran, *surah* al-Baqara, verse 12.

¹⁹⁸ This verse is different from Navāʿī's edited version. Navāʿī, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

¹⁹⁹ The next couplet is only partially written. It is therefore not translated.

²⁰⁰ The Quran, *surah* al-Baqara, verse 9.

blasphemy and error.²⁰¹ [61b] Do not be exultant since this time the grace of the Lord, may He be glorified and exalted, and the assistance of the spirit of the chief of the Apostles have conspired, and the victorious army which at the time of offensive advances beyond heaven and at times it is more numerous than the stars and the planets with the sparks of their dazzling swords will destroy that wretched crowd, who are puffed with pride and whose fortune is asleep in a bed of ignorance. Verse:

The earth will move as I move, heaven will rise as I rise.
As my army mount their horses, they will be as numerous as the
desert sand.
On the day of the battle we shall destroy the formidable enemy.
In the hour of the battle we shall shed the blood of the enemy.²⁰²

If only a superficial victory is intended, it is evident to the young and the old in every quarter of the world that in battle you did not have the strength to resist and fight. In the face of the murderous offensive of the triumphant warriors of the faith you fled back to the farthest reaches of Turkistān. The objective of the army of Islam in that great holy war was to destroy the heretics and not to capture booty. It is therefore plausible that those noble and battle-hardened lion-hunters of the bush and the destroyers of the enemy ranks should leave some belongings to those dogs. A hemistich "His desire to throw this body in front of the dogs".

If the purpose of this ²⁰³ is to alarm the warriors of the faith and the heroes of the army of Islam [62a (60a)] then it is foolish and against reason. Presently the blow of [our] swords will send those cunning dogs to the depth of hell and they will be duly punished. With the help of fortune in this year the victorious troops will eliminate this unfortunate crowd on the battlefield so that there will remain no trace of them in the world until the day of resurrection.

²⁰¹ At this point a section of the letter appears to be lost. The missing section however can be found in Navā'ī's edition, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-9.

²⁰² The translation of this *miṣraʿ* is uncertain.

The author has inserted these two couplets in mid-sentence. For the ease of translation, they have been added to the end of the sentence.

²⁰³ Reading is uncertain but the translation conveys the overall meaning.

[You] erroneously claim that the flight to Merv was done in imitation of the Prophet. Prior to this claim your heresy led you to trace your obscure low descent to those luminous stars and the royal gem, the pious Sayyid, may our prayers be upon him. You have not yet suffered the consequence of that temerity that you interpret immigration (*hijrat*) as flight and flight as immigration. The infamous poet Maulānā Jāmī who is the subject of our criticism verifies this:

O you Abū Lahab, the just messenger, who is titled the Shāh of
Yathrib (Medina), despises you.
Among the Persians and the Arabs there is not an idolater, an
infidel or an oppressor like you.

My God lead you away from the path of ignorance and towards the path of truth.
May the love of the Infallible Imāms be the light of your dark path.²⁰⁴

[62b (60b)] After the conquest of Khurāsān once again His Majesty by divine will entered the capital Harat without war and was welcomed by the exalted sayyids and the eminent notables. [Shah Ṭahmāsp] went hunting and visited the gardens of Harat. [He] also went on a pilgrimage to the pure tombs and the sepulchures of the martyrs of that province, doing his utmost effort to put in order the financial and administrative affairs of Khurāsān and to console the distraught inhabitants. The officials reported to Shāh Ṭahmāsp that Maulānā Jāmī was a devout Sunnī and his poems harmed the public faith. His Highness ordained that anyone who was found reading the poems of the mystic of the age Maulānā Jāmī should be punished. [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] also ordered the mausoleum of Maulānā Jāmī, which was so tall that it reached the heaven, to be destroyed. The residents of Harat obediently and reluctantly destroyed Maulānā's mausoleum and carried away its material as sacred relics. After the tomb of that learned and prominent man had been totally destroyed His Highness himself rode to the site of the tomb of that talented man to burn Maulānā Jāmī's bones. That day Shāh Ṭahmāsp had worn a dark cloak which is the

²⁰⁴ Whereas Fazlī ends the letter here, Navā'ī's edition of this letter continues, Navā'ī *op. cit.* , pp. 40-44.

sign of the Kings' troubled mind. By chance and divine inspiration, the son of the family of the Lord of the Age (*khalaf-i dūdmān-i rasūl-i ākhar al-zamān*) asked his companions if they had with them Maulānā's book of poems. Qāzī Jahān Saifi Qazvīnī, the previous Grand Vazir, reported that he had a copy. His Highness ordered [Qāzī Jahān] to open it and find out what Jāmī said about himself and us. Once Qāzī Jahān opened Maulānā Jāmī's *ghazaliyāt*, this *ghazal* came :

That heavenly cloak on her delicate body, is like a stem of flower
draped in a water-lilly.
She appeared in the blue sky like a moon, her heavenly garb is thus
befitting.
At nights I burnt before her like a candle, I burnt from within but
she did not believe me.
A constant lover is he who at the home of the beloved does not turn
his face as the sword is drawn on him.
A glimpse of her and I lost my mind, faith and heart, Heaven save
my life if I see her again.
The world- conquering Shāh reaps the fruits of pleasure and respite
from his every kingdom.
Jāmī died of love and years have passed, but his ashes still exude
loyalty.

His Majesty, the Ḥusain like Pādishāh, was delighted to hear Maulānā's fine poems and remarked that Maulānā had not been without inner sincerity. Qāzī Jahān stated that the offending poems which express his Sunnī sympathies indicate that he practised dissimulation (*taqiyya*) and that there are no doubts about his [religious] beliefs. He then read this couplet from Maulānā's poems :

O Jāmī drink from the chalice of love of 'Alī,
As the apostate is unaware of this chalice.²⁰⁵

His Majesty applauded Qāzī Jahān and treated him kindly. [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] ordered Maulānā's mausoleum to be reconstructed and lifted the ban on reading his poems. After Maulānā's grave had been restored His Majesty asked Qāzī Jahān to take an

²⁰⁵ The text is damaged and the last word of this couplet is illegible. The translation however conveys the meaning.

augury [from Maulānā's poems] to see what he said about the restoration of his own grave. This *ghazal*, the last verse of which is as follows, appeared :

If Jāmī's grave was desecrated by the order of that angle-faced,
His name will live on even though his tomb is no longer.

His majesty was enchanted and repeated the couplet and endeavoured to patronise the scholars (*fuḏalā*) and the mystics (*‘urafā*). One day His Majesty was on a pilgrimage to the tomb of Pīr Anṣār, one of the disciples of *ḥaẓrat-i parvardigār*, and as he rode over the bridge of Ni‘matābād, a man seeking justice approached and recited this verse :

May you beloved never perish.
will you administer justice to me at this end of the bridge or
at the other?

[63b]The Shāh laughed and said "this end of the bridge" and granted the wish of that wretched [man]. After touring and hunting [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] entrusted the possession and government of Harat to the judicious, worthy and capable brother Prince Bahrām Mīrzā and appointed Ghāzī Khān Tekkelū tutor [of the Prince] and the governor-general of the province with absolute authority. [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] bestowed much favour on the Khāns and the notables of that province and departed for Persian Iraq. On the 16th Rabī‘ al-Avval 936/ 18 November 1529 the banner of departure unfurled towards Iraq and the residents of Harat were aggrieved by it. His Majesty travelled through the Lūt desert. His Majesty the Shadow of God crossed the desert with a large army and entered Iṣfāhān. The Ustājilū Amirs such as Muntashā Sulṭān, Qāzūq Sulṭān, Shāh Qulī Sulṭān received the honour of kissing the Shāh's feet [64a] and were honoured with much favour.

The Ṣadr Mīr Qavām al-Dīn Ḥusain Iṣfāhānī died and Amir Ghīyāth al-Dīn Manṣūr b. Amir Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad joined Amir Ni‘matullāh.

Kuchum Khān b. Abu'l Khayr Khān Chingīzī died at Samarqand, and his son Abū Sa‘īd succeeded him.

His Majesty spent the winter in the capital Işfāhān, bestowing many favours upon the exalted sayyids, and the notables of that province. His Majesty also appointed Naʿim al-Dīn Niʿmatullāh Nāylarī, who was known for his piety and honesty, Vazir of the crown lands (*khāliṣa*) of Işfāhān and engaged in leisure, touring and hunting in [the area]. His Majesty who was endowed with divine inspiration and the grace of the Lord, uttered this couplet :

"O Niʿmatullāh Nāylarī, you will be the Vazir of Işfāhān till death".

And for twenty two years until his death, he remained the Vazir of Işfāhān. After the death of Khvāja Niʿmatullāh his sons received many [royal] favours and were enlisted in the rank of the civil functionaries (*arbāb-i qalam*).

[Shāh Ṭahmāsp] engaged in prayer in the winter camp in Işfāhān and awaited spring.

The Commentary:

[f. 2] **Sarāb** is a town situated on the road between Tabriz and Ardabil. Mustaufī, the 14th century geographer, claimed that Sarāb lay three days march from Tabriz and two days from Ardabil.¹ There is some disagreement as to the exact district of Sarāb where Shāh Ismāʿīl died and Ṭahmāsp ascended the throne. Of the sources consulted only *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam Āra-i ʿAbbāsī* by Iskandar Beg Munshī also reports *Manqūṭā* a district of Sarāb to be where Ismāʿīl died. *Khulāṣat al-Tavārīkh* by Qāzī Aḥmad Qumī and *Tārīkh- i Jahān Ārā* by Qāzī Aḥmad Ghaffārī Qazvīnī name the district as "*Karīva-i ṣāyin*".² *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* by Ḥasan Rūmlū records "*Ṣāyin gadūkī*" of Sarāb.³ Neither *Manqūṭā* nor *Ṣāyin gadūkī* or *Karīva-i ṣāyin* can be traced. *Irān dar ruzigār- i Shāh Ismāʿīl va Shāh Ṭahmāsp* by Amir Maḥmūd b. Khvānd Amir states Shāh Ismāʿīl died in the summer camp of Ūjān which is situated to the south east of Tabriz and on the way between Tabriz and Mīyāna.⁴

[f.2] **Date of Shāh Ismāʿīl's death and the accession of Shāh Ṭahmāsp**

Afzal's recording of these dates is confused. One recording on folio 2 is inaccessible. The Turkī year given for this year is wrong and the chronogram cited on folio 3a yields the correct date but has been calculated incorrectly by the scribe/author.

A conservation tape covers the right margin of folio 2 which conceals the first one or two letters of the initial words of each line. Unfortunately the year of Ismāʿīl's death is also partly concealed. We cannot be certain whether 930/1523-4 or 931/1524-5 has been given as the date for his death but judging by the amount of text covered in

¹ Guy Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, (London, 1966), p.163.

² TAAA, p. 44. *Khulāṣa*, p. 153. *Tārīkh-i Jahān Ārā*, p. 281.

³ *Aḥsan*, p. 181. The word "*Ṣāyin*" probably refers to the settlements in Āzarbāyjān of a group of Turkomans who had immigrated from the Golden Horde and were the descendants of Batu, Juchi's son and Chingiz Khan's grandson, According to Barthold, Persian (Ṣafavid) historians identify the Turkomans who lived in the area between Gurgan and Atrak, as *Sayin Khān*, i.e. the Golden Horde (*Sayin Khān* was a nickname for Batu). V. V. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, trans. V. and T. Minorsky, vol. 3, (Leiden, 1962), p. 138.

⁴ *Iran dar Rūzigār*, p. 222. Le Strange, p. 163.

the other lines this is no more than one or two letters. It is reasonable to assume that the date given, in letters, is 930 A.H. and not 931. If this is indeed the case the hijrī date of Monday 18 Rajab 930 A.H. as rendered in *Afzal* agrees with the other sources.⁵

The corresponding Turkī year of *Yilān īl* [the year of the Snake] as recorded in *Afzal*, however, does not agree with *Khulāṣa* and *Tazkira-i Shāh Ṭahmāsp*, the only two sources which give the corresponding Turkī year of *Pīchī īl* or the year of the Ape. Further confusion arises on folio 3 where the author cites two chronograms "*jāy- i pidar girifty*" [You replaced your father] in a poem celebrating the accession of Shāh Ṭahmāsp and "*Khusraw-i dīn*" [The Champion of Religion] both of which yield the date 930 A.H. but the numerical calculation, inserted between two lines by possibly the same hand, in two places indicates "93 " and in one place indicates "931 A.H." It is not clear whether the author intended 93 to be 930 or 931. In any event the calculation 931 A.H. is incorrect. In the midst of such confusion and what appears to be scribal error we may take the chronograms to yield the most accurate date, this means 19 Rajab 930/ 23 May 1524 and not 931. In spite of the inconsistencies evident in *Afzal*, the sources agree on the night of Sunday 18 Rajab 930/ 22 May 1524 as the date for the death of Shāh Ismāʿīl and the morning of the following day Monday 19 Rajab 930/23 May 1524 as the date for the accession of Shāh Ṭahmāsp. The only exception to this consensus of opinion is *Tārīkh-i Jahān Ārā* which dates both the death of Shāh Ismāʿīl and accession of Shāh Ṭahmāsp on the same day Monday 19 Rajab 930 A.H.⁶

The Politics of Accession. The account of the accession of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, offered in *Afzal al-Tavārīkh*, presents a smooth transition of power from father to son and its narrative of the coronation ceremony is rare and more detailed than that found in

⁵ These sources are *Aḥsan*, p. 181; *Khulāṣa*, p. 153; *Iran dar rūzigār.....*, p. 953; *Tārīkh-i Jahān Ārā* p. 280-1; *TAAA*, p. 44; *Tazkira-i Shāh Ṭahmāsp*, p. 2; *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh*, f. 600a; *Ilchī-i Niẓām Shāhī*, f. 399b.

⁶ *Aḥsan* pp. 181 & 184; *Khulāṣa*, pp. 153, 155; *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam Ārā*, p. 45; *Iran dar rūzigār....* pp. 222 & 225, and *Tārīkh-i Jahān Ārā*, p. 281.

other sources. *Afzal*, however, sheds little light on the court politics surrounding the accession of Shāh Ṭahmāsp. This may be partly due to the influence of Ḥasan Rūmlū, the historian contemporary with Shāh Ṭahmāsp whose *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* served as a basic source for *Afzal*. Rūmlū's treatment of the Shāh's accession is brief and superficial. On the other hand the two parallel sources *Irān dar rūzigār i Shāh Ismāʿīl and Shāh Ṭahmāsp* and *Khulāṣat al-Tavārīkh* offer evidence which are by no means comprehensive but suggest that a more intricate political climate prevailed at court at the time :

"The two shrewd, elderly and battle-hardened amirs Dīv Sulṭān and Köpek Sulṭān who commanded the respect of the pillars of the state and of the Shāh, feared that in the aftermath of the death of Shāh Ismāʿīl, corrupt and seditious individuals in the corridors of power waited for the opportunity to act and thus endanger the welfare of the Muslims. Fuelled by this fear and acting on Shāh Ismāʿīl's will and their own confidence in Ṭahmāsp's competence, they enthroned Shāh Ṭahmāsp."⁷

The author of *Khulāṣat al-Tavārīkh* Qāzī Aḥmad Qumī adds that Tājlu Begum, Ṭahmāsp's mother, played a significant role in her son's accession. He writes that she was fearful of potential political instability, hence she influenced Dīv Sulṭān and Köpek Sulṭān in their decision to bring Ṭahmāsp out of the harem and to enthrone him.⁸ According to *Tārīkh-i Ilchī-i Nizāmshāh*, Shāh Ṭahmāsp was enthroned with the full support of the army and the Amirs.⁹ It is generally agreed that Shāh Ismāʿīl on his deathbed designated Ṭahmāsp as his successor and appointed Dīv Sulṭān as his guardian (*lala*).¹⁰

[f. 3a] Shāh Ṭahmāsp's date of birth. There is some disagreement among the sources in regards to Ṭahmāsp's date of birth. The following list shows the different dates of birth for Shāh Ṭahmāsp as have been tabulated in the sources :¹¹

⁷ *Iran dar rūzigār*....., pp. 225-6; *Khulāṣa*, p. 155.

