

**IBN HALDUN UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY**

DOCTORAL THESIS

**MUŞLIĞ AL-DİN LĀRĪ (d. 979 /1572)
"AN INTELLECTUAL OF THREE EMPIRES"**

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**THESIS SUPERVISOR
ASSIST. PROF. MEHMET ŞAKİR YILMAZ**

ISTANBUL, 2025

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"AN INTELLECTUAL OF THREE EMPIRES"**

**by
NILAB SAEEDI**

**A thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in History**

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ACADEMIC HONESTY ATTESTATION

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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ÖZ

MUŞLIĞ AL-DİN LĀRĪ (ö. 979 /1572)
"ÜÇ IMPARATORLUĞUN ENTELEKTÜELİ"

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Ocak 2025, 373 Sayfa

Bu tez, onaltıncı yüzyılın çok yönlü bilgini Muslihuddīn Lārī'nin (ö. 1572) entelektüel mirasını, özellikle tarih eseri *Mir'atu'l-Advār wa Mirkātu'l-Aḥbār* (Zamanların Aynası ve Olayların Merdiveni) üzerinden incelemektedir. Daha çok felsefe, teoloji, matematik ve astronomi alanlarındaki katkılarıyla tanınan Lārī'nin bu tarih eseri, akademik alanda yeterince incelenmemiştir. Tez, Lārī'nin bu eseri yalnızca dönemin olaylarını belgelemek için değil, kendi entelektüel mirasını kayıt altına almak amacıyla yazdığını öne sürmektedir. Hayatının son dönemlerinde kaleme aldığı bu eser, onun eğitim geçmişini, zihniyet dünyasını ve entelektüel vizyonunu yansıtmaktadır.

Çalışma, Safevi, Babürlü ve Osmanlı coğrafyalarında yaşamış olan Lārī'nin bu üç İslam ülkesinin tarihi üzerine yazdıklarını merkeze alarak, düşünce dünyasını analiz etmektedir. Bu bağlamda, Farsça tarihyazımının Timurlu ve Safevi dönemleri arasındaki dönüşümünü ele alan tez, Lārī'yi bu geleneğin bir parçası olarak konumlandırmaktadır. Ayrıca, Lārī'nin Sultan II. Selim'e adadığı evrensel tarih yazma kararını inceleyerek, edebiyat ile tarih arasındaki etkileşimi sorgulamaktadır. *Mir'atu'l-Advār wa Mirkātu'l-Aḥbār*, dönemin siyasi ve entelektüel atmosferinde bir entelektüelin deneyimlerini yansıtırken, tarih yazım yöntemleri hakkında önemli bilgiler sunmaktadır.

Bu tez, Lārī'nin tarih yazımı yaklaşımını ve entelektüel çerçevesini eleştirel bir şekilde değerlendiren, bu yöntemin çağdaş tarihyazımı üzerindeki etkilerini vurgulamaktadır. Lārī'nin tarihçiliği, felsefi ve teolojik uğraşlarına kıyasla ikincil görünse de, bu eser onun bilgi birikimini koruma ve aktarma arzusunun somut bir belgesidir. Böylece, Fars edebi geleneğinin Osmanlı tarih yazımı üzerindeki etkilerine ışık tutulmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Entelektüel, Osmanlı, Tarih, Tarih Yazımı, Timurlu, Safevi, 16'ncı Yüzyıl.



ABSTRACT

MUŞLIḤ AL-DĪN LĀRĪ (d. 979 /1572)
"AN INTELLECTUAL OF THREE EMPIRES"

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January 2025, 373 Pages

This thesis examines the intellectual legacy of the sixteenth-century polymath Muslihuddīn Lārī (d. 1572), focusing particularly on his historical work *Mir'atu'l-Advār wa Mirkātu'l-Aḥbār* (The Mirror of Times and the Ladder of Events). Although Lārī is better known for his contributions to philosophy, theology, mathematics, and astronomy, this historical work has not received sufficient academic attention. The thesis argues that Lārī's decision to write this work was not merely to document significant events of the period but also to preserve his intellectual legacy. Written in the later years of his life, the work reflects his educational background, worldview, and intellectual vision.

The study analyzes Lārī's intellectual perspective by focusing on his writings about the histories of the three Islamic empires in which he lived—Safavid, Mughal, and Ottoman. In this context, it aims to contribute to a better understanding of Persian historiography, particularly by addressing the transformation between the Timurid and Safavid periods. Positioning Lārī as a part of Persian historiographical tradition, the thesis asserts that he was a significant figure within this intellectual framework. Furthermore, it examines Lārī's decision to write a universal history dedicated to Sultan Selim II and explores the interplay between literature and history in his work. *Mir'atu'l-Advār wa Mirkātu'l-Aḥbār* reflects the experiences of an intellectual

navigating the complex political and intellectual milieu of the time and offers valuable insights into the historiographical methods of the period.

This thesis critically evaluates Lārī's historiographical approach and intellectual framework, emphasizing its enduring influence on contemporary historiography. While his role as a historian may appear secondary to his philosophical and theological pursuits, this work stands as a concrete testament to his desire to preserve and transmit the knowledge he accumulated throughout his life. It sheds light on the influence of Persian literary traditions on Ottoman historiography.

Keywords: Historiography, History, Intellectual, Ottoman, Safavid, Timurid, 16th Century.



DEDICATION

گرچه منزل بس خطرناک است و مقصد بس بعید
هیچ راهی نیست، کآن را نیست پایان، غم مخور
حافظ

This dissertation is dedicated to every child in a refugee camp, where the longing for education burns passionately.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

At the age of four, I witnessed older schoolchildren carrying UNICEF food packets to refugee children and rushing home. This sight ignited a strong desire in me to attend school, not only to learn but also to contribute to my family's sustenance. At the tender age of five, I began my education. The first school I attended was a makeshift setup—no classrooms, tables, or chairs—just a plastic rug and one teacher. Despite these hardships, my joy of learning remained undiminished. Over time, conditions improved, and each small advancement—from sitting on the ground to having a desk—brought immense satisfaction.

Today, as I stand here completing my PhD, I am deeply grateful for the journey I have undertaken and the knowledge I have gained. Many individuals have played pivotal roles along the way, and I owe them a debt of gratitude.

My university education began in 2012 when I pursued a Bachelor's degree. Though marked by frequent challenges, I choose to remember the positive experiences that shaped me. In 2016, I applied for the Turkish Scholarships, which led me to *Ondokuz Mayıs* University in Samsun. Under the guidance of Prof. Dr. Yakup Poyraz, I completed my Master's degree. He was not only a supervisor but also a mentor and pillar of strength. His unwavering support profoundly impacted my life, and I am honored to have been his student.

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Finally, to my family: your love and support have been the cornerstone of my life. To my brothers and my one and only sister, your presence, guidance, and advice resolve all my problems. To my sister especially, you are my rock, my confidant, and my inspiration. I cherish you more than words can express.

Reflecting on this journey, I am filled with gratitude for every step I have taken. I am committed to seizing every moment, striving to learn, grow, and educate, while trusting in Allah for the outcomes.

Tawakkul Allah
Nilab SAEEDI
İSTANBUL, 2025

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ÖZ	iv
ABSTRACT	vi
DEDICATION	viii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS	xi
LIST OF TABLES	xiv
LIST OF FIGURES	xv
LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS	xvi
CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Literature Review.....	9
1.2. Research Frameworks.....	20
1.3. Extending the Sources	28
CHAPTER II JOURNEY THROUGH LĀRĪ'S LIFE: EDUCATION, INFLUENCES AND LEGACY	33
2.1. Lārī's Formative Years: Birthplace, Family and Early Education	33
2.2. Lārī's Path to Mastery: Higher Education and Interdisciplinary Knowledge.	37
2.3. Lārī's Migration Through Safavid Persia: A Forced Departure	45
2.4. A Sojourn in The Mughal India: Experiences and Court Life	47
2.5. Inevitable Exit: Lārī's Departure from Mughal India to Aleppo.....	55
2.6. Lārī's Entry into the Ottoman Capital: A Scholar's Journey	57
CHAPTER III LĀRĪ'S LITERARY LEGACY	65
3.1. Introduction	65
3.2. Mir'atu'l-Advār wa Mirkātu'l-Aḥbār: An In-Depth Analysis	69
3.3. The Linguistic Features of Mir'atu'l-advār: An Analysis.....	106
3.4. Lārī's Narrative Techniques in Mir'atu'l-advār: An Analysis	109
3.5. The Function of Poetry in Lārī's Mir'atu'l-advār.....	111
3.6. Chronology as a Narrative Tool in Mir'atu'l-advār.....	115
3.7. Challenging the Narratives in Mir'atu'l-advār: An Examination of the Problems	118
3.8. Navigation of Primary Sources in Lārī's History	120

CHAPTER IV BETWEEN SILENCE AND NARRATION: LĀRĪ'S PORTRAYAL OF THE SAFAVIDS	129
4.1. Introduction	129
4.2. Lārī's Reversal of Safavid Historiographical Traditions	131
4.2.1. The Art of Making a Universal Story.....	144
4.2.2. Biographies as Endnotes	146
4.2.3. Spotlight on the Shah	147
4.2.4. A Historical Insight: Prefaces.....	148
4.2.5. Crossing Era: The Ancient Stories	149
4.3. Re-Examining the Legitimacy of The Safavid Dynasty.....	151
4.4. Chasing Prestige: Safavid Intellectuals in Lārī's <i>Tazkira</i>	161
4.5. Conclusion	185
CHAPTER V THE NARRATIVE OF GLORY: TĪMŪR'S HEROIC PORTRAYAL IN <i>MIR'ATU'L-ADVĀR</i>	189
5.1. Introduction	189
5.2. An Illustration of the Heroic	190
5.2.1. Tracing the Lineage of Tīmūr	191
5.2.2. Building Leadership Excellence: The Triple Action of Strategy, Skills and Character	195
5.2.3. Pious Activities: Tīmūr's Journey of Faith and Religion	200
5.2.4. Tīmūr's Patronage: A Patron of Scholars, Arts and Intellectuals	203
5.3. Lārī's Insights: Uncovering the Battle of Ankara (1402)	208
5.4. Timurid Mindscapes: The Intellectuals of Timurid in <i>Mir'atu'l-Advār</i>	229
5.4.1. Mystics of the Naqshbandīs	233
5.4.2. Mystics Beyond the Naqshbandī Sufī Tradition	240
5.4.3. Eminent Scholars in the Era of Amīr Tīmūr	242
5.5. Conclusion	248
CHAPTER VI THE MIRROR'S FAULT LINES: AN IN-DEPTH ANALYSIS OF THE IMPERFECTIONS IN <i>MIR'ATU'L-ADVĀR'S</i> OTTOMAN NARRATIVE	255
6.1. Introduction	255
6.2. Foundations of Power: Lārī's Examination of the Origins of the Ottoman Dynasty	260
6.3. Osmān I: Exploring the Question of Legitimacy	268

6.4. Tīmūr's Shadow: Lārī's Account of the Ottoman Interregnum	273
6.5. Conquering the World: Meḥmed II.....	282
6.5.1. Conquering the World	289
6.6. Disclosing Hostility: Lārī's Ottoman Perspective on the Battle of <i>Çaldıran</i>	296
6.7. Sultan Süleymān: A Holy Sovereign in Lārī's Narrative.....	311
6.8. Conclusion	324
CHAPTER VII CONCLUSION	328
7.1. Muşliḥ Al-Dīn Lārī 's Intellectual Journey Through Historiography	328
REFERENCES.....	336
APPENDIX	351
Appendix A A Letter Written by Muşliḥ Al-Dīn Lārī to Sultan Ḥussain of Mosul .	351
Appendix B Letter From Tīmūr to Bāyezīd.....	352
Appendix C The Teḥmīd at The Beginning of The Ottoman Chapter.....	353
Appendix D A Catalogue of Lārī's Works.....	356
Appendix E A Chronology of Lārī's Life	366
Appendix F	370
Appendix G.....	371
CURRICULUM VITAE.....	372

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1. Overview of Chapters in Mir'atu'l-Advār	80
Table 5.1. Timurid Scholars Introduced by Lārī	231
Table 6.1. A Comparison of Mir'atu'l-Advār and Tacū't-Tevārīḥ on Origins of Ottomans	264
Table 6.2. A Comparison of Mir'atu'l-Advār and Tacū't-Tevārīḥ on the Emergence of the Ottomans	265
Table 6.3. A Comparison of Mir'atu'l-Advār and Tacū't-Tevārīḥ on Osmān Bey .	266
Table 6.4. A Comparison of Mir'atu'l-Advār and Osmānoğulları'nın Tārīḥi on Alī Pasha	275



LIST OF FIGURES

Figure F.1. A Map Showing Lārī's Journey	370
Figure G.1. Safa Parlı Mosque	371



LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

'	ء
<u>s</u>	ث
ḥ	ح
ḫ	خ
<u>z</u>	ذ
ş	ص
ẓ	ض
ṭ	ط
ẓ	ظ
‘	ع
ġ	غ
ḵ	ق
ñ	ك
^	و مدودة
BOA	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi
DİA	Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi
EI ²	Encyclopedia of Islam
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
TSKM	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Lārī (d. 979/1572) was a historian on the move. Throughout his life he travelled extensively, experiencing life in all three of the famous Islamic empires of the early modern period -the Mughal, Safavid and Ottoman. A polymath of extraordinary versatility, Lārī's intellectual pursuits ranged from poetry and commentary to mathematics and astronomy, establishing him as a prominent figure in the intellectual milieu of the 16th-century Islamic world.

Lārī excelled in *ulūm-ı 'aqlī* (rational sciences) and *ulūm-ı naklī* (practical sciences) such as *uṣūl al-Fiḥ* (Islamic jurisprudence), *tafsīr* (Qur'ānic exegesis) and *ḥadīṣ* (prophetic tradition) - as well as in various other fields of scholarship. He wrote poetry in both Arabic and Persian and produced numerous historical works, most of which were commentaries on the writings of other Islamic authors. Lārī's scholarly endeavors revolved mainly around writing commentaries on the works of previous scholars. In keeping with the intellectual climate of his time and the practices of other writers in the Ottoman Empire at the time, he often focused on explaining and elucidating the works of his predecessors in an Arabo-Persian language accessible to an elite readership. Lārī's concerted effort to convey the depth of his expertise is evident in his works, which are characterized by substantial and comprehensive discussions. His scholarly pursuits centered primarily on the field of rational sciences, as evidenced by the fact that the majority of his treatises are related to this field.¹

Lārī's academic journey took him to the *Manṣūriyya Madrasa* in Shiraz, Iran, where he studied within the renowned Shirazi school of scholarship. During his time there, he came under the profound influence of the works of Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad

¹ Reza Pourjavady, "Muṣliḥ Al-Dīn al-Lārī and His Samples of the Sciences," *Oriens* 42, no. 3-4 (January 1, 2014): 294, doi:10.1163/18778372-04203002.

Dawwānī (d. 908/1502), a prominent scholar of his time.² Lārī's scholarly pursuits were profoundly shaped by this influence, to the extent that he used many of Dawwānī's works as models for his own writings. Lārī's strict adherence to Dawwānī's model can be attributed to his desire to secure patronage by aligning his work with that of his esteemed predecessor. At the same time, he took up the practice of writing commentaries and marginal notes on the works of renowned scholars such as Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd al-Taftāzānī (d. 792/1390). His commentary on Taftāzānī's work is particularly noteworthy and is considered one of his most important contributions in this regard. Through the lens of Lārī and his extensive body of writings, we gain valuable insights into the major political and intellectual debates that characterized the Islamic world in the 16th century. His works provide a window into the intellectual milieu and discourses of his time, shedding light on the major issues that preoccupied the minds of scholars and thinkers of the period. Lārī's diverse body of work spans several fields, with particular attention being drawn to his impressive contributions to philosophy. His writings in this field have received considerable attention, reflecting his intellectual depth and insight into philosophical matters. As scholars examine his works, it becomes clear that the intellectual landscape of the 16th century was characterized by a rich tradition of commentary and engagement.

Lārī's involvement in commenting on the works of his contemporaries and scholars before them, in both prose and verse, highlights a collaborative intellectual environment. Scholars of the time actively contributed to each other's works through acknowledgment and, at times, spirited debate. This interconnected scholarly community facilitated the exchange of ideas and perspectives. A notable theme that emerges from Lārī's diverse writings is the exploration of different fields and their meanings. He delves into the essence of movement and his writings encompass a wide range of knowledge, reflecting a comprehensive understanding of various subjects. A fascinating aspect that emerges from the study of Lārī's works is the multidisciplinary nature of scholars in the 16th century. In this era, a scholar was not limited to a single field; rather, individuals like Lārī excelled in several sciences and professions. Lārī's versatility is evident as he navigates the fields of philosophy, mathematics, astrology,

² Hulusi Kılıç, "LÂRÎ, Muslihuddin," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, 2003.

poetry and history, demonstrating the breadth of expertise that characterized the scholars of his time.

Lārī's best-known work was *Mir'atu'l-Advār wa Mirkātu'l-Aḥbār* (The Mirror of Epochs and the Staircase of Historical Reports), a universal history written in Persian, covering the history of mankind from Adam, to the enthronement of Sultan Selīm II in 1566. The book, consisting of ten chapters, was dedicated to Selīm II (d. 982/1574). While the month of Lārī's composition is unspecified, it can be surmised that the author completed his history towards the end of Sultan Süleymān's reign, as it was presented to Sultan Selīm II. This inference is based on the fact that Lārī's text was written during the reign of Sultan Selīm II, who succeeded Sultan Süleymān in 1566. Thus, it is likely that Lārī completed his history towards the end of Sultan Süleymān's reign, and presented it to his successor shortly thereafter. Lārī skillfully integrated cultural events into the broader context of narrating the lives, intellectual contributions, and works of major cultural and historical figures of his time in his comprehensive work, *Mir'atu'l-Advār* (from now on *Mir'atu'l-Advār*). He meticulously curated a selection of the most eminent individuals from various scholarly disciplines and provided insightful accounts of their status and influence. Lārī's approach was not limited to reporting political events; rather, he broadened his scope to include biographies of scholars and thinkers who had made notable contributions to the history of Islam. By closely tying the narratives of these scholars to the unfolding political events of their times, Lārī created a comprehensive historical tapestry that illuminated both the intellectual and political dimensions of the Islamic world.

In the context of Ottoman historiography, it was common practice not to explicitly mention the sources from which a historian drew his writings when quoting long passages from primary sources. However, Lārī's departure from this prevailing trend was a significant step in the direction of scientific historiography in a more modern sense. Lārī's approach was characterized by a willingness to be critical of the sources he had used in his works and to disclose them openly in his preface. This marked a notable advance in the methodology of historiography in his time, breaking with the traditional practice of withholding the origins of quotations and references. Lārī contributed to a more rigorous and scholarly approach to history by being transparent in his use of sources and by acknowledging their origins. In the main body of his texts,

Lārī shows a notable tendency to refrain from making explicit references to his sources, which presents a scholarly challenge in determining where the information presented originated.

It is rare for him to reveal the specific origin of the material that he has incorporated into his works. But on those rare occasions when he does mention sources, it is often to highlight discrepancies or inaccuracies in the information provided by those particular sources. Lārī's deliberate choice to minimize direct quotations in his texts leaves the reader in the position of inferring the sources of information. This practice adds a layer of complexity to scholarly engagement with his works, as it becomes difficult to distinguish between Lārī's original contributions and the material derived from the sources he references. Despite the apparent ambiguity in attributing sources, a fascinating aspect emerges as Lārī seems to assimilate the information provided by his sources and to transform it into his own voice. This transformation is significant because it reflects not only a synthesis of historical data, but also a distinctive perspective of the author. Lārī essentially weaves the sources into his narrative, making it a coherent and unified account. It bears the imprint of his own voice.

Lārī's role and contributions within the field of Ottoman historiography have remained relatively unexplored, with his literary productions receiving less recognition than they potentially deserve. Several plausible factors may account for this state of affairs. First, as Baki Tezcan has noted, Lārī can be considered something of an 'outsider' in Ottoman historical scholarship due to his varied experiences and travels through various Islamic empires.³ Adapting to life in and around the Ottoman court was a challenge for the emigrants.⁴ This outsider status may have resulted in his work being less integrated into the mainstream narratives of Ottoman history. Secondly, the reception of Lārī's main work, *Mir'atu'l-Advār*, may have contributed to its lack of popularity. As Christopher Markiewicz puts it that despite the encouragement, rewards and acclaim that Persian histories received in their own time, these works and the wider legacies of

³ Baki Tezcan, "Muslihiddin Lari (d. 1572): The Fate of an Immigrant Polymath in the Sixteenth Century Ottoman Empire," in *History from below: A Tribute in Memory of Donald Quataert* (Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2016), 621.

⁴ Christopher Markiewicz, "Forgotten Chronicles: Persian, Patronage and the Selīmname Genre at the Ottoman Court," in *Authorship and Textual Transmission in the Manuscript Age: Contextualising Ideological Variants in Persian Texts*, ed. Sacha Alsancakli and Philip Bockholt, *Studia Iranica* 64 (Paris: Association pour l'avancement des études iraniennes, 2023), 123.

their authors are often confined to a few brief remarks in later Ottoman biographical dictionaries.⁵ Notably, the Sultan's tutor and Shaykh al-Islām Hoca Sādeddin (d. 1008/1599), a prominent Ottoman historian of the time, substantially revised and expanded Lārī's work at the request of the Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha (d.987/1579). This revision included translation into Ottoman Turkish. In his preface to *Tacū't-Tevārīh*, Hoca Sādeddin Efendi (d.1008/1599) criticized Lārī for what he saw as a deficiency in Lārī's understanding of Ottoman history.⁶

Lārī's comprehensive historical account is, as the following discussion will show, an Islamic-centered universal history. It is characterized by its Persian-Islamic orientation. Lārī's work consists of ten chapters. It deals with the narratives of various Islamic and Persian dynasties and includes insights into certain Turkic dynasties. At the end of his work, Lārī has a special chapter on the Ottomans (the study of which is deferred to chapter V of this dissertation). This chapter is presented separately. However, I argue that it marks a new beginning in his universal history. Lārī presents the Ottomans as a Turkic ethnic group descended from the Seljukids who migrated from Persia within this contextual framework. Notably, in Lārī's universal history, the Ottomans are presented merely as another dynasty of Persian origin. They are not perceived as the Islamic caliphate, nor as the sole rulers who deserve to rule. Despite this, Lārī gives them the epithet 'emperor of the world'.

According to Hoca Sādeddin Efendi, Lārī's treatment of the Ottoman Empire did not do justice to its glory, prompting Hoca Sādeddin Efendi to take on the responsibility of rewriting and expanding the history. This revision and criticism by a prominent Ottoman historian such as Hoca Sādeddin Efendi may have influenced the perception of Lārī's work within Ottoman historiography, possibly overshadowing Lārī's original contributions. However, it is important to consider Lārī's work in its historical context, recognizing that his perspectives and insights as an outsider may offer unique perspectives on Ottoman history that deserve further exploration and analysis. Moreover, Lārī's works were written in Persian, which may have restricted their appeal and availability to a wider audience, particularly among Ottoman scholars and those readers who preferred to use Ottoman Turkish as the medium of choice for their

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, "Tâcū't-tevârih" 1600 1008, <https://sufiworld.com/tacut-tevarih>.

intellectual pursuits. In the sixteenth century, Ottoman Turkish represents a partial separation of the Ottoman lands from the broader Persian cultural sphere. Persian histories were often written by scholars who had emigrated from Persian lands. Although these scholars were supported, they were often marginalized and subsequently overlooked as Ottoman Turkish gradually became the dominant language of literary production.⁷

The early decades of the sixteenth century saw the simultaneous emergence of the Ottoman imperial tradition of historiography.⁸ It is plausible that during the period of Lārī's activities, the historiographical tendencies of the Ottoman Empire were directed towards alternative spheres of historical inquiry, relegating the contributions of individuals such as Lārī to the periphery. It can be inferred that during Lārī's sojourn in the Ottoman Empire, the intellectual elite and those in positions of authority showed a predilection for engagement with historical treatises. In the 16th century, the Ottoman Empire showed a pronounced interest in disseminating its greatness through written media. This led to an increased demand for historical works, especially universal or world histories. It is conceivable that these aspects were not in keeping with the prevailing preferences of the Ottoman milieu, given Lārī's philosophical background and his astronomical compositions for the Mughal king. Thus, the dominant concerns and ideological preferences of historians during this period may have played a significant role in the reception of Lārī's work. Lārī, a wandering historian who passed through the territories of the Safavids, Mughals and Ottomans during the sixteenth century, offers a rare perspective on the historical and intellectual milieu of these three Islamic empires. Having traveled extensively and interacted with many of the leading scholars of each of these empires, he provides a valuable insight into the period. This study focuses on three specific chapters from his work, *Mir'atu'l-Advār*, which deal with the Timurids, Safavids and Ottomans.

