

THE ANCESTORS OF SHAYKH ŞAFIYYU'D-DÍN.

That the seventh Imám Músá Kázim had, besides the son 'Alí Ridá who succeeded him in the Imámate, another son named Hamza, from whom Shaykh Şafí claimed descent, is a fact vouched for by the historian al-Ya'qúbí¹, but the next dozen links in the chain (including five Muḥammads without further designation) are too vague to admit of identification. The earliest ancestor of the Şafawís who is invested with any definite attributes is Fírúزشáh-i-Zarrín-kuláh ("Golden-cap"), who is stated by the *Silsilatü'n-Nasab* to have been made governor of Ardabíl, henceforth the home and rallying-point of the family, by a son of Ibráhím-i-Adham, here represented as king of Persia. Ibráhím-i-Adham, however, though reputed of kingly race, renounced the world, became a notable saint, and died about A.D. 780 in Syria, and history knows nothing of any son of his who succeeded to a throne in Persia or elsewhere. Fírúزشáh died after a prosperous life at Rangín in Gílán, and was succeeded by his son 'Awad, of whom nothing is recorded save that he lived and died at Isfaranján near Ardabíl. His son Muḥammad earned the title of Háfiz because he knew the *Qur'án* by heart, an accomplishment for which he is said to have been indebted to the *Jinn*², who kidnapped him at the age of seven and educated him amongst themselves for a like number of years. The two succeeding heads of the family, Şaláhu'd-Dín Rashíd and Quṭbu'd-Dín Aḥmad, seem to have lived quietly at Kalkhorán³, devoting themselves to agriculture, until a fierce incursion of

The seventh
Imám Músá
Kázim.

Fírúزشáh-
i-Zarrín-kuláh.

'Awad al-
Khawáṣṣ.

Muḥammad
Háfiz.

Şaláhu'd-Dín
Rashíd.

Quṭbu'd-Dín
Aḥmad.

¹ Ed. Houtsma, vol. ii, p. 500.

² For some account of the believing *Jinn*, see *Qur'án*, lxxii.

³ This, as M. V. Minorsky has pointed out to me, and not "Gilkhwárán," is the proper pronunciation of this name.

the Georgians compelled the latter to flee to Ardabíl with his family, including his little son Amínu'd-Dín Jibrá'íl, then only a month old. Even here they were not left unmolested: the Georgians pursued them and they had to take refuge in a cellar, where their lives were only saved by a devoted youth, who, ere he fell beneath the swords of his assailants, succeeded in concealing the entrance to the cellar by throwing down a large earthen jar over it. Quṭbu'd-Dín himself was severely wounded in the neck and hardly escaped with his life, and his grandson Shaykh Şafí, who was born during his life, used to relate that when his grandfather took him on his shoulder he used to put four baby fingers into the scar left by the wound. In due course Quṭbu'd-Dín was succeeded by his son Amínu'd-Dín Jibrá'íl, farmer and saint, who adopted Khwája Kamálu'd-Dín 'Arabsháh as his spiritual director, and married a lady named Dawlatí; she in due course, in the year 650/1252-3, bore him the son who afterwards became famous as Shaykh Şafíyyu'd-Dín, with whom the family suddenly emerges from comparative obscurity into great fame. The author of the *Silsilatü'n-Nasab*, not content with giving the year of his birth, further fixes the date as follows. At the time of his birth Shams-i-Tabríz had been dead five years, Shaykh Muḥyi'd-Dín ibnu'l-'Arabí twelve years, and Najmu'd-Dín Kubrá thirty-two years. He was five years old when Húlágú Khán the Mongol conquered Persia, twenty-two on the death of Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí, and forty-one on the death of Sa'dí. The eminent saints contemporary with him included Amír 'Abdu'lláh-i-Shírází, Shaykh Najíbu'd-Dín Buzghúsh, 'Alá'u'd-Dawla-i-Samnání and Shaykh Maḥmúd-i-Shabistari (author of the *Gulshan-i-Ráz* or "Rose-bed of Mystery"). He had three elder¹ and two younger brothers² and one

Amínu'd-Dín
Jibrá'íl.

Şafíyyu'd-Dín.

¹ Muḥammad, Şaláhu'd-Dín Rashíd and Isma'íl.

² Ya'qúb and Fakhru'd-Dín Yúsuḥ.

elder sister, being thus the fifth in a family of seven; and his father died when he was six years of age.

SHAYKH ŞAFIYU'D-DÍN (A.D. 1252-1334).

Hitherto we have suffered from the exiguity of biographical details, but now we are rather embarrassed by their abundance. The *Şafwatu's-Şafá*, it is true, probably contains all that can now be known about Shaykh Şaff, but it is a voluminous work, containing some 216,000 words, and written in a fairly simple and direct style without much "stuffing" (*hashw*) or rhetorical adornment, so that anything approaching a full analysis of its contents would in itself constitute a volume of considerable size. It is lamentably deficient in dates, and in general deals rather with the spiritual than the material aspects of the life of Shaykh Şaff and his director Shaykh Záhíd-i-Gílání. Stated as briefly as possible, its contents are as follows:

Introduction (in 2 sections). Shaykh Şaff's advent foretold by the Prophet and by former saints, such as Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí.

Chapter I (in 11 sections, two of which are further subdivided). Early life of Shaykh Şaff. His genealogy. Portents preceding his birth. His birth and childhood. His search for a spiritual director. He finally meets Shaykh Záhíd of Gílán. His life as a disciple of this holy man. His succession to the supremacy of the Order. His spiritual affiliation up to the Prophet. Characteristics and miracles of Shaykh Záhíd.

Chapter II (in 3 sections). Some of the miracles of Shaykh Şaff, whereby he delivered men from the perils of the sea and of deep waters, of mountains, mist and snow, and from foes, bondage and sickness.

Chapter III (in 3 sections). Some of the miracles wrought by the favourable or unfavourable regards of Shaykh Şaff.

Scope, size and contents of the *Şafwatu's-Şafá*.

Chapter IV (in 6 sections, two of which are further subdivided). Some of Shaykh Şaff's sayings, and his explanations of verses of the *Qur'án*, traditions of the Prophet, utterances of the Saints, and allegorical verses of the poets.

Chapter V (in 3 sections). Some of Shaykh Şaff's miracles connected with the *Jinn*, with animals, and with inanimate objects.

Chapter VI (undivided). Ecstasies and devotional dancing of Shaykh Şaff.

Chapter VII (in 5 sections). Various miracles of Shaykh Şaff, such as thought-reading, foretelling future events, converse with the dead, etc.

Chapter VIII (in 27 sections). Further examples of the virtues, powers, pious actions, effective prayers, intuitions and views of Shaykh Şaff, vouched for by his son Shaykh Şadru'd-Dín.

Chapter IX (in 2 sections). Last illness and death of Shaykh Şaff.

Chapter X (in 3 sections). Posthumous miracles of Shaykh Şaff.

Chapter XI (in 3 sections). The fame and greatness of Shaykh Şaff and his vicars (*Khulafá*) throughout the world.

Chapter XII (in 2 sections). Miracles wrought by Shaykh Şaff's disciples.

Conclusion.

That so comparatively small a portion of this voluminous work should be biographical is disappointing but not surprising, for how can those who regard themselves as belonging to the Timeless and Placeless (*Lá Makán*) be expected to trouble themselves about dates or similar details? All these hagiographies, indeed, have a similar character, and deal chiefly with the pious sayings, devout practices and supernatural achievements (*karámát*) of those whose lives they record.

Characteristics of Muslim hagiographies.

That these *karámdt*¹ have an interest of their own in connection with Psychical Research has been recognised by D. B. Macdonald in his excellent book on *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*² and by Cl. Huart in his *Saints des Derviches Tourneurs*³. The latter classifies the psychical phenomena recorded in his original, the *Mand-qibul-ʿArifin* (composed about 718/1318, only some thirty years earlier than the *Şafwatü's-Şafá*, which was very probably modelled on it), as follows: dreams; knowledge of future events; second sight and divination of hidden objects; thought-transference; luminosity of bodies, human and inanimate; automatic opening of closed doors; ubiquity; anaesthesia and immunity against poisons; action on material objects at a distance; production of the precious metals; abnormal muscular, digestive and sexual powers and physical enlargements of the body; shifting features and instability of countenance; apparitions; psychotherapy; replies to difficult questions; conversions to Islám; sermons to animals; vengeance of the Saints; mental alienation; protracted seclusion and fasting; talismans; sudden disappearances. Examples of all, or nearly all, of these phenomena are to be found in the *Şafwatü's-Şafá*, while a smaller but fairly representative selection is contained in the *Silsilatu'n-Nasab*, but a detailed examination of them, though not without interest and value, would be out of place in this volume. It must be noted, however, that certain aspects of these Muslim saints, as recorded by their disciples and admirers, are to Western

¹ The supernatural achievements of thaumaturgists are divided by Jámi (*Nafahātu'l-Uns*, ed. Nassau Lees, pp. 22-31) into three classes: (i) the evidential miracles of the Prophets, called *mu'jizát*; (ii) the "gifts" (*karámdt*) vouchsafed by God to his saints for their greater honour; and (iii) the "wonders" (*khawáriqu'l-ʿáddát*) wrought by ordinary men by means of Black or White Magic.

² University of Chicago Press, 1909.

³ Paris, Leroux, 1918-1922.

minds somewhat repellent; their curses are no less effective than their blessings, and their indulgences no less remarkable than their abstentions, while grim jests on the fate of such as have incurred their displeasure are not uncommon. Thus a certain prince named Siyámak, son of Shírwánsháh, when setting out for the Mongol camp (*urdú*), spoke in a disparaging manner of Shaykh Záhíd's disciples, and threatened on his return to pull down or burn their monasteries. When this was reported to the Shaykh he merely remarked, playing on the prince's name, that *Siyámak* would become *Siyáh-marg* (meaning "the Black Death"); which saying was duly fulfilled, for, having in some way incurred the wrath of the Mongol sovereign, he was, after the barbarous fashion of these people, wrapped up in black felt and kicked or trampled to death¹. To Shaykh Záhíd, on the other hand, Gházán Khán² the Mongol Ílkhán showed the greatest respect, especially after the saint had exhibited his powers of mind-reading, which so impressed Gházán that he insisted on kissing his feet.

Externally the life of Shaykh Şaff, especially after he became the disciple of Shaykh Záhíd and settled at Ardabíl, was not very eventful. As a child he was serious, unsociable and disinclined for play. At a comparatively early age he appears to have got a "concern" about religion, and to have seen visions and held converse with the Unseen World. Finding no adequate direction in Ardabíl, and hearing the fame of Shaykh

Shaykh Şaff's
childhood.

¹ The last 'Abbásid Caliph, al-Musta'şim, is said to have been put to death by Húlágú Khán in this way, the Mongols having a dislike to shedding kingly blood. So Clavijo informs us that at the court of Tímúr "the custom is that when a great man is put to death he is hanged; but the meaner sort are beheaded." See Sir Clements Markham's translation of his *Narrative*, published by the Hakluyt Society in 1859, p. 150.

² He reigned A.D. 1295-1304. See my *Pers. Lit. iii*, pp. 40-46.

Najíbu'd-Dín Buzghúsh of Shíráz, he desired to go thither, but, having finally overcome his mother's opposition to the journey, arrived there only to find the saint dead¹. While at Shíráz he made the acquaintance of many notable saints

and *darwishes*, and of the celebrated poet Sa'dí, He meets Sa'dí. of whom, however, he seems to have formed but a poor opinion. Indeed he appears to have treated the poet with scant civility, even refusing to accept an auto-graph copy of his poems. Finally Záhru'd-Dín, the son and successor of Shaykh Buzghúsh, told Shaykh Şafí that

no one could satisfy his spiritual needs except Shaykh Záhíd of Gílán, whose personal appearance and dwelling-place on the shore of the Caspian Sea he described to him in detail. Four years elapsed, however, ere he was successful in tracking down the elusive saint, then sixty years of age, by

He becomes the disciple of Shaykh Záhíd of Gílán.

whom he was cordially welcomed, and with whom he spent the next twenty-five years of his life.