⁸ *Khulāṣa*, p. 155.

⁹ Khurshāh b. Qubād al-Ḥusainī, *Tārīkh-i ilchī-i Nizāmshāh*, The British Library OR. 3535, f. 400a. See also R. M. Savory, "The Principal Offices of the Ṣafawid State During the Reign of Ṭahmāsp I (930-84/1524-76), *BSOAS* XXIV, (1961), pp. 65-6.

¹⁰ *Ibid*; *Afzal I*, f. 274.

¹¹ *Aḥsan*, p. 142; *Khulāṣa*, p. 127; *TAAA*, p. 45. *Iran dar rūzigār*....., p. 156. *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, p. 531.

<i>Afzal-Tavārīkh</i>	Wednesday 3 Zu'l-ḥijja 919 / 30 January 1514
<i>Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh</i>	Wednesday 26 Zu'l-ḥijja 919/22 February 1514
<i>Khulāṣat al-Tavārīkh</i>	Wednesday 26 Zu'l-ḥijja 919/22 February 1514
<i>Tārīkh-i 'Ālam Ārā-i 'Abbāsī</i>	Wednesday 26 Zu'l-ḥijja 919/ 22 February 1514
<i>Irān dar ruzigār-i Shāh Ismā'īl va</i>	
<i>Shāh Ṭahmāsp</i> , (1) the National Library of Tabriz:	919 / 1513-4
(2) the Malik Library, Tehran:	918 / 1512-3
<i>Ḥabīb al-siyār</i>	the end of 918 /early 1513

There are therefore two different traditions. According to one tradition, Ṭahmāsp was ten and a half years old at his accession and according to the other, he would have been almost twelve.

[f.4a] *Afzal* is ambiguous about the timing of Dīv Sulṭān's appointment to the office of Commander-in-Chief of the Qizilbāsh forces; the reader is not certain whether Shāh Ismā'īl or Shāh Ṭahmāsp made this appointment. It also disagrees with some of the more contemporary sources as to the identity of the office holder whom Dīv Sulṭān succeeded. According to both *Khulāṣat* and *Tārīkh-i Jahān Ārā*, after the natural death of Chāyān Sulṭān Ustājlu in 929/1522-3, his son Bāyazīd Sulṭān succeeded him. Bāyazīd Sulṭān accompanied Shāh Ismā'īl to the summer camp at *kariva-i šāyin* near Sarāb in Āzarbāyjān in 930/1523-4 where he too died. Shāh Ismā'īl then appointed Dīv Sulṭān Rūmlū to this exalted office.¹²

The most contemporary source *Aḥsan*, however, is just as ambiguous about this appointment as *Afzal* and the similarities of accounts suggest it was used as the source by Fażlī Iṣfāhānī. In the obituaries for the year 930 A.H. Rūmlū briefly states Dīv Sulṭān was appointed to the office of Commander-in-Chief of the Qizilbāsh

¹² *Tārīkh-i Jahān Ārā*, p. 280-1; *Khulāṣa*, p. 152-3.

forces after Chāyān Sulṭān died.¹³ Unlike *Afzal*, none of the above-mentioned sources report Köpek Sulṭān as having been appointed as co-vicegerent at this time. Köpek Sulṭān certainly aspired to this position but this ill-fated partnership came later after the accession of Shāh Ṭahmāsp.

[f.4a] *Afzal*'s report of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's coronation ceremony is independent evidence not corroborated by other sources. According to *Khulāṣat al-Tavārīkh* and *Tārīkh-i Jahān Ārā*, after the coronation ceremony the royal camp moved to the summer camp at Sahand to the south of Tabriz where Shāh Ṭahmāsp appointed Dīv Sulṭān, Köpek Sulṭān, and Qāzī Jahān and where Khvāja Jalāl al-Dīn was also punished by being burnt to death. *Aḥsan* does not mention the summer camp at Sahand but all three sources report Shāh Ṭahmāsp spent the following winter in Tabriz. The reports of the summer camp at Sahand after the coronation ceremony seem more plausible. As was customary, the peripatetic Ṣafavī court always spent the summer and possibly autumn months in the summer camps around the kingdom and only returned to a city, for winter. Ṭahmāsp ascended the throne in the month of Rajab, at the end of the spring of that year. Unless there was a compelling reason for the young Shāh to be present at the capital at that time, he is likely to have spent the summer and autumn, approximately Rajab-Ṣafar/May-November in Sahand.

[f. 7a] **Sām Mīrzā's letter to Kuchum Khān.** *Aḥsan, Khulāṣa, Irān dar rūzigār....* agree that Durmīsh Khān acting on his own initiative ordered the secretary to write a reply to Kuchum Khān in the name of Sām Mīrzā. The young Prince may or may not have read Kuchum Khān's letter. *Afzal*'s version certainly assigns a more active role to Prince Sām Mīrzā but is difficult to corroborate. *Afzal* is ,however, the only source which produces the full text of the letter. The above mentioned sources reproduce only a summary of the letter. Although the contents are the same, interestingly they all, including *Afzal*, are linguistically different from one another.¹⁴

¹³ *Aḥsan*, p. 181. See also Savory, "The Principal Offices, Shah Ṭahmāsp", pp. 77-8.

¹⁴ *Aḥsan*, p. 186; *Khulāṣa*, p. 158; *Irān dar rūzigār....* , p. 230-31

[ff. 9a-28a] **Dīv Sulṭān Rūmlū**. Dīv Sulṭān Rūmlū, the powerful chieftain of the Rūmlū tribe, was a key military commander whose distinguished military career began with Shāh Ismāʿīl's rise to power. We can date the start of his career as a military commander and a provincial governor to 919/1513-4 when Shāh Ismāʿīl sent him to capture Balkh and take control of its government.¹⁵ However, at the end of the year 921/1515-6, famine in Harat and frequent Uzbek attacks on the province of Khurāsān forced Dīv Sulṭān to leave his governorship at Balkh and return to Tabriz to seek help from Shāh Ismāʿīl.¹⁶ He remained at court until the following year, 922/1516, when Shāh Ismāʿīl sent Dīv Sulṭān with several other amirs to launch a holy war against Georgia.¹⁷ He captured many citadels and towns and forced several of the Georgian governors, Qarqara, Dāvūd Beg, Lavand Beg and Manūchihr to declare their allegiance to the Ṣafavids and enter into his service. Back in the winter camp at Nakhjivān, Shāh Ismāʿīl rewarded Dīv Sulṭān for his successes in Georgia with immense affection and bounty.¹⁸ This marked the beginning of Dīv Sulṭān's role as the chief executor of Shāh Ismāʿīl's foreign policy in Georgia. Later in 922/1516, Dīv Sulṭān returned to Georgia to suppress Manūchihr who had rebelled against Qarqara, a vassal of Shāh Ismāʿīl. Dīv Sulṭān defeated Manūchihr and restored the rule of Qarqara. The struggle against Manūchihr continued in the following year 923/1517 when Dīv Sulṭān encountered the combined forces of Manūchihr and his Ottoman allies. Dīv Sulṭān was back in Georgia again in 924/1518 in support of Qarqara, the Ṣafavid vassal.¹⁹

The development of Dīv Sulṭān Rūmlū's career during this period which coincided with the last ten years of Shāh Ismāʿīl reign, must have a direct bearing on our understanding of the key role he played during the civil war period of 931-3/1524-6.

¹⁵ *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, p. 540.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 552.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 571.

¹⁸ *Ibid*.

¹⁹ *Aḥsan*, p. 168; *Khulaṣa*, vol. 1, p. 140. Dīv Sulṭān captured the citadels of Lurī and Ṣuram and entrusted them to Qarqara.

It is important to note that prior to the battle of Chaldiran Shāh Ismāʿīl would have personally led such military campaigns against Georgia. However, after his humiliating defeat at Chaldiran Shāh Ismāʿīl totally withdrew from any military activity against either external or internal enemies and entrusted such affairs to his senior generals.²⁰ Thus Dīv Sulṭān resumed to play the key role in implementing the Ṣafavid foreign policy in Georgia almost to the time of the death of Shāh Ismāʿīl. This placed him in an extremely powerful and prestigious position as the commander of a large section of the Qizlibāsh army. As the civil wars of the early years of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's reign would later illustrate, he would use his power and influence over the rival *uymaq* leaders to disastrous effect. We also see the signs that Dīv Sulṭān had begun to act independently of Shāh Ismāʿīl and also of the Commander-in-Chief of the Qizlibāsh forces Chāyān Sulṭān Ustājlu. In 927/1520-1 during another military campaign to defend Shakkī against Lavand Khān of Georgia, who had attacked this Ṣafavid vassaldom, Dīv Sulṭān personally ordered the execution of Charkīn Ḥasan Tekkelū, the father of Ghāzī Khān Tekkelū.²¹ Charkīn Ḥasan was one of Shāh Ismāʿīl's most eminent amirs and his execution on the charge of misconduct and failure to manage the army was a bold act on the part of Dīv Sulṭān. Clearly Dīv Sulṭān had overstepped his authority and in this affair he had acted without recourse to a higher authority: Shāh Ismāʿīl. Dīv Sulṭān's activities in Georgia and his decision to execute a powerful amir suggests that he was already beginning to assume the principal royal prerogatives: holy war and dispensing justice.

Political circumstances also helped Dīv Sulṭān in his ambitions to gain greater political authority. In 929/1522-3 Shāh Ismāʿīl's powerful Vicegerent (*vakīl*) Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain was murdered and was succeeded by his junior minister and close friend Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Tabrīzī.²² In the same year Chāyān Sulṭān Ustājlu,

²⁰ Romer, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, pp. 125-6. See also R. M. Savory, "The Principal Offices of the Ṣafavid State During the Reign of Ismāʿīl I (607-30/1501-24)", *BSOAS* xxiii (1960), p. 91.

²¹ *Khulāṣa*, p. 147.

²² For the circumstances surrounding Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain's murder see *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, pp. 595-597.

the commander-in-chief of the Qizilbāsh forces (*amir al-umarā*) too died of natural death and his son Bāyazīd succeeded him.²³ Neither the *vakil* Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Tabrīzī nor the *amir al-umarā* Bāyazīd Sulṭān appear to have exercised much power and influence during their brief tenure. Finally in the spring of 930/1523-4, Bāyazīd Sulṭān Ustājilū also died in the summer camp at Sarāb.²⁴ This must have happened days before Shāh Ismāʿil's death.

With Shāh Ismāʿil on his death bed and his powerful vicegerent Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain also dead, Dīv Sulṭān Rūmlū moved to fill the political power vacuum created by their absence. His first move was to take control of the office of the commander-in-chief of the army. This must have sown the first seeds of enmity and rivalry which were to develop between Dīv Sulṭān and Köpek Sulṭān Ustājilū and which culminated in two civil wars. Köpek Sulṭān was the brother of Chāyān Sulṭān and after the death of his nephew the commander-in-chief of the army Bāyazīd Sulṭān, he naturally aspired, following a family/tribal tradition, to seize this office. The power struggle between Dīv Sulṭān Rūmlū and Köpek Sulṭān Ustājilū continued after Shāh Ismāʿil died on 18 Rajab 930 A.H. From the time of accession of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, on 19 Rajab, sources generally refer to Dīv Sulṭān as both the commander-in-chief of the Qizilbāsh forces (*amir al-umarā*) and also the vicegerent (*vakil*) and thus assumed authority over both the bureaucracy and the army.²⁵ Dīv Sulṭān took control of the most powerful office of the state, the office of vicegerency (*vikālat*), after he instigated the execution by burning of Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Tabrīzī, who had succeeded Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain to this office, in Tabriz.²⁶

²³ *Khulāṣa*, pp. 152-3; *Tārīkh-i Jahān Ārā*, pp. 280-1. See also Savory, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

²⁴ *Khulāṣa*, p. 153.

²⁵ In the latter part of Shāh Ismāʿil's reign the office of *vakil* and *vazir* appear to have been merged and the office of *vakil* had lost much of its former importance. During the military governments of the first 10 years of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's reign however, both the office of *vakil* and *amir al-umarā* (Commander-in-chief) regained much of their former prestige. Savory, "The Principal Offices, Shāh Ṭahmāsp", pp. 71-2. See also the above commentary "The appointment of Dīv Sulṭān".

²⁶ *Afzal II*, f. 9a. Qāzī Aḥmad Qumī too states that Dīv Sulṭān was instrumental in Shāh Ṭahmāsp's decision to execute Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, *Khulāṣa*, p. 156.

However, the Ustājīlū tribe was too large and powerful to be excluded from the principal offices of the state and Dīv Sulṭān had to share power with Köpek Sulṭān as his co-vicegerent. This was an uneasy partnership which came to an end during two civil wars. The first civil war occurred in the spring of 932/1526 at Sulṭāniyya. The Ustājīlūs were defeated and forced to retreat to Gīlān where they remained until the following year. The second battle took place in the spring of 933/1527 at Sharūr on the way to Tabriz. Köpek Sulṭān was killed in this battle and his tribe went into exile in Gīlān where they remained until 936/1529-30 when Shāh Ṭahmāsp summoned them back to court.²⁷ Thereafter Dīv Sulṭān declared Chuha Sulṭān Tekkelū, his main ally against the Ustājīlūs, as his co-vicegerent.

Dīv Sulṭān's alliance with Chuha Sulṭān Tekkelū was born of political expediency. He possibly calculated that Chuha Sulṭān as an ally would be less likely to pose a threat to his political ambitions. There is also another possibility. Dīv Sulṭān Rūmlū did not have a large tribal force at his command. By the 930s/1520s the majority of the Rūmlūs led a sedentary existence in towns and villages and unlike leaders of the other *uymaqs* who served as governors in the provincial administrations and commanded their own military contingents, the Rūmlū elders acted as *khalifa* or the high priests of the urban Ṣūfī orders.²⁸ This explains why the chronicles name so few Rūmlū amirs acting as provincial governors during this time. At the beginning of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's reign we encounter only two Rūmlū provincial governors named by the sources : Bādinjān Sulṭān Rūmlū, the governor of Ardabil, and Āyqūt Beg Rūmlū, the governor of Arsaq, both of whom fought in the civil war of 932-3/1525-6. Therefore Dīv Sulṭān may have planned to bring the Tekkelū tribal force under his own command through a political alliance with Chuha Sulṭān.

²⁷ For the Ustājīlū-Rūmlū hegemony and the ensuing civil war period see the translation of *Afzal al-Tavārikh* above, ff. 15b-18a, 20b-23b; *Aḥsan*, pp. 187-194, 198-200; *Khulāṣa*, pp. 159-160, 162 . See also Roemer, "The Cambridge History of Iran", pp. 233-34; Dickson, pp. 51-77, 93-7.