Our main aim will be to examine Lārī's use of language in the description of these three empires and their history. We will have a close look and analysis at the portrayal of the rulers within these empires in the *Mir'atu'l-Advār*. Through this analysis, we will explore the nuances and perspectives that Lārī brings to the historical narratives

⁷ Markiewicz, "Forgotten Chronicals," 111.

⁸ Ibid., 110.

of these empires, with the aim of shedding light on Lārī's role as a historian. By examining Lārī's work in this context, we seek a deeper understanding of how he crafted his historical accounts, the cultural and linguistic lenses through which he viewed these empires, and the potential biases or unique insights he may have contributed to Safavid, Mughal, and Ottoman historiography.

This dissertation seeks to address a number of questions concerning Lārī's life and contributions. A comprehensive biography of Lārī, including facets such as his education and travels, will be presented in the first chapter. Subsequently, the second chapter will focus on the primary source on which this dissertation is based, namely the *Mir'atu'l-Advār wa Mirkātu'l-Aḥbār*. In this section, the style, language and sources used by Lārī will be analyzed in detail. In composing his historical work, Lārī drew extensively on a wide variety of written sources, focusing on Persian historiography. In light of this, the question arises as to what distinctive features of Persian historiography can be discerned in Lārī's narrative. The research will seek to go beyond the confines of Timurid historiography and explore additional features embedded in Lārī's historical account, building on the precedent set by Sholeh Quinn in her book.⁹ It also aims to explore the criteria established or used by Lārī to evaluate historical events that transcend the temporal confines of his own era. The study will examine the methodology and standards used by Lārī in evaluating historical events that took place in periods other than his own, since these events are largely unrelated to his personal experience. Lārī provides a comprehensive list of the sources he consulted for his work, including Turkish prose sources, though he does not specify them by name. Conversely, he dedicates an entire chapter to the history of the Ottoman Empire, from its origins to the Hungarian War of Sultan Süleymān I (d. 1566) in 1526. This prompts the question of whether he composed the history of the Ottomans without drawing upon Ottoman sources. It seems implausible that he did so. It is conceivable that Lārī may have utilised Turkish or Ottoman histories, yet deliberately omitted their acknowledgement in his list. The study is also concerned with the feasibility of the writing of a historical account on the basis of first-hand experience and observation alone. It also raises the question of whether Lārī might have relied on oral sources in the absence of written Ottoman references.

⁹ Sholeh Alysia Quinn, *Persian Historiography across Empires: The Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals* (Cambridge New York: Cambridge University Press, 2021).

Discerning Lārī's identity as a historian, particularly through his interactions with the Safavid, Mughal and Ottoman empires, is the central aim of this dissertation. The dissertation will later be divided into three specific chapters: the first examining the Safavids, the second the Timurids (as Lārī does not provide a separate chapter on the Mughals or Baburids), and the final chapter the Ottomans¹⁰. Some sources suggest that at first Lārī wrote a history of the world and a history of the Ottoman Empire as separate works. However, when he learned of Sultan Selīm II's accession to the throne in 1574, he is said to have merged the two works. He then presented them to the grand vizier Sokullu Mehmed Pasha, who held office until 1579.

The focus of each chapter will be primarily on Lārī's portrayal of these historical entities. How Lārī depicted the Safavids, Timurids, and Ottomans will be the overarching question. This primary question will be the starting point for secondary questions, such as an examination of the theme of legitimacy throughout the chapters. Regarding the chapter on Ottomans, in his preface to *Tacü't-Tevārīh*, Hoca Sādeddin (d.1008/1599) asserts that Lārī did not have a comprehensive understanding of Ottoman history in his historical work and thus failed to do justice to the greatness of the Ottoman dynasty. By undertaking the task of writing a history of the Ottoman Empire, which he refers to as the "crown of histories" (*Tacü't-Tevārīh*), Hoca Sādeddin indicates his intention to remedy this perceived shortcoming. At the center of the critical evaluation is the legitimacy of Hoca Sādeddin's assertion that Lārī was not well versed in the history of the Ottoman Empire. The question arises as to whether Lārī's section on Ottoman history is really inadequate or lacking in its portrayal of the dynasty. It is necessary to consider whether any shortcomings are due to a lack of sources available to Lārī or whether they are the result of time constraints. Lārī may have needed to present his work to the newly enthroned Sultan without delay. The study includes the factors that may have influenced the content and depth of Lārī's portrayal of Ottoman history in the context of Hoca Sādeddin's proclamation. Attention will also be given to how Lārī dealt with scholars and the biographies he presented. The motivations behind these biographies and the stylistic nuances

¹⁰ The structure of the chapters has been determined by the chronology of Lārī's travels, with the Safavids forming the initial focus, followed by the Timurids, and concluding with the Ottomans. Despite the absence of any written accounts by Lārī concerning the Mughals, it has been deemed appropriate to prioritise the Timurids as the second case study in this dissertation, subsequent to the Safavids.

employed by Lārī will be closely examined. This dissertation aims to answer these questions and to construct a comprehensive understanding of Lārī as a historian. An analysis of his style of historical writing and his underlying motives will contribute to the portrayal of Lārī as an intellectual figure of the sixteenth century, situated in the historical landscape with both merits and shortcomings.

1.1. Literature Review

Muṣliḥ Al-Dīn Lārī holds significance as an educator who served across the three prominent Islamic empires of the sixteenth century —namely, the Safavid, Mughal, and Ottoman. In addition to his pedagogical contributions, his written works provide valuable insights into the perspectives of these distinct empires. Nevertheless, Lārī has been either overlooked by researchers or intentionally disregarded, evidenced by the absence of any dedicated theses on Lārī, both within and outside Turkey. Despite the absence of a comprehensive monograph on Lārī's works, references to his name can be found scattered throughout various articles. The seminal work on Lārī, published in 2012 by the Iranian historian Sayed Jalil Sagharvanyan, is a two-volume book. In this publication, Sagharvanyan edited Lārī's most renowned work, "*Mir'atu'l-Advār wa Mirkātu'l-Aḥbār*," a Persian-language universal history text composed during Lārī's residence in Ottoman Baghdad. Sagharvanyan's meticulous compilation draws upon five manuscript copies, sourced from Iranian libraries, the Melek library, the Central Library of Tehran University, and two from Astan-i Quds Razavi, in addition to a manuscript located in the British Museum. Notably, the Turkish translation of *Mir'atu'l-Advār* has been widely disseminated, with approximately twenty-three copies available solely in Istanbul. Sagharvanyan's main contribution is to present a modern edited version of the *Mir'atu'l-Advār*, based on the amalgamation of the manuscript copies mentioned above. His analysis, however, focuses primarily on linguistic aspects, demonstrating his knowledge of the history of Persian literature. While Sagharvanyan skillfully examines and compares the linguistic features of the copies, the historical contextualization of the work remains somewhat superficial. In his introduction, Sagharvanyan posits that Lārī's supposedly unbiased historical narrative, particularly regarding the Ottoman-Safavid rivalry, aims not to exacerbate the conflict but to resolve it through his writing. However, the claim that Lārī's

impartiality stemmed from his residence in Ottoman territories and his abstention from praising the Safavids lacks historical support.

Lārī's departure from the Safavid Empire suggests dissatisfaction, which is reflected in his historical account, which does not give equal attention to the Safavids. Moreover, Lārī openly criticizes Shah Ṭahmāsp I (d. 984/1576) on several occasions, undermining the notion of an unbiased history. Consequently, if Sagharvanyan's claim of Lārī's impartiality is accepted, Lārī should have given the Safavids due prominence, similar to the dedicated chapter on the Ottomans. In response to another point raised by Sagharvanyan, the centrality of Persia and Persian history in Lārī's universal history is attributed to the sources he used. Lārī's upbringing and education in the Safavid Empire exposed him to Persian histories and influenced the incorporation of these sources into his universal history. It is arguable, therefore, that Lārī did not deliberately prioritize Persian history, but rather that it arose from the nature of the sources available to him. This phenomenon is partly due to the limitations imposed by the available sources. It is, however, mainly due to the narrow and localized perspective of the historian. Sagharvanyan proffers an interpretation of Lārī's methodology in historical composition, asserting:

The author's ability to navigate the political climate of the time, marked by the confrontation between the Ottomans and the Safavids, is an important aspect of this historical account. In providing a balanced narrative without significantly supporting one side or the other, the author successfully maintains neutrality. In addition, there is an absence of undue religious bias in the text.¹¹

In summary, while Sagharvanyan's work is crucial in bringing Lārī's text to light through meticulous transcription and linguistic analysis, it falls short of providing a robust historical analysis, leaving certain claims about Lārī's intentions and historical impartiality open to question.

In her book *Persian Historiography Across Empires*, Sholeh Quinn argues that Persian played a pivotal role as one of the primary languages of historical writing in the Ottoman, Safavid and Mughal empires. Quinn employs various historiographical approaches to emphasize the importance of contextualizing these histories not only

¹¹ Muşliḥ al Din Lāri, *Mirat Al-Adwar Wa Mirqat al-Akhbar*, ed. Sayed Jalil Sagharvanyan, vol. 1 (Tehran: Miras Maktoob, 2012), 48.

within their historical but also their historiographical contexts. In particular, Quinn looks at the work of Lārī and highlights aspects of his historiographical approach. According to Quinn, Lārī claims to have consulted sources listed in his bibliography while writing his history.

However, Quinn notes that Lārī rewrites the same titles that Muḥammad b. Burhān al-Dīn Mīrḥvānd (d. 903/1498) used in composing his history, "*Rawzat aṣ-ṣafā*". Despite this similarity in sources, Quinn notes that there is no obvious imitation in Lārī's writing. In her comparative analysis of Lārī's "*Mir'atu'l-Advār*" with Mīrḥvānd's "*Rawzat aṣ-ṣafā*", Quinn shows that Lārī displays a more concise and comprehensive approach to the selection of historical material. Moreover, Lārī opts for a bold Arabic language to articulate his historical account. Quinn goes on to suggest that certain sections of *Mir'atu'l-Advār* indicate Lārī's familiarity with and dependence on Mīrḥvānd's work. Quinn's book provides an exceptional insight into Lārī's universal history. She meticulously examines different parts of the story, scrutinizing the sources to which Lārī refers, examining the biographies provided, and making comparisons with earlier Timurid histories in order to assess the originality of Lārī's work. Although the study does not cover every section of the lengthy universal history, the parts analyzed provide a valuable overview of the significance of *Mir'atu'l-Advār*.

According to the Iranian scholar Ali Maqsudi, a distinctive aspect of Lārī's work is the inclusion of biographies throughout his chronicle.¹² Maqsudi considers this method to be valuable and unique, contributing to the richness and uniqueness of Lārī's *Mir'atu'l-Advār*. But whatever Maqsudi claims is unique in Lārī's narrative is not unique for a 16th-century scholar. Biographies of contemporary scholars and intellectuals, present in both Arabic and Persian literary traditions, were included in numerous universal histories produced in the early modern period. Examples of such practices are evident. The ways in which historians incorporated these biographies into their narratives varied. Some, like Lārī, interspersed biographical accounts throughout their historical works, while others, like Ḥvāndmīr, preferred to append biographies at the end of their histories. Moreover, Maqsudi points out that another notable feature that distinguishes

¹² Maqsud Ali Sadeqi, "Muarikhin Irani Muhajir Ba 'Oṣmāni Wa Masala-Yi Tabadulat-i Farhangi Miyan Iran Wa 'Oṣmāni Dar Ruzgar Safaviya, Namuna-Yi Muṣliḥ al-Din Lāri," *Ravabet-i Farhangi Bayn'ul Millal*, no. 9 (2018): 119–32.

Mir'atu'l-Advār from many other histories is its extensive coverage of cultural history. Unlike works that focus primarily on political history, Lārī's chronicle includes a substantial section devoted to the cultural history of Persia and other regions of the Islamic world. This broad scope provides the reader with a comprehensive understanding of the cultural landscape, offering insights into the many facets of life and civilization during the period covered by the *Mir'atu'l-Advār*.

Arif Navshahi, has contributed to the understanding of *Mir'atu'l-Advār* by publishing parts of the manuscript. In the first pages of his article, Navshahi describes how he discovered the manuscript while studying in Tehran. He then meticulously took notes on certain parts of the *Mir'atu'l-Advār* and later wrote an article based on his findings. His focus is on publishing sections that shed light on the lives of scholars during the Timurid period, particularly those living in Khorasan and Transoxiana. Navshahi's work adds to the broader scholarship on *Mir'atu'l-Advār* by providing insights into the historical and scholarly landscape of the Timurid era in specific regions. By focusing on the lives of scholars, Navshahi's published sections contribute to a nuanced understanding of the intellectual and cultural milieu of the period.¹³

Ali Anooshahr, in his article "*Science at the Court of the Cosmocrat*", examines several texts from the court of the Mughal emperor Nāṣir al-Dīn Humāyūn (d. 963/1556). Anooshahr argues that during Humāyūn's reign, there was a remarkable elevation in the status of various fields of knowledge, including mathematics, geography and astronomy.¹⁴ His analysis focuses on Lārī's astronomical commentary, "*Sharh 'Al-Ḳushjī li- fi'ilm al-Hay'ah*", among other texts, to elucidate the extent of interest and knowledge in Ptolemaic astronomy and the classification of science at the Mughal court. Anooshahr claims that Lārī was well acquainted with Ḡīyāṣ al-Dīn Ḥ'āndmīr's (d. 942/1535-36) Persian universal history, "*Ḥabīb al-siyār*". Lārī's account of the Prophet's *Mi'rāj*, as detailed in *Ḥabīb al-siyār*, includes interactions not only with prophets but also with astral bodies associated with each heavenly sphere. For example, in the first heaven, Adam and the Moon; in the second, Jesus and Mercury;

¹³ Arif Navshahi, "Mir'at al-Advar Wa Mirqat al-Akhbar (Dar Sharh Hal-1 Bozorgan)," in *Maqalat-i Arif*, vol. 2 (Tehran: Mavqafat Mahmud Afshar, 2007), 82–102.

¹⁴ Ali Anooshahr, "Science at the Court of the Cosmocrat: Mughal India, 1531–56," *The Indian Economic & Social History Review* 54, no. 3 (July 2017): 295–316, doi:10.1177/0019464617710742.

in the third, Joseph and Venus; in the fourth, the Sun; in the fifth, Aaron and Mars; in the sixth, Moses and Jupiter; and in the seventh, Abraham and Saturn. Lārī's narrative expands on Ḥvāndmīr's account by describing the final stage of the *Mi'rāj*, in which the Prophet encounters God. Lārī adds that during this encounter the Prophet consumed drops of a liquid that gave him access to various sciences and secrets. Anooshahr's article explores the concept of Humāyūn's 'cosmocrat' universality and his deep interest in sciences such as astronomy and mathematics. The article explores how Humāyūn integrated these sciences into his court and attracted scholars from different regions, including Lārī, who is identified as a scholar from Shiraz. Anooshahr correctly notes that graduates of Shiraz Madrasas were referred to as such outside the Safavid territories. The focus of Anooshahr's analysis is on understanding Humāyūn's cosmopolitan approach to knowledge and the role of scholars like Lārī in contributing to the scientific milieu at the Mughal court.

According to the Hüseyin Sarioğlu in *Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, Lārī wrote his most famous work, a commentary on 'Alā' ad-Din 'Alī al-Ḳushjī's (*Tr. Kuşçu*) (d. 879/1474) *Risālahh dar ḥay'at*, making him the first commentator on this particular work. This commentary was dedicated to Shah Humāyūn of the Mughal Empire and subsequently became known as the "*Humāyūn-nāme*".¹⁵ Notably, Lārī's commentary included a section devoted to the calculation of time, making it a significant influence on Shah Humāyūn, particularly in matters relating to timekeeping. Despite the existence of numerous copies, this work stands out as Lārī's most highly regarded astronomical text. Apart from the "*Humāyūn-nāme*", none of Lārī's other astronomical and mathematical writings have been studied in detail. However, given the widespread distribution of copies, it is reasonable to assume that this particular work held a prestigious status among Lārī's contributions to astronomy. During his tenure at Humāyūn's court, Lārī also worked on the conceptualization of time and the Islamic calendar, further contributing to the scientific discourse of his time. There are fourteen copies of *Sharḥu'r- Risālahh dar ḥay'at* in the Süleymaniye Library, but none of them gives the exact date of composition.¹⁶ Instead, each contains information on the name

¹⁵ Thomas Hockey, ed., *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, Springer Reference (New York, NY: Springer, 2007).

¹⁶ Muşliḥuddīn-i Lārī, Molla Muhammed b. Salāh b. Celāleddin el-Lārī el-Multevī. Şerh-i Risāle der İlm-i Hey'e. <https://portal.yek.gov.tr/works/detail/364553>

of the scribe and the date. A consistent observation in all copies with identifiable names or dates is that they were transcribed a century after Lārī's original work. In other words, these copies were made by different scribes during the 17th century. The earliest of them dates back to 22 Sel 547 (1611) and is kept in the Edirne Selimiye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi (Edirne Selimiye Manuscript Heritage Library). An additional copy of *Sharhu'r- Risālahh dar hay'at* has been identified, located in the city of Mashhad, Iran, and housed in the National Assembly Library. This particular copy was transcribed by a person named Kāzım b. Muḥammad Nūr al-Dīn in 1793.¹⁷

According to Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, a Turkish professor specializing in the history of science, as discussed in his book *'Osmanlı Bilim Mirası* (Ottoman Scientific Heritage), Lārī is recognized as a master in the fields of science and intellectual studies.¹⁸ This

Muşliḥuddīn-i Lārī, Molla Muhammed b. Salāh b. Celāleddin el-Lārī el-Multevī. *Şerhu'r-Risale fi İlmī'l-Hey'e*. <https://portal.yek.gov.tr/works/detail/73518>

Muşliḥuddīn-i Lārī, Molla Muhammed b. Salāh b. Celāleddin el-Lārī el-Multevī. *Şerh-i Risāle-i Hey'e*. 1054. <https://portal.yek.gov.tr/works/detail/264017>

Muşliḥuddīn-i Lārī, Molla Muhammed b. Salāh b. Celāleddin el-Lārī el-Multevī. *Şerh-i Risāle fi'l-Hey'e*. 1075. <https://portal.yek.gov.tr/works/detail/380317>

Muşliḥuddīn-i Lārī, Molla Muhammed b. Salāh b. Celāleddin el-Lārī el-Multevī. *Şerh-i Risāle fi'l-Hey'e*. <https://portal.yek.gov.tr/works/detail/380316>

Muşliḥuddīn-i Lārī, Molla Muhammed b. Salāh b. Celāleddin el-Lārī el-Multevī. *Şerhu'r-Risāle fi İlmī'l-Hey'e*. <https://portal.yek.gov.tr/works/detail/350764>

Muşliḥuddīn-i Lārī, Molla Muhammed b. Salāh b. Celāleddin el-Lārī el-Multevī. *Şerhu Risāle fi'l-Hey'e*. <https://portal.yek.gov.tr/works/detail/588352>

Muşliḥuddīn-i Lārī, Molla Muhammed b. Salāh b. Celāleddin el-Lārī el-Multevī. *Şerh-i Risāle fi'l-Hey'e*. <https://portal.yek.gov.tr/works/detail/159565>

Muşliḥuddīn-i Lārī, Molla Muhammed b. Salāh b. Celāleddin el-Lārī el-Multevī. *Şerhu Risāle fi'l-Hey'e*. 1074. <https://portal.yek.gov.tr/works/detail/176380>

Muşliḥuddīn-i Lārī, Molla Muhammed b. Salāh b. Celāleddin el-Lārī el-Multevī. *Hāşiye alā Fethiyye fi'l-Hey'e*. 1061. <https://portal.yek.gov.tr/works/detail/521174>

Muşliḥuddīn-i Lārī, Molla Muhammed b. Salāh b. Celāleddin el-Lārī el-Multevī. *Şerh-i Risāle der İlm-i Hey'e*. <https://portal.yek.gov.tr/works/detail/364553>

Muşliḥuddīn-i Lārī, Molla Muhammed b. Salāh b. Celāleddin el-Lārī el-Multevī. *Şerhu Risāleti'l-Hey'e li Ali Kuşçu*. 1063. <https://portal.yek.gov.tr/works/detail/361811>

Muşliḥuddīn-i Lārī, Molla Muhammed b. Salāh b. Celāleddin el-Lārī el-Multevī. *Hāşiye alā Risāle fi'l-Hey'e li-Ali el-Kuşcī*. 1081. <https://portal.yek.gov.tr/works/detail/266509>

Muşliḥuddīn-i Lārī, Molla Muhammed b. Salāh b. Celāleddin el-Lārī el-Multevī. *Hāşiye alā Şerhi'l-Mūlahhas fi'l-Hey'e*. <https://portal.yek.gov.tr/works/detail/621636>

¹⁷ Muslih al Din Lārī, “Şerhü'r-Risāle Fî'l-Hey'e” n.d., 5234, Kitabkhane-i Majlis-i Shura.

¹⁸ Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlı Bilim Mirası* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2017).

recognition is substantiated by the extensive body of work he has produced in these fields. Among his notable contributions is a treatise entitled "*Risālahh fī Bah̄si'l ḥareke*" (*Treatise on the subject of motion*) in which he delves into the theory of motion, demonstrating his deep understanding of the subject. In the field of astronomy, Lārī's legacy includes three surviving works, two in Persian and one in Arabic. One of his outstanding Persian works is "*Su'āl wa Javāb-ı Felekī*" (*Astronomical Questions and Answers*), a major contribution that addresses fundamental issues in the astronomy of his time. In this work, Lārī offers insightful answers to various astronomical questions, demonstrating his expertise in the field. Ihsanoğlu's portrayal of Lārī emphasizes not only his prolific output in the scientific and intellectual fields, but also his engagement with key astronomical concepts, highlighting Lārī's enduring influence in these areas within the historical context of the Ottoman scientific heritage.

Reza Pourjavady, presented a modern analysis of Lārī's intellectual endeavors in his 2014 article. Pourjavady focuses in particular on Lārī's "*Unmudhaj al- 'ulūm*" (*Samples of Sciences*), a work produced during Lārī's stay in Istanbul and dedicated to the Grand Vizier Rustam Pasha (d. 968/1561).¹⁹ This compilation addresses Lārī's intellectual challenges in twenty-one different disciplines. Pourjavady emphasizes the importance of '*Unmudhaj al- 'ulūm*' as it provides insights into Lārī's perspectives on various scientific fields. However, Pourjavady notes a degree of uncertainty regarding Lārī's level of engagement with these sciences, questioning whether he approached each inquiry with equal seriousness. Pourjavady asserts that the work, conceived with the intention of securing patronage at the Ottoman court, may have been influenced by the desire to serve this specific purpose. He highlights Lārī's explicit aim to attract the attention of the vizier Rüstem Pasha (d. 968/1561) by creating this work. Despite Pourjavady's acknowledgement of the intellectual breadth displayed in '*Unmudhaj al- 'ulūm*', he notes that the work is not widely circulated, surviving in only two copies. Pourjavady's article provides a valuable insight into Lārī's intellectual world, offering a comprehensive overview of various works by categorizing them according to disciplines. The focus of Pourjavady's analysis, however, remains the 'Sample of Sciences', and he sticks closely to this specific theme. Notably, Pourjavady briefly refers to Lārī's universal history, "*Mir'atu'l-Advār*", among other works, but refrains

¹⁹ Pourjavady, "Muşliḥ Al-Dīn al-Lārī and His Samples of the Sciences."

from delving into the historical approach embedded in this particular work. The scholarly focus remains on Lārī's "Sample of Sciences", which provides a detailed exploration of Lārī's intellectual positions in various scientific fields.