Shaykh Záhíd's full name, as given in the *Şafwatü's-Şafá*, is Táju'd-Dín Ibráhm ibn Rawshan Amír ibn Bábil ibn Shaykh Pindár (or Bundár) al-Kurdí as-Sanjání, and the mother of his grandfather Bábil is said to have been a *Jinniyya*. The title of *Záhíd*

Account of Shaykh Záhíd.

("the Ascetic" or "Abstemious") was given to him by his Director Sayyid Jamálu'd-Dín for reasons which are variously stated. He gave his daughter Bíbí Fátima in marriage to Shaykh Şafí, to whom she bore three sons, of whom the second, Şadru'd-Dín, ultimately succeeded his father as head of the Order. The author of the *Silsilatu'n-Nasab* was one of his descendants, who were collectively known as *Pír-záda* and apparently continued to enjoy high consideration during the whole Şafawí period.

From the data given by the *Silsilatu'n-Nasab*, viz. that

¹ According to Jámí (*Nafahát*, p. 548) he died in Sha'bán 678 (Dec. 1279).



Shaykh Abdál Pír-záda presenting the captured horse of the Uzbek leader, Dín Muḥammad Khán, to Sháh 'Abbás the Great

Shaykh Záhíd was 35 years older than Shaykh Şaff, that both died at the age of 85, and that the latter died in 735/1334, we may conclude that the former died about 700/1300; and this is corroborated by the further statement that his grandson Şadru'd-Dín was born in 704/1305, four years after his death. Shaykh Şaff now became head of the Order, and held this position for 35 years, when he died¹, and was in turn succeeded by his son Şadru'd-Dín. He produced some poetry both in the dialect of Gílán (in which also several of his conversations with Shaykh Záhíd were conducted) and likewise in ordinary Persian. Though one of his quatrains² testifies to his love of 'Alí ("how much soever he in whose heart is a grain of love for 'Alí may sin, God will forgive him" are his words), I find no evidence that he held those strong Shí'a views which subsequently characterised his descendants. There is, indeed, a piece of evidence to the contrary in the *Aḥsanu't-Tawárikh*, an important unpublished history of the first two Şafawí kings composed in the reign of Sháh Ṭahmásp and including the years A.H. 901-985 (A.D. 1495-1577)³. In a letter of remonstrance addressed to this ruler by the Uzbek 'Ubayd Khán in 936/1529-1530 the following sentence occurs⁴:

و پدر کلان شما جناب مرحوم شیخ صفی را همچنین شنیده ایر
که مردی عزیز اهل سنت و جماعت بوده مارا حیرت عظیم
دست میدهد که شما نه روش حضرت مرتضی علی را تابعید و
نه روش پدر کلان را

¹ On Monday, Muḥarram 12, 735 (Sept. 12, 1334).

² See *J.R.A.S.* for July, 1921, p. 403.

³ Mr A. G. Ellis most kindly placed at my disposal his MS. of this rare book, to which all subsequent references are made.

⁴ F. 166^a.

Shaykh Záhíd
dies and is
succeeded by
Shaykh Şaff.

Shaykh Şaff's
poetry.

No evidence
that he was
a Shí'a.

"We have thus heard concerning your ancestor, His sainted Holiness Shaykh Şaffí, that he was a good man and an orthodox Sunní, and we are greatly astonished that you neither follow the conduct of Murtađá 'Alí nor that of your ancestor."

He did much, however, to extend and develop the Order of which he was the Superior, and his influence is illustrated by a statement of Mawláná Shamsu'd-Dín Barníqí of Ardabíl, quoted in the *Silsilatu'n-Nasab*¹, that the number of those who came to visit him along one road only—that from Marágha and Tabríz—in the course of three months amounted to some thirteen thousand. Many if not most of these must have come from Asia Minor, so that even at this early date the Order was establishing and consolidating itself in regions where it was afterwards destined to cause the greatest anxiety to the Ottoman Sultáns².

Shaykh Şadru'd-Dín succeeded his father at the age of 31 in 735/1334 and controlled the affairs of the Order for 59 years until his death in 794/1392. He also composed verses in Persian, and is besides credited with many miracles, the most celebrated of which was his recovery and restoration to Ardabíl of the door of the principal mosque which had been carried off by the Georgians when they raided that city about 600/1203-4³. Amongst the most celebrated of his disciples was the poet Qásimu'l-Anwár, whose orthodoxy was somewhat suspect, and who was expelled from Herát by Sháh-rukhs under circumstances which I have discussed elsewhere⁴. That Shaykh Şadru'd-Dín's influence and ac-

Influence of
Shaykh Şaffí
in Asia Minor.

Şadru'd-Dín
succeeds his
father in
735/1334.

¹ See *J.R.A.S.* for July, 1921, pp. 403-4.

² Compare Dr Franz Babinger's remarks in his admirable study *Schejch Bedr ed-Dín der Sohn des Richters von Simāw* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1921), especially p. 15 of the *Sonderabdruck*.

³ See pp. 36-7 *supra*, and *J.R.A.S.* for July, 1921, pp. 406-7.

⁴ *Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, pp. 473-486 and pp. 365-6. I must here note an error into which I fell concerning the

tivities also aroused the suspicions of neighbouring potentates is shown by the action of Malik-i-Ashraf¹, who lured him to Tabríz and kept him in confinement there for three months, when, warned by a dream, he released him, but subsequently attempted to recapture him and compelled him to flee into Gílán. Other holy and learned men suffered at the hands of this tyrant, and one of them, the Qáđí Muhyi'd-Dín of Barda'a, depicted in such vivid colours the odious oppression of Malik-i-Ashraf to Jání Beg Khán son of Uzbek, the ruler of the Dasht-i-Qipcháq, that the latter invaded Ádharbáyján, defeated Malik-i-Ashraf, and put him to death. According to the *Silsilatu'n-Nasab*² he also had an interview with Shaykh Şadru'd-Dín, treated him with great respect, and confirmed to him the possession of certain estates whereof the revenues had formerly been allocated to the shrine at Ardabíl.

Shaykh Şadru'd-Dín, like his father Shaykh Şaffí, performed the pilgrimage to Mecca at the end of his life, and is said to have brought back with him to Ardabíl the Prophet's standard. Shortly after his return he died, in 794/1392, and was succeeded by his son Khwájá 'Alí, who controlled the affairs of the Order for thirty-six years until his death on Rajab 18, 830 (May 15, 1427). This happened in Palestine, where he is buried, his tomb being known as that of "Sayyid 'Alí 'Ajámí³." Like his father and grandfather he

verses of Qásim quoted on p. 474. These obviously refer not to Shaykh Şaffí but to his son Şadru'd-Dín, who actually lived exactly ninety years (A.H. 704-794). The word *نقد* in l. 1 probably needs emendation to some word (like *نجل*) meaning "son"; in any case this is its meaning here. The translation should run: "The Şadr of Saintship, who is the son [or survivor or representative] of Shaykh Şaffí," etc.

¹ See d'Ohsson's *Histoire des Mongols*, vol. iv, pp. 740-2.

² *J.R.A.S.* for July, 1921, pp. 405-6.

³ See *J.R.A.S.* for July, 1921, p. 407. Dr Franz Babinger wrote to

Şadru'd-Dín is
succeeded in
794/1392 by his
son Khwájá 'Alí.

was a worker of miracles and a poet, and over two hundred of his Persian verses are quoted in the *Silsilatü'n-Nasab*. In him strong Shí'a tendencies reveal themselves: instigated by the Ninth Imám Muḥammad Taqí in a dream he converts the people of Dizful, by a miraculous stoppage of their river, to a belief in and recognition of the supreme holiness of 'Alí ibn Abí Ṭálib; and he exhorts Tímúr, whose regard he had succeeded in winning by a display of his psychical powers, to "chastise, as they deserve, the Yazídí Kurds, the friends of Mu'áwiya, because of whom we wear the black garb of mourning for the Immaculate Imáms¹." More celebrated is his intercession with Tímúr on behalf of a number of Turkish prisoners (*astrán-i-Rúm*) whose release he secured, and whose grateful descendants, known as "the Turkish Şúfis" (*Şúfiyán-i-Rúmlú*), became the most devoted adherents and supporters of the Şafawí family².

me in a private letter: "*Quds-i-Khalil* ist vielmehr *al-Quds wa'l-Khalil*, d.h. Jerusalem und Hebron, eine häufige Bezeichnung für Südpalästina." This is confirmed by the Rev. Canon J. E. Hanauer, to whom Dr Babinger wrote about this matter, and who kindly endeavoured to identify this tomb. His very interesting letter is too long to quote in full. "The Arab historian Mejd ed-Dín," he says, "who wrote about A.D. 1495, i.e. seventy years later [than Khwája 'Alí's death], gives a list of the most renowned Shaykhs buried at Hebron, but does not mention 'Alí 'Ajamí. We must therefore look for the shrine elsewhere. Four different places of note suggest themselves." These are (1) the *Haram* of 'Alí ibn 'Alawí 2½ hours north of Jaffa; (2) the Walí of al-'Ajamí, just south of Jaffa; (3) a sacred oak-grove with the shrine of "the Imám 'Alí" near the Báb-el-Wad; and (4) another very holy shrine of al-'Ajamí, on the hill above the village of Bayt Maḥsir, amidst woods and thickets. Canon Hanauer is inclined to think that the last is most probably the tomb in question.

¹ *J.R.A.S.* for July, 1921, p. 408.

² See Sir John Malcolm's *History of Persia* (ed. 1815), vol. i, pp. 496-7 and footnotes. The ascription of this act of intercession to Shaykh Şadru'd-Dín and still more to his father Şafiyu'd-Dín is an anachronism.

Shaykh Ibráhím, better known as Shaykh Sháh, succeeded his father in 830/1427 and died in 851/1447-8.

Little is recorded of him save the names of his six sons, and he is even omitted entirely in the succession by the *Ta'rikh-i-'Álam-árá-yi-'Abbást*. He was succeeded by his youngest son Shaykh

Junayd, with whom the militant character of the family first asserted itself. He visited Diyár

Shaykh Sháh,
A.H. 830-851
(A.D. 1427-1447).

Shaykh Junayd
(A.D. 1447-1456).

Bakr and won the favour of Úzún Ḥasan, the celebrated ruler of the "White Sheep" Dynasty, who bestowed on him the hand of his sister Khadíja in marriage. This alliance, combined with the assembly round his standard of ten thousand Şúfí warriors (*ghuzdt-i-Şúfiyya*), "who deemed the risking of their lives in the path of their perfect Director the least of the degrees of devotion¹," aroused the alarm of Jahánsháh, the Turkmán ruler of Ádharbáyján and the two 'Iráqs, and other neighbouring princes, and Shaykh Junayd fell in battle against Shírwánsháh². His body, according to one account, was brought to Ardabíl and there buried, but according to others it was buried near the battle-field at a village variously called Quryál, Qarúyál or Qúriyán.

Shaykh Ḥaydar (the "Sechaidar" of Angiolello), like his father Junayd, whom he succeeded, found favour in the eyes of the now aged Úzún Ḥasan, his maternal uncle, who gave him in marriage his daughter Marta, Ḥalíma, Bakí Áqá or 'Álam-sháh Begum, whose mother, the celebrated Despina Khátún ("Despincaton"), was the daughter of Kalo Ioannes, the last Christian Emperor of Trebizond, of the noble Greek family of the Comneni³. The anonymous Venetian merchant whose narrative is included in the *Italian travels in Persia in the*

Shaykh Ḥaydar
(A.D. 1456-1488).