²⁸ Sumer, trans, Isharaqī and Imāmī, p. 105.

Whatever Dīv Sulṭān's scheme may have been, he was unsuccessful and his political career as the all-powerful vicegerent was short-lived. After the battle at Sharūr on Thursday 5 Shavvāl 933/ 5 July 1527, Dīv Sulṭān Rūmlū was killed. Although Faḏlī Iṣfāhānī claims Shāh Ṭahmāsp ordered Dīv Sulṭān's killing, Ḥasan Rūmlū claims that Chuha Sulṭān Tekkelū instigated his murder and transferred his troops to one of his officers Sulaymān Beg Rūmlū.²⁹ With both Köpek Sulṭān Ustājlū and Dīv Sulṭān Rūmlū eliminated, Chuha Sulṭān became the vicegerent (*vakil*) and the period of the Tekkelū hegemony commenced.

[f. 10a] Dasht-i Qipchāq was the general area of modern Kazakhstan in central Asia.³⁰ Ḥasan Rūmlū traces Qāsim Khān's ancestry to Chingiz Khān as follows : Qāsim Khān b. Sayyidak Khān b. Jānī Beg b. Burāq b. Qarāja b. Quiz 'Āq b. Aṣal Khān b. Chutmāy Khān b. Izran b. Sāsī Buqāy b. Quḏī b. Āvard b. Juḏī b. Chingiz Khān. He ruled over Dasht-i Qipchāq and the tribes of *Qazāq*. His son Ḥaḡnaḡar Khān succeeded him as Khān.³¹

[f. 16a] Div Sulṭān Rūmlū and the royal seal. *Afzal's* report that Dīv Sulṭān was asked to leave his seal at court contradicts Rūmlū's account in his *Aḡsan al-Tavārīkh*. According to *Aḡsan*, Dīv Sulṭān left the court under the pretext of military campaign to Khurāsān and also took the royal seal with him. At Lār he sent letters to the governors of Kāshān, Qum, and the rest of Iraq, summoning them to join him in battle against his rival Köpek Sulṭān Ustājlū and sealed them with the royal seal.³² This was clearly intended to give his attempt to enlist the support of the provincial governors in the civil war the appearance of royal authority. The evidence in *Afzal* is clearly distorted.

[f. 21a] The Versāq tribe. The Versāq were originally one of the Turkoman tribes of Ṭārsūs in Anatolia. The Versāq were among the first tribes who declared their

²⁹ *Aḡsan*, p. 205; *Afzal*, ff. 27a, 28a.

³⁰ Dickson, 23.

³¹ *Aḡsan*, 183.

³² *Aḡsan*, p. 188.

allegiance to Shaykh Ismāʿīl and joined forces with him during his Anatolian campaign of 905/1499-1500. Thereafter the members of the standing corps of royal troops (*qūrchīs*) were recruited from this tribe.³³

[f. 21a] *Khalifa of tauhid khāna*. In the Ṣafaviyya Ṣūfī order, *Khalifa* was the representative of *Khalīfat al-Khulāfā*, the supreme commander of the Ṣūfis in the provinces.³⁴ The duty of *khalifa* of *tauhid khāna* or the Ṣūfī House of Unity was to follow the rule established at the time of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn, namely to gather the Ṣūfis and the dervishes in the *tauhid khāna* every Thursday night and to keep them repeating the pious formula "There is no God but Allāh".³⁵

Both Rūmlū and Qāzī Aḥmad Qumī corroborate the role Qāsim Khalifa played in mediating between the warring factions.³⁶ However, of the sources consulted only *Afzal* reports the proposed peace-making role of the Grand Vazir Mīr Jaʿfar and the Twelver Shīʿī cleric Shaykh ʿAlī b. ʿĀl to the Ustājilūs.

[f. 23a] **The Ustājilū retreat to Gīlān.** *Aḥsan* offers a more extended account of Köpek Sulṭān Ustājilū's retreat from battle and his flight to Gīlān than *Afzal*.

According to *Aḥsan*, under attack from the advancing royal *qūrchīs*, the Ustājilūs fled towards Gīlān via Abhar. At the same time the Vālī of Gīlān Muḥaffar Sulṭān despatched an infantry of eight thousand men to the aid of the Ustājilūs. When Ṭahmāsp heard this news, he left the camp (*urdū*) in Khalkhāl to the south of Ardabil and set off in pursuit of the Ustājilūs. The Shāh had already sent Dīv Sulṭān, Chuha Sulṭān and several other amirs with the vanguard of the army. The royal army attacked and defeated the Ustājilūs in the vicinity of Kharzvil. Köpek Sulṭān and Muntasha Sulṭān reached Gīlān with great difficulty and the majority of the Ustājilūs

³³ Sumer, trans. Ishrāqī and Imāmī, pp. 27, 62.

³⁴ Roger M. Savory, "The Office of *Khalīfat al-Khulāfā* under the Ṣafavids", *Journal of American Institute of Oriental Studies*, (1965), vol. 85, p. 497.

³⁵ *TM*, p. 55.

³⁶ *Aḥsan*, p. 191; *Khulāṣa*, vol. 1, p. 162.

were massacred in the jungles of Gīlān.³⁷ According to *Khulāṣa*, the people of Gīlān were responsible for this massacre.³⁸

[f. 25] **The Uzbek siege of Mashhad in 932/1525-6.** Interestingly *Afzal* is the only source which reports that the wife of Būrūn Sulṭān commanded the Tekkelū troops in defence of Mashhad during the siege. *Aḥsan* attributes the defence of the city to the warriors of the faith (*ghāzīyān*) in general.³⁹ *Khulāṣa* in its brief account and *Iran dar rūzigār* credit the "people" of Būrūn Sulṭān with the defence of the fortress of Ṭūs.⁴⁰ However, in an earlier passage under the events of this year, *Khulāṣa* and *Iran dar*... report that before his departure for the court, Būrūn Sulṭān left his family and tribe in the charge of one of his sons at the fortress of Ṭūs.⁴¹ Although both sources are silent on the actual matter of the leadership of the army, they implicitly attribute this role to Būrūn Sulṭān's son. However, *Afzal*'s account of the role which Būrūn Sulṭān's wife played in the defence of Mashhad is sufficiently detailed to be authentic.

There is also confusion among the sources as to whether the Uzbeks besieged Mashhad or the neighbouring Ṭūs or both. *Afzal* is quite clear that the Tekkelū troops were stationed in Mashhad. *Iran dar rūzigār*.... first reports the Tekkelū garrison was stationed in the fortress of Ṭūs and later uses the ambiguous term "the sacred province" (*vilāyat- i mutabarika*) to refer to the district defended by the Tekkelūs. According to the most contemporary source *Aḥsan*, Būrūn Sulṭān's family and the Tekkelū garrison were stationed at Ṭūs and not Mashhad and its brief account concerns the siege of Ṭūs.⁴² As noted above *Khulāṣa* concurs with *Aḥsan*. Only *Afzal* claims that the Tekkelūs were stationed in Mashhad.

³⁷ *Aḥsan*, pp. 193-4.

³⁸ *Khulāṣa*, p. 162.

³⁹ *Aḥsan*, p. 196.

⁴⁰ *Khulāṣa*, p. 171; *Iran dar rūzigār*....., p. 250.

⁴¹ *khulāṣa*, 169; *Iran dar rūzigār*...., p. 249.

⁴² *Aḥsan*, p. 196.

Faced with such contradictory evidence Dickson believed on this occasion that the Uzbeks were more likely to have besieged Tūs rather than Mashhad although he does not dismiss the possibility of the presence of some troops in Mashhad. Dickson bases his argument on the extent of development of Mashhad's fortifications and his calculation of the duration of the siege. He refers to the siege and the capture of Mashhad by the Uzbeks in 935/1528-9, as elicited by both *Aḥsan* and *Afzal*, and argues Mashhad had not yet developed sufficient defensive fortifications (*bārū va ḥiṣār*) to withstand a long siege. In 935/1528-9 the Qizilbāsh defenders of the city admitted they could not defend the city against the Uzbek multitudes with only barricades and as was predicted the Uzbeks overran the barricades and captured the city without resort to a long siege. Indeed an assessment of the city's defences in 935 A.H. should also be valid for the siege under discussion in 932/1525-6. This favours the evidence in *Afzal* and partly explains why according to this source the siege only lasted two months. Dickson however disagrees and argues the usual descriptions of the hunger and the food shortages which afflicted the city suggest the siege lasted at least four months and only the citadel of Tūs was able to resist for so long.⁴³ Despite Dickson's assertion it can be argued that the usual descriptions of hunger and food shortages, eating of leather shoes, cats and dogs, drinking of horses' blood, are more likely to be a standard literary formula derived from folk culture to which most chroniclers subscribed rather than historical fact. Such descriptions, therefore, can not be used as a very accurate yard stick to measure the duration of a siege.

The authenticity of *Afzal's* account of the siege of Mashhad can be supported indirectly in a number of ways. A closer scrutiny of *Aḥsan* and *Afzal* reveals that *Afzal's* version of the 935 A.H. siege is, with the exception of some minor editing, an exact copy of *Aḥsan*. On the other hand *Afzal's* account of the 932 A.H. siege offers independent evidence. The author clearly had access to additional sources, possibly one of the inextant histories he refers to, notably Maulānā Nujūmī Haravī's *Tārīkh-i*

⁴³ Dickson, p. 90.

Harat va Khurāsān. Another indirect support for *Afzal*'s evidence of resistance (and siege) in Mashhad is offered by the 18th century Uzbek source *Tārīkh-i Qipchāq Khānī* by Qipchāq Khān. In its account of the Uzbek atrocities following the fall of Mashhad (or Ṭūs), Qipchāq Khān writes that a number of Shīʿī soldiers took refuge in the shrine of Imām Riẓā but they were nonetheless killed and cut to pieces.⁴⁴ This report comes very close to *Afzal*'s assertion that "large numbers of brave young [Qizilbāsh] thought that martyrdom before the fragrant tomb of the Sulṭān of Khurāsān [Imām Riẓā] would bring eternal prosperity. They made a death pact and large numbers set off for the shrine". Notwithstanding such ambiguities the later Ṣafavī and Uzbek sources indicate that there was military presence and resistance in Mashhad.

It is possible that Mashhad was gaining importance as a provincial centre but had not yet entirely superseded the older neighbouring Ṭūs as a defensive centre. An examination of the sources supports the notion that Mashhad had already gained much prominence and had become the political and the military centre during the reign of Shāh Ismāʿīl. The earliest source *Ḥabīb al-siyar* writes 'Ubayd Khān occupied Mashhad in 917/1511-12 and Shāh Ismāʿīl sent Khalīl Sulṭān, the governor of Shīrāz, to liberate the city from the Uzbeks.⁴⁵ 'Ubayd Khān fled from the city before Khalīl Sulṭān's arrival and took many of the city's grandees with him. Again we find that in 919/1513-14 Shāh Ismāʿīl moved to Khurāsān to liberate Mashhad from 'Ubayd Khān. In 928/1521-22 Būrūn Sulṭān was appointed the governor of Mashhad. The process of transition from Ṭūs to Mashhad as the defensive stronghold had certainly been completed by the year 942/1535-6 when during yet another Uzbek invasion the family of Ṣufyān Khalīfa, the governor of Mashhad, are reported to have taken refuge in the safety offered by the city walls.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Cited by Dickson p. 92, note 1. Dickson does not give the page/folio reference.

⁴⁵ *Ḥabīb al-siyār*, pp. 535-6.

⁴⁶ *Iran dar rūzigār*....., p. 295.

[f. 28a] The murder of Dīv Sulṭān. Curiously, *Khulāṣa* does not report the killing of Dīv Sulṭān. Whereas *Afzal* attributes the decision for his execution to Shāh Ṭahmāsp, *Jahān Ārā* and *Aḥsan* report that Chuha Sulṭān Takalū instigated the murder of Dīv Sulṭān. *Afzal*'s report is consistent with the author's tendency to attribute all the major decision to Shāh Ṭahmāsp and to make light of the power of the Qizilbāsh chiefs at court in this period. Thus Faḏlī presents Shāh Ṭahmāsp as a more powerful monarch than he actually was during his minority. The dates reported for the execution of Dīv Sulṭān are as follows :

Aḥsan Thursday 5 Shavvāl 933 / 5 July 1527

Jahān Ārā Thursday 25 Shavvāl 933 / 25 July 1527.⁴⁷

[f. 28b] The question of the identity of Ukhī Sulṭān Zu'l-Qadr the Governor of Bastām & the first Uzbek conquest of Āstārābād. There is confusion among the sources as to the real identity and tribal affiliation of the governor of Bastām on the eve of the Uzbek attack on Āstārābād in 933/1526. *Afzal* refers to him as Ukhī Sulṭān Zu'l-Qadr who in alliance with Zaynal Khān Shāmlū and Demrī Sulṭān Shāmlū defended Āstārābād against 'Ubayd Khān. Other sources however explain his presence in the battle of Āstārābād by referring to him as Ukhī Sulṭān Tekkelū the governor of Qazvīn.⁴⁸ This evidence in *Khulāṣa*, in particular, is rendered unreliable by its earlier report that Ukhī Sulṭān Tekkelū was killed almost one year earlier on the 14th Sha'ebān 932/26 May 1526 in the civil war battle waged between the Ustājilūs and the Rūmlū-Tekkelū alliance in Āzarbāyjān.⁴⁹ If Ukhī Sulṭān Tekkelū had indeed been killed in the previous year, the Ukhī Sulṭān identified at the battle for Āstārābād was clearly a different individual and *Afzal*'s identification of him as a Zu'l-Qadr may be construed as reliable. Dickson too has discussed the problem and has concluded that *Afzal*'s Ukhī Sulṭān was in fact the well known Tekkelū Sulṭān and his Zu'l-Qadr affiliation, as recorded only in *Afzal*, was also correct and arose

⁴⁷ *Aḥsan*, p. 205; *Tārīkh-i Jahān Ārā*, p. 284.

⁴⁸ *Khulāṣa*, pp. 171-2; *Tārīkh-i Jahān Ārā*, p. 284

⁴⁹ *Khulāṣa*, p. 162.

from particularly close ties between the two Tekkelū and Zu'l-Qadr *uymaqs*.⁵⁰

Dickson's conclusion is of limited value since it reflects no awareness of the evidence, however contradictory, given in *Khulāṣa*.

Afzal's unique identification of Ukhī Sultān, the governor of Baṣṭām, as a Zu'l-Qadr is also consistent with its independent version of the Qizilbāsh defence of Āstārābād. In 933/1526 'Ubayd Khān's army captured Āstārābād, lost it to the Qizilbāsh Amirs and recaptured it again. Sources, including *Afzal*, agree that after the fall of Āstārābād for the first time Shāh Ṭahmāsp who must have still been in Āzarbāyjān ordered Demrī Sultān and Ukhī Sultān [Tekkelū or Zu'l-Qadr] to join the forces of Zaynal Khān, the governor of Āstārābād, to wrest the city back from 'Abd al-'Azīz Uzbek. The Qizilbāsh Amirs recaptured the city without recourse to war since 'Abd al-'Azīz Sultān Uzbek fled as the combined forces of the Amirs advanced towards Āstārābād. Therefore there is no disagreement about the presence of Ukhī Sultān and Demrī Sultān during the later phase of the campaign. There was subsequently a lull in the Uzbek activity until 'Ubayd Khān heard about the loss of Āstārābād and demobilised the army to retake the metropolis.