Lārī's commentary on the work of Qāḍī Mīr Ḥusain Maybudī (d.909/1503-1504), particularly on Athīr al-Dīn al-Abharī (d. 663/1265 [?]) "*Ḥidāyat al-ḥikmah*, has attracted considerable scholarly interest. *Ḥidāyat al-ḥikmah* is one of the most important philosophical texts written in three parts: logic, physics and metaphysics. The value and importance of this work lies in its ability to maintain its status as a respected textbook for a long time, both in the East and the West, as well as in the intellectual spheres of the Islamic world. Qāḍī Mīr Ḥusain Maybudī's commentary covers the two sections of physics and metaphysics of *Ḥidāyat al-ḥikmah* and is one of the most important commentaries on this book. While the work has many Arabic and Persian modern editions. The work was translated into Turkish with some additions by Akkirmānī (d. 1174/1760) under the title "*Iklīlu't-Tarājim*." The Guide to Philosophy: *The Hidayat of Athir al-Din al-Mufaddal ibn 'Umar al-Abhari al-Samarqandi*" by Syed Ali Tawfik Al-attas is the first English translation of the work.

This philosophical work stands out as one of Lārī's most famous contributions, and has received acclaim and recognition. There are about fifty copies of this work in various libraries and archives in Istanbul. Remarkably, it became a prominent textbook of natural philosophy within the Ottoman domains over the following centuries, as evidenced by the multitude of copies and editions produced in Istanbul and other Ottoman intellectual centers during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In addition to his commentary on the *Ḥidāyat al-ḥikmah*, Lārī wrote the *Unmudhaj al-'ulum* (Sample of Sciences), of which only two manuscripts have survived. The limited number of surviving copies suggests that this particular work did not enjoy the same popularity within the Ottoman territories as some of his other writings. The multidisciplinary nature of Muṣliḥ Al-Dīn Lārī's pursuits, encompassing wisdom, astronomy, mathematics, poetry and history, offers a unique perspective for examining the three Islamic empires simultaneously through the lens of a historian. Despite his many contributions, a comprehensive work detailing Lārī's life and extensive work, with a particular focus on his universal history *Mir'atu'l-Advār*, is conspicuously lacking in the field of history. Such a study could provide valuable insights into the

intellectual and cultural intersections between the Safavid, Mughal and Ottoman empires during Lārī's era.

Baki Tezcan contributed to an edited volume through a chapter that addresses the question of Lārī's perceived failure within the Ottoman Empire. Tezcan addresses the question of whether Lārī can indeed be described as a failure and explores the broader issue of the patronization of outsiders in the Ottoman context, using Lārī as an illustrative example. Tezcan argues that outsiders faced inherent challenges within the Ottoman establishment. He notes exceptions during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the Ottomans actively sought scholars for the relatively unexplored regions of the Islamic world. However, as the Ottomans established their own educational institutions, particularly the *madrasa*, they tended to recruit scholars from Anatolia and the Balkans. Tezcan suggests that Lārī faced a double challenge, not only as an outsider by virtue of his immigrant status, but also as one who remained outside the evolving Ottoman orthodoxy of the mid-sixteenth century.²⁰ Derin Terzioğlu, provides insights into the changing dynamics of Ottoman jurisprudence in the mid-sixteenth century.²¹

Jurists such as Kemāpaşazāde (d. 940/1534) and Ebussu'ud Efendi (d. 982/1574) played a pivotal role in shaping a new interpretation of the Sunna, particularly by emphasising a more formalised and systematic approach to Islamic jurisprudence in response to the political and social challenges of the time. For instance, Kemāpaşazāde is recognised for his fatwas, which integrated legal rulings with the requirements of the Ottoman state, thus facilitating the alignment of religious authority with state governance. Ebussu'ud Efendi, the chief mufti of the empire during the reign of Sultan Süleyman, contributed to the development of a more state-centric religious interpretation, which supported the expanding role of the ulema in the administration. Consequently, the ulema emerged as a significant constitutional force in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, capable of challenging the authority of the sultans. The ulema exercised their influence by controlling religious law and institutions, issuing

²⁰ Baki Tezcan, "Muşliḥiddin Lari (d. 1572): The Fate of an Immigrant Polymath in the Sixteenth Century Ottoman Empire," in *History from below: A Tribute in Memory of Donald Quataert* (Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2016), 625.

²¹ Derin Terzioğlu, "How to Conceptualize Ottoman Sunnītization: A Historiographical Discussion" 44 (2013): 301–38.

legal opinions (*fatwas*) that could either support or hinder royal policies, thereby asserting their sway over political matters. However, as the ulema accumulated political power, their relationship with the rational sciences became increasingly strained. The court's patronage of the rational sciences, including philosophy and medicine, was often viewed with suspicion by the ulema, as these sciences could be seen as subversive to traditional Islamic teachings. The court's growing involvement in these areas led to concerns among the ulema that the rational sciences, if too closely tied to the sultan's court, might pose a challenge to their own religious authority. This tension was most evident in the relationship between philosophical inquiry and Islamic orthodoxy, leading the ulema to distance themselves from these fields. They feared that by patronising the rational sciences, they might undermine their own influence and face a political threat to their growing authority. The Ottoman central judiciary in the period under consideration showed a declining tolerance towards rational sciences and what might be called more liberal forms of Sufism.²² This shift towards conservatism manifested itself in the field of jurisprudence, leading to a less accommodating attitude. Lārī, it is argued, found himself at odds with Ebussu'ud because of his more liberal leanings towards Sufism, coupled with his adherence to wandering philosophy. Lārī came from the educational milieu of the Shiraz School of Sciences, where he pursued studies in various scientific disciplines. It was in this academic environment that he encountered the teachings of the Greek philosophers, a subject to which he devoted a substantial part of his *Universal History*. He also belonged to the Naqshbandī Sufi order.²³ This inclination is further underlined by an inscription found in Lārī's tomb, which clearly identifies him as a follower of the Naqshbandī Sufi order. The inscription calls for prayers (*al-Fātīḥa*) for the soul of Musliḥ al-dīn Lārī, explicitly identifying him as a Naqshī (Naqshbandī).

Muḥammed Musliḥ al-dīn

El-Kadī El-Lārī Nahṣī

²² For more on this issue, see Derin Terzioğlu, "Sufis in the Age of State-building and Confessionalization," in Christine Woodhead (ed.), *The Ottoman World*, London-New York, Routledge (coll. *The Routledge Worlds*), 2012, pp. 86-99; and Baki Tezcan, "Ethnicity, Race, Religion, and Social Class: Ottoman Markers of Difference," in Christine Woodhead (ed.), *The Ottoman World*, London-New York, Routledge (coll. *The Routledge Worlds*), 2012, pp. 159-170.

²³ Lārī's broader interpretation of Sufism is further examined in the course of his journey in Aleppo, while his involvement with the Naqshbandī Sufi order is examined in Chapter IV, which focuses on the Timurids.

Baki Tezcan highlights the central role of Lārī's work, *Mir'atu'l-Advār*, in Hoca Sādeddin Efendi's career. Tezcan claims that Hoca Sādeddin Efendi's translation of Lārī's work served as a catalyst for his rise in both Ottoman historiography and politics. The translation was highly praised by Sokullu Meḥmed Pasha (d. 987/1579) and brought Hoca Sādeddin Efendi into the Grand Vizier's inner circle²⁵. This association paved the way for significant career advancements, particularly during the reigns of Murād III (d. 1003/1595) and Meḥmed III (d. 1012/1603), beginning with Hoca Sādeddin Efendi's appointment as Prince Murād's tutor in 1573. Tezcan's article makes a significant contribution to understanding why Lārī may have been perceived as a failure or mediocre historian in the 16th-century Ottoman Empire. However, it does not explicitly address the crucial question of why Lārī's work continued to be neglected in subsequent centuries, especially as liberal ideas gained prominence. The inquiry extends to whether Lārī's language played a role in his disregard by Ottoman elites, given that his manuscripts have persisted worldwide despite the alleged neglect of his historical contributions. Tezcan emphasizes the instrumental role of Lārī's work in the initiation of Hoca Sādeddin Efendi's career, but stops short of a comprehensive examination of *Mir'atu'l-Advār* or Lārī's historiographical contributions. Essentially, Tezcan attempts to explain the reasons for Lārī's lack of acceptance in the Ottoman capital, relying mainly on secondary sources to solve this historical puzzle [career].

The details of Lārī's life and his significant contributions are recorded in various sources, including Franz Baginger (d.1967), Mehmet Süreyya (d.1909), Ahmad Hashemi and Charles Rieu (d.1902). It's important to note, however, that these sources rely heavily on Kātib Çelebi (d. 1067/1657), a prominent figure in the 17th-century Ottoman intellectual world, as their primary source of information about Lārī. In his accounts, Kātib Çelebi emphasizes the unprecedented nature of many of Lārī's works, indicating the uniqueness and exceptional quality of his intellectual contributions. Moreover, when discussing Lārī's works, Kātib Çelebi characterizes him as *fāzıl* (virtuous), emphasizing not only Lārī's scholarly achievements but also his moral and

²⁴ Mehdi İlhan, "Diyarbakır'ın Türbe, Yatır ve Mezarlıkları," in *Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları*, vol. 1 (İslam Dünyasında Mezarlıklar ve Defin Gelenekleri, İstanbul, 1991), 194.

²⁵ Tezcan, "Muşliḥiddin Lari."

virtuous qualities.²⁶ The reliance on Kātib Çelebi as a primary source suggests the lasting impact and recognition that Lārī enjoyed in Ottoman intellectual circles, as documented by one of the leading scholars of the 17th century. This further underlines Lārī's significant role in the intellectual and cultural milieu of his time.

1.2. Research Frameworks

This study of Lārī and his Universal History, *Mir'atu'l-Advār wa Mirkātu'l-Aḥbār*, has two distinct components. First of all, it is a study of the historian himself, and then it moves on to an analysis of his work. This approach involves examining a historian through the lens of the history he has produced. It is a method which has been the subject of much previous scholarship. This research encompasses three main categories of study. The first is the study of Persian historiography, examining the emergence of Persian historiography and its division into Timurid and Safavid historiography, with clear geographical delineations of eastern and western Iran. The second facet focuses on Persian historiography in the Ottoman context, exploring how the Persian language became a model for historical writing in the Ottoman Empire. It examines the rise, decline, and especially the role of Persian historiography during the long Ottoman period, especially the sixteenth century. The study introduces another framework that focuses on the analysis of historians themselves, building on these two paradigms. It examines scholarly works in which modern scholars have scrutinized individual historians through their works, thereby shaping their image and biography in the context of their writings. The focus of these studies is primarily on intellectual history, with a particular emphasis on historians who have undertaken in-depth analyses of individual historians, including their distinctive terminology and career trajectories.

To start with this a comprehensive guide is provided by Charles Melville's scholarly examination of Persian historiography.²⁷ In examining Persian historiography, Melville delves into the nuanced considerations of school and style within Persian historical narratives. He emphasizes the close relationship and interplay between the

²⁶ Katip Çelebi, *Keşfü'z Zünun*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Maarif Matbaası, 1941).

²⁷ Charles Melville, ed., *Persian Historiography*, A History of Persian Literature, vol. X (London ; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2012).

Timurid and Safavid historiographical traditions. Moreover, Melville contends that the socio-political landscape of fifteenth-century Persia bore the imprint of the actions of the Timurid ruler and the effects of those actions. Furthermore, Melville argues that Iran experienced a geographical and historiographical split after the fifteenth century, with distinct eastern and western spheres, each promoting its own historical narratives commissioned by its respective rulers.

In particular, he observes a preponderance of dynastic histories in the western region, contrasted with the predominance of universal histories in the east. This dichotomy, Melville suggests, reflects the different socio-political contexts and patronage structures that prevailed in each region. Melville's analysis underscores the sophisticated cosmopolitan governance of the Timurid regime. This necessitated a broader and more universal approach to historical chronicling, in keeping with its imperial ambitions and robust patronage networks. This inclination towards universal history is evident in later Persian historiographical works, exemplified by the case of Lārī and others who similarly chose to engage in the writing of universal histories. Essentially, Melville's research prompts a deeper examination of the motivations and contextual factors that influenced Persian historians' choices in crafting their narratives, and sheds light on the complex dynamics between patronage, socio-political context, and historiographical tradition in shaping Persian historiography.

While Charles Melville focuses on Persian historiography as a broad academic field, scholars such as John Wood concentrate on specific periods within it. Wood's research, for example, focuses on historiography during the Timurid and Aq Koyunlu periods. Valuable insights for scholars in the field of Persian historiography are provided by John Wood's study of Timurid historical writings.²⁸ He notes that the rise of Timurid power in Transoxiana coincided with the emergence of a new historiographical tradition rooted in eastern Iran. Political, material, cultural and intellectual developments were catalyzed by the flourishing of urban centers such as Samarkand and Herat in the fifteenth century. Woods points out that by the beginning of the sixteenth century, the remnants of the Timurids in Transoxiana and Khurasan were facing invasions from the Uzbeks in the north and the Safavids in the south. Driven

²⁸ John E. Woods, "The Rise of Timūrid Historiography," *University of Chicago, Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 46, no. 2 (1987).

out of their homelands, the Timurids set up a new political entity in Afghanistan and northern India, which would eventually evolve into the Mughal Empire. Throughout these regions, writers of court chronicles and popular romances continued to be fascinated by the legacy of the Timurid conqueror. His life served as a model of discipline for the biographies of Iranian rulers, while his military exploits inspired awe among the Uzbek, Janid, Manghit and Qunqirat leaders of Transoxiana.

In order to gain a full understanding of the historical context surrounding Lārī and his milieu, it is imperative to examine not only Persian historiography, but also Persian historiography within the framework of the Ottoman Empire. This specific area of scholarship has been addressed by eminent scholars, among whom Sara Nur Yıldız stands out as a prominent figure. Sara Nur Yıldız's research on Persian historical narratives is exemplary within the field of Persian historiography. She argues that the first historiographical efforts concerning the Ottoman dynasty adhered to the paradigm of Islamic universal or global historiography. Yıldız contends, in the context of her scholarly investigation into the limited reception of the *Bahjat-al-Tawarīh* authored by Şükrullah (d. 868/1464), that scholarly focus has been predominantly on the *Bahjat-al-Tawarīh*'s concise treatment of Ottoman history, which has been primarily valued as an early rather than an exhaustive source.²⁹ At the same time, the rest of the universal historical account has been relegated to obscurity. By analogy, a similar pattern emerges in the evaluation of Lārī's work, where critical attention is primarily focused on his Ottoman-centric chapter, while the broader scope of his historical narrative is overlooked.

As a scholar, Sara Nur Yıldız is a specialist in the historiography and literature of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries within the Ottoman Empire. Her research often focuses on Persian manuscripts and works commissioned by Ottoman rulers. For our purposes, however, it is crucial to emphasize the importance of sixteenth-century historiography in the Ottoman Empire. This century saw the establishment of the first official positions for historians at the Ottoman court, as well as marking what is often referred to as the 'golden age' or 'classical age'. In Christine Woodhead's study of Ottoman

²⁹ Sara Nur Yıldız, "Ottoman Historical Writing in Persian, 1400-1600," in *Persian Historiography*, ed. C. P. Melville, *A History of Persian Literature / General Ed.: Ehsan Yarshater*, Vol. 10 (London: Tauris, 2012).

Shahnāma,³⁰ it is noted that in the second half of the sixteenth century, Ottoman Sultans had extensive use of artisans in the production of a variety of precious objects and works of art for palace use. Woodhead highlights the appointment of scholars on the basis of their ability to compose Persian couplets, indicating their skill as professional Ottoman prose writers. In particular, in the context of Ottoman *Shahnāma*, Woodhead explores the extent to which luxury Persian manuscripts, especially those from Shiraz, became coveted objects among the elite of Ottoman society in the sixteenth century. She finds that viziers and pashas showed a preference for collections of Persian poetry.

I undertake an exploration of historians and scholars in the second part of the framework as a guiding tool. From the plethora of existing studies, a selection of seminal works has been chosen to serve as a guiding framework. These selected studies, particularly those conducted by renowned intellectual historians specializing in Ottoman and Timurid studies, represent seminal contributions to the field of intellectual history. The biography of a scholar, not only through a study of his or her life but also through a comprehensive analysis of their writings and works, is central to these studies. The simultaneous study of a historian facilitates the exploration of his or her career and contextual milieu. This approach not only reveals a particular biography, but also illuminates the prevailing institutions and professional landscapes of the period. Such investigations often yield remarkable results, as exemplified by eminent scholars in the field of Ottoman history. In his seminal work entitled "*Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Muṣṭafā 'Ālī (1541-1600)*," Cornell Fleischer undertakes a comprehensive analysis of Muṣṭafā 'Ālī (d.1008/1600), an important literary and bureaucratic figure of the second half of the 16th century.³¹ Fleischer's aim is to understand the historical period by delving into the complex personality of Muṣṭafā 'Ālī, characterized by intellectual versatility and ambitious career ambitions.

³⁰ Christine Woodhead, "Reading Ottoman 'Şehnames': Official Historiography in the Late Sixteenth Century," *Brill, Studia Islamica*, no. 104–105 (2007): 67–80.

³¹ Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Ali, 1541-1600*, Princeton Studies on the Near East (Princeton, N.J: Princeton university press, 1986).

Although this endeavor has resulted in a highly successful work, it has not been without its critics. Some have criticized the work for attempting to encapsulate an entire era through its exclusive focus on one individual, with the potential risk of oversimplifying a long historical period within the confines of one person's experience.³² However, the work has also been praised for its meticulous examination of personal detail, embedding the personalities portrayed in the fabric of everyday life. Fleischer's ability to grasp and acknowledge the anxieties, aspirations and expectations of the period has been praised, allowing the reader to question and analyses the elucidation of certain facets of society through the lens of individual experience.

In the tradition of Cornell Fleischer, Christopher Markiewicz as a student of Fleischer, his main contributions parallel those of his mentor, with a focus on the study of scholars within the Ottoman Empire. However, Markiewicz differs from his mentor by incorporating a broader scope into his work. Unlike Fleischer, who focused on the scholar alone, Markiewicz's research encompasses Persian historiography in the Ottoman context, thereby enriching our understanding of the intellectual dynamics of the Ottoman Empire. Markiewicz's remarkable contribution to the study of the 15th-century historian, calligrapher, and politician İdris-i Bitlisi (d.926/1520) serves as an exemplary case of examining a historical period through an individual lens. Published in 2019 under the title *The Crisis of Kingship in Late Medieval Islam: Persian Emigres and the Making of Ottoman Sovereignty*, Markiewicz's work goes beyond a singular focus on İdris-i Bitlisi to include a broader exploration of the historical context and milieu in which Bitlisi lived.³³ In contrast to Cornell Fleischer's approach, Markiewicz weaves together a variety of political concepts and ideas that preoccupied fifteenth-century political figures and intellectuals, and illustrates how these notions were incorporated into the Muslim polities of the time.

Markiewicz argues that the intellectual landscape of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was more interconnected and cohesive than has previously been recognized.

³² Caroline Finkel, "Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âli (1541–1600). By Cornell H. Fleischer. (Princeton Studies on the Near East.) Pp. xviii, 363, 24 Pl., Map. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press. 1986. £31.10.," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland* 120, no. 2 (April 1988): 405–7, doi:10.1017/S0035869X00141772.

³³ Christopher Markiewicz, *The Crisis of Kingship in Late Medieval Islam: Persian Emigres and the Making of Ottoman Sovereignty*, First paperback edition, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

Scholars associated with one court at a given time did not hesitate to present their work to another court, highlighting a fluid exchange of ideas and intellectual influences. One potential criticism of *The Crisis of Kingship* is its emphasis on Bitlisi's work as a saga and its significant impact on subsequent histories, while paying comparatively less attention to the works that influenced Bitlisi himself. In his analysis, Markiewicz makes no mention of Bitlisi's influence on Lārī. Instead, he goes on to compare Lārī to Muṣṭafā 'Ālī. Markiewicz notes that more than half of the fifty or so works that Lārī lists in his introduction were also cited by 'Ālī a generation later. This shows the extent to which the Ottoman historians were trying to position their own efforts within the broader contours of the Islamic tradition of historiography. Vural Genç's study of Bitlisi, on the other hand, does not juxtapose Lārī and Bitlisi. However, among scholars, Hoca Sādeddin Efendi argues that Lārī's and Bitlisi's works share similarities in that they use eloquent and ornate language.³⁴ Nevertheless, Markiewicz's work stands as a guiding resource for scholars interested in the study of historians who moved between empires and kingdoms, offering valuable insights into the interconnected intellectual currents of the period.

Vural Genç is also a rising scholar whose main focus is on the study of the İdris-i Bitlisi. Beginning with his master's thesis on İdris-i Bitlisi and continuing with his doctoral dissertation on the same subject, Vural Genç has made a significant contribution to the scholarly discourse with a comprehensive study of İdris-i Bitlisi and his history, *Hasht Behesht*. His monograph, *'acem'den Rum'a Bir Bürokrat ve Tārīḫçi: İdris-i Bidlīsī (1457-1520)* (A Bureaucrat and Historian from Persia to Byzantium) is divided into three distinct sections.³⁵ First, Genç delves into the biographical details of Bitlisi, tracing his early years in Persia. Then, in the second section, Genç examines Bitlisi's life after his departure from Persia, focusing in particular on his career in the courtly milieu in the years that followed. Finally, in the third chapter, Genç examines Bitlisi's most famous work, *Hasht Behesht*, focusing on its genesis and reception within the Ottoman court. Overall, Genç endeavors to construct a new account of İdris-i Bitlisi by incorporating new research and insights.

³⁴ A fuller discussion of Hoca Sādeddin Efendi's commentary can be found in Chapter IV, particularly in the subchapter entitled "*Lārī's Insights: Uncovering the Battle of Ankara (1402)*"

³⁵ Vural Genç, *Acem'den Rum'a Bir Bürokrat ve Tārīḫçi İdris-i Bidlīsī (1457-1520)*, Türk Tārīḫ Kurumu Yayınları. IV/A-2-2.8. Dizi, sayı: 13 (Ankara: AKDTYK Türk Tārīḫ Kurumu Yayınları, 2019).

In this regard, Christopher K. Neumann's study, *Araç Tārīḥ Amaç Tanzimat, Tārīḥ-i Cevdet'in Siyasi Anlamı* (History as an Instrument, Tanzimat as an End: The Political Significance of Cevdet's History), is an important contribution. Neumann's study serves as a guide and provides an insight into the ways in which history has been crafted for different purposes. In addition, Neumann's aim is to examine the prominent figure of the Tanzimat period, Aḥmed Cevdet Pasha (d.1312/1895), and his seminal work, *Tārīḥ-i Cevdet*, which is recognized as one of the key late Ottoman texts.³⁶ Serving as the standard narrative of the history of the Ottoman Empire from 1774 to 1826, Cevdet's work is characterized by a critical approach that reflects its contemporary context. Derived from Neumann's doctoral research, this work not only addresses Cevdet's historical positioning, but also represents a highly qualified exploration of the political ideologies and perspectives prevalent during the period. By critically analyzing *Tārīḥ-i Cevdet*, Neumann provides valuable insights into Cevdet's political thought and offers a comprehensive understanding of the historical milieu in which it was composed. Despite the considerable distance between Neumann's oeuvre and the realm of Lārī, his work serves as a valuable reference point for the present study. In his book, Neumann demonstrates that Cevdet's history is a valuable source for understanding the period, yet it was not necessarily written with the sole intention of serving as a historical account. A parallel argument can be made regarding Lārī's work, which, while substantial, was not crafted exclusively for the sake of history.

Another set of key works chosen as framing guides includes studies of Safavid and Timurid scholars that illuminate the intellectual networks within which these scholars operated. It is worth noting that Lārī can be seen simultaneously as a Safavid, Mughal and Ottoman scholar. Two important studies are highlighted in this context. The first deals with the renowned author of a Timurid chronicle. The second examines a universal history written by a Safavid scholar, which was later adopted by Timurid scholarship and exerted considerable influence and guidance on Lārī.

In *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran*, Evrim Binbaş meticulously describes the life of Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī (d. 858/1454) and elucidates his shared intellectual pursuits

³⁶ Christoph Konstantin Neumann, Meltem Arun, and Christoph Konstantin Neumann, *Araç tarih amaç Tanzimat: Tarih-i Cevdet'in siyasi anlamı* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999).

with Šā'in al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad Turka (d. 83/1427).³⁷ Both men, hailing from noble backgrounds, maintained close ties with the Mongol and Timurid rulers and their courtiers, consistently seeking their patronage. Binbaş (2023) contends that the intellectual life of fifteenth-century Iran was shaped by informal networks transcending political and linguistic boundaries, connecting intellectuals across the Islamicate world – from the Ottoman Empire to Timurid Iran and beyond. These networks played a significant role in shaping the early modern Islamicate republic of letters, moving beyond nationalist methodologies and traditional literary genres to offer a holistic view of the intellectual and cultural dynamism of the period.