¹ These particulars are from the *Ta'rikh-i-'Álam-árá-yi-'Abbást*.

² In 850/1456 according to Babinger, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

³ See *Pers. Lit. iii*, p. 407.

*fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*¹ describes him as "a lord about the rank of a count, named Secaidar, of a religion or sect named Sophi, revered by his co-religionists as a saint and obeyed as a chief. There are," he continues, "numbers of them in different parts of Persia, as in Natolia (Anatolia) and Caramania (Qaramán), all of whom bore great respect to this Secaidar, who was a native of this city of Ardouil (Ardabíl or Ardawíl), where he had converted many to the Suffavean (Şafawí) doctrine. Indeed he was like the abbot of a nation of monks; he had six children, three boys² and three girls, by a daughter of Assambei (Hasan Bey, *i.e.* Úzún Hasan); he also bore an intense hatred to the Christians." He it was who, divinely instructed in a dream, bade his followers adopt in place of the Turkmán cap (*táqiya-i-Turkmánt*) the scarlet cap of twelve gores (*Táj-i-durwázda tark*)³ from which they became universally known as "Red Heads" (*Qizil-básh* in Turkish; *Surkh-sar* in Persian). "They are accustomed," says the anonymous Venetian merchant cited above (p. 206 of the *Italian Travels*), "to wear a red caftan, and above that a high conical turban made with a dozen folds, representing the twelve sacraments of their sect, or the twelve descendants of 'Alí⁴."

Shaykh Haydar, like his father, fell in battle against the hosts of Shírwánsháh and his Turkmán allies at Tabarsarán near Darband. Twenty-two years later his death was

¹ Translated and edited by Charles Grey and published by the Hakluyt Society in 1873, pp. 139-207.

² These were Sulţán 'Alí Mírzá (or Pádisháh), Isma'íl, and Ibráhím, according to the *Tárikh-i-'Álam-árá-yi-'Abbásí*, but they are differently given in the *Ahsanu't-Tawárikh*.

³ See the late Sir A. Houtum-Schindler's note on this in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1897, pp. 114-115. For a long note on *Qizil-básh*, see Babinger's *Schejch Bedr ed-Din*, pp. 84-5 of the *Sonderabdruck*.

⁴ This, of course, is an error, for the Twelve Imáms include 'Alí, who was the first of them and was succeeded by eleven of his descendants.

avenged and his body recovered and brought to Ardabíl by his redoubtable son Sháh Isma'íl, who was at this time (Rajab 20, 893 : June 30, 1488)¹ only a year old.

Shaykh Haydar
killed in battle
in 893/1488.

SHÁH ISMA'ÍL.

(Born 892/1487; crowned 905/1499-1500; died 930/1523-4)

Nothing could appear more unpromising than the position of the three little sons of Shaykh Haydar, who were for the moment entirely at the mercy of their father's enemies. Sulţán Ya'qúb, the son of Úzún Hasan, however, shrank from killing them for the sake of their mother, who was his sister, and contented himself with exiling them to Iştakhr in Fárs, where they were placed in the custody of the governor Manşúr Beg Parnák. According to Angiolello², however, the three boys were confined on an island in the "Lake of Astumar" (identified by the translator with Lake Van) inhabited by Armenian Christians, where they remained for three years and became "very much beloved, especially Ismael, the second, for his beauty and pleasing manners," so that when Rustam, the grandson of Úzún Hasan, after the death of his uncle Ya'qúb, sent a message to demand their surrender, intending to put them to death, the Armenians not only made excuses for not giving them up but enabled them to escape by boat to the "country of Carabas" (Qará-bágh). In the Persian accounts, however, Rustam is credited with their release from Iştakhr, because, being at war with his cousin Bay-sunqur, he thought to strengthen himself by an alliance with them and their numerous devoted followers. He accordingly invited the eldest brother Sulţán 'Alí to Tabríz,

¹ According to the rare history of Sháh Isma'íl represented by Add. 200 of the Cambridge University Library, however, Shaykh Haydar was killed in 895/1490.

² Pp. 101-2 of the Hakluyt Society's translation by Charles Grey.

received him with much honour, conferred on him all the paraphernalia of sovereignty and the title of *Pádisháh*, and despatched him to attack Baysunqur, whom he defeated and slew in a battle near Ahar. Having thus got rid of his rival, Rustam sought to rid himself of his ally, who, warned by one of his Turkmán disciples, fled to Ardabíl, but was

Isma'íl's brother
Sultán 'Alí is
killed.

overtaken by his enemies at the neighbouring village of Shamásí and killed in the ensuing skirmish in the year 900/1494-5¹. His two

brothers, however, reached Ardabíl in safety, and were concealed by their faithful followers during the house-to-house search instituted by the Turkmáns, until an opportunity presented itself of conveying them secretly into Gílán, first to Rasht, where they remained for a short period, estimated

at anything from seven to thirty days, and then to Láhiján, the ruler of which place, Kár-kiyá Mírzá 'Alí, accorded them hospitality and protection for several years. It is related that on one occasion when their Turkmán foes came to look for them he caused them to be suspended in a cage in the woods so as to enable him to swear that they had no foothold on his territory.

To the valour and devotion of Isma'íl's disciples, the "Şúffís of Láhiján," contemporary European writers testify as forcibly as the Persian historians. "This Sophi," says the anonymous Italian merchant², "is loved and revered by his people as a

Devotion of
Isma'íl's
followers.

¹ The following portion of this account, taken from the rare history of Sháh Isma'íl mentioned in n. 1 on p. 15 above, has been published with translation by Sir E. Denison Ross in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1896 (vol. xxviii), pp. 264-283.

² P. 206 of the Hakluyt Society's *Travels of Venetians in Persia* (London, 1873). See also p. 223 of the same volume, where Vincentio d'Alessandri speaks in similar terms of the devotion of his subjects to Tahmásp, the son and successor of Isma'íl. Most of this passage has been already quoted on p. 23 *supra*.

god, and especially by his soldiers, many of whom enter into battle without armour, expecting their master Ismael to watch over them in the fight....The name of God is forgotten throughout Persia and only that of Ismael remembered." "The Suffaveans fought like lions" is a phrase which repeatedly occurs in the pages of the Venetian travellers. Yet for all this, and the numbers and wide ramifications of the Order ("from the remotest West to the limits of Balkh and Bukhárá," says the rare history of Sháh Isma'íl, speaking of the days of his grandfather Junayd), it is doubtful if their astounding successes would have been possible in the first instance but for the bitter internecine feuds of the ruling "White Sheep" dynasty after the death of the great and wise Úzún Hasan in A.D. 1478, from which time onwards their history is a mere welter of fratricidal warfare.

Isma'íl was only thirteen years of age when he set out from the seclusion of Láhiján on his career of conquest.

Isma'íl at the
age of thirteen
sets out on his
career of
conquest.

He was accompanied at first by only seven devoted "Şúffís," but, as he advanced by way of Tárúm and Khalkhál to Ardabíl, he was reinforced at every stage by brave and ardent disciples, many from Syria and Asia Minor¹. Ordered to leave Ardabíl by the Turkmán Sultán 'Alí Beg Chákarlú, he retired for a while to Arjawán near Astará on the Caspian Sea, where he amused himself with fishing, of which he was very fond; but in the spring of A.D. 1500 he was back at Ardabíl, having rallied round him a goodly army of the seven Turkish tribes who constituted the backbone of the

¹ Cf. *Pers. Lit.* iii, p. 417. So the rare history of Sháh Isma'íl (Add. 200 of the Cambridge University Library, f. 27^a):

در عرض راه ارباب جلادت و صوفیان پاک طینت از روی عقیدت
در هر منزلی از منازل از طوائف روم و شام بموكب عالی می
پیوستند

Şafawí military power¹. He now felt himself strong enough to embark on a holy war against the Georgian "infidels" and a war of revenge against Farrukh-Yasár, king of Shírwán, whom he defeated and killed near Gulistán. He decapitated and burned the corpse, built a tower of his enemies' heads, destroyed the tombs of the Shírwánsháhs, and exhumed and burned the remains of the last king, Khalíl, who had killed his grandfather Shaykh Junayd. The noble dynasty thus extinguished claimed descent from the great Sásánian king Anúsharwán (Núshírwán), and numbered amongst them the patron of the famous panegyrist Kháqání.

Having captured Baku (*Bádkúya*, *Bádkúba*) Isma'íl, advised in a dream by the Imáms, decided to raise the siege of Gulistán and march on Ádharbáyján. Alwand and his "White Sheep" Turkmáns endeavoured to arrest his advance, but were utterly defeated at the decisive battle of Shurúr with great slaughter. Alwand fled to Arzinján, while Isma'íl entered Tabríz in triumph and was there crowned King of Persia. Henceforth, therefore, we shall speak of him as Sháh Isma'íl, but by the Persian historians he is often entitled *Kháqán-i-Iskandar-shán* ("the Prince like unto Alexander in state"), as his son and successor Sháh Tahmásp is called *Sháh-i-Dín-panáh* ("the King who is the Refuge of Religion").

Already Sháh Isma'íl and his partisans had given ample proof of their strong Shí'a convictions. Their battle-cry on the day they slew Shírwánsháh was *Alláh! Alláh! wa 'Alí walíyyu'lláh* (God! God! and 'Alí is the Friend of God!)"², while Alwand was offered peace if he would

¹ These were the Shámlú, Rúmlú, Ustájlú, Takallú, Dhu'l-Qadar, Afshár and Qájár. From the two last respectively there arose in later days Nádír Sháh and the present Royal House of Persia.

² Add. 200 of the Cambridge University Library, f. 35^b.

Isma'íl defeats and kills Farrukh-Yasár, king of Shírwán, 906/1500.

Battle of Shurúr. Isma'íl is crowned at Tabríz. 907/1501-2.

embrace this doctrine and pronounce this formula¹. But now Sháh Isma'íl resolved that, with his assumption of the kingly rank, the Shí'a faith should become not merely the State religion but the only tolerated creed. This decision caused anxiety even to some of the Shí'a divines of Tabríz, who, on the night preceding Isma'íl's coronation, represented to him that of the two or three hundred thousand inhabitants of that city at least two-thirds were Sunnís; that the Shí'a formula had not been publicly uttered from the pulpit since the time of the Imáms themselves; and that if the majority of the people refused to accept a Shí'a ruler, it would be difficult to deal with the situation which would then arise. To this Sháh Isma'íl replied, "I am committed to this action; God and the Immaculate Imáms are with me, and I fear no one; by God's help, if the people utter one word of protest, I will draw the sword and leave not one of them alive²." Nor did he content himself with glorifying 'Alí and his descendants, but ordained the public cursing of the first three Caliphs of the Sunnís, Abú Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmán, and that all who heard the cursing should respond

Energetic measures adopted by Sháh Isma'íl to propagate the Shí'a doctrine.

The cursing of the first three Caliphs instituted.

¹ Add. 200 of the Cambridge University Library, f. 40.