Disagreement however arises over the earlier phase of the campaign when Āstārābād fell to 'Ubayd Khān for the first time. Both *Aḥsan* and *Khulāṣa* concur with the view that Zaynal Khān alone defended Āstārābād against 'Ubayd Khān. Qiyā Pā Beg, the commander of the vanguard of his army, could not hold out against the Uzbeks and Zaynal Khān was forced to retreat and capitulate. There is no report of the participation of Ukhī Sultān and Demrī Sultān in this battle. This is the point where *Afzal* significantly differs from both *Aḥsan* and *Khulāṣa*.⁵¹ According to *Afzal* the Amirs of Jurjān, the governor of Dāmghān Demrī Sultān Shāmlū and the governor of Baṣṭām Ukhī Sultān Zu'l-Qadr, joined forces with Zaynal Khān the governor of Āstārābād in the defence of the city.⁵² More importantly only *Afzal* presents the

⁵⁰ Dickson, p. 102.

⁵¹ *Aḥsan*. p. 201; *Khulāṣa*. p. 171.

⁵² *Afzal II*, f. 28b.

military alliance of the three Amirs as a local initiative in response to the Uzbek invasion. There is no indication of the royal sanction of such an alliance. This is more than likely since the court was too preoccupied with inter-tribal factionalism and the ensuing civil war in Āzarbāyjān to pay any attention to the Uzbek threat in Khurāsān. It also suggests that neither Demrī Sulṭān nor Ukhī Sulṭān were involved in the civil war being fought at court. *Afzal* clearly represents an independent historical tradition, possibly drawn from the inextant source *Tārīkh-i Harat va Khurāsān*..

[f. 29a] **The Kangarlū tribe.** This is a rare reference to the Kangarlū who were a sub-tribal group of the Ustājlū *uymaq*. After immigration to Iran, the Kangarlū settled around Nakhjivān in Qarābāgh. It appears that by the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp the Kangarlū tribe held governorships and were settled in the centre, the north and the east of the country. Sūmer claims that also during Ṭahmāsp's reign the Vāli of Kermān was a Timūr Khān Kangarlū.⁵³ This however can not be verified. According to *Tārīkh-i Kermān* during most of the 16th century the Afshār tribe held the governorship of Kermān.⁵⁴

[f. 30a] Both Rūmlū and Qāzī Aḥmad Qumī attribute the proposal to wait in the town for the arrival of the royal reinforcements and thus avoid engaging in a premature and potentially disastrous battle with the Uzbeks, to Demrī Sulṭān.⁵⁵ Both sources only refer to Ukhī Sulṭān as the sole opponent of this plan. According to *Khulāṣa*, Demrī thought it "prudent to go to the town and send an envoy to *Shāh-i jam jāh* and act according to the royal command." The sources not only disagree on the identity of the proponent of this idea but also on the expectations of the Amirs. *Afzal*'s account clearly anticipates the arrival of royal reinforcements whereas *Khulāṣa* and *Aḥsan* are less clear as to whether such reinforcement was expected at all.

⁵³ Sumer, trans. Ishrāqī and Imāmī, pp. 109, 199.

⁵⁴ Aḥmad ʿAlī Khān Vazīrī Kirmanī, *Tārīkh-i Kermān (Sālāriyya)*, (ed.) Bāstānī Pārizī. pp. 264-7.

⁵⁵ *Aḥsan*, p. 202; *Khulāṣa*, p. 172.

[f. 31a] Shāh Ṭahmāsp and the year 934/1527-8. There is general agreement among the sources that Shāh Ṭahmāsp spent Naurūz of this year in or around Qazvīn. Both *Afzal* and *Khulāṣa* concur with the view that the Shāh celebrated Naurūz of 934/1527-28 in Qazvīn. Curiously *Aḥsan* misses the year 934 A.H. and relates the events of this year under the heading of the year 933/1526-27.⁵⁶ This is possibly due to the fact that despite the Uzbek invasion in the east and rebellion in Baghdād, the young Shāh appears to have been unable or reluctant to take any action to suppress the external and internal enemies. Contrary to the claim by *Afzal* that at Naurūz the Shāh was concerned with the security of the realm and planned to liberate Khurāsān,⁵⁷ the choice of the summer camp at Kharqān, reflects the Shāh's failure to take effective action. Kharqān, a district to the west of Qazvīn on the way to Hamadān, was not a logistically obvious choice for mustering an army to liberate Khurāsān since it placed the royal party even further from the province which at this time was occupied by the Uzbeks. The Qizilbāsh Amirs in Khurāsān had repeatedly pleaded with the Shāh for reinforcements but as *Khulāṣa* reports Shāh Ṭahmāsp was at the time preoccupied with the Naurūz celebrations. He "spent the Naurūz as it pleased him" and the royal camp moved to the summer quarters (*yailāq*) at Kharqān in the following month of Rajab/March when" it was spring and the number of hours of daylight and night were equal and vegetation began to blossom and grow".⁵⁸ Although *Afzal* attributes the decision to summon the army to liberate Khurāsān to Shāh Ṭahmāsp, under the events of the year 934, it was the following year 935/1528-29 before the Shāh actually departed for Khurāsān.

[f. 31a] The Siege of Harat. *Afzal's* account of the second siege of Harat by the Uzbeks is almost an exact copy of *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*.⁵⁹ *Afzal* offers no independent information concerning this event. The author has however altered the text. In

⁵⁶ *Aḥsan*, pp. 198-209.

⁵⁷ *Afzal II*, f. 31a.

⁵⁸ *Khulāṣa*, p. 172.

⁵⁹ *Aḥsan*, pp. 205-7.

places he has simply reworded passages, has omitted sections or has inserted a new sentence here and there. The alterations are often minor but significant in meaning. Where the author adds to the text, it is often in conformity with his own ideological or historical perspective. He usually alludes to the divine kingship of Shāh Ṭahmāsp and the legitimacy of the Ṣafavi dynasty as the true, deserving and felicitous ruling family chosen by God. The narrative of the killing of Yārī Beg, the powerful Uzbek commander, during the siege of Harat clearly illustrates this point. Whereas *Aḥsan* simply reports the manner of Yārī Beg's death, which was caused by a musket fired by a Qizilbāsh guard from the citadel, *Afzal*'s account attributes his killing to divine intervention.⁶⁰ The author also seeks legitimacy for the rule of Shāh Ṭahmāsp as the worthy heir of the founder of the Ṣafavī dynasty Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn Iṣḥāq on whose behalf God intervenes. This helps the author to account for the political and military adversities befalling the young Shah Ṭahmāsp at this time in terms of divine will rather than the historical reality of the young Shāh's minority. This tendency to elevate the divine rule of Shāh Ṭahmāsp is a key feature of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* which distinguishes it from the most contemporary chronicle *Aḥsan* and indeed from any other chronicle concerning Ṭahmasp's reign.

[f. 32a] Expulsion of the civilians from Harat. As has already been noted in the previous commentary, the author Fażlī Iṣfāhānī has used *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* as his basic source for the narrative of the siege of Harat. However, one minor linguistic alteration in *Afzal* has produced a profoundly different reinterpretation of the Qizilbāsh expulsion of the civilians of Harat during the Uzbek siege. We are told that to solve the problem of severe shortage of food in Harat, the governor-general of Harat Ḥusain Khān Shāmlū ordered the expulsion of the residents of the city.⁶¹

According to *Aḥsan* " *avsāt al-nās* and those who were thought not to adhere to

⁶⁰ *Aḥsan*. p. 206. *Afzal II*, f. 32a.

⁶¹ During the Uzbek siege of Harat in 937/1530-31, which lasted for a year and a half, the Tekkelu administration too expelled the inhabitants and expropriated their food supplies and belongings. Iskandar Munshī notes that in that event much injustice (*sitam va ta'dī*) was done to the subjects, *TAAA*, p. 59.

Shī'ism" were expelled from the citadel. This differs from *Afzal* which reads " *avsāt al-nās* who were thought not to adhere to Shī'ism" were expelled. It is not possible to determine whether this alteration is due to a clerical error in copying or informed editing by the author of the source material. Whatever the reason *Aḥsan's* version is in fact more revealing. It points to an urban society marked by complex social tensions. Further evidence suggests that this urban tension and conflict which was only brought to surface by the Uzbek siege and the hardships which this inflicted on the inhabitants of the city,⁶² was less clearly defined by Shī'ī- Sunnī sectarianism than by differences in the wealth and material fortunes of its citizens. Sectarian differences were used as a pretext for expropriating the property of the wealthy.⁶³ During the later siege and capture of Herat in 936/1529-30 'Ubayd Khān destroyed homes and persecuted inhabitants who although Sunnī were rumoured, because of their wealth, to have been Shī'ī. In his actions in 936 A.H., 'Ubayd Khān was probably guided by the same local rivalries and politics of envy which also prompted Ḥusain Khān Shāmlū to expel the more prosperous citizens (*avsāt al-nās*) regardless of their religious proclivities. Curiously *Afzal* does not report some of the more interesting details cited in other sources, concerning the expulsion and/or flight of people of Harat and the tyranny and injustice perpetrated by Ḥusain Khān Shāmlū and the Qizilbāsh in that city.

Both *Aḥsan* and *Iran dar rūzigār* ... report that following these expulsions, the city of Harat was so empty of people that scarcely a peasant or urban inhabitant would be seen in the bāzār.⁶⁴ And Maḥmūd Khvāndmir in *Iran dar rūzigār*.. reports that the middle classes, the poor and the contemptible, and the noble people, some willingly and others reluctantly, set off for the city gates with few belongings and their families.⁶⁵ The rush to leave Harat was such that many would queue for days and

⁶² *Afzal II*, f. 50b; *Aḥsan*. 222.

⁶³ Dickson, p. 158.

⁶⁴ *Aḥsan*. p. 207 and *Iran dar ruzigar*..... p. 257.

⁶⁵ *Iran dar ruzigār-i* p.256.

nights at the gates. When their turn arrived, the Qizilbāsh men would strip the men and their women folk would undress the women to search for money and valuables and thus prevent smuggling such valuables out of the city. After such horrific inspections a sum of one hundred and fifty Tabrīzī dīnārs would be demanded from the *khāna kūch* [household], which consisted of a man and a woman, before they would be given permission to leave. A similar treatment awaited them in the fortifications (*kūcha band*) outside the city walls.

[f. 32b] Shortage of salt in Harat. Concerning the shortage of salt in the city, both *Aḥsan* and *Iran dar rūzigār*... provide the same anecdote about the affluent citizens of Harat who would hide a piece of salt rock in a cloth and when eating they would secretly taste it on the tongue before concealing it in the cloth again. It is said of Khvāja Muẓaffar Butakchī who was a royal amir (*az ‘adād- i umarā- i shāhī būd*), that he placed a little salt in a bag and sealed it.

[f. 32b] Firūz Kūh was a fortress on the slopes of the mountain of Damāvand in Māzandarān.⁶⁶

[ff. 33, 34a, 47 & 48] Zulfiqār's rebellion in Baghdād, 935 A.H. The author Faẓlī Iṣfāhānī interrupts his narrative of the rebellion in Baghdad with the account of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's campaign to Khurāsān to liberate the province from the Uzbeks. This style of narrative which is also common to *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* and *Khulāṣat al-Tavārīkh*, faithfully reflects the chronology of the events as they unfolded. Zulfiqār entered the summer camp of *māhī dasht*, near Moṣūl in Iraq,⁶⁷ on the 14th Ramadān 934/ 4 June 1528. The news of his rebellion reached the court in Qazvīn in the same month of Ramadān/June but Shāh Ṭahmāsp decided to defer any military action to suppress this rebellion until after the Khurāsān campaign.⁶⁸ Ṭahmāsp defeated

⁶⁶ Le Strange, p. 371.

⁶⁷ Amir Sharaf Khān Bidlīsī, *Sharafnāma; Tārīkh-i Muḥaṣṣal-i Kurdistān*, (ed.) Muḥammad ‘Abbāsī. (n. p., n. d.), p. 16, note 5.

⁶⁸ *Khulāṣa*, p. 175.

‘Ubayd Khān at Jām and liberated Khurāsān from the Uzbeks and almost one year later at the end of the month of Ramadān of 935/June 1529 Shāh Ṭahmāsp and his army reached the vicinity of Baghdād.

Afzal-Tavārīkh offers one of the most detailed accounts of the liberation of Baghdād. Except for *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*, however, it is not possible to identify the remaining source(s) from which the author has derived his evidence. Fażlī Işfāhānī has used *Aḥsan* to a limited extent. He has copied word for word from *Aḥsan* the prose and verse which describe the intensity of the heat of the summer as Shāh Ṭahmāsp and his army crossed the river Khāneqī into the Arab Irāq.⁶⁹ As the historiographical examination of the Battle of Jām has also shown, verbatim adoption of literary embellishments of this kind from *Aḥsan* is a hallmark of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh*. The similarities with *Aḥsan* however end here. Although *Afzal* offers a detailed narrative we gain a complete picture of the events only when *Afzal* is read in conjunction with *Khulāṣat al-Tavārīkh*.⁷⁰ *Afzal*'s version of the events does not contradict the different historical tradition found in *Khulāṣa* but rather complements it.

Unlike *Afzal*, *Khulāṣa* offers invaluable insight into the political context of Zulfiqār's rebellion.⁷¹ According to this version Ibrāhim Khān with an army of five thousand troops was on his way to Ṭahmāsp's court when he was murdered by his nephew Zulfiqār at the summer camp of *māhī dasht*. Ibrāhim Khān had been summoned by Tājlū Begum, Ṭahmāsp's mother, who had been troubled by the inter-tribal feuding between the different *uymaqs* at court. Tājlū Begum was a relation of the Turkomāns and no doubt she had invited the support of her kinsman Ibrāhim Khān in the hope of striking a more positive political balance in favour of her own faction at court. Although, in the absence of sufficient documentary evidence, it is difficult to delineate the interest groups representing this faction, we can conjecture that this was a pro-Ṭahmāsp faction. We can also conjecture that this was a move to counter the

⁶⁹ *Aḥsan*, p. 223. *Afzal II*, f. 47b.

⁷⁰ *Khulāṣa*, pp. 175-6 & 189-90.

⁷¹ *Khulāṣa*, p. 176.

Tekkelū hegemony at court. Chuha Sulṭān Tekkelū had eliminated his rivals, Dīv Sulṭān Rūmlū and Köpek Sulṭān Ustājlū, and the powerful Ustājlū tribe was in exile in Gīlān. His other arch rival Ḥusain Khān Shāmlū was in Khurāsān and was preoccupied with the defence of the province against the ever-present threat of the Uzbeks. Therefore, Chuha Sulṭān Tekkelū exercised absolute authority as the *vakil* or vicegerent and denied the young Shāh Ṭahmāsp any effective political authority. The ongoing power struggle among the *uymaqs* at court and the absence of his uncle and his large army from Baghdād clearly provided Zulfiqār with the opportunity to take control of the reins of the government of Iraq and break away from the Ṣafavid state. Again *Khulāṣa* sheds light on Zulfiqār's political intentions. Having gained control of Iraq, Zulfiqār sent his *vakil* Nadār Beg to the Ottoman Sulṭān Sulayman to forge an alliance and also "threw his *tāj*". This refers to the Qizilbāsh *tāj* wearing of which symbolised allegiance to the Ṣafavid rule and Twelver Shī'ism.⁷² This was clearly a symbolic act by which Zulfiqār renounced Shī'ism and reinstated Sunni orthodoxy into Arab Iraq.