Through their written works, scholars such as Yazdī and Turka advanced the Timurid rulers' claims to a universal kingdom, thereby underscoring their legitimacy. While the book delves into the details of Yazdī's and Turka's lives, its central thesis is relatively concise. Notwithstanding this concise central thesis, Binbaş's work is held up as a paragon of academic study in the field of intellectual history, offering a comprehensive exploration of the intellectual milieu and patronage dynamics within the Timurid era. The method of this dissertation is mostly based on Philip Bockholt's influential study of Ḥvāndmīr's *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, a seminal work on Timurid and early Safavid history.³⁸ Bockholt's study is widely acknowledged by scholars in these fields and is often consulted as a reference, particularly for its comprehensive coverage of the historical periods mentioned. It is generally assumed that the sections dealing with earlier periods are largely based on the works of previous authors, especially Mīrhvānd (d. 903/1498), Ḥvāndmīr's (d. 942/1535-36) grandfather. Although Ḥvāndmīr's *Ḥabīb al-siyar* is one of the most widely reproduced historical works in the Persian language, with some 600 known copies today, there has been surprisingly little research into the manuscripts underlying its editions. Bockholt not only identifies the earliest versions of Ḥvāndmīr's work, but also provides insights into the author's writing strategies. His meticulous examination, particularly in relation to historical events that reveal differences in religious and political perspectives, such as early Islamic history and the

³⁷ İlker Evrim Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran: Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī and the Islamicate Republic of Letters*, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization (Cambridge, United Kingdom New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

³⁸ Philip Bockholt, *Ein Bestseller der islamischen Vormoderne: zur Verbreitung von Ḥvāndamīr's Ḥabīb as-siyar von Anatolien bis auf den indischen Subkontinent*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte, 919. Band (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2022).

position of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661) and other rightly guided caliphs, includes a thorough analysis of epithets, eulogies, and narrative length. In doing so, Bockholt provides valuable insights into Ḥvāndmīr's methodological approach. Bockholt's work acts as a catalyst for a reassessment not only of the significant Persian historiographical monument represented by Ḥvāndmīr's *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, but also of the wider scholarly landscape. His meticulous examination prompts a reconsideration of established narratives and methodologies within the field, contributing to a more nuanced and critically engaged understanding of the historical sources under scrutiny.

In light of the aforementioned scholarly contributions by Fleischer, Markiewicz, Neumann, Binbaş, and especially Bockholt, the case of Muşliḥ Al-Dīn Lārī's calls for a comprehensive study aimed at unveiling the multifaceted nature of this polymath and esteemed historian. Existing research on Lārī is currently fragmented, and a concerted effort is needed to synthesize these individual works into a cohesive framework that can provide a comprehensive understanding of Lārī's intellectual legacy.

1.3. Extending the Sources

Muşliḥ Al-Dīn Lārī's introduction to his universal history *Mir'atu'l-Advār* lists a wide range of sources that he used to compile his work.³⁹ However, it is noticeable that he fails to mention certain influential works which he used to compile the narrative. Here I aim to include six important historical chronicles as a source, two of which are of Timurid origin and were used extensively by Lārī.

Mīrḥvānd and Ḥāfīz-i Abrū are the first two Timurid chronicles on which Lārī relies extensively. The following sections of this study will explore these connections and similarities in more detail. Mīrḥvānd's *Rawzat aṣ-ṣafā'* serves as a primary guide for Lārī's early chapters on the emergence of Islam and the life of the Prophet Muhammad. Various other sources are listed in his bibliography. Lārī makes occasional references to *Rawzat aṣ-ṣafā'* and Mīrḥvānd. However, their names do not appear prominently. Similarly, Ḥāfīz-i Abrū, another prominent Timurid scholar known for his history of

³⁹ A comprehensive list of these sources is provided in Chapter II.

the Timurids, shines in his accounts of Timur and his successors, although he wrote a universal history.

Mīrḥvānd's (d. 903/1498) *Rawzat aṣ-ṣafā' fī sīrat al-anbiyā' w-al-mulūk w-al-khulafā'* (*Rawzat al-ṣafā'*) was originally completed in 1497.⁴⁰ It comprises seven volumes, the eighth of which contains a geographical index. Mīrḥvānd's magnum opus, which has since served as a basic text for many historians, was based on nineteen Arabic and twenty-two Persian histories. Characterized by a florid and bombastic style, Mīrḥvānd's work has a large number of manuscript copies scattered around the world, and hundreds of copies have survived, making it one of the most widely reproduced Persian history books. The first Persian edition was published in 1843, followed by an English translation in 1893. Notably, the last volume was largely completed by his grandson, Ḥvāndmīr (d. 942/1535-36). Lārī made extensive use of this source in his own historical works, emphasizing its importance as a primary reference for historians of the period. Particularly compelling are the chapters on the early history of Islam, which have led to the recognition of *Rawzat aṣ-ṣafā'* as the pre-eminent universal history in the Persian literature on the Islamic world. In particular, Mīrḥvānd's account of the Timurids is of particular importance, given his first-hand experience of the era.

Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū (d. 833/1430) was a Timurid historian known for his productive production of historical and historical-geographical works in Persian during the early decades of the 15th century. Having served with Timur on several military campaigns, he later served under Timur's son, Shāhruḥ Mīrzā (d. 850/1447), after Timur's death. One of his most notable works, commissioned by Shāhruḥ Mīrzā's son, Ġīyāṣ al-Dīn Bāysunġur (d. 837/1434), is the universal history *Majma' al-Ta'rikh*, which covers events up to 830/1426.⁴¹ This comprehensive historical account is of great importance as a primary source for the understanding of Timur's reign and the early period of Shāhruḥrule. Similar to *Rawzat aṣ-ṣafā'*, the universal history *Majma' al-Ta'rikh* by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū serves as a prominent source that Lārī refers to repeatedly in *Mir'atu'l-Advār*. Amidst numerous Timurid and early Islamic sources, these two works emerge as primary reference points in Lārī's historical composition.

⁴⁰ Muhammad Mir Mirkhavnd, *Rawzat Al-Safa*, ed. Abbas Zaryab, vol. 1,2,3 (Tehran: Ilmi Publishers, 1994).

⁴¹ Hafiz Abru, *Majma' al-Ta'rikh* (Tehran: Intisharat-i Itlaat, 1985).

Among the second group of chronicles used as sources for the *Mir'atu'l-Advār* by Muşliḥ Al-Dīn Lārī's, two major works stand out: Āşıkpaşazāde's *Tevārīh-i Āl-i 'Osmān* and Meḥmed Neşrī's *Kitāb-ı Cihannümā*.⁴² Lārī makes extensive use of these two Ottoman sources to help him tell the story of the Ottoman Empire. In particular, Āşıkpaşazāde's *Tevārīh-i Āl-i 'Osmān* occupies a prominent place in Lārī's work. It was also a key source for Meḥmed Neşrī's *Kitāb-ı Cihannümā*. Although Lārī does not explicitly mention any Ottoman sources, it is evident that he was familiar with them and made use of their contents. Lārī relied on Ottoman sources to provide accurate historical accounts, given his status as an outsider to the Ottoman Empire and his arrival there in the later years of his life. He wisely chose chronicles such as Āşıkpaşazāde's, which were based on eyewitness accounts. Āşıkpaşazāde himself was often present at the events he recounted.

Āşıkpaşazāde (d.889/1484) is best known for his *Tevārīh-i Āl-i 'Osmān*, which covers the period from the foundation of the Ottoman Empire to the end of the reign of Meḥmed II.⁴³ Remarkably structured, the *Tevārīh-i Āl-i 'Osmān* divides its topics into chapters, often using a question-and-answer format. Āşıkpaşazāde's work is still highly regarded, despite the existence of more than a dozen manuscript copies. Most of them are located outside Turkey. Lārī makes extensive use of the *Tevārīh-i Āl-i 'Osmān* for his chapter on the Ottomans, using it as a primary source. In fact, many Ottoman historians, including Lārī, used it as a basic reference, especially when writing about founding the Ottoman Empire.

Āşıkpaşazāde's *Tevārīh-i Āl-i 'Osmān* served as an important source for many emerging Ottoman historians, including Meḥmed Neşrī (d. 926/1520 [?]). Neşrī used *Tevārīh-i Āl-i 'Osmān* extensively in the composition of his own work, *Kitāb-ı Cihannümā*, which he completed and presented to Bāyezīd II (d. 918/1512) in 1498.⁴⁴ Neşrī's motivation for undertaking this historical project stemmed from several factors, including the lack of coherent historical works in Turkish, despite the abundance of

⁴² Chapter V examines these sources in detail and compares them with Muşliḥ Al-Dīn Lārī's use of them in his *Mir'atü'l-advār*, with special emphasis on the Ottoman period.

⁴³ Āşıkpaşazade, *Osmanoğulları'nın tarihi*, trans. Kemal Yavuz and M. A. Yekta Saraç, K kitaplığı Anatolia, 28 3 (Beşiktaş, İstanbul: Koç Kültür Sanat Tanıtım, 2003).

⁴⁴ Mehmed Neşri, *Kitab-ı Cihan-Nüma Neşri Tarihi*, ed. Faik Reşit Unat and Mehmed A. Köymen, vol. 1 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1949).

scholarly works in other disciplines; the fragmented state of historical literature; the failure of existing histories to adequately reflect contemporary events; and the lack of historical works in Turkish. *Kitāb-ı Cihannümā*, intended to be a universal history, was originally written in six volumes; however, only the sixth part dealing with pre-Ottoman Turkish history and Ottoman history, has survived to the present day. Throughout our study we will encounter examples of how Lārī incorporated references to Neşrī's *Kitāb-ı Cihannümā* into his own work.

In the third section of the sources, it is important to acknowledge works that Lārī may not have used directly, but which were influential in shaping his approach and style. İdrīs-i Bitlisī's *Hasht Behesht* is famous for its distinctive language and writing style, which bears a remarkable resemblance to Lārī's own. Indeed, Hoca Sādeddin Efendi suggests that both İdrīs-i Bitlisī and Lārī follow a similar Persian model of historical writing, which emphasizes language and style over factual accuracy. As a result, historical events may play a secondary role in their narratives, overshadowed by the emphasis on linguistic and stylistic elements.

İdrīs-i Bitlisī (d. 926/1520) is known as a polymath who played the role of a scribe, a poet, a calligrapher and a statesman. It is for his work *Hasht Behesht*, however, that he is most famous.⁴⁵ This chronicle, which covers the reigns of the first eight Sultans, including the era of Bāyezīd II, is known as *Hasht Behesht* (Eight Paradises). *Hasht Behesht* lacks detailed source citations as a comprehensive history of the Ottoman Empire from its beginnings to the end of Bāyezīd II's reign. However, Bitlisī occasionally recognizes the use of Persian, Seljuk, Byzantine and Ottoman history as necessary referents. Following the works of historians such as Juwāynī, Waṣṣāf and Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, Bitlisī's *Hasht Behesht* played a key role in introducing an emphasis on eloquence into Ottoman historiography, drawing on the Iranian historiographical tradition. Bitlisī brought a literary touch to his narrative that was characteristic of Persian historians, using a wealth of narrative style, anecdotes and poetry. At times, however, his preference for stylistic flourish over historical content was to the disadvantage of detail and factual information.

⁴⁵ İdrīs-i Bitlisī, "Hasht Behesht" (Kitabkhane-i Majlis, 16th century).

Finally, another example in this section is Gelibolulu Muşafâ 'Âlî's *Künhü'l-Aḥbār*. Although Muşafâ 'Âlî wrote his history after Lārī, his critical perspective on Persian scholars who emigrated to the Ottoman Empire is remarkable. Muşafâ 'Âlî expressed his disdain for the prevalence of individuals from a variety of backgrounds, including those of dubious Sayyid lineage, who occupied important positions in the Ottoman administration. Interestingly, Lārī himself and his teachers were proud of their Sayyid lineage. It is evident that Muşafâ 'Âlî's *Künhü'l-Aḥbār* cannot be regarded as a direct source or influence for Lārī, as it was composed subsequent to Lārī's demise. However, it is evident that Lārī's work serves as a reference for Muşafâ 'Âlî, particularly in his sections on early Islamic history. Furthermore, given their different perspectives and Muşafâ 'Âlî's criticism of Persian scholars in the Ottoman Empire, Lārī may have been viewed unfavorably by Muşafâ 'Âlî.

This study aims to examine a historian through his historical works. Lārī is a prominent figure in Islamic intellectual history, best known for his contributions to philosophy and astronomy⁴⁶. However, his contributions to historiography have not been sufficiently explored. This research focuses on understanding Lārī as a historian. As an intellectual who was exiled from his hometown and subsequently sought patronage and safety in various Islamic empires, Lārī's universal history reflects his experiences within these empires. Consequently, the study is divided into chapters that analyses his perspectives on the three major Islamic empires of his time: the Safavids, the Mughals⁴⁷, and the Ottomans. The research seeks to determine how Lārī perceived these empires and whether his views evolved as he moved between them. Ultimately, the study aims to answer the question of why an intellectual with expertise in multiple disciplines chose to write a universal history at the end of his career. The answer to this question is intertwined with his personal travels and experiences.

⁴⁶ İbrahim Halil Üçer, ed., *İslam düşünce atlası*, vol. 2 (İstanbul: İlem İlmi Etüdler Derneği, 2017), 670.

⁴⁷ Lārī's Universal History does not include a chapter on the Mughals, despite his residence in the Mughal Empire. Therefore, this study will focus on his chapter on the Timurids.

CHAPTER II

JOURNEY THROUGH LĀRĪ'S LIFE: EDUCATION, INFLUENCES AND LEGACY

2.1. Lārī's Formative Years: Birthplace, Family and Early Education

Muṣliḥ Al-Dīn Lārī's (d. 979/1572) can be characterized as a wandering historian, a scholar who travelled extensively and resided in the territories of what are now recognized as the "Three Gunpowder Empires": the Mughal, Safavid and Ottoman Empires. While his life and works have been documented in a general sense, the details of his biography remain incomplete and sometimes inaccurate. In particular, the early years of his life seem to lack adequate historical documentation, and there are differing opinions about his date of birth. Various estimates of Lārī's date of birth have been derived by working backwards from the inscription on his tombstone, which is located in the city of Diyarbakır in Turkey.⁴⁸ According to the inscription, he lived for about six decades. However, it is important to note that this information also varies between different sources and authors.⁴⁹

The name "Lārī" was given to him because he was born in Lārīstan, a region within Persia.⁵⁰ Consequently, he was often referred to as "Lārī-i 'acem", meaning Lārī the Persian. His full name encompassed a lineage that traced back as follows 'Muḥammad ibn Sāliḥ ibn Jalāl ibn Kamāl al-Nāṣirī al-Sa'dī al-Shāfī'ī.⁵¹ This nomenclature was

⁴⁸ İlhan, "Diyarbakır'ın Türbe, Yatır ve Mezarlıkları," 641.

⁴⁹ Çelebi, *Keşfü'z Zünun*; Nev'izâde Atâyi, *Hada'iku'l-Hakaik Fi Tekmileti's-Şakayik*, vol. 1 (Place: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2017); Ahmad Gulchin Me'ani, *Tarih-I Tezkireha-Yi Farsi*, (Tehran: Sanayi, 1984); 'Alī ibn Bālī Manq, *El-ikdu'l-manzûm fî zikri efâzili'r-Rûm: Ali B. Bâlî'nin Şakâ'ik zeyli*, ed. Muhammet Hekimoğlu, 1. baskı (İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2018); Hasan Beg Rumlu, *Ahsan'ul Tevarih* (Tehran: Haidari, 1978); Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in British Museum* (London: Gilbert and Revington, 1879); Franz Babinger, *Osmanlı tarih yazarları ve eserleri*, trans. Coşkun Üçok, 3. baskı, Yayınlar Dairesi Başkanlığı dünya edebiyatı eserleri dizisi 6 (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2000); Şevket Baysanoğlu, *Anıtlar ve Kitabeler İle Diyarbakır Tarihi* (Ankara: MN Tanıtım, 1996); Ihsanoğlu, *Osmanlı Bilim Mirası*; İlhan, "Diyarbakır'ın Türbe, Yatır ve Mezarlıkları."

⁵⁰ Baysanoğlu, *Anıtlar ve Kitabeler İle Diyarbakır Tarihi*, 658.

⁵¹ Babinger, *Osmanlı tarih yazarları ve eserleri*, 108.

also adopted by the English Orientalist Charles Ambrose Storey (d.1967) in his scholarly work entitled "Persian Literature: A Bio-bibliographic", in which he refers to Lārī in a similar way.⁵² Nevertheless, Lārī was predominantly recognized as "Lārī" or "Mawlānā Lārī". The Iranian historian and writer Aḥmed Ḥān Iqtidārī Lārīstānī, in his exploration of the history and notable figures of the Lārīstan region, provided Lārī's identity as "Mawlānā Muṣliḥ ad-Dīn ibn Šālīḥ ibn Jalāl ibn Kamāl ibn Muḥammad al-Lagavī al-Sa' dī al-'ibādī".⁵³ The historian Ḥasan-ı-Rūmlū (d. 985/1577) in his work "*Aḥsanu't-Tawāriḥ*" gives the date of birth of Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Lārī's as 919/1513.⁵⁴

It should be noted, however, that Rūmlū's statement assumes that Lārī lived to the age of sixty. While there is a degree of consensus among some sources supporting this date, others express uncertainty about Lārī's birth date, suggesting that it was around 916/1510.⁵⁵ Ahmad Hashemi, in his account, proposes an approximate birth date of around 900/1500, emphasizing the lack of precise information regarding Lārī's birth date.⁵⁶ Conversely, some sources choose not to give a specific date of birth for Lārī. For example, Charles Rieu, responsible for cataloguing Persian manuscripts at the British Museum, refrains from mentioning a birth date when referring to Lārī in his work.

Lārī's birthplace, Lārīstan, lies to the south of Shiraz, on the northern coast of the Persian Gulf, a region that now lies within the borders of modern Iran. In particular, Lārīstan managed to maintain a degree of autonomy from the central government during the period from the rise of the Safavid government in 1501 to 1601.⁵⁷ This continued local authority was attributed to the Mīlādīan dynasty, which withstood Safavid pressure for over a century. During this long period, the rulers of Lārīstan governed independently by fulfilling tax obligations and maintaining strong economic relations with the Safavid monarchs, thus securing their position of autonomy until 1601.⁵⁸ In 1601, Shah 'Abbās I gave Allāh Verdi Ḥān Zargarbāshī, the governor of

⁵² Charles Ambrose Storey, *Abadiyat-ı Farsi Bar Mabnayı Telifi Storey*, trans. Yahya Aryanpur, Karim Keshavarz, and Sirus Ezadi (Tehran: Motaleat-i Farhangi, 1983), 113.

⁵³ Ahmad Ḥān Eghtedari, *Lārīstan-ı Kohn* (Tehran: Rangin, 1966), 193.

⁵⁴ Rumlu, *Ahsan 'ul Tevarih*, 586.

⁵⁵ Hulusi Kılıç, "LĀRĪ, Muṣliḥuddin," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi*, 2003, 103.

⁵⁶ Sayed Ahmad Hashemi, "Muṣliḥ al-Din Lari Farikhta-yi az Laristan," Educational, *Paygah-i Itlah Rasani Islah*, (2016), <http://www.islahweb.org>.

⁵⁷ Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in British Museum*, 115.

⁵⁸ Muhammad Baqir Vusuqi, *Tarikh-i Mufaaaal-i Laristan* (Tihraan: Hamsaya Publishers, 2006), 87.

Fars, the task of capturing Lārīstan. During this period, the Fars army encircled the formidable fortress of Lār city, using a substantial force of troops and extensive artillery. This was the culmination of a long and arduous confrontation. Ibrāhīm Ḥān Lārī, the Amīr of Lār, together with the inhabitants of the city, took refuge in the fortress, firmly believing that the invading forces would not be able to conquer it.

Allāh Verdi Ḥān, aware of this predicament, devised a strategy to force the Amīr of Lār to surrender. To achieve this, he made deceptive promises to certain leaders within the city. He also made a conciliatory offer to Ibrāhīm Ḥān Lārī, assuring him and his associates of his safety. In response to these overtures, the Amīr of Lār left the fortress to negotiate. Allāh Verdi Ḥān, accompanied by his military forces, arrested Ibrāhīm Ḥān Lārī and detained his associates, thus securing control of the fortress. This conquest resulted in the acquisition of considerable booty. In addition, Allāh Verdi Ḥān sent the ruler of Lār and his loyal chiefs to the Shah of Iran, who was in Balkh at the time. In a secret maneuver, Shah ‘Abbās I ordered the execution of Ibrāhīm Ḥān Lārī. The surrender and subsequent execution of Ibrāhīm Ḥān Lārī brought Lārīstan under the rule of the Safavid dynasty.⁵⁹ The ambiguity surrounding the precise details of Muṣliḥ ad-Dīn Lārī's birth date and identity has led to a loss of accuracy. In addition, Lārī's identity has been confused with that of another distinguished scholar and mystic from Lārīstan, Mullāh ‘Abdul-ġafūr Lārī (d. 912/1506).⁶⁰

Throughout the centuries, the reputation of the Lārīs remained overshadowed by the importance of ‘Abdul-Ġafūr Lārī (912/1506). ‘Abdul-Ġafūr Lārī was a remarkable figure and one of the leading disciples of the Sufi ‘Abdul-Raḥmān Nūr-Al-Dīn Jāmī (d. 898/1492). Similar to Lārī, Mullāh ‘Abdul-ġafūr's lineage can be traced back to Sa‘d b. ‘Ubāde (d. 14/635 [?]) who belonged to the Lār region. Sa‘d b. ‘Ubāde had a similar heritage to that of Lārī and was known for his association with the early Islamic period. He was a companion of the Prophet ‘Muḥammad and one of the first residents of Medina to embrace Islam. Sa‘d b. ‘Ubāde gained recognition for narrating some ten

⁵⁹ Ibid., 91.

⁶⁰ Rumlu, *Ahsan 'ul Tevarih*, 586.

ḥadiṣ and held the distinction of being one of the first six people to memorise the Qur'ān.⁶¹

The mystic ‘Abdul-Ġafūr Lārī spent much of his intellectual life in close proximity to Jāmī in the city of Herat, where both scholars eventually died. Interestingly, ‘Abdul-Ġafūr Lārī's final resting place is next to that of his esteemed teacher, Jāmī. ‘Abdul-Ġafūr Lārī is best known for his affiliation with the *Shī‘a* branch of Islam, and one of his notable works is the *Hāshiya*,⁶² a commentary or gloss he wrote on Jāmī's "*Nafahāt al-uns*".⁶³ Some sources claim that Lārī underwent a transition from Shī‘a Islam to Sunnī Islam, with a subsequent conversion to the Sunnī faith. However, it seems unlikely that this is an accurate historical account. A more plausible interpretation is that Lārī had a deep reverence for the Sunnī Shāfi‘ī school of jurisprudence.⁶⁴ Lārī's work in the field of jurisprudence testifies to his extensive expertise in the field and coincides with his transition from adherence to the Shāfi‘ī school of jurisprudence to the Ḥanafī school. One of his major contributions is a commentary on a Shāfi‘ī treatise, while the other is an explication of a Ḥanafī legal work.⁶⁵ In other words, it can be argued that Lārī, as a scholar originally rooted in the Shāfi‘ī jurisprudential tradition, may have strategically adopted Ḥanafī legal training and education in order to enhance his standing and recognition among his Ottoman audience.⁶⁶ Lārī's Sunnī affiliation is underscored by the predominantly Sunnī religious composition of the Lārīstan region, which was largely composed of the Sunnī population of Safavid Persia. Although there is little information about the details of Lārī's early life, it is clear that he spent the

⁶¹ Mehmet Azimli, "SA‘D b. UBĀDE," Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi, 35 (2008): 377–78.

⁶²It is the term used for very short descriptions written in the margins of books. In the dictionary, it means "to fill in: to talk and write too much", derived from the hash infinitive. An excess of words or text means the edge of something, a work on the page edge, and the space where the text is located. As a term, it means a note with explanatory and supplementary information added to the margins of the page. It is also called *Khamis* or *Denar*. Especially after the 14th century, detached works in the form of annotations began to be called annotations, and the word became a technical term in this sense. The reason why they are called annotations is that, in the face of the high value of the annotated work, they are thought to be insignificant additions just to fill in the blanks. These are done to explain the incomprehensible parts of the relevant work and to clarify the subject that is not actually closed and to inform the reader more about it. For this reason, in some printed works, the text is placed at the edges of the page and the annotation is placed in the middle because it is wider. It is seen that the annotation-type studies in Arabic literature are mostly focused on concise grammar works and rhetoric books used as textbooks. See Tevfik Rüştü Topuzoğlu, "Haşiye," Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi, 16 (1997): 419–22.