² *Ibid.*, f. 44^b. The text of this important passage, to which reference has been already made (p. 22 *supra*), runs as follows:

قربانت شویم دویست سیصد هزار خلق که در تبریزست چهار دانگ آن همه سستی اند و از زمان حضرات تا حال این خطبه را کسی بر ملا نخوانده و میترسیم که مردم بگویند که پادشاه شیعه نمیخواهیم و نعوذ بالله اگر رعیت برگردند چه تدارک درین باب توان کرد، پادشاه فرمودند که مرا باین کار باز داشته اند و خدای عالم با حضرات ائمه معصومین همراه منند و من از هیچ کس باک ندارم بتوفیق الله تعالی اگر رعیت حرفی بگویند شمشیر میکشیم و یک کس را زنده نمیگذارم

"May it be more, not less!" (*Bísh bádd, kam ma-bádd!*) or suffer death in case of refusal.

Immediately after his coronation, according to the *Aḥsanu't-Tawárikh*¹, he ordered all preachers (*Khuṭabá*) throughout his realms to introduce the distinctively Shí'a formulae "I bear witness that 'Alí is the Friend of God" and "hasten to the best of deeds" (*ḥayya ila khayri'l-'amal*) into the profession of Faith and the call to Prayer respectively; which formulae had been in abeyance since Ṭughril Beg the Saljúq had put to flight and slain al-Basásírí five hundred and twenty-eight years previously². He also instituted the public cursing of Abú Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmán in the streets and markets, as above mentioned, threatening recalcitrants with decapitation. Owing to the dearth of Shí'a theological works the religious instruction of the people necessitated by the change of doctrine presented great difficulties, but finally the Qádí Naşru'lláh Zaytúní produced from his library the first volume of the *Qawá'idu'l-Islám* ("Rules of Islám") of Shaykh Jamálu'd-Dín... ibn 'Alí ibnu'l-Muṭahhir al-Hillí³, which served as a basis of instruction "until day by day the Sun of Truth of the Doctrine of the Twelve [Imáms]

¹ F. 44 of Mr A. G. Ellis's manuscript.

² See Weil's *Geschichte der Chalifen*, vol. iii, pp. 92-102. Al-Basásírí was the Commander-in-chief of the troops of the Buwayhid al-Maliku'r-Raḥím. He espoused the cause of the Fátimid Caliph al-Mustansir and attempted to depose the 'Abbásid Caliph al-Qá'im. He was killed on Dhu'l-Qa'da 6, 451 (Dec. 14, 1059). Since Isma'íl was crowned in 907/1501-2, we must understand "previously" as referring not to this event, but to the composition of the *Aḥsanu't-Tawárikh*, or rather this portion of it, for it extends to the year 985/1577, while the date we require is 979/1571-2 (451 + 528 = 979).

³ The name is defective in the MS., but most closely resembles this. Such a writer is mentioned towards the end of the fifth *Majlis* of the *Majálisu'l-Mú'minín*, but he has no work bearing precisely this name. It is possible that the popular *Sharáyi'u'l-Islám* of another al-Hillí is intended. See Rieu's *Arabic Supplement*, p. 212.

increased its altitude, and all parts and regions of the world became illuminated by the dawning effulgences of the Path of Verification."

Of the anger and alarm aroused by these proceedings in the neighbouring kingdoms, and especially in the Ottoman Empire, we shall have to speak presently, but first we may with advantage give from the *Aḥsanu't-Tawárikh*¹ the list of potentates in Persia itself who at this time claimed sovereign power: (1) Sháh Isma'íl in Ádharbáyján; (2) Sulṭán Murád in most of 'Iráq; (3) Murád Beg Báyardarí in Yazd; (4) Ra'ís Muḥammad Karra (رئیس) in Abarqúh; (5) Ḥusayn Kiyá-yi-Chaláwí in Samnán, Khwár and Fírúzkúh; (6) Bárík Parnák in 'Iráq-i-'Arab; (7) Qásim Beg ibn Jahángír Beg ibn 'Alí Beg in Diyár Bakr; (8) Qádí Muḥammad in conjunction with Mawláná Mas'úd in Káshán; (9) Sulṭán Ḥusayn Mírzá (the Tímúrid) in Khurásán; (10) Amír Dhu'n-Nún in Qandahár; (11) Badí'u'z-Zamán Mírzá (the Tímúrid) in Balkh; and (12) Abu'l-Faṭḥ Beg Báyardarí in Kirmán.

Many of these petty rulers (*Mulúku't-Tawá'if*) were quite insignificant, and several of them I cannot even identify. None of them long stood in Sháh Isma'íl's victorious path. His old enemy Alwand of the "White Sheep" dynasty suffered a decisive defeat at his hands in the summer of A.D. 1503, and died a year or so later at Diyár Bakr or Baghdád². His brother Murád was defeated and Shíráz occupied about the same time, and stern punishment overtook the Sunní doctors of Kázarún, many of whom were put to death, while the tombs and foundations of their predecessors were destroyed³. The words *Raḥmatu'n-Názi'á*

Rival rulers in Persia at this time, 907/1501-2.

Isma'íl disposes of his minor rivals.

Sunní doctors put to death at Kázarún.

¹ F. 45 of Mr Ellis's MS.

² According to contemporary European accounts he was put to death in cold blood by Isma'íl. See p. 62 *infra*.

³ Add. 200 of the Cambridge University Library, f. 55.

mín ("a Mercy to the Worlds") were found, not very appropriately from an impartial point of view, to give the date 909 (A.D. 1503-4) of this event; while the equivalent chronogram *Shaltáq-i-Sipáhi* ("Military Coercion") was observed by the poets and wits of Fárs to commemorate in like manner the appointment by Sháh Isma'íl of his captain Ilyás Beg Dhu'l-Qadar as governor of Shíráz. Káshán, always a stronghold of the Shí'a¹, received Isma'íl with enthusiasm, and he held a great reception at the beautiful suburb of Fín. Thence he passed to the holy city of Qum, intending, apparently, to winter there, but hearing that Ilyás Beg, one of his most trusted officers, "a Şúfi of pure disposition and right belief²," had been murdered by Husayn Kiyá-yi-Chaláwí, he marched out on February 25, 1504, to avenge him. Three weeks later he was at Astarábád, where he was met by Muḥammad Muḥsin Mírzá, the son of the Tímúrid Sulṭán Husayn Mírzá, and, having attacked and destroyed the fortresses of Gulkhándán and Fírúzkúh, he reduced the stronghold of Ustá by cutting off the water-supply, massacred the garrison (ten thousand souls, according to the *Aḥsanu't-Tawárikh*), and took captive the wretched

Cruel treatment
of captives.

Husayn Kiyá, whom he confined in an iron cage, but who succeeded in inflicting on himself a wound which in a few days proved mortal³. Still more unfortunate was Ra'ís Muḥammad Karra of Abarqúh, who rebelled and took possession of the ancient city of Yazd. Him also Sháh Isma'íl confined in a cage, and smeared his body with honey so that the wasps tormented him until he was finally burned alive in the *maydán* of Işfahán.

¹ See the *Ráhatu's-Şudúr*, ed. Muḥammad Iqbál ("E. J. W. Gibb Memorial," New Series, vol. ii, 1921), p. 30.

² *آن صوفی صافی نهاد پاک اعتقاد*

³ According to Add. 200 of the Cambridge University Library (f. 61) the body was conveyed to Işfahán and there blown to pieces in the *maydán* with gunpowder.

About the same time an embassy came from the Ottoman Sulṭán Báyazíd II (A.D. 1481-1512) to offer Turkish Embassy from Sulṭán Báyazíd II. "suitable gifts and presents" and congratulations on Sháh Isma'íl's conquest of 'Iráq and Fárs. They were dismissed with robes of honour and assurances of Isma'íl's friendly sentiments, but were compelled to witness several executions, including, perhaps, that of the philosopher and judge Mír Husayn-i-Maybudí¹, whose chief offence seems to have been that he was a "fanatical Sunní." Persian kings were disposed to take this means of impressing foreign envoys with their "justice"; Clavijo relates a similar procedure on the part of Tímúr², and Sháh Isma'íl's son and successor Tahmásp sought to impress and intimidate Humáyún's ambassador Bayrám Beg by putting to death in his presence a number of heretics³. To the Turkish envoys it would naturally be particularly disagreeable to witness the execution of a learned Sunní doctor by those whom they regarded as detestable schismatics.

Of the increasingly strained relations between Turkey and Persia, culminating in the Battle of Cháldirán (August, 1514), we shall have to speak very shortly, but we must first conclude our brief survey of Sháh Isma'íl's career of conquest. To describe in detail his incessant military activities would be impossible in a work of the scope and character of this book, and only the barest summary is possible.

During the years A.H. 911-915 (A.D. 1506-1510) Sháh Isma'íl was for the most part busy in the West. He first entered Hamadán and visited the tomb of the Imám-záda Sahl 'Alí. A serious revolt

Isma'íl's conquest in the West, A.D. 1506-1510.

¹ His commentary on the *Hidáya* is still the favourite text-book for beginners in philosophy. See also Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, vol. ii, p. 210, and Rieu, *B.M.P.C.*, p. 1077.

² *Embassy to the Court of Timour, A.D. 1403-6*, published by the Hakluyt Society, 1859, pp. 149-150.

³ W. Erskine's *History of India*, etc. (London, 1854), vol. ii, p. 281.

of the "Yazídí" Kurds¹ next demanded his attention. Their leader, Shír Şárim, was defeated and captured in a bloody battle wherein several important officers of Sháh Isma'íl lost their lives. To their relatives the Kurdish prisoners were surrendered to be put to death "with torments worse than which there may not be." War was next waged against the conjoined forces of Sulţán Murád, the thirteenth² and last of the "White Sheep" dynasty, and 'Alá'u'd-Dawla Dhu'l-Qadar (the "Aliduli" of the Italian travellers of this period), who, refusing Isma'íl's proposal that he should "set his tongue in motion with the goodly word '*Alí is the Friend of God*, and curse the enemies of the Faith" (to wit, the first three Caliphs), appealed for help to the Ottoman Turks. Sháh Isma'íl, however, was not to be denied, and successively captured

Baghdád taken
in A.D. 1508.

Diyár Bakr, Akhlát, Bitlís, Arjsh, and finally in 914/1508 Baghdád itself, whereby he obtained possession of the Holy Shrines of Karbalá and Najaf, so dear to Shí'a hearts, where he hastened to offer prayers and thanksgivings. At Húwayza he showed that, ardent

Shí'a *Ghuldt*
punished at
Húwayza.

Shí'a as he was, he would not tolerate the exaggerated veneration of 'Alí characteristic of the *Ghuldt*, represented there by certain Arabs called *Musha'shi'*, who venerated 'Alí as God, and, invoking his name, would cast themselves on sharp swords without

¹ "All the Curds," says the anonymous Italian merchant (p. 157), "are truer Mahometans than the other inhabitants of Persia, since the Persians have embraced the Suffavean doctrine, while the Curds would not be converted to it: and though they wear the red caftans, yet in their hearts they bear a deadly hatred to them."