Afzal al-Tavārīkh does not report the fact of Iraq's cession and Zulfiqār's religious policy but it does shed light on the nature of Ṭahmāsp's liberation campaign.

Fazlī presents the royal expedition to Arab Iraq not as a military campaign to suppress the rebellion but as a pilgrimage to the Shī'ī shrines of Iraq. We are told that Shāh Ṭahmāsp despatched envoys to the corners of the empire to call the faithful to join the royal procession on its pilgrimage to the Shī'ī shrines of Iraq. A quarter of the notables of Persian Iraq and half of the notables of Fārs and Kerman joined the royal party at Jarbādqān and proceeded towards Baghdād. Fazlī was so anxious to present this as a pilgrimage that he added this note in the margin " [Shāh Ṭahmāsp] set off for Baghdād to punish Zulfiqār but the main purpose of this [campaign] was pilgrimage to the shrines of the infallible Imams and his ancestors".⁷³

⁷² *Khulāṣa*, p. 176.

⁷³ *Afzal II*, f. 47a(62a).

A reading of the first volume of *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* reveals similarities between this account and the account of Shāh Ismāʿīl's conquest of Baghdād in 914/1508.

Fazlī notes in the first volume of his history that Bāyirak Beg Purnak, the governor of Baghdād, had already declared his allegiance to Shāh Ismāʿīl. He had hoped that his recognition of Ismāʿīl's sovereignty would protect his own sovereignty over Arab Iraq and halt the Şafavid expansionist impetus. He sent gifts to Ismāʿīl's court in the hope of dissuading the Shāh from invading Iraq. But the existence of the Shīʿī shrines in Iraq meant that this province could not remain a mere vassal state and had to be fully incorporated into the Şafavid polity. Shāh Ismāʿīl did not accept the governor's gifts and reiterated "that the purpose of his expedition to Iraq was pilgrimage and that Bāyirak Beg had to come forth in obedience and servitude".⁷⁴

Implicit in this view is that the political subjugation of the province of Arab Iraq was a logical and inevitable consequence of the Şafavid religious revolution. The act of pilgrimage would inevitably entail political incorporation of the province into the Şafavid state. It is not surprising that at a time when the shrines (*atabāt*) had again come under the Sunnī rule in 935/1528 Fazlī brings the same political and religious interpretation to bear upon Ṭahmāsp's efforts to recapture the Shīʿī heritage.

[ff. 35-38] The Royal Campaign to Liberate Khurāsān, 935/1528-9.

Afzal al-Tavārīkh offers the most detailed and extended account of the liberation of the towns of Khurāsān prior to the battle of Jām. Two aspects of *Afzal's* account require historiographical examination :

1. Liberation of Dāmghān and evidence of sectarianism : Several strategic towns of Khurāsān had been occupied by the Uzbeks and their liberation was the key to Shāh Ṭahmāsp's plan to regain control of the province. Dāmghān was the gateway into Khurāsān and was the first of these key strongholds to be liberated. The sources in general record this event in a cursory manner but there is agreement that Chuha Sultān, Ulma Sultān and Muḥammad Khān Zuʿl-Qadr Ughlī besieged the citadel of

⁷⁴ *Afzal I*, ff. 159-64.

Dāmghān and, according to *Afzal*, employed Rūmlū and Iṣfāhānī musketeers to crush the Uzbeks.⁷⁵ Zaynash Bahādur and the Uzbek contingent could not withstand the Ṣafavid firepower and one night when Zaynash attempted to flee the citadel, he was captured and beheaded and the citadel fell into Ṣafavid hands.

Afzal concurs with the above version of the events but it also offers some additional evidence. The evidence suggests that among the inhabitants of Dāmghān there existed religious and political dissent against the Ṣafavids. When Chuha Sultān and his fellow Amirs entered Dāmghān they ordered the execution of a group of the Uzbeks and also significantly a group of "rebellious inhabitants" of the town.⁷⁶ The survivors sought clemency and as had been customary from the time of Shāh Ismāʿil, they were pardoned. Those who wished to join ʿUbayd Khān were granted permission to leave and were offered assistance to make the journey. Those who wished to enter the service of Shāh Ṭahmāsp were enlisted into the ranks of the Ṣūfis and also in the list of the militia (*mulāzimān*). They also received grants of land (*tiyūl*), and salaries. This rare evidence however disagrees with *Aḥsan* which claims that the Ṣafavids killed all the Uzbek troops and sent their heads to Shāh Ṭahmāsp who by this time had reached Baṣtām.⁷⁷ *Afzal's* evidence suggests that a number of the local inhabitants of Dāmghān had welcomed the Uzbek rule of their town and had indeed collaborated with Zaynash Bahādur. In the absence of sufficient evidence we cannot delineate any common interest which would have motivated the Dāmghānīs to collaborate with the invaders. It is however likely that collaboration with the Uzbeks arose from shared religious tendencies. Some of the Dāmghānīs possibly identified more with the Sunnism of the Uzbeks than with the Shīʿism of the Ṣafavids. Although Faḏlī presents the expulsion of the inhabitants of Dāmghān as a customary act of compassion which had been inaugurated by Shāh Ismāʿil, it could

⁷⁵ The sources consulted here are : *Khulāṣa*, pp. 178-9. *Aḥsan*, pp. 210-13. *Iran dar rūzigār-i.....* pp. 256-9, does not chronicle this phase of the liberation of Khurāsān and its account is only concerned with the battle of Jām. *Takmilat al-Akhhbār*, p. 64, *Jahān Ārā*, p. 284.

⁷⁶ *Afzal II*, f. 36a.

⁷⁷ *Aḥsan*, p. 212. Dickson, p. 124.

be interpreted as a calculated act by Chuha Sultān to rid the realm of the Crypto-Sunnīs. Expulsion of those suspected of being Crypto-Sunnī from the towns of Khurāsān was a recurring pattern in the Şafavid policy at times of war with the Uzbeks. During the Uzbek siege of Harat in the previous year, Ḥusain Khān Shāmlū the governor of Harat had also taken similar measures, albeit in a less humanitarian manner, to expel the suspected Sunnis from the city.⁷⁸

This rare insight into the sectarian tensions which existed in Khurāsān may serve several purposes. It points to the presence of a Sunni population of a considerable size in the province and therefore questions the depth and extent of the success of the Şafavid religious policy 34 years after Ismā'īl's accession.⁷⁹ It also suggests that a large section of the civilian population of Khurāsān may not have been passive victims suffering endless wars but actively facilitating the Uzbek occupation of the province.

2. Liberation of Isfarāyīn and Khabūshān [modern Qūchān]: After the liberation of Dāmghān several of the other towns of Khurāsān were also recaptured by the Şafavids before the Qizilbāsh and the Uzbek armies met on the battlefield at Jām. The sources are however inconsistent in their reporting of these campaigns. For example only *Afzal* and *Aḥsan* chronicle the recapture of the towns of Isfarāyīn from Qanbar 'Alī, the Uzbek governor, and also Khabūshān. *Khulāṣa*, in particular, is silent about the recapture of these towns by Chuha Sultān and company. In fact its account of this stage of the campaign to liberate Khurāsān sharply contrasts that given by *Aḥsan* and *Afzal*. *Khulāṣa* reports that after the Dāmghān campaign Chuha Sultān rejoined the royal camp at Khabūshān.⁸⁰ In the first place, this conceals the fact that Khabūshān had been under Uzbek control and on the other hand it may

⁷⁸ *Afzal II*, f. 32.

⁷⁹ Dickson, pp. 42-6, also points to the resurgence of Sunnism in Khurāsān after each Uzbek occupation in this period. For a discussion of the persistence of Sunnism in Iranian cities in the 16th century see Rosemary Stanfield Johnson, "Sunni Survival in Safavid Iran: Anti-Sunni Activities during the Reign of Tahmasp I", *Iranian Studies*, vol. 27 nos. 1-4 (1994), pp. 123-133.

⁸⁰ *Khulāṣa*, p. 178.

imply that it was Ṭahmāsp himself who reoccupied the citadel after the Uzbeks fled. We know, from *Afzal* and *Aḥsan* that at this time Ṭahmāsp was not in Khabūshān but at Kalpūshān and on his way to Mashhad and had delegated the mission to recapture Khabūshān and Isfarāyin to Chuha Sulṭān.⁸¹

[f. 38a] **Abīvard**, **Nisā** and **Bāghbād** form a line of oasis which forms the modern Turkmenistān.⁸²

[f. 38b] *Khulāṣa* and *Iran dar rūzigār* report that when Ḥusain Khān heard the news of Shah Ṭahmāsp's arrival in Mashhad, he joined the royal camp where he received much favour from the Shāh and his presence at the camp "heartened and inspired the Rustam- like warriors of the faith (*ghāzīyān*)". Neither *Aḥsan* nor *Afzal* report his presence at the royal camp but it is understood from the reading of these sources that gifts were sent to him, possibly to Harat.

[f. 38b] **Ūrganjiyya**, also known as New Khvārazm and Urgange, was the capital of Khvārazm which was built after the Mongol invasion.

[f. 39b] "*Pishandāz*" was a ceremonial manner of welcoming a prince or the king. In such a ceremony, the road was covered with brocades of gold and silver and lined on each side by his militia and domestic servants to form an avenue through which the king would proceed. Each member of the militia held a gift, often of wool, silk or gold, to be offered to the king.

[f. 45b] Fazlī claims that the grand Khān of the Uzbek confederacy Kuchkunjī Khān was killed at the battle of Jām and his head was presented to the Shāh. This is an error since, following the Uzbek defeat at Jām, Kuchkunjī Khān retreated back to Transoxiana safely where he died peacefully in Samarqand in the following year, 936/1529-30.

[f. 47a] Ṭahmāsp's visit to Mashhad and his pilgrimage to the shrine of Imām Riḏā after the victory at Jām, is not reported by any of the other sources. The author could

⁸¹ *Aḥsan*, p. 212.

⁸² Dickson, p. 125.

have excerpted this from one of the lost sources and until these sources come to light it can not be verified. However, another plausible explanation is that the author superimposes on the reign of Ṭahmāsp what was Shāh ʿAbbās's practice of pilgrimage to Mashhad.

[f. 47b] Khāneqī River. According to an 8th (14th) century account Khāneqī River was the stream which passed by Qaṣr- i Shīrīn, now in the Kermānshān province in western Iran and on the border with modern Iraq, and Khāneqīn which is located inside Iraq. Both Ibn Rustah, the 3rd (9th) century geographer, and Yāqūt describe a great bridge over this river near Khāneqīn which by Yāqūt's time, in the 7th (13th) century, had 24 arches. The Khurāsān road crossed this bridge.⁸³ The citadel of *Māhī dasht* was situated in the vicinity of Khāneqīn in the Moṣūl region of Iraq.⁸⁴

[f. 48a] After Ṭahmāsp recaptured Baghdād from Zulfiqār, he rewarded the two brothers who had murdered Zulfiqār. Shāh Ṭahmāsp appointed ʿAlī Beg as the governor of Sāva and Jarbādqān [modern Gulpāygān] and Aḥmad Beg was appointed to Ṭahmāsp's own royal corps of regular troops (*mulāzimān i Khāṣṣ*).⁸⁵

[f. 48b] "*Kār-khānijāt*" is another term for "*buyūtāt*" or the manufacturing workshops which produced the necessary goods for the Ṣafavid household. The royal household maintained a number of workshops which produced anything from food to weapons. However, the reference here must be to the workshops in Baghdad which manufactured goods for the provincial government. "*Āsh-khāna*" literally "soup kitchen" appears to have been part of "*kārkhānijāt- i khurākī*" or the workshops concerned with food. These kitchens provided food for the royal household but the kitchen referred to here clearly served the members of the provincial government in Baghdad.⁸⁶

⁸³ Le Strange, pp. 61-3.

⁸⁴ *Sharafnāma*, p. 16, note 5.

⁸⁵ *Khulāṣa*, p. 190.

⁸⁶ *TM*, f. 17.

(f. 49)Malik Beg Khu'iy : It is not possible to determine Malik Beg's tribal affiliation, if any, but his name "Khuiyy" suggests that he was a native of Khuy situated in the north west of Lake Urūmiyya in Āzarbāyjān. He was also the governor of Khuy until 935/1528, when he was dismissed from his governorship. Faẓlī notes that, for his distinguished service during the battle of Chaldiran Malik Beg Khu'iy had been enlisted into the high rank of Amirs and at the court of Shāh Ismā'īl he had enjoyed great esteem and honour.⁸⁷ Despite the high rank and the privileged position that Malik Beg obviously enjoyed at Ismā'īl's court it is difficult to construct a full picture of his life and career. The available evidence however suggests that after the death of Shāh Ismā'īl, Malik Beg was consistent in his opposition to Shāh Ṭahmāsp and participated in the religious and political factionalism at court against the Shāh.

During the minority of Shāh Ṭahmāsp Malik Beg's name first appears in the accounts of the battle of Jām. Following his desertion from the army during the battle of Jām, 935/1528, Malik Beg was dismissed from the governorship of Khuy but in the same year he was appointed to an unspecified, but possibly low ranking, military post in Mashhad.⁸⁸ Although on this occasion Malik Beg was pardoned for his desertion at Jām, this event indicates his dissenting tendencies. Evidence suggests that Malik Beg was consistent in his reluctance to support Ṭahmāsp in his wars against both the Ottomans and the Uzbeks. In 940/1533 during the Ottoman invasion of Āzarbāyjān, in Yelqīz Āqāj where the advanced guard of the Şafavid army under the command of Alqāş Mīrzā and Bahrām Mīrzā clashed with the Ottoman army, disputes broke out among the Qizilbāsh Amirs, one of whom was Malik Beg.⁸⁹ The dissenting Amirs including Muḥammad Khān Zu'l-Qadr Oġlū, Ḥusain Khān Shāmlū and Malik Beg

⁸⁷ *Afzal II*, f. 81a. Aubin, "Revolution Chiite et Conservatisme", p. 6, has argued that in the areas where the Turkish population was not tribalised, Shāh Ismā'īl conferred the title of Oġlu (sons of the House of the Şafavids) on the local lords and thus attached them to the Qizilbāsh movement. This category particularly applied to the lordships of Khuy. It is possible that the elevation of Malik Beg Khu'iy was part of this policy.

⁸⁸ *Afzal II*, ff. 47a & 49.

⁸⁹ *Khulāṣa*, p. 231.