⁶³ Zabiullah Safa, *Tarikh-i Adabiyat Dar Iran*, vol. 5 (Tehran: Ferdews, 1991), 354.

⁶⁴ Hashemi, "Muşlih al-Din Lari Farikhta-yi az Laristan."

⁶⁵ Tezcan, "Muşlihiddin Lari," 619.

⁶⁶ Pourjavady, "Muşlih Al-Din al-Lārī and His Samples of the Sciences."

formative years of his childhood in Lārīstan, his birthplace, and that he came from a family distinguished for its scholarly activities.⁶⁷ He received his basic education under the guidance of local scholars. This included literature and the fundamental disciplines.⁶⁸ None other than his father, Salāḥ-al-Dīn Abdul Karīm al-Anṣārī, was his first teacher.⁶⁹ However, the records of his later education provide a more complete picture. Lārī was forced to leave his birthplace, Lārīstan, in search of a better educational experience. As a result, he embarked on a journey to Shiraz to further his scholarly pursuits.⁷⁰

2.2. Lārī's Path to Mastery: Higher Education and Interdisciplinary Knowledge

During his stay in Shiraz, he enrolled in the *Manṣūriyya Madrasa* (School), where he received a varied education under the guidance of eminent scholars of the time. His mentors at this *madrasa* included Mir Ġīyāṣ al-Dīn Manṣūr Dashtakī (d. 949/1542), Mīr Kamāl ad-Dīn Ḥusain (d.?) and Shams al-Dīn Ḥafīrī (d. 957/1550), who provided instruction in various branches of knowledge.⁷¹ Under the guidance of Manṣūr Dashtakī, Lārī delved into the vast field of astronomical research. Moreover, as Reza Pourjavady claims, it seems that Lārī continued the study of astronomy not only under Manṣūr Dashtakī but also under the tutelage of Shams al-Dīn Ḥafīrī.⁷² In his writings about his teachers, Lārī mentions a list of ten other scholars from whom he received instruction in a variety of scholarly disciplines.⁷³ Lārī provides a detailed account of the scholars who taught him, with a particular focus on the Safavid scholars.⁷⁴ Lārī provides insights into various other Safavid scholars in addition to detailing his own mentors.⁷⁵

⁶⁷ Tezcan, “Muṣliḥiddin Lari,” 615.

⁶⁸ Hashemi, “Muṣliḥ al-Din Lari Farikhta-yi az Laristan.”

⁶⁹ Tezcan, “Muṣliḥiddin Lari,” 615.

⁷⁰ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2012, 1:27.

⁷¹ Sholeh Alysia Quinn, “Safavid Historiography, The Place of the Safavids in Iranian History,” in *The Safavid World*, ed. Rudi Matthee (New York, NY: Routledge, 2022), 215.

⁷² Pourjavady, “Muṣliḥ Al-Dīn al-Lārī and His Samples of the Sciences,” 299.

⁷³ Tezcan, “Muṣliḥiddin Lari,” 616.

⁷⁴ Muṣliḥ al Din Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar Wa Mirqat al-Akhbar*, ed. Sayed Jalil Sagharvanyan, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Tehran: Miras Maktoob, 2018), 900–902.

⁷⁵ Chapter III will present a comprehensive overview of Lārī's mentors and teachers within the context of Safavid scholarship. This will be part of the discussion on the Safavid scholars introduced by Lārī in his universal history.

Manşūr Dashtakī, commonly known in Ottoman society as Mīr⁷⁶ Ġiyās al-Dīn Manşūr Dashtakī, was a member of the Dashtakī family, believed to be descended from ‘Alī, the cousin of the Prophet Muhammad. Much like his disciple Lārī, the available historical records provide little information about Manşūr Dashtakī. He was the son of Mīr Şadr-al-Dīn, and after his father's death, he succeeded him in his scholarly pursuits. Manşūr Dashtakī completed his education at the tender age of twenty and was appointed *mudarris*, (professor/tutor), at the *Manşūriyya Madrasa*, a school founded by Shah Ismā‘īl I (d.930 /1524). Subsequently, Manşūr Dashtakī ascended to the position of *Sadr* (Head of Clergy) during the reign of Shah Ṭahmāsp I (d. 984/1576).

Maria Eva Subtenly writes that Ḥusain Bāykarā (d. 911/1506) had to appoint two or three persons simultaneously to the post of *Şadr*, because it had become impossible for a single individual to oversee them all in the late 15th century Timurid empire.⁷⁷ However, the responsibilities of the *Şadr* underwent a notable evolution, accompanied by institutional developments, during the Safavid era. His main responsibilities were to oversee the spread of *Shī‘aism* and to manage the members of the religious clergy.

Given that the Safavid regime conflated adherence to the state-sanctioned faith with loyalty to the government itself, the eradication of alternative beliefs became vital. This task also fell within *Şadr*'s area of responsibility. Although the position of *Şadr* existed in the Timurid and Turkmen governments, a notable aspect of its role in the Safavid government was its politicized nature through a formal appointment process that allowed the Safavid monarchs to exercise control over the clergy. The Safavids considered adherence to the official religion as equivalent to loyalty to the empire, and therefore deemed it necessary to root out opposing beliefs. This task was one of the responsibilities of the *Şadr*. The ability to carry out governmental duties successfully and withstand hostile assaults from Sunnī neighbors depends on achieving ideological uniformity (همگونی فکری). This crucial task, which initially constituted the most important aspect of the *Sadr*'s responsibilities, was largely fulfilled during the reign of Shah Isma‘īl. Subsequently, the duties of the *Şadr* shifted towards the broader

⁷⁶ Dehkhoda's dictionary defines the term 'Mīr' as a king, ruler, leader, or chief. It is also used to refer to the head of a clan or tribe. The title 'Mīr' was given to individuals of Sayyid lineage who held prominent leadership roles within their tribe.

⁷⁷ Maria E. Subtenly, "Socioeconomic Bases of Cultural Patronage under the Later Timurids," *Cambridge University Press* 20, no. 4 (1988): 482.

administration of religious institutions and the supervision of endowments. As a result, the political influence of the *Şadr* gradually declined.⁷⁸

Muḥakkiḳ al-ṣānī ‘Alī b. Ḥusain al-Karakī, a prominent scholar, sought to change the orientation of the *qibla* (the direction in which Muslim worshippers pray, typically facing the city of Mecca) in all mosques in the Safavid Empire. He sought to support this decision with legal evidence. Manṣūr Dashtakī, on the other hand, disagreed, claiming that such a change would require the application of principles from the fields of astronomy and geometry. As a result, in 1531, Shah Ṭahmāsp I removed Manṣūr Dashtakī from his role as *Şadr*.⁷⁹

Following these events, Manṣūr Dashtakī retired to Shiraz, where he resumed his position as professor at the *Manṣūriyya Madrasa*, a role he fulfilled until his death in 1542. Throughout his life, Mir Ghiyath witnessed the transition from the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu to the Safavid era. His notable reputation came from his authorship of critiques of numerous works by Dawwānī, a distinction that earned him recognition in both the Safavid and Ottoman domains.⁸⁰ In addition to his other scholarly activities, Manṣūr Dashtakī wrote a commentary on the astronomical treatise of Uluḡ Beg (d. 853/1449). He also wrote an additional commentary on the *Almagest*, an influential work in the field of astronomy.⁸¹ Uluḡ Beg's work serves as a comprehensive guide for astronomers, providing essential guidance for the continuation of their profession. The *Almagest*, on the other hand, represents a continuation of the astronomical enquiries initiated by Ptolemy.⁸²

Beyond the confines of the Safavid Empire, specifically within the Ottoman sphere, scholars such as Dawwānī and Şadr al-Dīn Dashtakī (d. 903/1498) gained recognition and interest from their Ottoman counterparts during their lifetimes. In particular, Ottoman intellectuals seem to have drawn substantial insights from these two scholars,

⁷⁸ Roger Siveri, *İran-i Asr-ı Sefevi* (Tehran: Waziri, 1993), 29–30.

⁷⁹ Harun Anay, “MİR GIYĀSEDDİN MANSŪR,” *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi*, 30 (2020): 126.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Hockey, *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, 679.

⁸² The Astronomer, Mathematician, Geographer and Musical Scholar from Alexandria, Commonly Known as Ptolemy (Claudius Ptolemaeus), Had A Significant Influence on The Development of Islamic Astronomy. For More Information on Ptolemy's Contributions and Influence on Islamic Astronomy, See the Entry in The Tdv Islam Encyclopedia Under "Batlamyus".

especially in the field of metaphysics, which surpassed their contributions in other fields of study.⁸³ Both Mīr Ġīyās al-Dīn Maṣṣūr Dashtakī and Mīr Ṣadr-al-Dīn al-Dashtakī enjoyed the patronage and support of the Ottoman court during the reign of Sultan Bāyezīd II (d.918/1512).⁸⁴ Müeyyedzāde Abdurrahman Efendi (d. 922/1516) became an important patron of Turkish poetry during the last decade of Bāyezīd's reign. During these years, he also became an important intermediary for Persian scholars who fled their homeland and sought refuge at the Ottoman court.⁸⁵

Müeyyedzāde played a significant role in disseminating the intellectual concepts and ideas of these two scholars in the city of Istanbul within the Ottoman Empire. In particular, Müeyyedzāde Efendi had a long association with Sultan Bāyezīd II from his youth. During his four-year educational stay in Shiraz from 1479 to 1483, Müeyyedzāde Efendi became well acquainted with both scholars, with Dawwānī as his main teacher.⁸⁶ Little historical information is available about Lārī's other teacher, Mīr Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusain Lārī. Mīr Kamāl, recognized as a religious scholar, died before the year 979/1571. It is noteworthy that he was among the students of Dawwānī, which adds to the context of his scholarly associations.⁸⁷

Lārī's education in mathematics and astronomy was under the guidance of Shams al-Dīn Ḥafīrī. The exact date of Ḥafīrī's birth remains elusive, but it is believed that he was born after the mid-sixteenth century, a conclusion drawn from his written works during the reign of Shah Ismā'īl I (r. 1501-1524). His *nisba* "Ḥafīrī" derives from his association with the Ḥafīr region of Shiraz. Shams al-Dīn seems to have served as his nickname, implying that his given name was Muḥammed bin Aḥmed. He is also recognized as Shams al-Dīn Kashān because he lived in Kashān during the last years of his life. However, there is some disagreement about his religious affiliation. Some sources claim that he adhered to Sunnī Islam, while others suggest that he initially followed Sunnī beliefs and later embraced Shī'a. Although information about his teachers is limited, it is known that he was a student of Dawwānī. He died in Kashān in 957/1550. Shams al-Dīn Al-Ḳāshānī left behind a prolific body of work in various

⁸³ Pourjavady, "Muṣliḥ Al-Dīn al-Lārī and His Samples of the Sciences," 297.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Markiewicz, *The Crisis of Kingship*, 83.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2012, 1:31.

fields, including philosophy, theology, logic, Islamic philosophy (*Kalām*), mathematics, Qur'ānic commentary (*tafsir*), mysticism, and more. Among his most notable contributions is his seminal work in astronomy entitled "*et-Takmila fi Sharḥ-i al-Tazkira*", completed in Arabic during 932 / 1525.⁸⁸

The inspiration for Shams al-Dīn Al-Ḳāshānī is thought to have come from his study of the literary works of Dawwānī. It is also noteworthy that, in addition to his interactions with the teachers from the city of Lārī, he was occasionally challenged intellectually by the writings of Dawwānī.⁸⁹ Dawwānī, an eminent scholar of the 15th century, was born in Kāzerūn, Iran, sometime between the years 1424 and 1427. He lived during the reigns of the Ḳarā-Ḳoyunlu and Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu dynasties and held important positions in state affairs, marking his importance in the intellectual environment of his time. Through his correspondence with Bāyezīd II, who died in 1512, Dawwānī won the admiration of the Ottoman Sultan and received praise from the reigning monarch.⁹⁰

Dawwānī's popularity extended far beyond the Ottoman and Safavid empires, crossing borders. As a result of his widespread fame, scholars from various nations traveled to Shiraz to receive lessons from him. After his death, his legacy continued and expanded through the achievements of his students. As a result, the "Dawwānī School" gained significant importance and reached a wide and diverse following.⁹¹ There were significant scholarly disputes and disagreements between Manṣūr Dashtakī's father, Mīr Ṣadr-al-Dīn Shīrāzi, and Dawwānī. In response to Dawwānī's works, Manṣūr Dashtakī wrote '*raddīye*' or refutations, thus siding with his father's intellectual position.⁹² Thereafter, Lārī's position evolved, albeit with a certain degree of shift, as he signaled his disagreement with certain aspects of Dawwānī's views. On one notable occasion, he explicitly supported the counter-arguments of Manṣūr Dashtakī. It is noteworthy that Lārī derived considerable intellectual benefit from his association with Manṣūr Dashtakī and Mīr Shams al-Dīn Ḥafri. When Lārī entered the *Manṣūriyya*

⁸⁸ Muhammad Barakat, *Shams Al-Din Muhammed Bin Ahmed Khafri* (Shiraz: Maktab-i Falsafi Shiraz, 2004), 378.

⁸⁹ Pourjavady, "Muṣliḥ Al-Dīn al-Lārī and His Samples of the Sciences," 292.

⁹⁰ Harun Anay, "Devvani," 1994, 257–66.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 260.

⁹² *Ibid.*

Madrasa in Shiraz, he started taking lessons from Manşūr Dashtakī in the first stage. After completing his primary education with Manşūr Dashtakī, he took *Kalām* lessons from Mir Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusain Lārī.⁹³ Ḥasan-i Rūmlū documents Lārī's educational training, noting that he was taught by Manşūr Dashtakī.⁹⁴

Ḥasan-i Rūmlū in his writings refer exclusively to Lārī's education under the guidance of Manşūr Dashtakī, without giving details of his other mentors. Nevertheless, he mentions that Lārī acquired knowledge in both *ulūm-ı 'aklīye* and *ulūm-ı naqlīye* sciences within the context of this *Madrasa*. Ekmeleddin Ihsanoğlu elaborates on Lārī's educational journey in his book *'Osmānlı Bilim Mirası*. According to Ihsanoğlu, Lārī completed his primary education in Lārīstan, his birthplace. He then ventured to India, where he pursued further studies to broaden his educational background.⁹⁵ It is worth noting that there may be discrepancies in historical accounts and sources regarding Lārī's educational journey. While the accounts of Ḥasan-i Rūmlū and Ekmeleddin Ihsanoğlu differ in certain aspects, most sources agree that Lārī's primary education was probably completed at the *Manşūriyya Madrasa* in Shiraz. The complexity of documenting events in the distant past, which can lead to differing interpretations and reports, is the reason for these variations in the historical record. Lārī achieved fame in both the *ulūm-ı 'aklīye* and the *ulūm-ı naqlīye* as a result of the teaching he received from his mentors at the *Manşūriyya Madrasa*.⁹⁶

Lārī's works reflect his vast knowledge, with a primary scholarly focus evident in his extensive treatises, in the realm of the rational sciences. These twenty-one treatises are closely related to each other and underline his deep engagement in this intellectual field.⁹⁷ 'Alī b. Bālī attests to Lārī's scholarly prowess and characterizes him as a *fāzıl* (virtuous) and influential intellectual. Lārī's remarkable expertise covered a wide range of subjects, and his ability to impart knowledge was particularly astonishing. In the field of *ulūm-ı naqlīye*, Lārī showed a moderate level of expertise. However, when it came to *ulūm-ı 'aklīye* sciences, he proved to be an influential figure in the field.⁹⁸

⁹³ Pourjavady, "Muşliḥ Al-Dīn Lārī's and His Samples of the Sciences," 317.

⁹⁴ Rumlu, *Ahsan 'ul Tevarih*, 586.

⁹⁵ Ihsanoğlu, *Osmanlı Bilim Mirası*, 395.

⁹⁶ Eghtedari, *Lārīstan-ı Kohn*, 194.

⁹⁷ Pourjavady, "Muşliḥ Al-Dīn Lārī and His Samples of the Sciences," 311.

⁹⁸ Manq, *El-ikdu 'l-manzûm fî zikri efâzılı 'r-Rûm*, 390.

Ahmad Gulchini asserts that Lārī achieved an extraordinary level of expertise in both the rational and the transmitted sciences, with special reference to his extraordinary command of the study of logic.⁹⁹ In a similar vein, when Kātib Çelebi discusses Lārī, he claims that Lārī's contributions in various fields are second to none, which underlines the exceptional quality of his works.¹⁰⁰ In addition to his pursuits in the *ulūm-ı 'aklīye* and *ulūm-ı naqlīye*, Lārī was also a literary scholar who practiced his talents in the field of literature. His literary activities extended to the composition of poetry in both Arabic and Persian.¹⁰¹

It's worth noting that despite his knowledge of both Arabic and Persian, Lārī did not compile a comprehensive *divān*, or collection of his poems. He used Arabic primarily for his written works. Moreover, during his service in both the Mughal and Ottoman Empires, where the rulers were of Turkish or Turkic-Mongol origin, there is no record of his literary works in the Turkish language.¹⁰² Lārī's literary legacy in Persian is represented mainly by a collection of short Persian poems, in which his pseudonym is "*Kalāmī*".¹⁰³ Lārī's deep attachment to the field of theology, particularly *Ilm ul-Kalām* (the science of Islamic theology), is demonstrated by the fact that he authored some ten treatises on theological topics. Indeed, his strong attachment to this particular field of study may have been reflected in his choice of the pseudonym '*Kalāmī*'.¹⁰⁴ Lārī showed the influence of Ottoman poetic characteristics and ornate literary style in his poetry.

In his poetic compositions, he added many innovative elements and improvements. Lārī used a simple and accessible poetic language, making his verses easily comprehensible to the common people.¹⁰⁵ A substantial collection of his Arabic poetry is accessible, while his Persian poetry is scarce and presents challenges in terms of availability and access.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁹ Me'ani, *Tarih-I Tezkireha-Yi Farsi*, 775.

¹⁰⁰ Kılıç, "LĀRĪ, Muşliḥuddin," 104.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Tezcan, "Muşliḥiddin Lari," 619.

¹⁰³ Safa, *Tarikh-i Adabiyat Dar Iran*, 5:1663.

¹⁰⁴ Tezcan, "Muşliḥiddin Lari," 619.

¹⁰⁵ Faegha Nakisa, "Jaygah-i Mushlih al-Din Lari Dar Adabiyat Arabi" (*Jaygah-i Fars dar Ababiyat Arabi*, Tehran: Tehran University, n.d.), 328.

¹⁰⁶ Eghtedari, *Lāristan-ı Kohn*, 194.

که دید سبزه که از آتش این چنین برخاست
شب فراق تو از خون دیده دامانم
چنان پر است که نتوانم از زمین برخاست
براستی چو قد دلکش تو پای گرفت
نشان راستی از سرو راستین برخاست
بخاک پای تو کز آرزوی دیدارت
نشست شاد کلامی ولی حزین برخاست

*When the grass saw the fire, it grew so green,
The night of your absence, my sleeves soaked with tears.
It's so full, I can't get up from the ground, it seems,
Indeed, like your charming stature, it takes my breath away.
A true sign of honesty has come from the upright cypress,
The dust of your feet, yearning for your sight,
Kalamī, sits happily, but with a sad sigh it grows*

Muhammed Husain Saba¹⁰⁷ (d.1279/1863) included a mention of Lārī in his "*Tazkira-i Rushen*" (The Bright Biographical Dictionary of Poets), he used the pseudonym "*Kalāmī*" to refer to him.¹⁰⁸ According to 'Muḥammad Ḥusain Saba, there is some inconsistency in the naming of Lārī or *Kalāmī* in different sources. Nūr ul-Ḥasan Bhopali (d.?) referred to him as Ṣadr al-Dīn in his *Tazkira Negaristan-i Suḥn* (The Biographical Dictionary of the Poets of the Garden of Words). Meanwhile, 'Muḥammad Ali Ḥasan Bhopali, in his *Tazkira* entitled *Ṣubḥ -i Gulshan* (The Morning of the Rose Garden), also mentioned Lārī as *Kalāmī*, but added the epithet 'Shīrāzī', making him 'Lārī Shīrāzī'. Ḥusain Saba' clarified that all these different references, including the names *Kalāmī* and Ṣadr al-Dīn, ultimately refer to Muṣliḥ Al-Dīn Lārī.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, Lārī's life coincides with the reign of two Safavid monarchs. The first, Shah Ismā'īl I, founded the Safavid dynasty and ruled from 1501 to 1524. The second, Shah Ṭahmāsp I, held the Safavid throne for an extended period from 1524 to 1576, a total of 52 years. However, the historical records do not provide any information about Lārī's whereabouts or activities in Shiraz or Lārīstan after his graduation from the *Manṣūriyya Madrasa*. Consequently, there is a gap in our knowledge of his occupation and activities during this period.

¹⁰⁷ He was an Indian biographer. In 1283/1866, we went to Bhopal with his father, Mawlawi Muhammad Yusuf Ali, and there he took Arabic and Persian lessons from teachers like Muhammed Ahsen Belgrami. When Saba was 17, with the help of his father, he wrote his *tazkire* called *Tazkire-yi Rushen*.

¹⁰⁸ Saba Muhammad Muzaffar Husayn, *Tezkire-i Rushan* (Tihārān: Kitabhkhana-yi Razi, 1964), 680.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 688.

2.3. Lārī's Migration Through Safavid Persia: A Forced Departure

Given that Lārī's time at the madrasa coincides with the reign of Shah Ṭahmāsp I (who ruled until 1576), this suggests that he probably did not spend a significant part of his later years in the territories of the Safavid Empire. Lārī himself alludes to the early years of Shah Ṭahmāsp I's reign in his writings. He specifically mentions that a significant number of Sunnī scholars, including himself, chose to emigrate from the Safavid territories because of Shah Ṭahmāsp I's harsh and unwavering rule in religious matters.¹¹⁰

From the early 16th century, with the establishment of the Safavid dynasty by Shah Ismā'īl Safavid and the official promotion of *Shī'a* in Safavid territories, the Sunnī community, including the Sunnīs in Lār, where Lārī's family belonged, faced restrictions on their activities. It is plausible that Lārī left his homeland, possibly because of concerns about his family's Sunnī background, which might have made it difficult for him to receive support or patronage from the Safavids, who were a devoutly *Shī'a* dynasty.¹¹¹ Lārī therefore opted for a move to the Mughal Empire, which was then under Sunnī rule, after the culmination of his studies in Shiraz. This allowed him to avoid potential religious and political challenges associated with his Sunnī background. Consequently, Lārī's writings contain pointed criticisms of Shah Ṭahmāsp I and present a distinctive narrative of his reign. While Lārī does not comment on Shah Isma'il's religious practices, he makes it clear that Shah actively promoted *Twelver Shī'aism* from the beginning of his reign, while suppressing Sunnī expressions within his dominions. According to Lārī, Shah Ṭahmāsp's anti-Sunnī attitude and policies caused many Sunnīs, including scholars, poets and artists, to leave their country.¹¹² Lārī goes on to criticize the Shah's policies, claiming that many of them were designed to undermine the Sunnī 'Ulamā (religious scholars). In Lārī's view, Shah Ṭahmāsp had blurred the lines between the knowledgeable and the ignorant, whereby the learned were labeled as ignorant, and the ignorant were elevated as if they possessed knowledge. As a result, Lārī suggests that the Shah's rule was dominated by individuals who lacked *Faḏl* (virtue) and *ʿIlm* (knowledge), while those

¹¹⁰ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:901.

¹¹¹ Tezcan, "Muşliḥiddin Lari," 616.

¹¹² Pourjavady, "Muşliḥ Al-Dīn Lārī and His Samples of the Sciences," 295.

with knowledge were pushed to the margins.¹¹³ The implication is that there were very few virtuous and knowledgeable people in the whole of the Safavid empire. Lārī concludes his account by stating that only a few of the *Salaf* (Sunnī predecessors) remained who had the courage to express their opinions, offer advice and guide the people. He uses a collective reference to emphasize his distinct political perspective on the Safavid rulers.¹¹⁴

The historical works produced in Shiraz between 1409 and 1414 had a direct impact on the wider discourse of sovereignty, particularly among various Timurid princes.¹¹⁵ Consequently, the migration of these scholars from Shiraz to Mughal India in the following centuries was enthusiastically welcomed, as many found patronage from Mughal rulers. The familiarity of their works and those of their predecessors within the Mughal court facilitated this reception.