² They are thus enumerated in the *Ahsanu't-Tawárikh* (f. 109^b of Mr Ellis's MS.): (1) Qará 'Uthmán; (2) 'Alí Beg; (3) Sulţán Hamza; (4) Jahángír Mírzá (these four ruled over Diyár Bakr only); (5) Úzún Hasan; (6) Khalíl; (7) Ya'qúb; (8) Báysunghur; (9) Rustam; (10) Aḥmad Beg; (11) Muḥammadí Mírzá; (12) Alwand Mírzá; (13) Sulţán Murád.

sustaining injury, after the fashion of the modern *Isáwiyya* of North Africa. Their leader, Mír Sulţán Muḥsin, died about this time, and was succeeded by his son Sulţán Fayyáḍ, who claimed for himself divine honours¹. Sháh Isma'íl ruthlessly suppressed these heretics, and proceeded to Dizful and Shúshtar, receiving the submission of the Lur chieftain Sháh Rustam, who won his favour by "the utterance of prayer and praise in the Lurí tongue with extreme sweetness." Thence Sháh Isma'íl made his way eastwards to Fárs, encamped for a while at Dárábjird, and organised a great hunting expedition, of which the special object was a kind of mountain goat which yields the "animal antidote" (*pádzahr-i-haywánt*)². He also put to death the Qáḍí Muḥammad-i-Káshí, who held the high ecclesiastical office of *Şadr*, and replaced him by the Sayyid-i-Sharíf of Astarábád, who was descended on his mother's side from the celebrated Jurjání. He further erected at Qaşr-i-Zar a mausoleum in memory of his brother Sulţán Aḥmad Mírzá, who had died there, and, under the title of *Najm-i-Thánt* ("the Second Star"), appointed Amír Yár Aḥmad-i-Khúzání of Işfahán to succeed "the First Star," Amír Najmu'd-Dín Mas'úd of Rasht, who had recently died and been buried at Najaf. The poet Ummídí celebrated this appointment in a very ingenious and sonorous *qaşida* beginning:

زهی جوهرت گوهر آسمانی، توئی عقل اول توئی نجم ثانی،
رواقِ حرمر را تورکن عراقی، عراقِ عجم را سهیل یمانی،

¹ Add. 200, Camb. Univ. Lib., f. 83^a:

و آن کافر مردود دعوی الوهیت کرده قوم مشعشع حالا بالوهیت
قیاض.. قابل اند

² In this hunting expedition 56,700 head of game are said to have been killed.

From Fárs Sháh Isma'íl marched into Shírwán (where Shaykh Sháh, the son of Farrukh-Yasár, had re-established himself), recovered the body of his father Shaykh Haydar and conveyed it to Ardabíl for burial, as already related, and took Darband.

So far Sháh Isma'íl had been chiefly occupied in putting down minor princes and pretenders and in consolidating his power in Persia, of which he had to the West and North-West greatly enlarged the territories, and had almost restored the ancient frontiers of Sásánian times. Hitherto he had hardly come into conflict with the two powerful enemies who were destined to give so much trouble to himself and his successors, to wit the Uzbeks of Central Asia and the Ottoman Turks. Of his relations with these formidable rivals we must now speak, but, before doing so, a few more words may be said of Sháh Isma'íl's character and appearance. As usual, a much more vivid picture of these is given by contemporary travellers than by his own countrymen, though his courage, energy, cruelty and restless activity are sufficiently apparent in the Persian chronicles of his reign. At the age of thirteen, when he began his career of conquest, he was, according to Caterino Zeno¹, "of noble presence and a truly royal bearing, as in his eyes there was something, I know not what, so great and commanding, which plainly showed that he would yet some day become a great ruler. Nor did the virtues of his mind disaccord with the beauty of his person, as he had an elevated genius, and such a lofty idea of things as seemed incredible at such a tender age...He had vigour of mind, quickness of perception, and a personal valour... never yet...equalled by any of his contemporaries." Anglo-

Two powerful external enemies, the Uzbeks and Ottomans.

Sháh Isma'íl's appearance and character as depicted by contemporary European travellers.

¹ *Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia* (Hakluyt Society, London, 1873), pp. 46-8. See p. 22 *supra*, where part of this passage has been already cited.

llo¹ speaks of "his beauty and pleasing manners" when he was a child, and relates² how, in his campaign against 'Alá'u'd-Dawla ("Alidoli"), "he supplied himself with provisions, paying for everything, and proclaiming abroad that everyone might bring supplies to the camp for sale, and that anyone taking anything without paying for it would be put to death." "This Sophi," he says a little further on³, "is fair, handsome, and very pleasing; not very tall, but of a light and well-framed figure; rather stout than slight, with broad shoulders. His hair is reddish; he only wears moustachios, and uses his left hand instead of his right. He is as brave as a game-cock, and stronger than any of his lords; in the archery contests, out of the ten apples that are knocked down, he knocks down seven; while he is at his sport they play on various instruments and sing his praises." "He is almost worshipped," he remarks in another place⁴, "more especially by his soldiers, many of whom fight without armour, being willing to die for their master. While I was in Tauris [Tabríz] I heard that the king is displeased with this adoration, and being called God." The anonymous merchant describes him⁵ at the age of thirty-one as "Very handsome, of a magnanimous countenance, and about middle height; he is fair, stout, and with broad shoulders, his beard is shaved and he only wears a moustache, not appearing to be a very heavy man. He is as amiable as a girl, left-handed by nature, is as lively as a fawn, and stronger than any of his lords. In the archery trials at the apple he is so expert that of every ten he hits six." The same writer, on the other hand, after describing his massacre of Alwand's soldiers, of the male and female kinsmen of Sulţán Ya'qúb, of three

¹ *Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia*, p. 102 and p. 22 *supra*.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 109 and 196, and p. 23 *supra*.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 111. See pp. 22-3 *supra*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 202. Part of this passage has been already quoted on p. 23 *supra*.

hundred courtezans of Tabríz, of "eight hundred avaricious Blasi¹" who had been brought up under Alumut [*i.e.* Alwand], of "all the dogs in Tauris," and of his own mother [or step-mother], concludes, "From the time of Nero to the present, I doubt whether so bloodthirsty a tyrant has ever existed." He presented, in short, the strangest blend of antithetical qualities; and we are alternately attracted by his personal charm, his unquestionable valour, generosity and—within certain limits—justice, and repelled by actions, such as those recorded above, revealing a savagery remarkable even in that cruel and bloodthirsty age. His courage was shown not only on the field of battle but in the chase. Hearing after his conquest and occupation of Baghdád of a singularly fierce man-eating lion which had its lair in a thicket and terrified the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, he insisted, in spite of all remonstrances, in destroying it single-handed with the bow he knew so well how to use². At the age of thirteen he had already slain a fierce bear in like manner in a cave near Arzinján³. When "immense treasures" fell into his hands on the capture of one of the Caspian ports, "he divided them amongst his men, keeping nothing for himself⁴." Yet the same traveller who reports this instance of generosity and political foresight (for in consequence of it "he was joined by numbers, even those who were not Sufaveans flocking to his standard in hopes of receiving gifts of this nature from the valiant Ismael") describes how the Sháh with his own hand cut off the head of the unfortunate young prince "Alumut⁵," captured by treachery, whom he himself had seen bound in chains in a tent; and tells of even darker deeds wrought at Tabríz on the occasion of the Sháh's

¹ I am at a loss to explain this word.

² *Ahsanu't-Tawárikh* (Ellis MS.), f. 74^b.

³ *Ibid.*, f. 26.

⁴ *Travels of a Merchant*, p. 188.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 197–8. The *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar* and other Persian histories, however, represent Alwand as dying a natural death. Cf. p. 55 *supra*.

second entry into that city in A.D. 1520¹. Towards the Sunnís he showed himself ruthless, sparing neither eminent divines like the learned Farídu'd-Dín Ruthless repression of Sunnís. Aḥmad, a grandson of the celebrated scholar Sa'du'd-Dín-i-Taftázání, who for thirty years had held the office of Shaykhu'l-Islám in Herát², nor witty poets like Banná'í, who perished in the massacre of Qarshí in 918/1512. But perhaps the most conspicuous instance of a ferocity which pursued his foes even after their death was his treatment of the body of his old enemy Muhammad Khán Shaybání, or Shaybak, the Uzbek, of which we shall have to speak very shortly.

It has already been stated that the foreign relations of Sháh Isma'íl, after he had cleared Persia of the "White Sheep" and other rivals for the sceptre of that Foreign relations of Persia at this period. ancient kingdom, were chiefly with three Powers, the Tímúrids, who still kept a precarious hold on Herát and portions of Khurásán and Central Asia; the formidable Uzbeks of Transoxiana; and the Ottoman Turks. With the last two, rigid Sunnís in both cases, the relations of Persia were, and continued to be, uniformly hostile; with the Tímúrids, themselves menaced by the Uzbeks, comparatively friendly and at times even cordial. The aged Sultán Ḥusayn ibn Bayqará, whose brilliant and luxurious court at Herát was so famous a centre of literature and art³, is reckoned amongst the rulers who, with less success than Sháh Isma'íl, endeavoured to replace the Sunní by the Shí'a doctrine in their dominions⁴; and Bábur, whether

¹ *Travels of a Merchant*, p. 207.

² He was put to death in Ramaḍán, 916/December, 1510.

³ See Dr F. R. Martin's *Miniature Paintings and Painters of Persia* etc., pp. 35–6.

⁴ See *Lit. Hist. Pers.* iii, p. 456, and Add. 200 of the Cambridge University Library, f. 45^b, which places this attempt in the year 873/1468–9.

from conviction or policy, showed enough partiality towards the Shí'a faction to cause grave disaffection amongst his Central Asian Sunní subjects¹. There existed, then, in this case no such essential cause of enmity as in the two others, while a common hatred of Shaybání Khán and his redoubtable Uzbeks naturally tended to unite Bábur to Isma'íl.

It is beyond the scope of this work to enter into a detailed account of the decline of the Tímúrid and the rise of the

Uzbek power, of which ample particulars may be found in Erskine's and other works². Suffice it to say that Shaybání or Shaybak Khán, a direct descendant of Chingíz Khán³, first became prominent about A.D. 1500, when he captured Samarqand and Bukhára, and later Táshkand and Farghána. He invaded Khurásán in 911/1505-6, in the year of Sulţán Husayn's death, and in the course of the next year or two practically exterminated the Tímúrids, with the exception of Bábur and Bad'ú'z-Zamán, of whom the latter sought refuge with Sháh Isma'íl. It was not until 916/1510-11, however, that he came into direct conflict with Sháh Isma'íl, whom he had provoked by a raid on Kirmán in the previous year and a most insulting letter in reply to Isma'íl's politely-worded remonstrance⁴. Sháh Isma'íl was not slow to respond to his taunts, and,

¹ See W. Erskine's *History of India*, vol. i (London, 1854), pp. 319-320.

² For example, the *History of the Moghuls of Central Asia* etc., by N. Elias and Sir E. Denison Ross (London, 1898), and, of course, the incomparable *Memoirs of Bábur*, in the tasteful new edition of Erskine and Leyden's translation annotated and revised by Sir Lucas King (Oxford, 1921).

³ The *Ahsani't-Tawárikh* (f. 88^b) gives his pedigree thus: Shaybak Khán b. Búdáq Sulţán b. Abu'l-Khayr Khán b. Dawlat Shaykh b. Íltf-Oghlan b. Fúlád-Oghlan b. Aybu Khwája b. . . b. Bulgháy b. Shaybán b. Jújí b. Chingíz Khán.

⁴ See Erskine's *History of India*, vol. i, pp. 297 *et seqq.* The text of this long letter is given in the *Ahsani't-Tawárikh* (Ellis MS., ff. 80^b *et seqq.*).

the rest of his realms being for the moment tranquil, at once marched into Khurásán to meet him, visiting on his way

the Shrine of the Imám 'Alí Riđá at Mashhad, so sacred in Shí'a eyes. The decisive battle was fought on Dec. 1 or 2, 1510, at Táhír-ábád near

Merv, where, after a stubborn and protracted conflict, the Uzbeks were utterly defeated and Shaybání killed. When his body was found under a heap of slain, Sháh Isma'íl ordered the limbs to be cut off and distributed to different parts of his kingdom, and the head to be stuffed with straw and sent as a grim gift to the Ottoman Sulţán Báyzázíd II at Constantinople¹. The bones of the skull he caused to be

mounted in gold and made into a drinking-cup for his own use, and one hand he sent to Áqá Rustam Rúz-afzún, the ruler of Mázandarán, by

Barbarous treatment of his remains.

a special messenger, Darwísh Muĥammad Yasá'úl, who cast the hand on to Rustam's skirt as he sat amidst his courtiers at Sárí, crying "Thou didst say, 'My hand on Shaybak Khán's skirt' (*dast-i-man-ast u dáman-i-Shaybak Khán*): lo, his hand is now on thy skirt!" So astounded were those present by this audacity that none lifted a hand to stay the messenger's departure, and Rustam received so great a shock that he soon afterwards sickened and died. Of the drinking-cup the following grim anecdote is told. One of Shaybání's trusted advisers, Khwája Kamálu'd-Dín Ságharchí, saved his life by professing the Shí'a faith, and was admitted into the service of Sháh Isma'íl. One day at a banquet the latter, pointing to the drinking-cup, asked him if he recognized the skull of his late master. "Yes, glory be to God," replied Kamálu'd-Dín; "and how favoured by fortune was

¹ According to the history of Sháh Isma'íl contained in Add. 200 of the Cambridge University Library (f. 141), Prince (afterwards Sulţán) Salím was greatly offended at this, and had a violent quarrel with his father Báyzázíd on the subject.