Khu'iy were reluctant to engage in battle against the much larger Ottoman army and infighting broke out in the Şafavid camp. Many of the Amirs including Malik Beg Khu'iy fled and Muḥammad Khān Zu'l-Qadr Oġlū defected to the Ottoman camp.⁹⁰ In the meantime Shāh Ṭahmāsp also reached Āzarbāyjān and moved to besiege the citadel at Van where Ulma Sulṭān Tekkelū and a few other rebellious Amirs had taken refuge. It was at the foot of the citadel of Van where Shāh Ṭahmāsp was finally convinced that a political conspiracy to overthrow him in favour of his younger brother Sām Mīrzā was rapidly unfolding. The mastermind of this rebellion was Ḥusain Khān Shāmlū who Shāh Ṭahmāsp feared would join the pro-Ottoman rebellious Qizilbāsh Amirs inside the fortress. Finally on 25 Jamādī al-Avval 940/12 December 1533 Shāh Ṭahmāsp ordered Ḥusain Khān to be executed. Malik Beg Khu'iy too was suspected of collaboration with the Ottomans and of conspiracy with Ḥusain Khān to overthrow the Shāh and was duly executed, and, his army, *ulkā'*, and his considerable followers were entrusted to Alqās Mīrzā, Ṭahmasp's brother.⁹¹ The little that we know about the military career of Malik Beg Khu'iy offers a fresh insight into the pattern of political divisions and factionalism at court which had undermined the authority of Shāh Ṭahmāsp during his minority. What is significant about Malik Beg's hostility to Ṭahmāsp and his affiliation to the opposition groups is that it does not strictly conform to the pattern of tribal factionalism which had paralysed the Şafavid administration in the period 931-7/1524-30. During this period the Rūmlū, Ustājlū and Tekkelū tribes had fought each other to gain tribal ascendancy within the existing administration. No evidence has as yet come to light

⁹⁰ *Khulāṣa*, p. 231.

⁹¹ *Afzal II*, f. 81a.

Khulāṣa, p. 241, reports a different and more ambiguous version of Malik Beg's death. Qāzī Aḥmad Qumī notes that Malik Beg Khu'iy was killed in Tabriz in the following year 941/1534, most likely by royal command. In this year Ṭahmāsp was near Van when the news reached him that the Ottoman Sulṭān Sulaymān had departed from Baghdād for Āzarbāyjān. Malik Beg too was in Tabriz at this time and Shāh Ṭahmāsp also hastened back to the city. This coincided with Malik Beg's killing. Qāzī Aḥmad Qumī simply notes that " There, Malik Beg Khu'iy who was the residue of discord was killed."

to suggest that they fundamentally challenged the sovereignty of Shāh Ṭahmāsp. However, Malik Beg Khu'iy's participation in the faction opposed to Shaykh 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Āl Karakī (hereafter Karakī) indicates a shift in the focus and nature of political dissent at Ṭahmāsp's court. It may also explain the roots of his reluctance to support Ṭahmāsp in his military campaigns.

The other names associated with this faction are the Ṣadr Mīr Ni'amatullāh Ḥillī, the Shī'ī cleric Shaykh Ibrāhīm Qaṭīfī, the jurists such as Maulānā Ḥusain Ardabīlī, Qāzī Musāfir Tabrīzī⁹², and the courtier Muḥammad Beg Muhrdār.⁹³ Mīr Ni'amatullāh Ḥillī is reported to have been the main political force behind this opposition group.⁹⁴ Although Ḥillī had been a pupil of Karakī he had later turned against his old mentor and had attempted to form alliances with the opponents of Karakī, both in the Shī'ī circles and also at court.⁹⁵

As we can see there is an overwhelming presence of the Shī'ī clerics and jurists in this faction and the focus of its opposition was Karakī.⁹⁶ Shaykh Karakī had maintained a powerful presence at court since Ṭahmāsp's accession in 930/1523-4. He appears to have accompanied Ṭahmāsp's peripatetic court for most of the time and was also with the Shāh during the battle of Jām.⁹⁷ Karakī's power and influence at court reached its zenith in 939/1532 when Shāh Ṭahmāsp elevated him to the position of the Mujtahid of the Age and the Deputy of the Hidden Imām. Shāh Ṭahmāsp is reported to have said to Karakī "You are more worthy of kingship than I because you are the deputy of the Imam. I am one of your agents and will obey your

⁹² Qāzī Musāfir Tabrīzī was the army chaplain (*qāzī 'askar*) of Āzarbāyjān. Ironically Shāh Ṭahmāsp appointed him to take the body of Karakī to Mashhad for burial. *Afzal II*, f. 81b.

⁹³ *Khulāṣa*, p. 237.

⁹⁴ *Khulāṣa*, p. 237.

⁹⁵ Qāzī Aḥmad Qumī notes in his obituary of the Ṣadr Mīr Ni'amatullāh Ḥillī that the Ṣadr had been a pupil of Karakī but had later shown his ingratitude to the Mujtahid. Qāzī Aḥmad implies that Ḥillī's early death which occurred ten days after Karakī died in 940/1533, had in fact been his punishment for his opposition to his former mentor, *Khulāṣa*, p. 237.

⁹⁶ *Khulāṣa*, p. 237. For a discussion of the Arab Shī'ite opposition to Karakī see Newman, "The Myth of Clerical Migration".

⁹⁷ *Tārīkh-i Jahān Ārā*, p. 285; *Afzal II*, ff. 39a-47a.

commands."⁹⁸ The farman of Karakī's investiture, issued in 940/1533, which confirms him as the Seal of the Mujtahids and the Deputy of the Hidden Imām confirms the extent of the political powers and the authority which were delegated to him. It grants him the power of appointment and dismissal of religious and military officials anywhere in the kingdom. All officials and notables of the realm were ordered to consider him "their guide and model" and to obey him in all affairs.⁹⁹ He was also granted property in Arab Iraq, tax exemptions and immunities.¹⁰⁰ The political and the economic dimension of Karakī's rise to the position of the Seal of the Mujtahids was clearly resented by both the political and religious hierarchy and consequently Mīr Niʿmatullāh Ḥillī had little difficulty in enlisting the support of disaffected Amirs like Malik Beg Khuʿiy and Muḥammad Beg Muhrdār.

[f.49a] Shāh Qulī Beg Yūzbāshī Afshār : Or Shāh Qulī Ṣultān Afshār as he was titled in the year 935/1528 when Shāh Ṭahmāsp appointed him the governor of Kermān. Thereafter Shāh Qulī, the son of Khaḥlīl Khān,¹⁰¹ loyally served Shāh Ṭahmāsp throughout his reign. He was one of the powerful provincial governors who at the command of his provincial army supported Shāh Ṭahmāsp in the major military campaigns of his reign. In the year 951/1544 Shāh Ṭahmāsp appointed Shāh Qulī Sulṭān to accompany Humāyūn Pādishāh who had taken refuge at the Ṣafavid court, in his campaign to recapture Qandihār, Kābul and Ghaznain.¹⁰² In 953/1546 we find Shāh Qulī Sulṭān in the company of Shāh Ṭahmāsp in Tabriz during the crisis of Alqās Mīrzā's rebellion.¹⁰³ Here Shāh Qulī Sulṭān Afshār was involved in an inter-tribal conflict between the Afshār and the Zuʿl-Qadr tribes which threatened to develop into an armed conflict in the city. Shāh Ṭahmāsp personally intervened and

⁹⁸ Mīrzā Muḥammad Tankābunī, *Qiṣaṣ al-ʿUlamā*, (Tehran, n. d.), p. 347.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ Saʿīd Amir Arjomand "Two Decrees of Shāh Ṭahmāsp Concerning Statecraft and Authority of Shaykh ʿAlī Al-Karakī" in *Authority and Political Culture in Shīʿism* (Albany : State University of New York Press 1988), pp. 250-1.

¹⁰¹ According to *Tārīkh-i Kermān*, p. 266, the father of Shāh Qulī Sulṭān Afshār was Muṣṭafā Qulī Sulṭān Afshār. This however can not be corroborated.

¹⁰² TAAA, p. 99; *Khulāṣa*, p. 309; *Tārīkh-i Kermān*, p. 266, note 4.

¹⁰³ TAAA, p. 73.

ended the hostilities. The tribal chiefs (*amirs*) including Shāh Quḷī attended the royal palace (*daulat-khāna*) and pledged never to fight each other in their lifetime.¹⁰⁴ The leaders individually or collectively made a gift of one thousand tumans to the royal treasury.¹⁰⁵ Similar inter-tribal feuds such as that between the Rūmlū and Ustājū tribes, 931-2/1524-5, had led to a civil war during the minority of Ṭahmāsp. By 953/1546 Ṭahmāsp was powerful enough to be able to prevent another civil war. Shāh Ṭahmāsp's army mainly consisted of provincial tribal forces. These troops were stationed in the provinces and were under the command of their tribal chief who also acted as the governor of the province. At times of war they would be called to join the Shāh in his military campaigns. Not only the military fortunes of the Shāh but also the power and prestige of a tribal chiefs [governors] depended on the size of their provincial armies. During the Ottoman war of 955/1548 Shāh Quḷī Sulṭān joined Shāh Ṭahmāsp at Qarāchadāgh with one thousand men, Ibrāhim Khān the governor of Shīrāz with two thousand and five hundred troops and a few lesser chiefs with troops numbering three to five hundred.¹⁰⁶ Although not in the same rank as Ibrāhim Khān, Shāh Quḷī Sulṭān commanded a considerable army and this explains his presence in all the military campaigns of the period. In this war Shāh Quḷī is reported to have attacked and pillaged the environs of the castle of Qāriṣ on the border with Georgia (Gurjistān). Shāh Quḷī returned bringing with him all the livestock he could find : five thousand horses, one hundred thousand sheep, and fifty thousand cows.¹⁰⁷

[f. 52a] The 936/1529 siege of Mashhad. Aghzīvār Sulṭān Shāmlū, the governor of Mashhad, had three to four thousand horsemen under his command.¹⁰⁸ According to *Afzal* there were also a corps of musketeers who defended Mashhad but their number is not clear. They were able to resist the siege for two months and on one occasion

¹⁰⁴ *Khulāṣa*, p. 316.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ *Khulāṣa*, p. 328.

¹⁰⁷ *Khulāṣa*, p. 330.

¹⁰⁸ *Aḥsan*, p. 221.

they even repulsed the Uzbeks as far as Turuq, near Mashhad.¹⁰⁹ However, in the absence of any royal reinforcement, the Qizilbāsh chiefs finally succumbed to the Uzbeks and capitulated. Dickson argues that the Vicegerent Chuha Sulṭān had vetoed any military expedition to Khurāsān that year in the hope that Ḥusain Khān Shāmlū, the tutor of Prince Sām Mīrzā and the governor of Harat, would be defeated by the Uzbeks or even perish.¹¹⁰ He was motivated by a sense of rivalry and animosity against Ḥusain Khān who had distinguished himself in the battle of Jām. Chuha Sulṭān himself had fled during the first phase of the battle.¹¹¹

After their flight from Mashhad, Aḥmad Sulṭān Afshār returned to his governorship at Farāh in southern Khurāsān, which Shāh Ṭahmāsp had granted him a few months earlier after the battle of Jām. Malik Beg Khu'iy and Aghzivār Sulṭān went to Mazinān, near Sabzivār.¹¹²

[f. 52a] The Uzbek army in the siege of Mashhad. This was not an all Uzbek army. It was the private project of the Shāh-Budāqīd clan. 'Ubayd Khān himself did not arrive until two months after the siege of Mashhad had begun.¹¹³

[f.52b] Sām Mīrzā and the surrender of Harat. Dickson asserts that the decision to surrender Harat to the Uzbeks was based on a secret marriage alliance between the Ṣafavid Prince and the Uzbeks. The daughter of the "Grand Khān" was to marry Sām Mīrzā, and Abū Sa'īd was to marry the daughter of the late Durmīsh Khān [she would be the niece of Ḥusain Khān]. The marriages were contracted in the garden of Nazargāh. Dickson, citing *Tārīkh-i Ilchī-i Niẓāmshāhī*, attributes the evidence not to a historical but a literary source: a poem (*mathnavī*) from Qāsim Junābādī's *Shāhnāma-i Shāh Ṭahmāsp*.¹¹⁴ Rūmlū and Khvāndamir also report that the Shī'ī population of Harat were among those who left the city with Prince Sām Mīrzā and the governor.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁹ *Khulāṣa*, p. 191; *Aḥsan*, p. 221.

¹¹⁰ Dickson, p. 153.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² *TAAA*, p. 57.

¹¹³ Dickson, p. 146.

[f. 52b(50b)] **Maulānā Hilālī** was a native of Khurāsān and belonged to the surviving school of Harat. Hilālī was born in Āstārābād, the Persian province of Gurgān, and belonged to the ethnic group Chāghātāy Turks. In his youth he had been patronised by ‘Alī Shīr Navā’ī.¹¹⁶ He was also intimate with Prince Sām Mīrzā, Shāh Ṭahmāsp's brother. According to Sām Mīrzā, Hilālī was learned in all the sciences and literary attainments and excelled in poetry. Sām Mīrzā also notes that towards the end of his life Hilālī had become a Sunnī. His conversion however did not prevent

‘Ubayd Khān from executing him. The Prince also remembers him as a mean-spirited and petty man who had been much criticised.¹¹⁷

[f. 53a(51a)] **Malik Maḥmūd**. We can trace the life of a Malik Maḥmūd, the Vālī of Sīstān, to the year 1002/1593 when he was killed by Prince Rustam Mīrzā. He must therefore have been very young when Ḥusain Khān and Sām Mīrzā arrived at his seat of government in 936, maybe not much older than the young Shāh Ṭahmāsp himself. Although it seems unlikely that Malik Maḥmūd lived through the reigns of three Ṣafavid monarchs, Shāh Ṭahmāsp, Shāh Ismā‘īl II, Shāh Muḥammad Khudābanda, until 1002, it is worth noting the biographical evidence which appears in the chronicles under this name.

Malik Maḥmūd belonged to an ancient family of the rulers (*vālīs*) of Sīstān who claimed descent from the Saffārid dynasty which governed the southern and eastern Iran during the early ‘Abbāsīd period in the 3rd (9th) century.¹¹⁸ Although Malik Maḥmūd is reported as the governor of Sīstān in 936/1529-30, it appears that later in the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, he and the old ruling elite of Sīstān were superseded by the new elite, the Qizilbāsh chiefs, who were appointed as governors and *vālīs* of the

¹¹⁴ Dickson, pp. 154, 219-222.

¹¹⁵ *Aḥsan* p. 221, *Iran dar rūzigār-i.....*, p. 270.

¹¹⁶ E. G. Brown, *The History of Persian Literature*, vol. 5, pp. 234-5 : Prince Sām Mīrzā, *Tuhfa-i Sāmī*, p. 90.

¹¹⁷ *Tuhfa-i Sāmī*, p. 94.

¹¹⁸ TAAA, p. 478.

province. For example we find Aḥmad Sulṭān Shāmlū as the *Vālī* of Sijistān (Sistān) in 951/1544.¹¹⁹ After the death of Shāh Ismā‘īl II, however, Malik Maḥmūd fought the governor Ja‘far Sulṭān Afshār to regain his hereditary governorship. Following his victory, Malik Maḥmūd proclaimed his independent rule in Sistān.¹²⁰ Iskandar Munshī reports that Malik Maḥmūd restored peace and stability in Sistān. Shāh ‘Abbās was impressed by the political stability of Sistān. On his accession to the throne Shāh ‘Abbās who wished to revive the ancient families of the realm, possibly motivated by his desire to curtail the power of the Qizilbāsh, recognised Malik Maḥmūd's independence and issued a royal patent (*manshūr*) to this effect in the 7th year of his reign in 1002/1593.¹²¹ Malik Maḥmūd however found himself at the centre of the territorial ambitions of Muḥafar Ḥusain Mīrzā and Rustam Mīrzā, the sons of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā and the grandsons of Bahrām Mīrzā, whom Shāh ‘Abbās had appointed to the governments of Qandihār and Zamin Dāvar respectively. The young princes aspiring to greater power allied with the dissident Amirs of Sistān against Malik Maḥmūd. Malik Maḥmūd was finally murdered by Rustam Mīrzā, in 1002/1593.¹²²

[53a (51a)] Zarah was the area which is now Western Afghānistān. The main natural landmark of Zarah was Lake Zarah or the present day Lake Hāmūn Ṣāberī, which is now situated on the border between Iran and Afghānistān. Four major rivers of Farah, Helmund, Khvāsh and Hārūd converge into the lake. Owing to plentiful water Zarah was reported by the medieval geographer Istakhrī, 4th (10th) century, to have been a fertile land where food-stuffs grew abundantly.¹²³

¹¹⁹ *Khulāṣa*, p. 309.