Persians, arrived at the Mughal court with a sense of bitterness, as one critical observer of the reign of the Mughal emperor Akbar (d.1014/1605) pointed out. This observer noted that India offered a vast expanse where unregulated behavior could flourish without interference in each other's affairs.¹¹⁶ A considerable number of scholars from the Safavid lands chose to emigrate to India, especially to the Mughal Empire, while others sought refuge in the Ottoman Empire, mainly in Istanbul.¹¹⁷ On the other hand the valued literary status of Persian in the Ottoman Empire provided many opportunities for literate Iranians to live and work in Anatolia and the Balkans. At the turn of the sixteenth century, when political upheaval in Iran forced a significant number of scholars to seek refuge and solace abroad, these opportunities became particularly important.¹¹⁸ Several students of these Shiraz philosophers ended up in Mughal India, Ali Anooshahr pointed out.¹¹⁹ In comparison to Lārī's account of a lack of knowledge and scholarship during the reign of Shah Ṭahmāsp I, Iskandar Beg Munshī's accounts in his " *Tārīkh-i 'Ālamārā-yi Abbāsi* " offer a contrasting

¹¹³ Quinn, *Persian Historiography across Empires*, 186.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 187.

¹¹⁵ Markiewicz, *The Crisis of Kingship*, 167.

¹¹⁶ A. Azfar Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign: Sacred Kingship and Sainthood in Islam*, South Asia across the Disciplines (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 33.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ Markiewicz, "Forgotten Chronicals," 113.

¹¹⁹ Anooshahr, "Science at the Court of the Cosmocrat," 198.

perspective. In the biographical section of his history, Iskandar Beg takes a position that opposes Lārī's account. Sholeh Quinn suggests that it is plausible that Īskender Beg wrote in reaction to Lārī's account.¹²⁰

2.4. A Sojourn in The Mughal India: Experiences and Court Life

The tradition of patronage and sponsorship of scholars has a long history in the Islamic world, going back to the early 'Abbāsīd Caliphate and continuing through different periods, such as the Mongol and Timurid eras. Lārī chose the Mughal Empire when he decided to leave the Safavid Empire. The Mughal court was a favorite destination for many intellectuals at the time, known for its extensive patronage of scholars, poets and scientists. Inspired by the Timurid precedent, the Mughals continued and extended their tradition of patronizing science. Nevertheless, Lārī's period of travel to the Mughal Empire coincided with the reign of Humāyūn. While Humāyūn may have been perceived as lacking in political acumen, he showed a remarkable interest in cultural pursuits. Apart from his support for a select group of artists he brought from Iran and Kabul, his cultural contributions were remarkable.¹²¹ From the beginning, the Mughal emperors showed a deep and passionate interest in the development of astronomy. Humāyūn, in particular, played a key role in encouraging this scientific activity through patronage, which led to the creation of many significant works in the field of astronomy.¹²² Humāyūn showed a deep fascination with planetary science throughout his reign. From today's point of view, his deep fascination with magic and astrology seems to be Humāyūn's most significant transgression.¹²³

His enthusiasm for astronomy led to widespread support and patronage from the Mughal court for those disciplines closely associated with the study of the planets.¹²⁴ The Mughal court's system of patronage reflected the emperor's cosmopolitan and *cosmocratic* ambitions and attempted to present Humāyūn as a '*cosmocrat*'¹²⁵, a term

¹²⁰ Quinn, *Persian Historiography across Empires*, 198.

¹²¹ Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign*, 108.

¹²² Muhammed Bilal Çelik and Hami Demir, "Humayun's Concept of Cosmological Sovereignty," 2021, 407.

¹²³ Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign*, 108.

¹²⁴ Anooshahr, "Science at the Court of the Cosmocrat," 305.

¹²⁵ The word "cosmocrat" is not a generally used word in the English language. It does not have a common or standardized definition. It does, however, appear to be a compound word made up of two parts: "cosmo" and "crat". "Cosmo" or "cosmo-" is a prefix relating to the Universe or Cosmos,

similar to that used by the Byzantine emperors. This patronage included scholars not only from the Timurid lineage, but also from Safavid and Ottoman territories, demonstrating a broad and comprehensive approach to intellectual interaction and support.¹²⁶

Humāyūn's fascination with the occult sciences and cosmology led him to various peculiar inventions and innovations, which are documented in the unique historiographical work he commissioned, the *Ḳānūn-ī Humāyūnī*.¹²⁷ The Mughal court was structured in such a way as to mirror the cosmos itself. Decisions and actions within the court were carefully considered and determined according to the planetary alignments of the weekdays.¹²⁸ It is also revealed that he wore clothes of the color associated with the planet of the day. He also constructed a talismanic building and celebrated the *Talisman* Feast.¹²⁹ The practices and arrangements mentioned above exemplified imperial ideals inspired by the religious and political beliefs of ancient India.

The Mughal court's newfound fascination with planets and stars was a manifestation of a deliberate strategy to massively encourage and patronize sciences like astronomy, mathematics and geography in the royal court.¹³⁰ In fact, this process led to the arrival at the Mughal court of numerous scholars and intellectuals, especially in the fields of astronomy and planetary science. Both their personal fascination with these subjects and the Mughal Emperor's deep interest in astronomy were the reasons for their presence. During Humāyūn's reign, these scholars, especially the astronomers, played a pivotal role in shaping and promoting the concept of universal sovereignty. As a result, the unique circumstances and intellectual atmosphere of the Mughal court at the

commonly used in words referring to astronomy or the study of the cosmos. It is used to denote someone with power or authority, such as "bureaucrat" or "aristocrat". So a "cosmocrat" could be explained as someone who has authority or control over the cosmos or the universe.

¹²⁶ Anooshahr, "Science at the Court of the Cosmocrat," 305.

¹²⁷ Eva Orthmann, "The Occult Sciences at the Mughal Court During the Sixteenth Century," in *The Empires of the Near East and India: Source Studies of the Safavid, Ottoman, and Mughal Literate Communities*, ed. Hani Khafipour (New York (N. Y.): Columbia University Press, 2019), 384; See also, Eva Orthmann, "Court Culture and Cosmology in the Mughal Empire: Humāyūn and the Foundation of the Dīn-i Ilāhī," in *Court Cultures in the Muslim World: Seventh to Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. Albrecht Fuess, 1. issued in paperback, SOAS-Routledge Studies on the Middle East 13 (London: Taylor & Francis, 2014), 202–20.

¹²⁸ Orthmann, "The Occult Sciences at the Mughal Court," 385.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 384.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

time were closely linked to the novelty and innovation observed in their writings.¹³¹ The Mughal court witnessed a shift in attitudes towards patronage, particularly in the field of science and the arts, during the rule of Humāyūn. A number of innovative and unconventional circumstances that arose during this period brought about these changes.¹³²

The elements of cosmopolitan politics sought by Humāyūn and the Mughal court, Anooshahr argues, are in fact present in both Iran and Central Asia. It is important to note, however, that among the scholars who dealt with these elements on behalf of Humāyūn, it was primarily Lārī who actively incorporated these elements into his work for Humāyūn. In contrast, individuals such as Ġīyāṣ al-Dīn, Ḥvāndmīr, and Shams al-Dīn al-Samarḳandī (d. 1310/1892-93) did not fully adopt or rely on these cosmological aspects to the same degree in their writings for the Mughal court.¹³³

Although the exact route of Lārī's journey is unclear, it is known that he travelled to the province of Sindh, which is now Pakistan. He was observed in the company of Shah Ḥusain Argūn (d.962/ 1555), the ruler of Sindh at the time, according to various historical sources.¹³⁴ The palace of Shah Ḥusain Argūn, where he received warm greetings and compliments, was Lārī's first destination. Then, thanks to the Shah Ḥusain's influence and support, Lārī was able to gain access to the palace of the Mughal emperor Humāyūn.¹³⁵ Shah Ḥusain Argūn, was a ruler of the Argūn dynasty. The Argūn dynasty was a Turkoman Mughal dynasty that ruled the Sindh and Multan regions from 1520 to 1591.¹³⁶ Many regions, including Sindh, became invaded by the Arabs in the early centuries. However, the Sindh region managed to retain its distinct identity and autonomy despite the conquests of the Ghaznavids and Ghūrīds, which spanned much of India.¹³⁷

¹³¹ Ibid., 300.

¹³² Anooshahr, "Science at the Court of the Cosmocrat," 314.

¹³³ Ibid., 310.

¹³⁴ Me'ani, *Tarih-I Tezkireha-Yi Farsi*, 775.

¹³⁵ Pourjavady, "Muṣliḥ Al-Dīn Lārī and His Samples of the Sciences," 295.

¹³⁶ Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties: A Chronological and Genealogical Manual*, Paperback ed, The NNew Edinburgh Islamic Surveys (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 194.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 175.

Sindh first came under the rule of the Rajputs in the 16th century. The Rajputs were a prominent Hindu warrior caste from northwestern India. However, the region was later invaded and controlled by the Samma dynasty, a Muslim ruling dynasty. The Samma dynasty ruled Sindh from the 14th to the 16th century. By the early 16th century, the Sammas had established their rule over all of Sindh, with Thattā as their capital. Thattā is now a city in the Pakistani province of Sindh).¹³⁸ Z̤u'l-Nūn Bēg Argūn was appointed ruler of the Kāndahār region, which lies in modern Afghanistan. Sultan Ḥusain Bāykarā who ruled until his death in 1506, appointed him to this position.¹³⁹ The Argūn Dynasty began to assert their independence and, led by Z̤u'l-Nūn Bēg, they pursued a policy of territorial expansion, moving southwards. Z̤u'l-Nūn Bēg was killed in the battle of Maruchak in (913/1507) and his son Shah Beg was his successor.

In order to maintain his authority and continue his rule in Kandahar, Shah Beg was forced to recognize the sovereignty of the Uzbek ruler 'Muḥammad Shaibānī Ḥān, who reigned until his death in 1510.¹⁴⁰ Shah Beg's aspirations to rule the region alone remained unfulfilled after the death of Shaibānī Ḥān in 1510. Babur Shah, who ruled from Kābul until his death in 937/1530, was threatened by Shah Ismā'īl, who invaded Herat. However, Shah Beg was able to maintain his rule in the Sindh region for some time, as neither of these rulers had significant control over the region. In 1520, Shah Beg won a major victory over Djam Firuz, the Samma ruler of Sindh. It was this triumph that allowed Shah Beg to enter Thattā and take control of the southern region of Sindh. Following this conquest, Sindh was divided into two regions: The North ruled by Shah Beg and the South ruled by Jām Fīrūz. However, the Samma rulers were not in favor of this division and Shah Beg asserted his dominance over the entire Sindh region and established the Argūn dynasty.¹⁴¹

Shah Beg died in 930/1524. After he died, his son Shah Ḥusain Argūn came to rule. Shah Ḥusain recognized the authority of Babur Shah. He pledged his allegiance to him and submitted to his rule. He continued to reside in the urban center of Thattā despite relinquishing the mantle of sovereignty. The ascendancy of the Argūn dynasty

¹³⁸ Ibid., 174.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Hamilton A. Gibb, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Islam. 1. A - B*, Photomechanical repr (Leiden, 1986), 627.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

continued until the death of Shah Ḥusain Argūn, which occurred after the year 1556, thus ending the reign of the Argūn dynasty.¹⁴² In the available sources, Shah Ḥusain Argūn's private life remains relatively obscure. However, his *majlis*, or gatherings, are mentioned in various historical accounts. These references suggest a deep appreciation of poetry and literature. This is evidenced by his associations with poets and scholars. Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, in his work *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, records Lārī's stay in the company of Shah Ḥusain Argūn. The close relationship between Lārī and Shah Ḥusain has been documented in numerous historical sources.¹⁴³

According to the Indian biographer Muḥammad Saba: "Lārī held a prominent position as one of Shah Ḥusain Argūn's closest friends and confidants".¹⁴⁴ Lārī resided at the side of Shah Ḥusain Argūn for some time, as reported by Ohadi Belyani.¹⁴⁵ Lārī was able to win the esteem and admiration of Shah Ḥusain by attending the gatherings of the 'Ulamā' (religious scholars) and *Shū'arā* (poets).¹⁴⁶ Shah Ḥusain Argūn assigned Lārī to be his instructor or tutor. The specific disciplines of knowledge that Lārī imparted to Shah Ḥusain Argūn remain uncertain.¹⁴⁷ However, it is plausible to speculate that Lārī may have given Persian lessons to the Shah. This assumption is based on Lārī's known practice of teaching Persian to various eminent personalities while he stayed in India. Such a hypothesis gains credence in light of Shah Ḥusain's obvious interest in poetry and literature.¹⁴⁸

In the city of Thattā, Lārī was an active participant in Shah Ḥusain Argūn's gatherings. Many scholars and intellectuals attended these gatherings. Ohadī reports that among the most prominent attendees of these gatherings were 'Alā' al-Dīn Lārī (d.933/1527?), Shah Jahāngīr Hāshemī (d.946/1539), and Mawlānā Ḥusām al-Dīn (d.?).¹⁴⁹ Ahmad Gulchini Me'ānī's account confirms Lārī's close association with 'Alā' al-Dīn Lārī and Mīr Hāshemī Khorasani during his participation in these gatherings.

¹⁴² Ibid., 628.

¹⁴³ Rumlu, *Aḥsan 'ul Tevarih*, 586.

¹⁴⁴ Muhammad Muzaffar Husayn, *Tezkire-i Rushan*, 680.

¹⁴⁵ Takiyüddin Muhammed Sai'duddin Muhamed Ḥusain Belyani or Ohadi Belyani is a Persian poet and virtuous. Known as the favorite poet of Shāh Esmā'il I, Ohadi took the title "Shāh Pisend", that is, the Shāh liked. He has a tezkire called 'Urfat-ul 'aşīkin and he mentions Lārī in this biography. See. Muhammed Javad Behruzi, *Shāhr-i Sabz*.

¹⁴⁶ Safa, *Tarikh-i Adabiyat Dar Iran*, 5:1664.

¹⁴⁷ Enver Konukçu, "Hüseyn Şah Argun," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi*, 19 (1999): 14.

¹⁴⁸ Rumlu, *Aḥsan 'ul Tevarih*, 586.

¹⁴⁹ Safa, *Tarikh-I Adabiyat Dar Iran*, 5:1664.

According to Me'ānī, Lārī spent most of his time in company with these two persons.¹⁵⁰ Among them was Khorasani, also known as Shah Jahāngīr and Hashemi Kermānī. He earned the title of "Shah" for his remarkable virtues and exceptional literary skills. He died in 1539, although the exact date of his birth remains uncertain.¹⁵¹ Shah Jahāngīr Kermānī was greatly influenced by the renowned poet Jāmī, who had the opportunity to meet and discuss with him during his lifetime. At some point, Shah Jahāngīr Kermānī moved to Thattā city in Sindh. He assumed the role of a 'mulāzim' or a person attached to the service of Shah Ḥusain Argūn during his stay in Thattā.

It was in Thattā that he composed a maṣnawī work with the title "*Maẓhar ul-Asrār*" (The Epitome of secrets).¹⁵² Shah Jahāngīr Kermānī was greatly influenced by Niẓāmī Ganjavī's (d. 611/1214) literary masterpiece *Maḥzan al-asrār* when he composed '*Maẓhar ul-Asrār*'. Shah Jahāngīr Kermānī died on his way to Kermān, having fallen victim to bandits while traveling.¹⁵³ Lārī's literary career was shaped by the poets he met and his experiences at Shah Ḥusain Argūn's gatherings. Shah Jahāngīr's remarkable qualities and exceptional mastery were particularly influential among these influences. Shah Jahāngīr was a follower and grandson of the Sufi poet and mystical philosopher Shah Ni'matallāh Valī (d. 834/1431). Shah Jahāngīr's profound influence may have left a mark on Lārī's journey.¹⁵⁴

Lārī's participation in poetry and literary gatherings in India enabled him to expand his network considerably. It also gave him the recognition and fame he sought. He eventually gained access to the imperial court of the Mughal emperor Humāyūn on the strength of this new-found fame. Lārī decided to leave the city of Thattā and subsequently moved to Lahore, in what is now Pakistan, according to Nev'īzāde

¹⁵⁰ Me'ānī, *Tārīḥ-i tezkireha-yi Farsi*, 775.

¹⁵¹ Hamed Husaynhanī, Mahmud Mudabari, and Sadeq Basiri, "Ahval Va Asar-i Shah Jihangir Hashemi Kermānī," *Daneshgah-I Shahid Behishti*, Tarikh-I Adabiyat, No. 11 (2018): 13.

¹⁵² The term maṣnawī was used for the first time in Persian literature as a literary term and a form of verse. The maṣnawī, which is one of the three basic verse forms of Persian poetry together with the *kasīde* and the *gazel*, has been written in different lengths, from two-couple poems to thousands of individual books. The fact that each couplet of the maṣnawī rhymes (aa / bb / cc ...) and is generally written in short forms of prosody has provided great convenience to the poets in terms of ensuring the integrity of the subject and expression. see: Mustafa Çiçekler, "Maṣnawī," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi*, 29 (2004): 324–25.

¹⁵³ Husaynhanī, Mudabari, and Basiri, "Ahval va Asar-ı Shah Jihangir Hashemi Kermānī," 14–15.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

‘Aṭā’ī.¹⁵⁵ The exact details of Lārī’s accommodations and the length of his stay in Lahore are not known. However, it is clear from historical accounts that he visited Shah Humāyūn’s palace. Therefore, given his audience with Shah Humāyūn, it is reasonable to assume that he traveled to Delhi. Humāyūn ascended the throne as ruler of the Mughal Empire after the death of his father, Shah Bābur, in 1530. In 1533, having ascended to the throne, Humāyūn founded a new city called Dīn Panāh, which he built on the Yamuna River. However, Dīn-Penāh was completely destroyed in 1540 when Shah Shīr defeated Humāyūn. Sher Shah Sūrī (d.952/1545) then built his new capital city, Shīr Shahī, which is now recognized as the *Purana Kal’a* (Old Fort) and is located to the south-east of Delhi.¹⁵⁶ Lārī gained respect and influence in the court of Shah Humāyūn through his journey to Delhi. It was in recognition of his stature that Shah Humāyūn bestowed upon him the epithet of ‘*Ṣadr*’.¹⁵⁷ While we have mentioned that ‘*Ṣadr*’ was the name given to Lārī by Shah Humāyūn, the exact nature of this appellation, whether it was merely a nickname or carried with its specific responsibilities and duties, remains unclear. Nevertheless, Lārī’s close and intimate association within Shah Humāyūn’s palace circle is evident from historical records.¹⁵⁸

Throughout his tenure at Humāyūn’s palace, Lārī assumed the role of tutor to the Mughal emperor. Until the end of Humāyūn’s life, this educational responsibility continued.¹⁵⁹ Lārī managed to secure various privileges and benefits for Shah Humāyūn during this long period of service. This is evidenced by his constant presence in Delhi. He did not leave the city until after Humāyūn’s death in 1556. His prolonged stay within the Mughal palace may indeed indicate a high degree of contentment and satisfaction with his role and circumstances during this period, given Lārī’s history of frequent relocations.

Historical records confirm that Lārī lived in the Mughal palace until 1556 although the exact length of his stay remains uncertain.¹⁶⁰ According to Baki Tezcan’s account, after

¹⁵⁵ Nev’izāde Atāyi, *Hada’iku’l-Hakaik Fi Tekmileti’ş-Şakayik*, vol. 1 (Place: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2017), 609.

¹⁵⁶ Mirza Muhammad Haidar Doughlat, *Tarikh-i Rashidi* (Tehran: Miras Maktoob, 2004), 675.

¹⁵⁷ Eghtedari, *Lārīstan-ı Kohn*, 1665.

¹⁵⁸ Safa, *Tarikh-i Adabiyat Dar Iran*, 5:1664.

¹⁵⁹ Atāyi, *Hada’iku’l-Hakaik Fi Tekmileti’ş-Şakayik*, 1:609.

¹⁶⁰ Kılıç, “LĀRĪ, Muşliḥuddin,” 104.

Humāyūn died in 1556, Lārī appeared in Aleppo and then went to Mecca in 1557.¹⁶¹ In addition to his teaching duties for the emperor, Lārī wrote his most famous work while residing in Humāyūn's palace in India. In particular, he wrote a commentary on the "*Risālahh dar ḥay'at*" of 'Alā' al-Dīn Al-Ḳushjī. In doing so, Lārī earned himself the distinction of being the first to comment on this particular work.¹⁶² Lārī dedicated his commentary on the "*Risālahh dar ḥay'at*" to the Shah Humāyūn, and this work came to be known as the "*Humāyūn-nāme*".¹⁶³ Substantively, part of Lārī's "*Humāyūn-nāme*" was devoted to the subject of time measurement. This particular aspect of the work is believed to have had a significant influence on Humāyūn, and it is therefore one of the works that had a major impact on the emperor.¹⁶⁴

Except for his famous work "*Humāyūn-nāme*", none of Lārī's other writings in the fields of astronomy and mathematics have been extensively studied.¹⁶⁵ Given the significant number of surviving copies, it is reasonable to conclude that Lārī's "*Humāyūn-nāme*" was probably his most valued and widely recognized astronomical text.¹⁶⁶ While about ten copies have been discovered in the Süleymaniye Library, it is likely that other copies of Lārī's "*Humāyūn-nāme*" exist in various collections around the world. During his tenure at Humāyūn's court, Lārī also wrote on the concept of time and the Islamic calendar, in addition to his work *Humāyūn-nāme*.¹⁶⁷ Lārī served as Humāyūn's teacher in India for more than ten years, according to Reza Pourjavady.¹⁶⁸

However, I would argue that the bulk of Lārī's stay was within the Argūn dynasty, under the patronage of Shah Ḥusain Argūn. After the death of his prominent patron in 1555, Lārī joined the Mughal court of Shah Humāyūn, who ascended the Mughal throne for the second time and reigned from 1555 to 1556. The exact duration of Lārī's stay in India after the death of Humāyūn remains elusive, but it is clear that his stay was brief, as evidenced by his limited tenure as a teacher in Shah Akbar's palace.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶¹ Tezcan, "Muşliḥiddin Lari," 616.

¹⁶² Pourjavady, "Muşliḥ Al-Dīn Lārī's and His Samples of the Sciences," 299.

¹⁶³ Lārī, "Şerhü'r-Risāle Fī'l-Ḥey'e," 1.

¹⁶⁴ Çelik and Demir, "Humayun's Concept of Cosmological Sovereignty," 407.

¹⁶⁵ Hockey, *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, 679.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Quinn, *Persian Historiography across Empires*, 189.

¹⁶⁸ Pourjavady, "Muşliḥ Al-Dīn Lārī's and His Samples of the Sciences," 295.

¹⁶⁹ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2012, 1:39.

Despite this, some sources claim that he was still in Mughal court at the beginning of Shah Akbar's reign.¹⁷⁰ I believe that Lārī stayed at the court of Humāyūn for a very short period of time due to his background. An examination of the list of nobles who accompanied Humāyūn to India in 1555 reveals that the nobility inherited by Akbar consisted of two distinct racial groups: the Persians and the Turanis. The Turanis predominated, giving the nobility left by Humāyūn a predominantly Turanian character. The Persian nobility were mainly elevated scribes with limited influence in state affairs, with a few exceptions such as Bairam Ḥān (968/1561). Individuals of Persian origin did not receive significant promotions during this period. After the fall of Bairam Ḥān (October, 1560), however, the dynamics changed and a new contingent of local origin entered the imperial service between 1560 and 1575.¹⁷¹ It is plausible that Lārī was concerned about his reception in the court of his son, Shah Akbar (d. 1014/1605), an apprehension similar to his experience in the court of Shah Humāyūn.¹⁷² It is conceivable that Lārī foresaw a less than favourable reception at the court of Shah Akbar (d. 1014/1605), given that both Bairam Ḥān and Akbar were not particularly sympathetic towards Persian scholars. This may have influenced his decision to leave the Mughal court long before the fall of Bairam Ḥān, around 1576 or 1577.

2.5. Inevitable Exit: Lārī's Departure from Mughal India to Aleppo

Following Shah Akbar's accession to the throne, Lārī took the opportunity to make a pilgrimage to Mecca and leave the Mughal court. During his journey to Mecca, he recounts an incident in which he was forced to take a sea voyage as part of his route from India. During this voyage, the ship on which he was traveling encountered a violent storm and Lārī narrowly escaped death. At the same time, he lamented that this ordeal resulted in the irreplaceable loss of nearly four hundred of book he had. And some belonging to him¹⁷³.