² *I.e.* "I seek protection from him."

he! Nay, fortune still abides with him, so that even now he rests in the hands of so auspicious a being as thyself, who continually drinks the Wine of Delight!"

سبحان الله چه صاحب دولتی بوده که هنوز دولت درو باقیست
که با این حال بر روی دست چون تو صاحب اقبالیست که
در بدمر باده نشاط می نوشد

Shaybání Khán was sixty-one years of age at the time of his death and had reigned eleven years. He was, as already stated, a fanatical Sunní and had grievously persecuted the Shí'a in his dominions: now it was the Sunnís who suffered in their turn at the hands of Sháh Isma'íl. The Uzbek power, in spite of this disaster, was far from being broken, and, though a formal peace was concluded between them and the Persians a few months afterwards, they had an ample revenge at the battle of Ghujduwán, where Bábur and his Persian allies suffered a disastrous defeat and many of their leaders, including *Najm-i-Thánt*, were slain in November, 1512. During the whole of the sixteenth century they were a constant menace to Persia, and accounts of their raids into Khurásán occur with monotonous iteration in the pages of the Persian historians of this period.

We must now turn to the far more important relations of Persia with the Ottoman Turks at this period, on which more light is thrown by the State Papers so industriously compiled and edited by Firídún Bey in 982/1574 under the title of *Munsha'át-i-Salá-tín* ("Correspondence of the Kings")¹ than by

Firídún Bey's
collection of
Turkish State
Papers.

¹ Printed at Constantinople in 1274/1858. Until lately I only possessed vol. i, which comprises 626 pp. and comes down to about 966/1558-9. For some account of this most important work, see von Hammer's *Gesch. d. Osmanisch. Reich.*, iv, p. 15; Flügel's *Vienna Catalogue*, i, pp. 282-3; *Z.D.M.G.*, vii, p. 460; *Notices et extraits*, v, pp. 668-688; Rieu's *Turkish Cat.*, pp. 80-83; and Hájji Khalífa (ed. Flügel), v, p. 488.

most of the Persian or Turkish historians. These letters, which passed between successive Ottoman Sultáns and neighbouring rulers, as well as between them and their sons, ministers and governors, are sometimes in Turkish and sometimes in Persian or Arabic. Unfortunately many of them are undated. They have hitherto been so little used that no apology is needed for summarizing the contents or indicating the purport of such of them as concern the Şafawís down to the death of Sháh Isma'íl in 930/1523-4, that is, during the reigns of the Ottoman Sultáns Báyazíd II (886-918/1481-1512), Salím I (918-926/1512-1520), and the first four years of Sulaymán "the Magnificent" (926-930/1520-1524).

(1) *From Ya'qúb Pádisháh of the "White Sheep" dynasty to Sultán Báyazíd, announcing the defeat and death of Shaykh Haydar (Sháh Isma'íl's father),* (p. 309). This letter, in Persian, is undated, but must have been written soon after Shaykh Haydar, who is called the "President of the people of error" (*Sar-i-halqa-i-arbáb-i-daldál*), was killed on June 30, 1488. The writer assumes that the news of the destruction of "these misguided rebels, enemies of the Prophetic Dispensation and foes of Church and State" will be welcome to all good Muslims.

(2) *Sultán Báyazíd's answer to the above, also in Persian and undated* (p. 311). Congratulations are offered to Ya'qúb on the victory of "the Báyandari¹ hosts of salvation" over the "misguided Haydari faction" (*gurúh-i-dálá-i-Haydariyya*).

(3) *From Sháh Isma'íl to Sultán Báyazíd II, requesting that his disciples in Asia Minor may not be prevented from visiting him at Ardabíl* (p. 345). This letter, undated and in Persian, is important as proving how numerous were the partisans of the Şafawís in the Ottoman dominions.

¹ *Báyandari* is an alternative name for the *Aq-Qoyunlu*, or "White Sheep" dynasty.

(4) *Sultán Báyazíd's answer to the above, also in Persian and undated* (pp. 345-6). The Ottoman Sultán says that, having investigated the matter, he finds that the motive of many of these pilgrims is not the desire to fulfil a pious duty, but to escape from the obligation of military service.

(5) *From Sháh Isma'íl to Sultán Báyazíd on the same subject, also in Persian and undated* (pp. 346-7). He explains that he has been compelled to enter Ottoman territory to chastise his foes, but intends thereby no unfriendly or disrespectful act towards Báyazíd, and has strictly enjoined his soldiers to respect the persons and property of the inhabitants.

(6) *Sultán Báyazíd's answer to the above, also in Persian and undated* (p. 347). Báyazíd accepts Isma'íl's assurances, and has ordered his officials to co-operate with him in a friendly spirit.

(7) *From Alwand, the Áq-Qoyúnlu ruler of Persia, to Sultán Báyazíd, in Persian, except the Arabic prologue, and undated* (pp. 351-2). Alwand announces the arrival of Báyazíd's envoy Mahmúd Áqá Cháwúsh-báshi with his master's letter, urging the Báyandarí or Áq-Qoyúnlu family to unite against their common enemy, the "rascally Red-heads" (*Awbásh-i-Qizil-básh*). Alwand promises to do his best, whether his relations help him or not, provided he can count on material and moral support from Báyazíd.

(8) *Báyazíd's answer to the above, also in Persian and undated* (pp. 352-3). He commends Alwand's resolve, and promises help against the "rebellious horde of the Qizil-báshes" (*ta'ifa-i-bághiya-i-Qizil-báshiyya*).

(9) *From Báyazíd to Hájji Rustam Beg the Kurd, in Persian, dated Rabí' i, 908/September 1502* (p. 353). He asks for correct information as to the doings of the Qizil-báshes and the result of their struggle with the Áq-Qoyúnlu or Báyandarí princes, to be communicated to his envoy Kaywán Cháwúsh.

(10) *Hájji Rustam's reply to the above, in Persian and undated* (pp. 353-4). The writer states that the "religion-rending Qizil-báshes" (*Qizil-básh-i-Madhab-kharásh*), having defeated Alwand and Murád of the Áq-Qoyúnlu family, are now seeking an alliance with Egypt against the Ottoman Turks, and are advancing on Mar'ash and Diyár Bakr.

(11) *From Sultán Báyazíd to Sultán Ghúrt of Egypt, in Arabic, dated 910/1504-5* (pp. 354-5). This letter contains an allusion to "the man who has appeared in the Eastern countries and defeated their ruler and overcome their peoples," which, as appears from the answer, refers to Sháh Isma'íl, or possibly Sháh-qulí.

(12) *Answer to the above, in Arabic, undated* (pp. 355-6). This letter contains a reference to "the victory of the misguided Qizil-báshí faction in the Eastern countries," described as a "public calamity which has appeared in those regions."

These are the only letters in Sultán Báyazíd's correspondence directly connected with the Şafawís, though there are others of interest to students of Persian history addressed to Sultán Abu'l-Ghází Husayn (911/1506), the poet Jámí¹, the philosopher Jalálu'd-Dín Dawání, and the Shaykhu'l-Islám of Herát Farídu'd-Dín Aḥmad-i-Taftázání (913/1507), who was put to death by Sháh Isma'íl three years later for refusing to subscribe to the Shí'a doctrine. Before we consider the State Papers of Sultán Salím's reign, something more must be said of the beginnings of that bitter strife between Turkey and Persia which is one of the most prominent features of the whole Şafawí period, and has done so much to undermine the unity and weaken the power of Islám. And here we cannot do better than quote the opening paragraph of

Growth of the bitter hostility between Persia and Turkey.

¹ See *Lit. Hist. Pers.*, iii, pp. 422-3.

old Richard Knolles's¹ account of the formidable Shí'a revolt in Anatolia promoted by the celebrated Sháh-qulí ("King's servant"), called by the Turks Shaytán-qulí ("Devil's servant"), the son of Ḥasan Khalífa a disciple of Isma'íl's father Shaykh Haydar.

"After so many troubles," says Knolles, "*Bajazet* gave himself unto a quiet course of life, spending most part of his time in study of Philosophy and conference with learned men; unto which peaceable kind of life he was of his own natural disposition more enclined than to Wars; albeit that the regard of his State and the earnest desire of his Men of War drew him oftentimes even against his Will into the Field. As for the Civil Government of his Kingdom he referred it wholly to his three principal Bassaes, *Alis*, *Achmetes* and *Jachia*², who at their pleasure disposed of all things. After that he had in this quiet and pleasing kind of life to his great contentment passed over five years, of a little neglected Spark suddainly arose such a Fire in *Asia* as was hardly after with much blood of his People and danger of that part of his Empire quenched; the reliques whereof yet trouble those superstitious People at this day. Which thing was brought to pass by the crafty device of *Chasan Chelife* and *Schach Culi* his Boy (whom some call *Teckel Scachoculu* and others *Techellis*)³, two Hypocritical Persians; who flying into those countries and with the counterfeit shew of feigned Holiness having procured to themselves a great name amongst those rude People, with a number of windy headed Followers (filled with the novelty of their new

¹ I quote the sixth edition of his *Turkish History*, with Sir Paul Rycout's continuation, published in London in 1687. The passage in question occurs on p. 315 of vol. i.

² *I.e.* 'Alí, Aḥmad and Yaḥyá Pashas.

³ These names stand for *Ḥasan Khalífa*, *Sháh-qulí*, and *Takallú* or *Tekellú*, *i.e.* of the *Tekké-ili*.

Doctrine) raised first such a diversity of opinions about the true successors of their untrue Prophet, and afterwards such a Rebellion amongst the People, as that the one yet remaineth, and the other was not in a good while after without great bloodshed appeased."

There follows a lengthy account of this dangerous rebellion, in which the Turks suffered several severe reverses and lost many notable officers, including the Grand Vezír Khádím 'Alí Pasha, ere the rebels were dispersed, killed, or driven into Persia. Instead of rewarding or comforting the fugitives, however, Sháh Isma'íl put many of them to death at Tabríz, because, as Knolles says¹, they had plundered a caravan of rich merchants; but, according to the most modern Turkish historian², in order to clear himself of complicity in the eyes of Báyazíd. Knolles adds that "Techellis himself (*i.e.* Sháh-qulí), to the terror of others, was burnt alive"; but, according to the Turkish historian, he fell at the same time as 'Alí Pasha in the battle of Gyuk Cháy, between Síwás and Qayşariyya, in which statement the *Aḥsanu't-Tawárikh*³ agrees. "Techellis thus put to

flight," continues Knolles, "*Jonuses*⁴ caused strait inquisition to be made through all the Cities of the lesser *Asia* for all such as had professed the *Persian* Religion; and them whom

he found to have borne Arms in the late Rebellion he caused to be put to death with most exquisite torments and the rest to be burnt in their Foreheads with an hot Iron, thereby forever to be known; whom together with the Kinsfolks and Friends of them that were executed or

Massacre of Shí'a throughout the Turkish Empire.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 324.