¹²⁰ *TAAA*, p. 478.

¹²¹ *TAAA*, pp. 478-9. Shāh ‘Abbās' policy in regards to Sistān was not consistent with the general principle of centralisation to which he adhered. In an effort to centralise the state, Shāh ‘Abbās abolished the independent tribal rulerships such as the Zu‘l-Qadr in Fārs and the Afshārs in Kermān. He also incorporated the vassaldoms of Georgia (1029-1033/1620-4) and Makran (1017/1608-9). Roemer, *Cambridge History of Iran*, p. 269.

¹²² *TAAA*, pp. 478-484.

¹²³ Le Strange, pp. 334-9.

Under the Şafavids, a fertile region such as Zarah would bear a heavy fiscal burden imposed on it by the provincial governor and the chancery (*dīvān*). Amir Maḥmūd b. Khvānd Amir also reports non-payment of taxes and dues to the chancery as aspect of their lawlessness.¹²⁴

[53a (51a)] **Makrān** was the province which lay to the south of Sīstān by the Sea of Omān and Kīj was one of its towns. Both the medieval and modern geographers refer to the region only as Makrān. " Kīj va Makrān" was possibly a term of reference styled by the Şafavids. The region was not rich or politically significant in the earlier period and although by the 6th (12th) century it had acquired the trade from Hurmūz, by 936/1529 it had again fallen into ruin.¹²⁵ In 1022/1613 at the time of conquest of the castle of Bin Fahal by Ganj 'Alī Khān the governor of Kermān, Iskandar Munshī writes "this region is so remote that its rulers have never left the kingdom and know nothing of the kings of the world but their names" and that "the people of that land are Shāfi'ī".¹²⁶

[53a(51a)] **The Shāmlū-Şafavid campaign in Makrān.** The sources *Khulāṣat al-Tavārīkh*, *Irān dar rūzigār.....*, and *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* report a different and more revealing account of Ḥusain Khān Shāmlū and Sām Mīrzā's campaign in Makrān.¹²⁷ The evidence given by these sources is verbatim therefore its independence and accuracy are difficult to ascertain. According to these accounts, the Shāmlū campaign was a military raid into this province and not a peaceful mission aimed at forging political alliance with the ruler, as Fażlī Işfāhānī implies. It became known to Ḥusain Khān that there were immense riches in the province of Kīj va Makrān and its governor Malik Dīnār was very weak and timid. Consequently Ḥusain Khān and company raided the province and the Shāmlū militia (*mulāzimān*) captured an immeasurable amount of booty. Thus Malik Dīnār was subdued by force.

¹²⁴ *Iran dar rūzigār.....*, p. 271.

¹²⁵ Le Strange, p. 329.

¹²⁶ TAAA, p. 862.

¹²⁷ *Khulāṣa*, p. 192; *Iran dar ruzigār.....* p. 271; *Aḥsan* p. 222.

Considering that Fażlī Işfāhānī has derived much of his history from *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*, this discrepancy cannot be easily explained. The most likely explanation is that Fażlī Işfāhānī revised the history in the light of the political and military advances which Shāh ʿAbbās had made into Makrān by 1030/1620. Until the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās Makrān had been part of the Sind region and had paid tribute to the rulers of India.¹²⁸ In 1022/1613 Ganj ʿAlī Khān the governor of Kermān captured the castle of Bin Fahal, the seat of government of Makrān, and took Malik Shams al-Dīn, Malik Dīnār's son, and his children and relatives hostage and sent them to Işfāhān. Overawed by the power of Shāh ʿAbbās and fearful of his expansionist ambitions, in 1030/1620-21, Malik Mīrza, the Vāli of Makrān, paid homage to the Şafavī Shāh.¹²⁹ Seen in the light of these military and political advances into Makrān, Fażlī may have revised the evidence.

[53a(51a)] The Uzbek campaign in Khurāsān, 936/1529-30. Omitted from *Afzal's* account of the Uzbek invasion of Khurāsān in 936, is ʿUbayd Khān's campaign to Farāh which was a district to the south of Harat. On the 11th of Shaʿbān 936/ 10 April 1530, after capturing Harat, ʿUbayd Khān set out to capture Farāh which was on the road southwards from Herat.¹³⁰ Shāh Ṭahmāsp had granted Farāh to Aḥmad Sulṭān Afshār after the latter's disgrace and dismissal from the governorship of Kermān in the aftermath of the battle of Jām. The Uzbek offensive into Farāh took place nearly two months before Ṭahmāsp and his army left Sulṭāniyya for Sabzivār in Khurāsān.

ʿUbayd Khān possibly did not know or anticipate the Şafavid mobilisation at this time and decided to extend his conquest further to the south. There is evidence to support the view that ʿUbayd Khān aspired to conquer the whole of the Şafavid empire. Khvāja Shahāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Khvāfi who was a Sunnī and a confidant of

¹²⁸ TAAA, p. 958.

¹²⁹TAAA, p. 958. See also Cambridge History of Islam, vol 6, p. 269

¹³⁰ TAAA, p. 58; *Aḥsan*, p. 225; Le Strange p. 431; Dickson, p. 163.

‘Ubayd Khān defected to the Ṣafavid camp at Alang near Jām. On arrival he revealed that this time *jāneqi*¹³¹, or the Council of the Sulṭāns of the Uzbek confederacy, and they [‘Ubayd Khān] had determined to capture and the whole of Khurāsān, Iraq, Āzarbāyjān, Fārs, Kermān, and Khuzistān to the Ottoman borders. They planned to apportion the empire among the Sulṭāns and thus reestablish a Chingizid empire.¹³² Had ‘Ubayd Khān's incursion into Farāh succeeded, the conquest of the southern provinces of Sīstān and Kermān would have followed. In the event Aḥmad Sulṭān and the Afshārs had strengthened the defences of the citadel of Farāh so that the Uzbek siege ended in failure with ‘Ubayd Khān returning to Harat.¹³³

[53b (51b)] The Military Review at Baṣṭām. While *Afzal* gives a brief notice of the military review, *Khulāṣat al-Tavārīkh* offers a detailed account of this review which curiously has been ignored by modern scholars. For the account of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's second military campaign to Khurāsān, Dickson mainly relied on *Afzal*'s *revāyat* and seems to have been unaware of the important evidence in *Khulāṣa*.¹³⁴ Only Klaus Röhrborn appears to have noted the significance of Qāzī Aḥmad's rare and detailed account of this military review.¹³⁵ The minority of Shāh Ṭahmāsp was dominated by civil wars and the wars against the Uzbek. Therefore it is hoped that detailed attention to this military review will shed some light on the strength, character and the social composition of the Ṣafavid army in this period. The following commentary will first examine the political background to the parade and then give a translation of the detailed account found in *Khulāṣa*.

¹³¹ *Jāneqi* is Turkish for "council" and is probably the same as "*qurūltāy*" or the "assemblege of peers". Dickson, p. 31.

¹³² *Khulāṣa*, p. 212. See also Dickson pp. 163-4. Dickson cites the Uzbek sources which also suggest that ‘Ubayd Khān had grand designs for central Iran but dismisses these claims as no more than gloating.

¹³³ *Aḥsan*, p. 225.

¹³⁴ Dickson, p. 177.

¹³⁵ Röhrborn, trans. Jahāndārī, pp. 70-73. Röhrborn's summary of the review is based on the Berlin copy of *Khulāṣat al-Tavārīkh* and there appear to be some differences with the Iran-i Bastān Museum copy on which this commentary is based. Such discrepancies will be noted.

(a) *The Political Background to the military review (‘arż):*

Due to the Vicegerent Chuha Sulṭān's political intrigues the Ṣafavid liberation army was not mobilised until after the winter of 936/1529-30 during which ‘Ubayd Khān and his Uzbek army had occupied the whole of Khurāsān. Chuha Sulṭān still exercised immense control over the young Shāh and due to his influence Shāh Ṭahmāsp did not immediately turn his attention to Khurāsān but instead camped in Qazvīn and waited for spring. Chuha Sulṭān's main motive for this delaying tactic had been his desire to imperil the career and possibly the life of his political rival Ḥusain Khān Shāmlū who at the time of the Uzbek invasion was the governor-general (*beglarbegī*) of Khurāsān and tutor (*lala*) of Prince Sām Mīrzā the titular governor of the province.¹³⁶ In spite of Chuha's intrigues Shāh Ṭahmāsp succeeded in asserting his authority. He first called Chuha Sulṭān's main adversaries, the Ustājilū tribe, back to court from exile in Gīlān. Two months later, in the month of Shavvāl 936/end of May-June 1530, Ṭahmāsp ordered Chuha Sulṭān to mass the army on the plains (*chaman*) of Baṣṭām, on the road from Qazvin to Khurāsān, in preparation for the second campaign to Khurāsān. As Dickson has rightly argued, this marked a significant point in the minority of the young Shāh. His success to overrule Chuha Sulṭān and to call to court Chuha Sulṭān's tribal enemies signalled the Shāh's growing power and prestige after his victory at Jām. With the arrival of the Ustājilū chiefs at court in the spring, the second Khurāsān liberation campaign was under way.¹³⁷

Sometime in the month of Ramadān/April Shāh Ṭahmāsp instructed Chuha Sulṭān to muster the army. This was the Viceroy's call to arms:

"At an auspicious hour, the Viceroy (*amir al-umarā*) Chuha Sulṭān pitched the royal tent of felicity and the portico (*sarā parda*) of glory from the capital city (*dār al-salṭana*) of Qazvīn towards Khurāsān. He commanded that those chiefs, and the Khāns who failed to be present in the plain (*chaman*) of Baṣṭām, on Friday the 25 Shavvāl/23 June, would be punished. The offending chiefs, the standing corps of royal troops (*qūrchīyān*) and the victorious troops (*‘asākir*) would be punished."¹³⁸

¹³⁶ Dickson, p. 153.

¹³⁷ Dickson p. 177.

¹³⁸ *Afzal II*, f. 53b.

Chuha Sultān clearly resorted to coercion to enlist the military support of the Qizilbāsh tribes. This is plausible. Only one year earlier during the first phase of the battle of Jām and as soon as the Şafavid army, heavily outnumbered, had appeared to be losing the war, most of the commanders of the tribal battalions including Chuha Sultān himself had fled from the battlefield. Ṭahmāsp's final victory had been achieved with a much reduced force consisting of mainly the standing corps of royal troops.

(b) The military review ('arż) :

In *Khulāṣa*, Qāẓī Aḥmad Qumī is attentive to the details of the identities of the Amirs, the numbers of their levees, their tribal affiliations, and the Şafavī firepower, and importantly to the participation of the religious and administrative notables in the parade. His prose narrative is interspersed with poems which the princes and Amirs are reported to have recited in approbation of the Shāh as they paraded before him. Historically in such a review the military elite and the notables would have dismounted from their horses and after prayer and praise they would have presented the Shāh/ruler with a gift (*pishkish*).¹³⁹ It appears that in the Baṣṭām review panegyrics alone were offered. It is also likely that Qāẓī Aḥmad uses the poems as a literary device to create an epic. The effect is that the style appears as too much on the spot reporting which seems unreal but it does succeed in reconstructing a medieval pageant.

Shāh Ṭahmāsp arrived in Baṣṭām on the day of the review, 25th Shavvāl/23 June. Also present at Baṣṭām were the Uzbek envoys who had been sent to the Şafavid court by each of the Sultāns of Tūrān. Their mission was to convey to Ṭahmāsp the readiness of the Uzbek Sultāns to wage war and to seek from the Shāh the location where this battle would take place :

¹³⁹ In a similar military review in 881/1476, Sultān 'Alī Mīrzā dismounted from his piebald charger, knelt down on a rug spread for him on the roadside, recited prayer and praises and, following the custom of parades, presented a gift (*pishkish*) of a an excellent horse with gem-studded saddle to Sultān Khalīl Āq Qūyunlū. Vladimir Minorsky. "A Civil and Military Review in Fārs in 881/1476", *BSOAS* x (1939-42), p. 155.

" Each one of the Uzbek Sultāns had despatched an envoy (*īlchī*) to the [court] of the exalted Shāh. Each carried the news that the Sultāns and the Khāns of the east had gathered in Merv-i Shāhijān . [The Uzbeks] wished to know where [the Shāh] would choose as the battleground and they with their army would be present there too." ¹⁴⁰

Ṭahmāsp would not release the envoys until after the military review, this was no doubt to impress upon them the military might of the Ṣafavids.¹⁴¹ This had the desired effect since, after the news of the review reached the Uzbek Sultāns, they decided against war.¹⁴²

At sunrise on the day of the review Ṭahmāsp ordered the Uzbek envoys to take position on the highest point for the best view. The Shāh then ordered the illustrious Princes, the exalted Amirs , the victorious standing corps of royal troops and the troops to dress for battle and company by company (*fuj fuj*) appear on the muster ground. The Shāh also commanded the Music Bands (*naqār khānhā*) to assemble at a distance of a quarter of a *farsakh* ¹⁴³ and begin to sound the small kettledrums (*naqāra*), drums (*ṭabl*) and large kettledrums (*kus*). The gun carriages carrying the Frankish cannon (*tup-i farangī*), *bādlīj* [a kind of cannon] and the artillery (*zarbzān*) were to take position behind the music band. Behind the artillery stood 3000-4000 riflemen who fired [into the air].¹⁴⁴

Then Shāh Ṭahmāsp ordered the formation of the right (*maymana*) and the left (*maysara*) flanks. The military inspectors (*tavāchīyān*) and the messengers (*munhīyān*) announced the arrival of Prince Alqās Mīrzā and four thousand horsemen.¹⁴⁵ Ṭahmāsp entrusted the right wing to his brother Alqās. In another direction came Prince Bahrām Mīrzā with three thousand horsemen. Bahrām Mīrzā recited prayer and praise and was appointed to lead the left flank.¹⁴⁶ Next, Chuha

¹⁴⁰ *Khulāṣa*, p. 197.

¹⁴¹ Ṭahmāsp noted this in his letter to ‘Ubayd Khān Uzbek, *Khulāṣa*, p. 207.

¹⁴² *Ibid*, p. 209.

¹⁴³ One *farsakh* is approximately three and a half miles or the distance normally covered by a mule in an hour, Lambton ,*Persian Grammar* p. 259.

¹⁴⁴ *Khulāṣa*, p. 198.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p. 199.