¹⁷⁰ Ali Sadeqi, "Lārī," 123.

¹⁷¹ Iqtidar Alam Khan, "The Nobility under Akbar and the Development of His Religious Policy," *Cambridge University Press*, no. 1/2 (1968): 38.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

¹⁷³ Rumlu, *Ahsan 'ul Tevarih*, 573.

The 400 lost works mentioned by Lārī are not fully known in terms of their specific content, date and nature. These writings are part of his body of work, mainly in the form of commentaries and marginal notes. However, this assumption is based on the available information. The exact details remain unclear. Lārī left to perform pilgrimage. After completing the pilgrimage, he went to Aleppo.¹⁷⁴ Ibn al-‘Imād reports that while staying in Aleppo, Lārī wrote a critical evaluation of a treatise written by Aḥmed al-Ḳazwīnī. Ibn al-‘Imād goes on to say that al-Ḳazwīnī refrained from engaging in a verbal dispute or intellectual exchange with Lārī. This may have been due to fears about the latter's intellectual capacity. Moreover, Ibn al-‘Imād in his work "*Shazarāt al-zahab fī aḥbār man zahab*" provides the following insights regarding Lārī:

On his arrival in Aleppo, Lārī adopted a discreet and old-fashioned dress and discreetly explored the scholarly climate of the city. He then dressed in plain clothes and walked around the city in the company of some of his slaves and attendants. It is noteworthy that there was no trace of arrogance or pretension in his behavior, due to his Sufī nature.¹⁷⁵

The accounts of Nev‘izāde ‘Aṭā’ī (d. 1045/1635) in '*Hada'iku'l-Hakāik Fī Takmileti'ş-Şakayik*' and Ibn al-‘Imād Ḥanbal (d. 1089/1679) in *Shazarāt al-zahab fī aḥbār man zahab* ' present a common incident related to Lārī that underscores his intellectual prowess. According to Ibn al-‘Imād Ḥanbal, it was during Lārī's time in Aleppo that he wrote a critique of a treatise written by Aḥmed al-Ḳazwīnī. Importantly, Ḥanbal notes that Ḳazwīnī chose not to engage in verbal confrontation with Lārī, implying that Lārī's intellectual acumen was respected to the extent that Ḳazwīnī avoided direct confrontation on the matter. This incident, documented by both Nev‘izāde ‘Aṭā’ī (d.1045/1635) and Ibn al-‘Imād Ḥanbal, serves as a testament to Lārī's scholarly prowess and the esteem in which his intellectual contributions were held in his time. The recognition of his critique by a contemporary scholar such as Ḳazwīnī further underlines Lārī's influence in intellectual circles.

During his stay in Aleppo, Lārī attracted the attention of students, who gathered around him. Eager to assess his knowledge, they asked him questions on various subjects. Among these questions, a controversial one arose, specifically concerning the

¹⁷⁴ Kılıç, "LĀRĪ, Muşliḥuddin," 104.

¹⁷⁵ Ibnü'l-imad Hanbali, *Şezerātü'z-Zeheb*, vol. 10 (Damascus: Dar'ul Ibn'ul Kethir, 1993), 510.

permissibility of combining the *daf* (the riqq) and the *shababa* (a kind of ney) in the context of listening to music. In answering this question, Lārī referred to the words of al-Ġazālī (d.505/1111) in his work *Ihya' 'Ulum al-Dīn* (The Revival of Religious Sciences), asserting that "*the summation of arguments and the discrepancy between them are equivalent, unless the summation leads to a forbidden result not present in each individual argument*". His further point was that this combination had been considered improper by the scholars of his time. He also pointed out that his grandfather had issued a *Fatwā* (religious legal opinions) permitting it. Moreover, contemporary Persian scholars of considerable repute supported his grandfather's position. Lārī went on to detail his grandfather's *Fatwā*, quoting Sirāj al-Dīn al-Bulḵīnī's (d.805/1403) assertion regarding the prohibition of *Shababa* in light of Imām Nevevī's (d.676/1277) *Fatwā*, claiming that its prohibition lacked a sound basis unless accompanied by valid reasoning. Imām Nevevī, he noted, had failed to provide any such justification for banning it. He went on to cite Dawwānī's agreement with the *Fatwā* issued by his grandfather on the matter.¹⁷⁶

2.6. Lārī's Entry into the Ottoman Capital: A Scholar's Journey

Lārī passed through Aleppo and finally arrived in Istanbul after the pilgrimage ceremony.¹⁷⁷ According to 'Alī b. Bālī (d.992/1584) in his account, Lārī went on a journey from one city to another and from one town to another. Finally, he arrived in Istanbul.¹⁷⁸ Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, however, claims that Lārī arrived in Istanbul immediately after the incident during his voyage.¹⁷⁹ The information given by Ḥasan-i Rūmlū does not seem to be very accurate. Based on the available data, it is clear that Lārī's itinerary involved traveling from Mughal India to Aleppo, followed by pilgrimage to Mecca. He then returned to Aleppo before finally leaving to go to Istanbul. The information presented in Ḥasan-i Rūmlū's work *Aḥsanu't-Tawāriḥ* appears inaccurate and potentially misleading. According to this account, it is suggested that upon Lārī's arrival in Istanbul, Sultan Selīm I (d. 926/1520) gave him a warm welcome and took

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 10:512.

¹⁷⁷ Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in British Museum*, 115.

¹⁷⁸ Manq, *El-ikdu'l-manzūm fī zikri efāzili'r-Rūm*, 388.

¹⁷⁹ Rumlu, *Ahsan 'ul Tevarih*, 586.

him into his palace. However, this information doesn't seem to fit with the established historical timeline.

Lārī's documented movements place him in a later period, after the reign of Sultan Selīm I.¹⁸⁰ In fact, Lārī is known to have left India after the death of Shah Humāyūn in 1556. Accordingly, he arrived in Istanbul around the same year. It is implausible for Lārī to have met Sultan Selīm I, who died in 1520. This inaccuracy is also evident in Zabī-ul lāh Şafā's use of Ḥasan-i Rūmlū as a source. Therefore, the historical truth attests to Lārī's arrival in Istanbul during the reign of Süleymān (d. 1566) and his continued presence in the city during the era of Selīm II (d. 982/1574).

On his arrival in Istanbul, Lārī first secured the patronage of the Ottoman Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha (d. 968/1561), who held office until his death in 1561.¹⁸¹ It was during this period that Lārī presented a compilation of his treatises to Rüstem Pasha. This was part of his relationship with the Grand Vizier.¹⁸² Lārī met the renowned Ottoman Shaykh al-Islām Ebussu'ud Efendi (d. 982/1574) and became part of his intellectual circle. As a result, he took the opportunity to establish contacts with various Ottoman scholars. As Pourjavady suggests, Lārī's commentary on the philosophical and intellectual contributions of fellow Ottoman scholars such as Ḥasan Çelebi Fenārī (d. 891/1486), Kemālpaşazāde (d. 940/1534), and Ebussu'ud Efendi in his work *'Unmudhaj al-'ulum'* (Sample of Sciences) may indicate that he spent an extended period in Istanbul before writing this treatise. This extended stay would have provided him with the opportunity to acquire the necessary expertise to engage fully with the rational discourse and contributions of the Ottoman scholars.¹⁸³ In the meetings he attended alongside these scholars, Lārī demonstrated his profound knowledge and scholarly understanding, underscoring his command of the field.¹⁸⁴

Commenting on this, 'Alī b. Bālī asserts that when Lārī met Ebussu'ud Efendi, his scholarly prowess seemed relatively weak compared to the brilliance of Shaykh al-Islām's knowledge. As a result, Lārī chose to retreat rather than engage in intellectual

¹⁸⁰ Kılıç, "LĀRĪ, Muşliḥuddin," 104.

¹⁸¹ Quinn, *Persian Historiography across Empires*, 215.

¹⁸² Tezcan, "Muşliḥiddin Lārī," 617.

¹⁸³ Pourjavady, "Muşliḥ Al-Dīn Lārī's and His Samples of the Sciences," 317.

¹⁸⁴ Baysanoğlu, *Anıtlar ve Kitabeler ile Diyarbakır Tarihi*, 658–59.

discourse with him.¹⁸⁵ Baki Tezcan, in his article on Lārī, claims that ‘Alī b. Bālī 's account lacks specific details about the meeting between Lārī and Ebussu‘ud. Tezcan suggests that ‘Alī b. Bālī may not have been well informed about the exact nature of the meeting between the two scholars. According to Tezcan, ‘Alī b. Bālī was absent during Lārī's first visit to Istanbul and was probably in Didymoteicho (Dimetoka) at the time.¹⁸⁶

Lārī was paid 40 *dirhams* or 40 *akçe* for his deep knowledge and scholarly ability in these discussions as his daily stipend.¹⁸⁷ Although he did not express his dissatisfaction openly, Lārī seemed to be unhappy with this salary. It may be that his departure from Istanbul was a result of this dissatisfaction. This assumption is based on the context of Lārī's previous experiences, having served as a tutor to Shah Ḥusain Argūn at the Argūn Palace before coming to Istanbul, and later as a tutor to Shah Humāyūn at the Mughal court. The fact that a teacher of the emperors received only 50 *akçe* in Istanbul suggests a perceived lack of recognition for his contributions, which may have caused Lārī a sense of insult.¹⁸⁸ According to Tezcan, the problem with Lārī's compensation was not only that it was insufficient for a scholar of his stature, but also that he struggled to get paid at all. The 40 *akçe* were supposed to be paid from the tax revenues of Egypt. However, due to certain imperial decrees or circumstances, Lārī was unable to access this compensation, which further increased his dissatisfaction.¹⁸⁹ This incident concerning Lārī is also documented in a *mühimme defteri* no. 4 in the Ottoman State Archives.

Sābiqā cevābīden yevmī kırk akçe vazīfe ta‘yīn olunub berāt-ı şerīf virilen Mevlānā Muşliḥ ul-Dīn El-Lārī Ḥaleb’e varub vazīfesiçün mahrūse-yi Mısr’a vekil gönderdükde iki aydan sonra cevābīden bākī nesne kalmadı deyü haber gönderdügünü bildirüb haliya ḥazīneden virülmesin recā itmek.¹⁹⁰

In view of the fact that certain scholars and intellectuals of the time were paid much higher salaries, Lārī's comparatively low remuneration suggests that he may not have been fully accepted within the Ottoman palace. The imbalance in reward can be

¹⁸⁵ Manq, *El-ikdu'l-manzūm fī zikri efāzili'r-Rūm*, 388.

¹⁸⁶ Tezcan, “Muşliḥiddin Lari,” 625.

¹⁸⁷ Pourjavady, “Muşliḥ Al-Dīn Lārī and His Samples of the Sciences,” 296.

¹⁸⁸ Mehmed Süreyyā, Nuri Akbayar, and Seyit Ali Kahraman, *Sicill-i ‘Osmānī*, Eski yazdan yeni yazıya 1 (İstanbul: Kültür bakanlığı Türkiye ekonomik ve toplumsal tārīḥ vakfı, 1996), 1127.

¹⁸⁹ Tezcan, “Muşliḥiddin Lari,” 617.

¹⁹⁰ “A.DVNS.MHM.d.004 (1061),” n.d., BOA.

interpreted as an indication that he was not accorded the recognition and esteemed status within the Ottoman intellectual community worthy of his scholarly achievements.¹⁹¹ The period of time during which Lārī lived in Istanbul corresponds to the years from 1556 to 1560. Lārī then moved to Amed, the center of Diyarbakır, using his wage as an excuse and expressing his frustration with the prominence he had expected.¹⁹² Lārī received an invitation from the governor of Diyarbakır, İskender Pasha (d.979/1571), and he decided to accept this invitation, which led him to move to Amed.¹⁹³ Lārī was warmly and respectfully welcomed by İskender Pasha, also known as Circassian and Gazi İskender Pasha. After the war with Georgians in Erzurum ended in 1561, İskender Pasha became the Governor of Diyarbakır and he remained there for fourteen consecutive years, faithfully fulfilling his duties.¹⁹⁴

İskender Pasha appointed Lārī to be his teacher, both for himself and for his children.¹⁹⁵ All three of İskender Pasha's sons, Aḥmed, Dervīş and Meḥmed, were taught by him.¹⁹⁶ In ensuring that the Pasha's sons received a good education, he played a key role. As a result, it can be concluded that Lārī probably had a knowledge of Turkish as well as other languages.¹⁹⁷ It is reasonable to assume that Lārī communicated with the Pasha's sons in their native Turkish, since he taught them from an early age. All three later developed into formidable intellectuals in the fields of both scholarship and literature. They continued to improve their poetic skills and gained recognition as poets in their own right. They also held important positions as *beylerbeyi* in various regions during Aḥmed Pasha's governorship. These included Lahsa and Abyssinia.¹⁹⁸ İskender Pasha extended his generosity even further. He gave Lārī prestigious appointments. In 1560/61 Lārī was appointed professor at the Hüsrev Pasha “*Hüsreviyye*” *madrassa*.

This *madrassa* had the distinction of being the largest in Diyarbakır.¹⁹⁹ However, this *madrassa* was not as prestigious as some other in Istanbul or other cities. Certain

¹⁹¹ Pourjavady, “Muşliḥ Al-Dīn Lārī and His Samples of the Sciences,” 296.

¹⁹² Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2012, 1:140.

¹⁹³ Baysanoğlu, *Anıtlar ve Kitabeler İle Diyarbakır Tarihi*, 658.

¹⁹⁴ Abdükladir Özcan, “İSKENDER PASHA,” *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi*, 22 (2000): 566.

¹⁹⁵ Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in British Museum*, 116.

¹⁹⁶ Baysanoğlu, *Anıtlar ve Kitabeler İle Diyarbakır Tarihi*, 658–59.

¹⁹⁷ Kılıç, “LĀRĪ, Muşliḥuddin,” 104.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁹ Ihsanoğlu, *Osmanlı Bilim Mirası*, 396.

madrastas, especially those commissioned by members of the dynasty and typically located in their capitals, appear to have been more extensive, better resourced and more highly regarded.²⁰⁰ Lārī continued this duty until the end of his life. Thus, Lārī finally got the reputation he had hoped for and settled in this *madrasa*.²⁰¹ However to my claim, Lārī did not achieve the reputation he sought and, feeling discouraged, he settled in Diyarbakır. Realising that he could not achieve a higher position from there, he resigned himself to his fate. Official positions in cities such as Bursa and Edirne were prestigious and often served as a stepping stone to more prominent positions in Istanbul.²⁰² Lārī's aspirations for a prestigious position in Istanbul came to an end at this point.

On the other hand, İskender Pasha granted him considerable favors, Lārī was also granted three *mulāzim* positions²⁰³ including appointment as a professor.²⁰⁴ As a result of this development, Lārī's standing within the Ottoman hierarchy of professors was enhanced. By imperial decree, he was granted the title of "*mevlā*", a rank that came with the allotment of three *mulāzim* upon graduation.²⁰⁵ At the same time, İskender Pasha appointed him as the *Mufti* of Diyarbakır. This role gave him the authority to issue *Fatwās*.²⁰⁶ Lārī's fame and prestige peaked during his stay in the Ottoman Empire, according to Ahmad Eghtedari.²⁰⁷

During his stay in Amed, Lārī seems to have attracted the attention of several prominent figures of his time. One of them was the Sūdī Bosnevī (d. 1007/1599 [?]). Sūdī cited Lārī as a reference for a challenging term when commenting on Sa'di

²⁰⁰ Abdurrahman Atçil, *Scholars and Sultans in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge university press, 2017), 30.

²⁰¹ Quinn, *Persian Historiography across Empires*, 255.

²⁰² Atçil, *Scholars and Sultans in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, 127.

²⁰³ The term 'mülāzım' was commonly used to refer to madrasah graduates who were in line to become professors and judges, gaining professional experience and benefiting from specific quotas. However, it was not limited to the field of ilmiye (scholars) and was also used within the Ottoman administrative and military structures to denote a form of 'internship'. In the mid-sixteenth century, Sultan Suleyman I issued a decree to Sheikh al-Islam Ebussu'ud Efendi to organize the mülāzemet system. Ebussu'ud Efendi determined the allocation of mülāzım (intern) positions to individual ulema based on their rank and qualifications. [Reference: Mehmet İpşirli, "Mülāzemet," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi*, 31 (2020): 536-37].

²⁰⁴ Atāyi, *Hada'iku'l-Hakaik Fi Tekmilet-i Ş-Şakayik*, 1:610.

²⁰⁵ Tezcan, "Muşlihidin Lari," 619.

²⁰⁶ Mehmed Süreyyā, Akbayar, and Kahraman, *Sicill-i 'Oşmānī*, 1127.

²⁰⁷ Eghtedari, *Lārīstan-ı Kohn*, 194.

"*Gulistān*", underlining Lārī's scholarly reputation.²⁰⁸ When İskender Pasha moved from Diyarbakır to Baghdad, he was accompanied by Lārī. After having stayed in Diyarbakır for four years, İskender Pasha left Diyarbakır to become Governor of Baghdad.²⁰⁹ Probably reflecting the governor's desire to have his teacher with him, Lārī continued to accompany İskender Pasha during their time in Baghdad. As a result, Lārī stayed in Baghdad. He continued his scholarly activities, including writing his history. There seems to have been a strong friendship between İskender Pasha and his teacher. This led to frequent intellectual exchanges and discussions on various subjects.²¹⁰ A chronological account of events is given by Qāzī Aḥmed Qazwīnī (d. 1015/1606 [?]) in the fifth chapter of his work entitled *Hulāṣat al-tawārīh*'. In his narrative, Lārī is mentioned in the context of the year 1572. He relates that he observed Lārī in the service of İskender Pasha, who was the governor of the region at that time, during his visit to Baghdad in 1566.²¹¹ In addition, Qāzī Aḥmed Qūmī (d.985/1606) reported that Lārī was engaged in writing a historical work. According to Ahmad Gulchini, Lārī was particularly concerned with writing the history of the Ottoman dynasty during this period and actively pursued this goal in Baghdad.²¹² It is well documented that during his stay in Baghdad with İskender Pasha, Lārī composed the *Mir'atu'l-Advār*.

After his time in Baghdad, Lārī returned to Amed and resumed his life at the *madrassa* of Hüsrev Pasha. He remained there until his death in 1572.²¹³ There are differences of opinion with regard to Lārī's age at the time of his death. According to Franz Babinger, he died in the years 1571-72 at the age of sixty years.²¹⁴ However, Ḥasan-i Rūmlū offers a different perspective on the age of Lārī at the time of his death, claiming that he died in 1573 at the age of ninety.²¹⁵ This would imply that Lārī was born in 1485, according to Ḥasan-i Rūmlū's account of Lārī's death in 1573 at the age of ninety. Qāzī Aḥmed Qūmī's agreement with Ḥasan-i Rūmlū on this matter is further support for this chronology.²¹⁶

²⁰⁸ Tezcan, "Muşliḥiddin Lari," 618.

²⁰⁹ Özcan, "İSKENDER PAŞA," 567.

²¹⁰ Safa, *Tarikh-i Adabiyat Dar Iran*, 5:1664.

²¹¹ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2012, 1:36.

²¹² Me'ani, *Tarih-I Tezkireha-Yi Farsi*, 667.

²¹³ Ihsanoğlu, *Osmanlı Bilim Mirası*, 396.

²¹⁴ Babinger, *Osmanlı tarih yazarları ve eserleri*, 105–6.

²¹⁵ Rumlu, *Ahsan 'ul Tevarih*, 586.

²¹⁶ Safa, *Tarikh-i Adabiyat Dar Iran*, 5:1669.

The writings of Kātib Çelebi offer various dates, including 1569, 1562 and 1572. Charles Rieu, on the other hand, gives 1571 as the year in which Lārī died. These variations highlight the challenges involved in establishing a definitive date for when Lārī died.²¹⁷ It's important to note that Charles Rieu's main source for Lārī's biography is Kātib Çelebi. According to 'Alī b. Bālī, Lārī died in 1571, and he indicates that Lārī had lived for more than sixty years when he died.²¹⁸ Mehdi İlhan, notes that the inscription on Lārī's tombstone is difficult to decipher and that he was unable to read it.²¹⁹ I believe that Lārī may have been over sixty years old at the time of his death. This estimate is based on the fact that he presented his book to Selīm II at the Sultan's enthronement in 1566, then moved to Baghdad with İskender Pasha, and finally settled in Diyarbakır. The exact date of Lārī's death is difficult to establish. However, most sources claim that he died between 1570 and 1572.

According to Nev'izāde, Lārī spent the rest of his life in the *madrassa* of Hüsrev Pasha in the town of Amed. During this time, he was a source of solutions to a wide range of problems, both orally and in writing. Nev'izāde's account emphasizes that Lārī fulfilled his responsibilities as both *madrassa* professor and *mufti* of Diyarbakır. He states that Lārī died in the month of *Zu l-Hijjah* in the year (979 /1571).²²⁰

Although the exact year of Lārī's death varies between sources, it is confirmed that he died before 1574. Evidence of this can be found in a document from the Ottoman State Archives, specifically in mühimme defteri 25. This document shows that in 1574 the governor of Diyarbakır - probably Özdemiroğlu 'Oşmān Pasha - sent a letter to the Ottoman court asking for sufficient support for Shaykh Abū Sālīh Jazarī, a descendant of Shaykh Jazarī. In response, the Ottoman court decreed that the aforementioned scholar should receive a stipend of 10 akçes from the remaining property or funds of Muşlih al-Dīn Lārī.

Diyarbakır beglerbegisi mektüb gönderüb şulehādan Şeyh Cezerī evlādından

²¹⁷ Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in British Museum*, 115.

²¹⁸ Manq, *El-ikdu'l-manzūm fī zikri efāzili'r-Rūm*, 390.

²¹⁹ İlhan, "Diyarbakır'ın Türbe, Yatır ve Mezarlıkları," 194.

²²⁰ Atāyi, *Hada'iku'l-Hakaik Fi Tekmileti 'ş-Şakayik*, 1:610.

Şeyh Abū al-Ḥayr Şālih Efendi fāzıl olduđundan mā-‘adā Kızılbaş
defā‘ātla da‘vet idüb kabül itmeyüb ahır daru’s-selāma
hicret idüb hālā Āmidde sākin olub vech-i ma‘āşına kifāyet kadar
vazīfe ricā itdüğün bildirmegin Mevlā Muşlih al-Dīn Lārī
mahlūlundan on akçe buyurdu.²²¹

Two important points emerge from this document. First, it clearly establishes that Lārī died before 1574. Second, it shows that Lārī, who spent much of his life traveling between different empires and courts, left no family or descendants to inherit his property. As a result, his allowance, once granted to him from state revenue, no longer had a fixed place after his death, and the funds were redirected to support other scholars.

Lārī was buried close to the mosque located on the premises of the *madrasa* to which he devoted his efforts. The tomb of Lārī is still located in this mosque, which is recognized as the Safa Parlı Mosque.²²²

²²¹ “A{DVNSMHMd_25-1627,” 982, BOA.

²²² Baysanođlu, *Anıtlar ve Kitabeler Ile Diyarbakır Tarihi*, 658–59.

CHAPTER III

LĀRĪ'S LITERARY LEGACY

3.1. Introduction

Lārī was a prolific writer throughout his life, but the bulk of his literary output consisted of commentaries. He devoted himself to writing commentaries on the scholarly works of his predecessors. His creative endeavors were strongly influenced by the intellectual milieu of his time, in line with the prevailing trend among writers of the Ottoman period.

Similar to the intellectuals of his time, his primary aim was to engage in the scholarly tradition of ḥāshīya (marginalia) and sharḥ (commentary), which served as pivotal tools for preserving and expanding the intellectual heritage. By contributing to these genres, he not only elucidated the works of his predecessors but also participated in the broader effort to resolve ambiguities, refine interpretations, and ensure the continued relevance of complex concepts within the evolving scholarly discourse.²²³ Sa'īd Nafīsī writes that Lārī took on the task of writing commentaries and marginal notes on the writings of eminent scholars, including Dawwānī. His commentary on certain parts of the work of Taftāzānī is considered a seminal contribution among his notable works. According to Sa'īd Nafīsī, Lārī displayed a remarkable breadth of knowledge in his time, dealing with a variety of disciplines in both the Persian and Arabic languages, and thus making significant contributions to a wide range of fields of study.²²⁴ It is widely believed that part of his literary output, especially the numerous marginal notes he wrote on a variety of texts, particularly in the field of rational sciences, remains relatively obscure and unrecognized. Many of these works have yet to be introduced or recognized.²²⁵

²²³ Nakisa, "Jaygah-i Mushlih al-Din Lari Dar Adabiyat Arabi," 342.