² 'Abdu'r-Raḥman Sheref's *History of the Ottoman Empire* (Constantinople, 2nd edition, 1315/1897-8), vol. i, pp. 196-7. Cf. von Hammer's *Gesch. d. Osmanisch. Reich.*, vol. ii, pp. 359-360 and 393-4.

³ Ff. 90-91 of Mr A. G. Ellis's MS.

⁴ Yúnus Pasha, Grand Vezír to Sulṭán Selím, executed in 923/1517.

fled with *Techellis* he caused to be transported into *Europe* and to be dispersed through *Macedonia*, *Epirus* and *Peloponnesus*, for fear lest if *Techellis*, now fled into the *Persian* Kingdom, should from thence return with new Forces, they should also again repair unto him and raise a new Rebellion. This was the beginning, course, and ending of one of the most dangerous Rebellions that ever troubled the Turkish Empire; wherein all, or at leastwise the greatest part, of their Dominions in *Asia* might have been easily surprised by the *Persian* King, if he would thoroughly have prosecuted the occasion and opportunity then offered." These events are placed by Knolles in A.D. 1508, but by the *Ahsanu't-Tawárikh* in 917/1511-12, the year before *Báyazíd's* death.

It is curious that little or nothing is said by the Persian historians about this massacre of the Shí'a in Turkey, which von Hammer describes as one of the most dreadful deeds ever perpetrated in the name of Religion, not excepting the cruelties of the Inquisition or the Massacre of St Bartholomew. That most of the Turkish historians ignore it is less astonishing, since it can hardly be a matter of pride for them. Knolles appears to be mistaken in placing it in the reign of *Báyazíd II*, for there can hardly have been two such massacres, and one certainly took place in 1514 after the accession of *Salím*, as witnessed by *Nicolo Giustiniani* in an account dated October 7 of that year¹. The number of victims is placed by *Sa'du'd-Dín*, *Soláq-záda* and 'Alí *Abu'l-Faql*, the son of *Idrís* of *Bitlis*, at 40,000. The particulars given by the last-named writer, quoted by von Hammer in the original Persian verse transliterated into the Roman character, are as follows²:

¹ See von Hammer, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 403 *ad calc.* The passage runs: "Che il Signor havea mandá a far amazzar tutti della secta di Sofi."

² *Ibid.*, p. 638.

فرستاد سلطانِ دانا رسوم'	دبیرانِ دانا بهرِ مرز و بوم'
که اتباعِ این قوم را قسرِ قسر'	در آرد بنوکِ قلمِ اسمِ اسم'
ز هفت و ز هفتاد ساله بنام'	بیآرد بدیوانِ عالی مقام'
چو دفتر سپردند اهلِ حساب'	عدد چل هزار آمد از شیخ و شاب'
پس آنکه بحکام هر کشوری'	رساندند فرمانبرانِ دفتری'
بهر جاکه رفته قدم از قلم'	نهد تیغ بُرانِ قدم بر قدم'
شد اعدادِ این کُشته های دیار'	فزون از حسابِ قلمِ چل هزار'

Von Hammer's translation, which can hardly be bettered, runs as follows:

"Der Sultan wohlbewandert, voll Verstand,
Schickt kund'ge Schreiber aus in jedes Land;
Aufzeichnen sollen sie nach Stamm und Stammen
Die Jünger dieses Volks mit Nahm und Nahmen.
Von sieben Jahren bis auf siebzig Jahr
Bring' im Diwan die List' ein jeder dar.
Es waren Vierzigtausend grad enthalten
In den Verzeichnissen von Jung und Alten,
Die Bringer dieser Listen wurden dann
Gesandt an die Statthalter mit Ferman.
Wo immer hin die Feder war gekommen,
Ward Fuss für Fuss das Schwert zur Hand genommen.
Es wurden hingerichtet in dem Land
Mehr als die Zahl, die in den Listen stand."

Turning now once more to the *Munsha'át* of *Firdún Bey*, we find the following letters belonging to the reign of *Sultán Salím* which bear on his relations with Persia.

(13) *From Sultán Salím to 'Ubayd Khán the Uzbek, in Persian, dated the end of Muḥarram, A.H. 920 (March 27, 1514), only five months before the Battle of Cháldirdán (pp. 374-7). In this long letter, sent by the hand of a certain Muḥammad Bey, Salím denounces "that vile, impure, sinful, slanderous, reprehensible and blood-thirsty*

Şuff-cub" (to wit Sháh Isma'íl), "at whose hands the people of the Eastern lands are rendered desperate"

كه اهالى بلاد شرق از دستِ صوفى بجهٔ لئير ناپاك ائير اٲاك
ذمير سٲاك بجان آمده اند

and calls upon 'Ubayd Khán to do his part in avenging the death of his father Shaybak Khán.

(14) *Answer to the above, also in Persian, dated the end of Jumáda ii, 920 (August 21, 1514), pp. 377-9.* In this letter 'Ubayd Khán describes how he has already avenged his father and slain "the lesser dog, agent and lieutenant of the greater dog (*i.e.* Sháh Isma'íl), who in his quintessential folly had conferred on him the title of *Najm-i-Thání*¹," and promises to aid the Turkish Sultán in extirpating the "inconsiderable remnant" (شرذمةٔ قليله) of the "rascally infidels and heretical 'Red-heads'" (زنداقهٔ اوباش و ملاحدهٔ) (قزلباش).

(15) *From Sultán Salím to Sháh Isma'íl, in Persian, dated Şafar, 920 (April, 1514), pp. 379-381.* This letter, written in the most arrogant and offensive tone, calls on Isma'íl to repent of his heresies and evil practices, especially the cursing of "the two Shaykhs" (Abú Bakr and 'Umar), and threatens, should he continue obdurate, to invade and wrest from him "the lands which he has usurped by violence."

(16) *From Sultán Salím to Muhammad Beg Aq-Qoyunlu, in Persian, dated the end of Şafar, 920 (April 25, 1514), pp. 381-2,* congratulating him on the sound Sunní principles of himself and his family and subjects, and inviting his co-operation against the "heretical 'Red-heads'."

¹ This victory of the Uzbeks over the allied forces of Sháh Isma'íl and Bábur took place on Ramadán 17, 918 (Nov. 26, 1512). Amír Najmu'd-Dín Mas'úd ("the First *Najm*" or "Star") died in 915 (1509-1510) and was succeeded in his office and title by Amír Yár Aḥmad-i-İşfahání, called *Najm-i-Thání*, "the Second *Najm*" or "Star."

(17) *Reply to the above, in Persian, dated the end of Rabí' ii, 920 (June 23, 1514), p. 382.* From this it appears that Salím's letter was brought by an envoy named Aḥmad Ján, who took back the answer, and that the writer was in great fear that the correspondence might be discovered.

(18) *Sultán Salím's second letter to Sháh Isma'íl, in Persian and undated, pp. 382-3.* In this letter Salím lays claim to the Caliphate, accuses Sháh Isma'íl and his family of heresy and immorality, and calls on him to repent and suffer Persia to be annexed to the Ottoman dominions.

(19) *Sultán Salím's third letter to Isma'íl, in Turkish, dated the end of Jumáda i, 920 (July 23, 1514) and written from Arzinján,* taunting him with his apparent unwillingness to try the fortune of battle.

(20) *Sháh Isma'íl's reply to Sultán Salím's three letters, in Persian and undated (pp. 384-5).* This is apparently the letter to which Creasy refers in his *History of the Ottoman Turks* (ed. 1877, pp. 136-7), for the writer hints that Salím's secretary must have written under the influence of *bang* or opium, and sends a gold casket filled with a special preparation of one or both of these narcotics, sealed with the Royal Seal, by the hand of his messenger Sháh-qulí Ághá.

(21) *Sultán Salím's fourth letter to Isma'íl, in Turkish, dated the end of Jumáda ii, 920 (August 21, 1514),* again challenging him to battle.

Shortly after this last letter was written, namely early in the month of Rajab¹, 920 (August-September, 1514), a great battle was fought between the Turks and Persians at Cháldirán, situated some 20 parasangs from Tabríz, where 3000 of the former and 2000 of the latter were slain, but the Turkish artillery decided the day, and Sháh Isma'íl, notwithstanding the valour shown by him and his devoted followers, was forced

The Battle of
Cháldirán,
August, 1514.

¹ On the first of the month (Aug. 22, 1514) according to Firídún Bey (p. 402).

to give way and to fall back beyond Tabríz, which was occupied by the Turks on Rajab 16, 920 (Sept. 6, 1514). Many men of note on both sides were slain; of the Turks Hasan Pasha, Begler-begi of Rumelia, who commanded the left wing of the Ottoman army, Hasan Bey, Governor of Morea, Uways Bey of Caesarea, Ayás Bey of Latakia, and many other high civil and military officials; of the Persians Amír Sayyid-i-Sharíf of Shíráz, a protagonist of the Shí'a doctrine, Amír 'Abdu'l-Báqí, a descendant of the noted saint Sháh Ni'matu'lláh of Kirmán, Sayyid Muḥammad Kamúna of Najaf, Khán Muḥammad Khan, and many others.

Sultán Salím, greatly elated by his success, immediately despatched the usual bombastic proclamations of victory

(*fath-náma*) to his son Sulaymán, to the Khán

Sultán Salím's
proceedings after
the victory of
Cháldirán.

of the Crimea, to the Kurdish chieftains, to Sultán Murád, the last of the Áq-Qoyúnlu or

"White Sheep" dynasty, to Sháh Rustam of

Luristán, to the Governor of Adrianople, and others.

The texts of these documents are given by Firídún Bey (pp. 386-96), but they are followed (pp. 396-407) by a document of much greater historical value, namely a detailed journal of the movements of the Turkish army from the time they marched out of Adrianople on Muḥarram 3, 920 (March 20, 1514) until they returned to winter at Amásiya at the end of the same year (Nov.-Dec., 1514). They marched in 105 stages from Adrianople to Tabríz by way of Constantinople, Caesarea, Síwás, Arzinján, Cháldirán, Khúy and Marand; thence back to Amásiya in 58 stages, by way of Nakhjuwán, Jisr-i-Júbán, and Bayburt. They erected a pyramid of the skulls of their enemies on the field of battle, handed over to Ja'far Bey one of Sháh Isma'íl's wives who fell into their hands, and massacred Khálid Bey and 150 of his *Qizil-básh* companions at the village of Sáhílán the day before they entered Tabríz, in which city, however, they seem to have behaved with

moderation, as even the Persian historian of Sháh Isma'íl testifies¹. Sultán Salím remained there only about a week (Sept. 6-14, 1514), when he departed, taking with him the Tímúrid Prince Badí'u'z-Zamán, the fugitive son of the late Sultán Abu'l-Ghází Ḥusayn ibn Bayqará², and a number of skilled artisans whom he proposed to settle in his dominions. Within two or three weeks of his departure Sháh Isma'íl was back in Tabríz. According to Sir John Malcolm³, "the effect of so great a reverse upon the sanguine mind of Isma'íl was deep and lasting, and though before of a cheerful disposition he was never afterwards seen to smile." But as a matter of fact the defeat, decisive as it was, had little permanent effect, since the discontent and nostalgia of the Janissaries compelled the Ottoman Sultán to withdraw from Persian territory, and, save for the extirpation of the little Dhu'l-Qadar dynasty⁴ at Kamákh near Arzinján in the spring of A.D. 1515, his martial ardour was fully occupied, until his death in A.D. 1520, with the subjection of Egypt, Syria and Arabia.