Sultān Tekkelū arrived with his children and relatives numbering nearly eight thousand horsemen. Following Chuha Sultān, the most exalted of the Amirs, came the remainder of the Tekkelū tribe, Qudūz Sultān with two thousand horsemen, Ulma Sultān and Ghāzī Khān with their troops, numbering nearly five thousand Tekkelūs. The Tekkelū force then joined Alqās Mīrzā on the right flank.¹⁴⁷

After the Tekkelūs came the Ustājlū Amirs. ‘Abdullāh Khān, Ṭahmāsp's sister's son, entered with two thousand young [men]. With his golden mace on his shoulder he paraded before the Shāh and offered to sacrifice himself. Then came Badr Khān, Aḥmad Sultān Ṣūfī Oḡlū, Shāh Qulī Sultān and his brother Shāh ‘Alī Sultān and the rest of the Ustājlū Amirs with the total of sixteen thousand horsemen. The Ustājlūs joined Bahrām Mīrza in the left flank.¹⁴⁸ The Ustājlūs were not only a political pawn which Ṭahmāsp used to counter the Tekkelū hegemony at court but their numerical strength clearly boosted the Ṣafavid military power.

This was the formation of the right and the left flanks as far as *Khulāṣa* reports. The parade continued as follows but Qāzī Aḥmad gives no indication as to the formation of the tribes. Aḥmad Sultān Afshār with his three thousand mounted archers led the Afshārs. Alvand Sultān, the governor of Kūh Gilviyya, with the three thousand cavalry too joined the Afshārs. The remaining Afshār chiefs, Shāhrukh Sultān, Shāh Qulī Sultān, Tīmūr Sultān, Sanjāb Sultān, Budāq Sultān, Ḥasan Sultān, Murād Sultān, Shīr Muḥammad Sultān, Sunduk Sultān and many others also joined the parade.¹⁴⁹

Among the above Afshār Amirs, Qāzī Aḥmad extols Aḥmad Sultān for twenty years of service fighting the Uzbeks in Merv, Sarakhs, Mashhad, Ṭūs and Farāh.¹⁵⁰

However, his inclusion of Aḥmad Sultān Afshār in the review is problematic. We know that after ‘Ubayd Khān captured Harat, he invaded Farāh, which Aḥmad

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 200.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 201. The figure for the Afshār contingent may be incomplete. See also Röhrborn, *op. cit.*, p. 71, note 277.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. p. 200.

Sulṭān governed, in Sha‘bān 936/ April 1530.¹⁵¹, no more than a month and a half before the review. Although the Uzbek siege did not last very long, it is doubtful that the Afshārs would be able to reach Baṣṭām in time for the review. Furthermore ‘Ubayd Khān did not retreat to Merv until the month of Zu‘l-hajja/August, almost two months after the review at Baṣṭām. It is therefore unlikely that Aḥmad Sulṭān and his three thousand mounted archers would have left Farāh to take part in a military parade several hundred kilometres to the west. This would have left Farāh defenceless and vulnerable to renewed Uzbek offensive. However, it is possible that greater political considerations overrode urgent military exigencies. That for the Afshārs participation in the military review was of greater political consequence than safeguarding their provincial stronghold against the Uzbek.

The Shāmlū tribe followed. Aghzīvār Sulṭān, Tabaruk Sulṭān, Qarā Sulṭān, Ḥasan Sulṭān, ‘Alī Sulṭān, and Maḥmūd Khān with a force of 9150 horsemen were recorded (*bi qalam dar āmad*).¹⁵²

After that Ghāzī Khān-i Tavāchī¹⁵³ led the elephantine (*kūh-paikar va fil manzar*) Zu‘l-Qadr Amirs and recited a poem praising his own military prowess and declaring his loyalty to Shāh Ṭahmāsp. Shāh Qulī Khalīfa, ‘Alī Sulṭān, Muḥammad and several other Zu‘l-Qadr chiefs with a force of 8000 cavalry joined their fellow tribesmen.¹⁵⁴ Then the Qajār followed. Ya‘qūb Sulṭān, Gūgija Sulṭān, Shāh ‘Alī Sulṭān and the rest of the Qajār Amirs with 6200 cavalry men paraded past.¹⁵⁵

The Mauṣilū Amir Muḥammadī Beg led 1000 cavalry and ‘Alī Sulṭān Zulfiqār Kush, Shams al-Dīn Sulṭān, Ḥasan Sulṭān and several other Amirs paraded with 4000 men/women (*nafar*).¹⁵⁶

¹⁵¹ *Irān dar ruzigār*..... p. 274. See the commentary above [53a(51a)].

¹⁵² *Khulāṣa*, p. 201. Röhrborn, *op. cit.*, p. 71, estimates the Qajār cavalry at 6000.

¹⁵³ "Tavāchī" was a military inspector or an advance guard (*jilau-dār*). Here however it is presented as part of Ghāzī Khān's name.

¹⁵⁴ *Khulāṣa*, p. 201.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.* Röhrborn, *op. cit.*, calculates the Mauṣilū cavalry at only 1000 and not 5000 which we calculate.

The Amirs of the other tribes (*tavāʿif-i uymāqāt*) such as the Chipnī,¹⁵⁷ Turkoman, Bāyundūriyya,¹⁵⁸ Chekenī,¹⁵⁹ Kurds, and the ʿArabgīrlū¹⁶⁰ led a total of 15550 horsemen onto the muster ground.¹⁶¹

Next came the sayyids, the the chief of the sayyids (*nuqaba*), the ʿulamā, the learned scholars (*fuḏalā*), the shaykhs, and the stewards (*khuddām*) who had arrived from the holy shrines. This group numbered 4000 and Shāh Ṭahmāsp announced that they together with the Ṣadrs were to lead the parade.¹⁶² The clerical estate was followed by a few individuals : Khvāja Muḏafar Butakchī with 1000 archers; Khvāja Turshīzī and Ziāʾ al-Dīn Sulṭān also with a 1000 archers.

400 Tabrāʿiyān also joined the procession and were followed by the civil servants.¹⁶³ The civil servants comprised the vazirs, the *mustaufis*, the *munshīs*, and the rest of the writers (*nivīsandigān*) and the accountants (*muḥasibān*) form among the men of

¹⁵⁷ The Chipnī were descended from the 24 Ughūz tribes and played an important role in the conquest and the settlement of the Turkoman in Anatolia. A large majority of them had traditionally been Shīʿī. In the 16th century a group of them were settled in Ḥalab (Aleppo in Syria). Another important settlement was in Amasiya, Sivās and Tūqāt in Turkey. Under the Ṣafavids, the Chepenīs were one of the influential tribes and the members of the standing corps of royal troops (*qūrchīs*) were recruited from this tribe. Sūmer, trans. Ishrāqī and Imāmī, *op. cit.*, pp. 63, 102

¹⁵⁸ In Rashīd al-Dīn's history Bāyundūriyya appear as one of the 24 Ughuz tribes which immigrated to Western Asia in the 5th/11th century. It is supposed that the Āq Qūyūnlū were a clan of the Bāyundūriyya tribe and in some sources the two names are used as synonyms. Roemer, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, pp. 152-3. Although some of the Bāyundūriyya opposed Shāh Ismāʿīl and took refuge in Rustamdār, the tribe was eventually reconciled to the Ṣafavid rule. This was partly achieved through marriage alliances between the house of the Ṣafavids and the Bāyundūrs. For instance, the mother of Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda, the father of Shāh ʿAbbās I, was Sulṭānum, the daughter of Mūsā Sulṭān Mauṣilū Turkoman who was a powerful Bāyundūr Amir, *TAAA*, p. 125.

¹⁵⁹ The Chekenī were one of the three major Kurdish tribes. Bidlisī notes that during the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp the tribe lacked a chieftain as none of its Amirs or sons of Amirs had survived. Thus the tribe scattered in Iraq and Āzarbāyjan and took to highway robbery. They caused such disruption to trade that the merchants complained to Shāh Ṭahmāsp and appealed to him to restore law and order in the kingdom. Shāh Ṭahmāsp ordered that any Chekenī who was found killing or stealing should be expelled from the Ṣafavid domain. They could go anywhere they chose but if they did not comply they were to be killed. *Sharafnāma*, pp. 17, 429-30.

¹⁶⁰ ʿArabgīrlū is today the name of a district of Malāṭiyya in Turkey. A group of them emigrated to Iran under the Ṣafavids, Sūmer, trans. Ishrāqī and Imāmī, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-4. During the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, the office of Vazir of the standing corps of royal troops (*qūrchīs*) belonged to the ʿArabgīrlū. By the end of Shāh ʿAbbās' reign however, the ʿArabgīrlū had been incorporated into the Shamlū tribe. *TAAA*, pp. 164, 1084.

¹⁶¹ *Khulās*, p. 202.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 202-3.

pen, totalling 1700 cavalry. The men of pen, divided in ethnic groups, presented worthy gifts to Shāh Ṭahmāsp and took their place.¹⁶⁴

Then the craftsmen of the royal workshops, who numbered 3800, paraded past. Next came the elite of the army (*khavāṣṣ-i lashkar-i Islam*) the standing corps of royal troops (*qūrchīyān*). The commander of the *qūrchīs* Dūrāq Beg Qūrchī-bāshī, who was the most senior of all the Amirs and the pillars of the state, paraded past with 5000 *qūrchīs* and recited a panegyric of Shāh Ṭahmāsp.

The troops continued to march but it was sun set and a third of the army had not yet paraded. Shāh Ṭahmāsp decided to continue the review throughout the night. He ordered the torches, candles and the lanterns to be lit and he reviewed a total of 120000 troops until sunrise.¹⁶⁵ At midday Shāh Ṭahmāsp retired and the troops assembled around the royal parasol (*chatr*) and cried *Allāh Allāh*. The cries of 400000 people at the royal camp and the firing sound of 5000 muskets, 120 Frankish cannons, the sound of the royal Music band (*naqār-khāna*), the drums, the kettle-drums (*kus*), and the trumpets (*kurnā*) created tumult in the heavens and earthquake on earth.¹⁶⁶

[55a(53a)] *Afzal's* reference to "Sultān Ḥusain Mīrzā" is in fact to Sultān Ḥusain Bāyqarā (r. 873-911/1469-1506), the ruler of the Tīmūrīd empire of Herat. After Sultān Ḥusain's death in 1506, his two sons Badīʿ al-Zamān and Muẓaffar Ḥusain were in conflict over the issue of succession until the following year 1507 when Muḥammad Khān Shaibānī, the Uzbek ruler of Samarqand, attacked and captured Herat. Muẓaffar Sultān died soon after and Badīʿ al-Zamān fled first to the court of Shāh Ismāʿīl and then to Istanbul where he died in 932/1517. This marked the fall of the Tīmūrīd empire of Herat and brought the Uzbeks and the Ṣafavids into direct conflict. Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafavī, partly in response to the appeals from Badīʿ al-Zamān and partly to reduce the Uzbek threat to the new Ṣafavid empire, launched a

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 203.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid, 204-5.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid, 205.

campaign against the Uzbeks in the winter of 916/1510. Muḥammad Khān Shaibānī was killed in the battle at Merv and Shāh Ismāʿīl captured Herat and appointed Lala Beg the governor.¹⁶⁷

[56a(54a)] "**Khitā and Khitan**" refers to the far reaches of the Uzbek territory. "Khitan" were originally a proto- Mongol tribe who set up their own empire in Manchuria in the early 10th century.¹⁶⁸

[62b(60b)] **The desecration of the tomb of Maulānā Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī.** Jāmī was the great Timūrīd poet, scholar and mystic, who was born in Khargird in the vicinity of the town of Jām in Khurāsān on 23 Shaʿbān 817/ 7 November 1414 and died in Harat on 18 Muharram 898/ 9 November 1492. Jāmī belonged to the Naqshbandi Ṣūfī order which had strong loyalty to Sunnism. His work includes a treatise devoted to Naqshbandiyya, *Sar-rishta-i tāriḫ-i khvādjagān*.¹⁶⁹ Jāmī's tomb was first desecrated by Shāh Ismāʿīl in 1510 during his conquest of Harat.¹⁷⁰

Fazlī's version of Ṭahmāsp's attempt to desecrate Jāmī's tomb, which seeks to establish the poet's loyalty to Shīʿism, is therefore very curious and does not appear in any other source. Furthermore, the presence of the Grand Vazir Qāzī Jahān who made divination from Jāmī's *divān* at Harat at this time is also problematic. Qāzī Jahān, who was a Sunnī, was in prison in Gīlān at the time for the part he had played in the tribal factionalism at court. He remained in prison until 942/1535. Dickson has suggested that this anecdote may be apocryphal.¹⁷¹ As the analysis of the three case studies in chapter 2 of this thesis has also shown, this is characteristic of Fazlī's

¹⁶⁷ Cambridge History of Iran, vol. 6, pp. 118-25, 217; *Takmilat al-Akhhār*, p. 50.

¹⁶⁸ *The Times Concise Atlas of World History*, (ed.) Geoffrey Barraclough, (London, 1988). pp. 50-51.

¹⁶⁹ Hamid Algar, "Naqshbandiyya", *EI*, vol. 7, (Leiden, 1993), p. 935.

¹⁷⁰ Arjomand, "Religious Extremism", p. 11. Repressive measures such as digging up and burning the corpses of the prominent Sunnīs have been recognised as archaic Turco-Mongol/Qizilbash practices. Jean Calmard "Les Rituels Shiites et le Pouvoir, L'imposition du shiisme safavide: eulogies et maledictions canoniques" in Jean Calmard (ed.), *Etudes Safavides*. (Paris, 1993). p. 117. note. 42.

¹⁷¹ Dickson, pp. 190-3.

inventive approach to writing his history. This account however can not be dismissed as pure fiction and merits further research. It is likely that by the early 17th century, this anecdote had evolved within the oral historical tradition. It is also representative of the dilemma which the Şafavids faced in coming to terms with the heterogenous religious traditions existing in the domains under their control. Şafavid chronicles readily identify prominent individuals as Shī'ī when such identification may not always be warranted. For instance, when examining the history of Shī'ism in Iran, 'Abdī Beg Shīrāzī, the author of *Takmilat al-Akhhbār*, writes about the attempts made by Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā, the Timurid ruler of Harat, to make Shī'ism the official religion. According to Shīrāzī, Sulṭān Ḥusain wanted to include the names of the twelve Shī'ī Imāms in the *Khuṭba* but the people were so angered that they pulled Sayyid 'Alī Qā'inī, the prayer leader, from the *minbar*.¹⁷² Rūmlū, the author of *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*, too reports this incident. He also adds that Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā sought the opinion of the poet Jāmī who cautioned him against any attempt to proclaim Shī'ism as the official religion.¹⁷³ This incidently contradicts Fazlī's assertion that Jāmī was a Shī'ī. However, the version rendered by the Sunnī historian Mu'īn al-Dīn Asfizārī counters both Shīrāzī and Rūmlū. In *Rużāt al-Jināt fi Auşāf Madinat Harat*, Asfizārī claims that a few ignorant Shī'ī believed that because Sulṭān Ḥusain had adopted the *nom de plume* "Ḥusainī" for his poems he was a Shī'ī. They therefore tried to read the names of the twelve Imāms in the sermon.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷² *Takmilat al-Akhhbār*, p. 41.

¹⁷³ *Ibid*, p. 176. Rūmlū cites *Maṭla'-'i Sa'dain va Majma'-'i Bahrain* by Shaykh 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī as his source.

¹⁷⁴ *Takmilat al-Akhhbār*, p. 175.

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