Sháh Isma'íl, on his return to Tabríz after the battle of Cháldirán, sent a very polite and apologetic letter⁵ by the hand of Núru'd-Dín 'Abdu'l-Wahháb to Sultán Salím, who, apparently, vouchsafed no reply, but some months later (end of Rajab, 921 = Sept. 9, 1515) wrote in Turkish a long letter to 'Ubayd Khán the Uzbek inciting him to persecute the Shí'a⁶.

¹ Add. 200 of the Cambridge University Library, f. 151.

² He died at Constantinople four months later of the plague.

³ *History of Persia*, vol. i, p. 504. I can find no confirmation of this in the Persian histories which I have consulted.

⁴ According to the *Aḥsanu't-Tawárikh* it comprised only four rulers, Malik Aşlán, Sulaymán, Náşiru'd-Dín and 'Alá'u'd-Dawla, of whom the last, together with four of his sons and thirty of his followers, was decapitated by Sultán Salím's soldiers on June 13, 1515.

⁵ Firídún Bey, vol. i, pp. 413-414.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 415-416.

The documents connected with Sulţán Salím's reign fill another 84 pages of Firídún Bey's compilation¹, but, with one notable exception, contain only incidental abusive references to Sháh Isma'íl. The exception is formed by two poems, one in Persian and the other in Turkish, addressed to Sulţán Salím by an unpatriotic Persian named Khwája Işfahání, probably identical with Khwája Mawláná-yi-Işfahání, a fanatical Sunní who attached himself to the Uzbek Shaybak Khán, and whose death is recorded in the *Ahsanu't-Tawárikh* under the year 927/1521².

The following verses from the Persian poem will suffice to give an idea of its character.

۱ الا ای قاصدِ فرخنده منظر،
نیازم بر سوی شاهِ مظفر،
بگو ای پادشاهِ جمله عالم،
توئی امروز در مردی مسدّم،
اساسِ دین تو در دنیا نهادی،
تو شرعِ مصطفی بر جا نهادی،
مجدّد گشت دین از همّت تو،
جهان در زیر بارِ منّت تو،
اگر ملكِ شریعت مستقیم است،
همه از دولتِ سلطان سلیم است،
ز بیمت در تزلزلِ فارس و ترك،
چو افگندی ز سر تاجِ قزل بُرك،
فگندی تاجش از سر ای مظفر،
فگن اکنون بمردی از تنش سر،

¹ The last ends on p. 500.

² From a line in his Turkish poem it appears that his home was in Khurásán and Khwárazm (Khiva), which he had been compelled to leave since "Infidelity had completely destroyed the Home of Faith, and established itself in the Seat of Religion."

قزل بُركست همچون مار افعی،
سروش را تا نکوبی نیست نفعی
توئی امروز ز اوصافِ شریفه،
خدارا و محمّدا خلیفه
۱۰ روا داری که گبر و ملحدِ دد،
دهد دشنامِ اصحابِ محمّد،
تو اورا نشکنی از زورِ مردی،
سروش را نا بُریده باز گردی،
اگر گیرد امانی در سلامت،
بگیرم دامنت را در قیامت،
چنین دیدم ز اخبارِ پیمبر،
که ذو القرنین بُد در رومِ قیصر،
بذو القرنین از آن خود را علم کرد،
که ملكِ فارس را با رومِ ضم کرد،
۱۰ دو قرنِ او شهبانِ اندر جهان شد،
بشرق و غرب حکم او روان شد،
بیا از نصرِ دین کسرِ صنم کن،
بتختِ رومِ ملكِ فارس ضم کن،

"O messenger of auspicious aspect, carry my prayer to the victorious King.

Say, 'O King of all the World, thou art today accredited in valour. Thou didst lay the foundations of Religion in the World; thou didst restore the Holy Law of Muşafá [Muhammad]. Religion hath been renovated by thy zeal, the World lies under the burden of thy favour.

If the realm of the Holy Law is firmly established, it is all through the fortune of Sulţán Salím.

Persia and Turkey quake through fear of thee, since thou hast cast from his head the crown of the Red-cap¹.

O victorious one, thou hast cast his crown from his head : now manfully cast his head from his body!

The Red-head is like the viper; until thou crushest his head it availeth nothing.

Thou art today, through thy noble qualities, the Vicar (*Khalfá*) of God and of Muḥammad.

Dost thou hold it right that the guebre² and brute-heretic should revile the Companions of the Prophet?³

If thou dost not break him by the strength of thy manhood, and if thou turnest back without having cut off his head,

If he obtains amnesty in safety, I will seize thy skirt in the day of Resurrection.

Thus have I seen in the accounts of the Prophet, that *Dhu'l-Qarnayn* ("the Two-horned")⁴ was Emperor in Rome.

For this cause did he style himself *Dhu'l-Qarnayn*, because he added the dominion of Persia to that of Rome⁵.

His two horns were sovereignty throughout the World; his orders ran through East and West.

Come, break the Idol by the aid of the Faith, and add the Kingdom of Persia to the Throne of Rome⁶!"

Sulṭán Salím died in 926/1520, having reigned, according to the *Aḥsanu't-Tawárikh*, 8 years, 8 months and 8 days. He was succeeded by his son Sulaymán, called by his

¹ *Burk* is a Turkish word denoting a kind of tall fur cap, and *Qizil-burk* ("Red-cap") is, of course, equivalent to *Qizil-básh* (Persian *Surkh-sar*) "Red-head."

² The word *gabr* (anglicized by Thomas Moore as "guebre") properly denotes a Zoroastrian, but is constantly applied by writers of this period to any non-Muslim, infidel or heretic, like the corresponding *gyawur* ("giaour") of the Turks. See p. 95 *infra*.

³ This, of course, refers to the cursing of Abú Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmán instituted by Sháh Isma'íl. See pp. 53-4 *supra*.

⁴ This mysterious person is commonly (as here) identified with Alexander the Great. See *Qur'an* xviii, 82, 85, 93 and commentary thereon.

⁵ The term *Rúm* was applied successively to the Roman, the Byzantine and the Ottoman Empires, and by the Persian historians of this period the Ottoman Sulṭán is constantly called *Qaysar-i-Rúm*.

countrymen "the Law-giver" (*Qánúnt*) and by Europeans

"the Magnificent." The Persian poet Amíní composed a poem on his accession, of which each half-verse (*mişrá'*) yields the date 926. The following verse is cited as a specimen by the

Aḥsanu't-Tawárikh:

بداده زمان ملكتِ كامرانى ' بكاوسِ عهد و سليمانِ ثانى

"Fortune hath given the Kingdom of Desire to the Ká'ús of the Age, the Second Solomon."

Three years later (in 929/1523), when Sulṭán Sulaymán conquered Rhodes, another Persian Poet, Niyází, commemorated this victory in an equally ingenious *qaşıda* beginning:

در اوّل جلوسى بوى سرفرازى ' دوم فتح اردوس الا اى نيازى

where the first half-verse gives the date of Sulaymán's accession (926/1520), and the second the date of the conquest of Rhodes¹.

Sháh Isma'íl died on Monday, Rajab 19, A.H. 930 (May 23, 1524) at the age of 38 after a reign of 24 years, and was buried with his fathers at Ardabíl. He left four sons, Ṭahmásp, born on Dhu'l-Hijja 26, A.H. 919 (Feb. 22, 1514), who succeeded him; Alqás, born in 922/1516, and Sám and Bahrá, both born in the following year; besides five daughters². In his reign the sword was more active than the pen. He not only eliminated all of his numerous rivals in Persia, but greatly enlarged her frontiers. "His kingdom," says the *Aḥsanu't-Tawárikh*³,

¹ *Aḥsanu't-Tawárikh* (Mr Ellis's MS., f. 128). The first *mişrá'* gives the correct date (926), but the second, as written in the MS. (with *دويم*), gives 940. I have emended this to *دوم*, which gives 930, though this is still one too much.

² Khánish Khánum, Parí-Khán Khánum, Mihánbánú Sulṭánú, Firangís Khánum and Zaynab Khánum.

³ F. 131.

“included Ádharbáyján, Persian ‘Iráq, Khurásán, Fárs, Kirmán and Khúzistán, while Diyár Bakr, Balkh and Merv were at times under his control. In the battle-field he was a lion wielding a dagger, and in the banquet-hall a cloud raining pearls. Such was his bounty that pure gold and worthless salt were alike in his sight, while by reason of his lofty spirit the produce of ocean and mine did not suffice for the donations of a single day, and his treasury was generally empty. He had a passion for the chase, and alone used to slay lions. He had issued orders that whoever should bring news of a lion should receive from his officers a horse and saddle; and he who should bring news of a leopard an unsaddled horse. He would go forth alone and kill lions and leopards. During his reign he fought five [great] battles, the first with Farrukh-Yasár king of Shírwán at the place called Jabání, the second with Alwand at Shurúr, the third with Sultán Murád at Alma Qúlághí near Hamadán, the fourth with Shaybak Khán in the neighbourhood of Merv, and the fifth with Sultán Salím at Cháldírán¹.” The date of his death (930) is given by the word *Zill*, “Shadow” (of God), and by the words *Khusraw-i-Dín*, “Prince of the Faith,” as expressed in the two following chronograms:

شاه گردون پناه اسمعیل، آنکه چون مهر در نقاب شده،
از جهان رفت و ظل شدش تاریخ، سایه تاریخ آفتاب شده،

رباعی

شاهی که چو خورشید جهان گشت مبین،

بزدود غبار ظلم از روی زمین،

¹ These battles were fought in 906/1500, 907/1501, 908/1503, 916/1510, and 920/1514 respectively. In all except the last Sháh Isma‘íl was victorious.

تاریخ وفات آن شه شیر کمین،

از خسرو دین طلب که شد خسرو دین،

As regards literature, there was, as elsewhere explained, an extraordinary dearth of remarkable poets in Persia during the whole Şafawí period¹, while the great theologians belong to a later time when the Shí‘a faith, raised by Sháh Isma‘íl to the position of the established national religion of Persia, had taken firm root. Most of the celebrated writers whose deaths are recorded in the *Ahsanu‘t-Tawárikh* and other chronicles of Isma‘íl’s reign really belong to the brilliant circle who gathered round the Tímúrid Sultán Abu‘l-Ghází Ḥusayn and his talented Minister Mír ‘Alí Shír Nawá‘í. Such were the poets Hátífí, nephew of the great Jámí, who died in 927/1521; Amír Ḥusayn Mu‘ammá‘í (d. 904/1498–9); Banná‘í, who perished in the massacre wrought by Isma‘íl’s general *Najm-i-Thání*² at Qarshí in 918/1512; Hilálí, who was killed by the Uzbeks at Herát in 935/1528–9 for his alleged Shí‘a proclivities; the philosopher Jalálu‘d-Dín Dawání (d. 908/1502–3); the historian Mírkhwánd (d. 903/1497–8 at the age of 66); and the versatile Ḥusayn Wá‘iz-i-Káshífí, commentator, ethicist and narrator, best known as the author of the *Anwár-i-Suhaylí*³. The poet Qásimí celebrated the achievements of Sháh Isma‘íl in a *Sháh-náma*, hitherto unpublished and but rarely met with even in manuscript⁴, completed ten years after the death of that monarch, who appears to have been less susceptible than most Persian potentates to the flattery of courtiers and venal verse-makers⁵.

¹ See pp. 24–29 *supra*.

² See p. 74 *ad calc*.

³ Accounts of the more notable of these writers will be found in the preceding volume of this history, *Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*.

⁴ See Rieu’s *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 660–661.

⁵ See p. 28 *supra*.