²²⁴ Sayid Nafisi, *Tarikh-i Nazm u Nasr Der Iran va Der Zaban-i Farsi I-II*, 2nd ed. (Tehran: Forughī, 1984), 334–35.

²²⁵ Rumlu, *Ahsan 'ul Tevarih*, 586.

At the same time as producing marginal notes, Lārī was also engaged in commenting on the writings of earlier scholars. He also sporadically contributed commentaries on contemporary works that appeared during his lifetime. Lārī's commentaries came to play a central role in the eighteenth century as a basic source for developing supplementary commentaries.²²⁶ Two of Lārī's scholarly works in particular have aroused great interest among scholars. The first work is his commentary on Al-Ḳushjī's "*Risālahh dar ḥay'at*". The second important work is his commentary on Maybudī (d. 909/1503-1504), particularly on Abharī 's (d. 663/1265 [?]) "*Ḥidāyat al-ḥikmah*". These two works attracted considerable scholarly curiosity and became studied.²²⁷ His philosophical treatise on *Ḥidāyat al-ḥikmah* proved to be his most famous work. Remarkably, there are about fifty copies of this work scattered in various libraries and archives in Istanbul.²²⁸

Thereafter this work became a textbook on natural philosophy in the Ottoman domains all over the forthcoming centuries as authenticated by the number of copies and editions of this work processed in Istanbul and some other Ottoman intellectual centers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Contrary to the fifty copies cited by Baki Tezcan in his article, my research has revealed a substantial number of 141 copies of this work in the manuscript collection of the Süleymaniye Library. Several decades after Lārī's death, Ḥalḥālī (d.985/1578) emerged as an important figure, known for his teaching of Lārī's commentary on the "*Ḥidāyat al-ḥikmah*".

In this capacity, Ḥalḥālī played a prominent role in disseminating and generating interest in Lārī's philosophical ideas and theories.²²⁹ As mentioned above, Lārī had a vast body of work to his name, earning him the title of polymath, as described by Baki Tezcan. His contributions ranged across poetry, commentary, marginal notes, mathematics, astronomy and various complementary scientific methods. It can be argued that such a phenomenon was probably typical of many scholars of the early modern period, as they often worked in different disciplines. Nevertheless, it is fair to say that Lārī possessed superior knowledge in the field of speculative sciences (‘ulūm-

²²⁶ Tezcan, "Muşliḥiddin Lari," 610.

²²⁷ Pourjavady, "Muşliḥ Al-Dīn Lārī and His Samples of the Sciences," 313.

²²⁸ Tezcan, "Muşliḥiddin Lari," 619.

²²⁹ Ibid.

ı 'aklīye). In the field of mathematics only one of his works is known to be in existence today. This particular mathematical treatise deals with studying and solving geometric problems.²³⁰ In his book, Ihsanoğlu emphasizes that Lārī mastered both scientific and intellectual disciplines and portrays him as a master of both.²³¹ The plethora of works attributed to him in these fields is further evidence of his distinctiveness. Lārī authored another treatise entitled '*Risālahh fī Bah̄si'l hareke*', in which he examines the theory of 'movement', in addition to his extensive contributions.²³² Of Lārī's astronomical works, three have been preserved to the present day, two of them in Persian and one in Arabic. One of his most notable Persian works is "*Su'āl wa Javāb-i Falakī*" (Astronomical Questions and Answers), which deals with a number of central issues that were prevalent in the astronomy of his time and provides comprehensive answers to these questions.²³³ As mentioned above, Lārī wrote a commentary on Ḳushjī's '*Risālahh dar ḥay'at*' and presented it to the Shah Humāyūn.

This particular work, '*Risālahh dar ḥay'at*', is an astronomical text dealing with topics such as dawn and dusk in a question-and-answer format.²³⁴ His commentary, known as '*Humāyūn-nāme*', became recognized for its importance in the context of Ottoman scholarship. Its prominence stems from the fact that it was included in the curriculum of Ottoman madrasas as a continuation of Al-Ḳushjī's work. This further contributed to the scholarly discourse of the period.²³⁵

The curriculum taught in Ottoman madrasas during certain periods is a debated issue. Scholars debate whether a standardized curriculum was consistently followed and, if so, whether it varied from place to place or was uniformly implemented. Shahab Ahmad and Nenad Filipovic have argued that an imperial decree by Sultan Süleyman specified a particular curriculum to be taught in Ottoman *madrasas*.²³⁶ However, subsequent historians have shown that the documents examined by the aforementioned scholars were not part of the Ottoman *madrasa* curriculum, but rather a brief inventory

²³⁰ Hockey, *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, 679.

²³¹ Ihsanoğlu, *Osmanlı Bilim Mirası*, 396.

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ Hockey, *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, 679.

²³⁵ Hockey, *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, 679.

²³⁶ Shahab Ahmad and Nenad Filipovic, "The Sultan's Syllabus: A Curriculum for the Ottoman Imperial Medreses Prescribed in a Fermān of Qānūnī I Süleymān, Dated 973 (1565)," *Brill*, no. 98/99 (2004): 183–218.

of books.²³⁷ From the existing literature on the Ottoman curriculum in the madrasa, it is evident that Lārī's *ḥāshiyā* on *Ḥidāyat al-ḥikmah* was included in the Ottoman madrasa curriculum.²³⁸ It is therefore plausible to assume that '*Risālahh dar ḥay'at*' was also among the texts taught in Ottoman madrasas. As can be seen from the literature, the curriculum of Ottoman madrasas varied considerably depending on the preferences of individual muderris regarding the subjects they wished to teach. It is documented that astronomy and physics were also taught in the upper classes.²³⁹ Given the unique nature of Lārī's text on Ḳushjī's work, it is reasonable to assume that it was included in the curriculum of some Ottoman madrasas.

His work '*Unmudhaj al-ulum*' (Samples of the Sciences), written while he lived in Istanbul and dedicated to the Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha (d.1561), serves as a testament to his intellectual prowess, as it covers a comprehensive range of twenty-one different disciplines, demonstrating his multidisciplinary scholarship.²⁴⁰ Lārī took the work of Dawwānī, which bore the same title, as a model for composing his own. This attempt took place in the last decades of the fifteenth century. Lārī, much like Dawwānī, tried to secure patronage by producing a work that reflected the style and content of Dawwānī's earlier work. Thus, he closely followed the framework established by Dawwānī's impactful work. As a result of his work, Dawwānī was able to establish contact with Sultan Maḥmūd I of Gujarat (d. 917/1511), who subsequently awarded him a scholarship of 1000 *dirhams*. Moreover, Dawwānī seems to have been the pioneer of a category of writing that encompassed a wide range of scientific disciplines.²⁴¹

He begins by outlining the lineage of the transmission of knowledge in the introductory section of his work. To demonstrate the breadth of his scholarship, he then proceeds to examine ten different questions covering varying topics. These include methodological principles of ḥadīṣ and jurisprudence, jurisprudence itself, controversial jurisprudential debates, theology, medicine, exegesis, geometry,

²³⁷ Ahmet Tunç Şen, "The Sultan's Syllabus Revisited: Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Madrasa Libraries and the Question of Canonization," *Brill* 116 (2021): 200.

²³⁸ Şükran Fazlıoğlu, "Osmanlı Medrese Müfredatına Dair Çalışmalar: Nereden Nereye?" 6, no. 12 (2008): 593–609.

²³⁹ Mefail Hızlı, "Osmanlı Medreselerinde Okutulan Dersler ve Eserler" 17, no. 1 (2008): 39.

²⁴⁰ Pourjavady, "Muşliḥ Al-Dīn al-Lārī and His Samples of the Sciences," 301.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 300.

astronomy, logic and arithmetic.²⁴² It is also an autobiographical work, as it provides a detailed insight into a particular phase of Lārī's life. It provides a comprehensive overview of what he experienced while travelling. The work also contains brief eulogies for Sultan Süleymān. It is full of praise for Rüstem Pasha.²⁴³ This work was composed on Lārī's first arrival in Istanbul. It was driven by his desire to establish a favorable relationship with the Ottoman court. Through this particular endeavor, his primary goal was to cultivate the favor of the Grand Vizier, Rüstem Pasha.²⁴⁴

In Pourjavady's opinion, the importance of this work lies in its ability to shed light on Lārī's attitude towards various scientific disciplines. However, Pourjavady acknowledges the uncertainty of whether Lārī was equally serious about all these fields, as suggested by the range of questions discussed in this work. Notably, given the work's primary intention of securing patronage at the Ottoman court, Pourjavady suggests that certain sections of the work may have been written primarily to serve this specific goal.²⁴⁵ In particular, Lārī's text emphasizes that his primary aim in composing this work was to attract the attention of the Grand vizier, Rüstem Pasha.²⁴⁶ Remarkably, only two manuscripts of this work survive to this day.²⁴⁷ The existence of only two surviving copies of this work suggests that it may not have enjoyed widespread popularity in the Ottoman territories at the time.

3.2. Mir'atu'l-Advār wa Mirḳātu'l-Aḥbār: An In-Depth Analysis

Mir'atu'l-Advār occupies an important place in Ottoman world historiography. The fact that there are a number surviving manuscripts of the original Persian text, some in the Süleymaniye Manuscript Library collections, two in the Paris Library, one in British library, one in Vienna national library and five in Iran, attests to its small readership and influence. The copy in the Konya Karatay Yusufaga Library contains a fascinating annotation on the first pages of the manuscript. While numerous

²⁴² Ibid., 310.

²⁴³ Ibid., 302.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 300.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 312.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., 301.

²⁴⁷ The two manuscripts of *Unmudhaj al-'ulum* are available in Suleymaniye Library's Damad Ibrahim Pasha collection which contains 96 folios, and the second one in Millet Library's Feyzullah Efendi collection which contains 65 folios.

individuals who handled this copy made marginalia, it is noteworthy that not all of these annotators were scribes. One such annotation, written by an unidentified person, mentions the transmission of the book by stating: *'The light of my eyes, my dear son Sādullah Efendi (probably Sādullah Enverī, d. 1209/1794), sent us this book from Enderūn (The Imperial School). The book is the History of Lārī, which has been meticulously preserved and is a finely crafted historical account'*.²⁴⁸ This comment itself implies that the History of Lārī was housed in the *Enderun*. *Enderun*, as the palace school established to educate the administrative and military elite of the Ottoman Empire, suggests the importance of Lārī's work within the educational milieu of the time. Although the specific use of Lārī's book within the Imperial School remains uncertain, it is clear that the manuscript was kept within its premises. Hoca Sādeddin's decision to translate the text supports this point.

Franz Babinger's book "Ottoman Historians and their Works" provides information on the whereabouts of *Mir'atu'l-Advār*'s manuscripts in various locations worldwide.²⁴⁹

- He claims that the original Persian work is in the National Library of Paris, suppl.169 and
- The British Museum in London has a copy under Add. 7650.
- The St Petersburg Public Library also has a manuscript.
- In Istanbul, copies can be found in the Hagia Sophia (no. 2085) and Husrev Pasha (no. 345/7).
- The Vienna National Library has another manuscript, numbered 838.

Jalil Sagharvanyan mentions the existence of three copies of *Mir'atu'l-Advār* in libraries in Iran in his edited version of the book:²⁵⁰

- Malek's library contains a copy cataloged as number 4094.
- Another copy exists in the Melek library and is cataloged as number 3915.
- The Astan-e Quds Razavi Library has a copy with the number 4155.

²⁴⁸ Muşliḡ al-Din Lārī, "Miratü'l-Edvar ve Mirkätü'l-Ahbār" (Konya Karatay Yusufaga Kütüphanesi, n.d.), 42 Yu 6640.

²⁴⁹ Babinger, *Osmanlı tarih yazarları ve eserleri*, 106.

²⁵⁰ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2012, 1:55.

- In addition, the National Library of Tehran University has a copy with the number 5939.

On the other hand, Charles Storey in his work on Persian literature provides a more comprehensive list of the manuscripts of *Mir'atu'l-Advār*.²⁵¹

- Nuru Osmāniye, 3156 = Tauer, 159, written in 987 A.D./1579.
- Borsa List, page 30, number 201, written in 999 A.D./1590-1591 by Haraccioğlu.
- Konya List, page 25, number 157, 11th century AD/17th century AD, written by Yusuf Ağa.
- Aya Sofia, 3085 = Tauer, 160, written in 1029 A.D./1620.
- Halis Efendi, 4374 = Tauer, 161, 17th century.
- British Museum, Rieu, 1.115 B, dated 17th century.²⁵²
- Leningrad, Public Library Persian Manuscripts, 127, from the 17th century.
- Leningrad, Brief List, page 539, number 3996, Miklokhmaklay, 3, number 312 = Mel.a. s, 6 (1873), page 122.
- Leningrad, Brief List, number 3997, Miklokhmaklay, 3, number 311, Mel.a. s, 4 (1863), page 498, from the 18th century.
- Blochet, 1, 344, from the 18th century.
- Flugel, 2, 838, written in 1135/1723.
- Ethe, 109, no date or introduction.
- Mashhad Razavi, volume 3, page 101.
- Rehatsek, page 84, number 23, dated 1060/1650.
- British Museum, Rieu 3, 886A, with only a few fragments of the manuscript, dated 1850-1851.
- British Museum, Rieu 3, 1047B, containing only a few fragments of the manuscript, dated 1859.
- Leningrad, number 4291 = Miklokhmaklay 3, number 320, without ending, dated 1588.

²⁵¹ Storey, *Abadiyat-ı Farsi Bar Mabnayı Telifi Storey*, 582.

²⁵² Babinger has made a mistake here; there seems to be a discrepancy in the dating of this copy of the manuscript. He gives the date of the manuscript as "934 C.E./1527-1528". My understanding is that the notation "1527-28" probably indicates that the contents of the book extend up to the year 1527. However, there is later evidence to suggest that the manuscript copy itself dates from the 17th century.

- Leningrad Academy of Sciences, without date or number.
- Tehran University, number 5939.
- British Museum, number 7650, from the 11th century.
- Istanbul University, from the 10th century.
- Istanbul University, dated 1086 A.H.

I came across sixteen manuscript copies of the work during my research at the Süleymaniye Manuscript Library in Istanbul.

- Ankara Adnan Ötüken, National Library, Ankara National Library, 06 HK 310.
- Süleymaniye Library, Aşir Efendi collection, 198030
- Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya collection, 203681
- Bursa İnebey Library, Haraccı collection, 34147
- Konya Yusuf Ağa Library, Yusuf Ağa Kütüphanesi collection, 118744
- Konya Karatay Yusuf Ağa Library, 42 YU 6640.
- Nuru ‘Oşmāniye Manuscript Library, 34 NK 3156.
- TSKM, R.1398, This copy was written by Muştafā b. Husam.
- TSKM, R.1397, This copy is dated 1637.
- TSKM, R.1399.
- TSKM, R.1400, This copy was written by Meḥmed b. Veli.
- TSKM, E.H.1428, This copy was written by Ömer bin Kasım and is dated 1664.
- TSKM, H.1469.
- Austrian National Library, N.F.196.
- French National Library, Ducaurroy.6, This copy was written by Çorbacızade and is dated 1674.
- French National Library, Schefer253

Mir’atu’l-advār has been edited and published in Persian from the manuscript copies in Iran. Although certain parts of the history have been published, a comprehensive modern edition is still lacking. However, Sagharvānyan's particular edition is based on

²⁵³ Throughout this study I have consulted copies of some of the manuscripts mentioned in these lists. Most of these copies were available online, and I also examined some in person at the Austrian National Library. There are no significant differences between the manuscript copies.

manuscripts found in libraries within Iran, neglecting a significant number of manuscripts copies available outside Iran. Beginning his edition of *Mir'atu'l-Advār*, Sagharvanyan claims that it is a history written to glorify Persian history.²⁵⁴ In reality, however, it is a universal history in which Persia occupies a prominent place. Nevertheless, Lārī's work does not seem to be driven by an intention to glorify Persia or any particular geographical entity. Moreover, Sagharvanyan claims that Lārī has written a highly impartial history. However, on closer examination, particularly in the sections dealing with the Safavids, it becomes clear that he is interjecting his personal feelings, which are marked by contempt and hostility.

In addition to the copies found in Iran, I have examined 12 other copies. These include examinations of all copies available online at the Süleymaniye Library, one copy in the Paris Library, and another in the Austrian National Library. Through a comprehensive analysis and cross-referencing of multiple sources, including Franz Babinger, Jalil Sagharvanyan, Charles Storey, and my own investigations conducted at the Süleymaniye Manuscript Library, I have identified a total of 42 distinct manuscripts of *Mir'atu'l-Advār* housed in various locations worldwide.

The copy in the Austrian National Library is identified as a summary of *Mir'atu'l-Advār* and is labelled "*Muhtaşar-i Tārīḥ-i Lārī*" at the top of the first page. It was transcribed by the scribe identified as Muḥammad Mad 'u in 1304/1886-87. It ends with a list of Seljuk Sultans.²⁵⁵ In contrast, the copies in the Süleymaniye Library end in a similar way to those found in Iran. The copy in the Bibliothèque de Paris gives introductory information on a slide, stating that the book was written in 1566 and covers the history of the universe from its beginnings to that year. Towards the end of this copy there are lists of books mentioned. The scribe gives a list of books found in Aleppo and Shām (Damascus) and then gives another list of recommended books.²⁵⁶ This list is unique to this particular copy and is not found in any other copies.

²⁵⁴ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2012, 1:36.

²⁵⁵ ÖNB Collection of Manuscripts and Old Prints, Cod. H. O. 12 HAN MAG

²⁵⁶ Muşliḥ al-Din Lārī, "Mir'at al-Advar and Mir'kat al-Akhbar" (Paris, n.d.), 169, Paris National Library.

The copy in the Nuru ‘Osmaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, under the reference number 34 Nk 3156, ends with the scribe noting that it was written in Baghdad in 1579.²⁵⁷ The scribe, identified as Kuṭb al-Dīn Yazdī, also known as Kuṭb-i Kātib, shows exceptional handwriting and superior quality compared to other copies. Another copy from the Süleymaniye Library collections, housed in the Konya Karatay Yusufāğa Kütüphanesi under the reference number 42 Yu 6640, lacks a recognizable name or date.²⁵⁸ It does, however, contain various annotations by different people who owned this particular copy. In summary, the copies of the *Mir’atu’l-Advār* show minimal variation among themselves. Any discrepancies that are observed are mainly due to minor or occasionally significant difficulties encountered by the scribes. The historical content and chronological sequence remain consistent in almost all copies.

Under the Ottoman Empire, only two Persian works of general history are known to have been produced. These are Şükrullah 's (d. 868/1464?) "*Bahjat al-Tawārikh* " and Muşliḥ Al-Dīn Lārī's "*Mir’atu’l-Advār wa Mirkātu’l-Aḥbār*". While Lārī composed works for various dynasties, he wrote a history book, especially a universal history, exclusively for the Ottoman Empire. In a departure from his predominantly Arabic literary oeuvre, Lārī chose to write a universal history in Persian. This decision highlights a significant linguistic shift in his works. While most of his writings were in Arabic, he specifically chose Persian for this undertaking. Persian was written in Iran in the tenth century. It served as a secondary Islamic lingua franca, but was primarily confined to the Islamic East. It always coexisted with Arabic as the language of religion and scholarship.²⁵⁹ "*Mir’atu’l-Advār* " may not be chronologically the first universal history written in Ottoman territories, but it is one of the earliest and most substantial examples of original universal historiography in this context.²⁶⁰ The motivation for someone like Lārī, who possessed intellectual, verbal and linguistic expertise, to set about writing a universal history is probably complex. Several factors could have led him to undertake such an attempt.

²⁵⁷ Muşliḥ al Din Lārī, “Miratü’l-Edvar ve Mirkätü’l-Aḥbār” (Nuru ‘Osmaniye Koleksiyonu, n.d.), 34 Nk 3156.

²⁵⁸ Lārī, “Miratü’l-Edvar ve Mirkätü’l-Aḥbār,” n.d.

²⁵⁹ Andrew Marsham, “Universal Histories in Christendom and the Islamic World, c.700-c.1400,” in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing. Vol. 2: 400 - 1400 / Sarah Foot ... Vol. Eds*, ed. Sarah Foot and Chase F. Robinson, 1. publ (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2012), 432.

²⁶⁰ Tezcan, “Muşliḥiddin Lari,” 620.

In the first place, patronage and recognition may have been the reason for this. For Lārī, one way of securing patronage and recognition from the Ottoman court may have been to write a universal history. In order to commemorate their reigns or dynasties, historiographical works were often sponsored by rulers and elites. Apart from the personal motivations of the author and the influences of patronage, what might be called 'connectivity' played a crucial role in defining the geographical and intellectual parameters of universal histories. This term refers to the degree to which the author had access to contemporary understandings of the size and characteristics of the world beyond his immediate surroundings.²⁶¹ Another reason may be the historiographical tradition. There was a long tradition of universal history in Islamic learning, and Lārī might have felt obliged to participate in this tradition by offering the Ottoman perspective on universal history.

It is worth noting that at the time there was no institution dedicated to the training of historians as such. Many of the renowned historians we know today were originally immersed in other disciplines. In the absence of formal training programmes, the skills and conceptual frameworks needed to write universal history were often acquired incidentally, through religious or bureaucratic training and practical experience.²⁶² As a result, the content and style of these historians' works were largely influenced by their individual preferences and writing styles. However, the presence of an effective network of scholars was crucial to this process, as they remained attuned to the intellectual currents prevailing in their milieu and adapted their writings accordingly. Finally, Lārī wrote this universal history in the later years of his life, as we know from the sources. In writing a universal history, historians have sought to reduce the importance of political motivations and instead to emphasize the cultural and intellectual dimensions inherent in their craft.²⁶³ Therefore, the scholarly challenge could also have been a reason for him to write a universal history. The ambitious task of writing a universal history may have provided Lārī with a scholarly challenge and opportunity to demonstrate his multidisciplinary expertise. Moreover, the Ottoman world of the sixteenth century represents an opportunity for writing a universal history for him.

²⁶¹ Marsham, "Universal Histories," 441.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 450.

²⁶³ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "On World Historians in the Sixteenth Century," *University of California Press* 91, no. 1 (2005): 31.

In discussions of the scope of world history versus universal history, it is argued that the concept of universal history lacks clarity. It is probably true that a truly universal history has yet to be written. According to Arnaldo Momigliano, the notion of universal history, if interpreted literally, teeters on the brink of absurdity.²⁶⁴ The proposal to document every historical event raises practical and pragmatic challenges. Moreover, the prospect of generating interest in a comprehensive account of all historical events is questionable. Rather, there is a tendency for historians to focus on particular geographical regions, periods or themes that resonate with their interests and are meaningful to them.

This tendency is evident in the works of many Muslim historians, including Lārī, who choose to focus their historical narratives on selected geographies and periods that correspond to their preferences and priorities. It is important to define its characteristics in order to understand the concept of universal history. A universal history is defined as a written account that begins either with the beginning of creation or some other significant chronological period. It then unfolds historical events in a linear narrative.²⁶⁵ World History, on the other hand, is based on the recognition of the need for comprehensive coverage. It aims to encompass the whole world in order to gain a fuller understanding.²⁶⁶ Thus, the concept of geographical coverage raises pertinent questions in the realm of world history, whereas in universal history historians often delineated a universe tailored to their specific scope. Figures such as Lārī created universal histories with their distinct geographic focuses in mind, with Lārī centering his universe on Persia and the Islamic empires. However, as a scholar with a particular interest in philosophy, he also incorporated Greek scholars into his narrative as they pertained to his universe. However, he seems to have been more interested in perpetuating a particular tradition in his own time. Earlier writers had not written about the Mughals, so he did not. Although he probably understood the Mughals as the Timurids and could have written about them as a continuation of the Timurid legacy. Nevertheless, there remains an unanswered question about Lārī's omission of the Mughals, despite their importance in his universe.

²⁶⁴ Arnaldo Momigliano, "The Origins of Universal History," *Scuola Normale Superiore*, Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia, 12, no. 2 (1982): 533.

²⁶⁵ Marsham, "Universal Histories," 431.

²⁶⁶ Subrahmanyam, "On World Historians in the Sixteenth Century," 35.

The concept of a divine Creator and His involvement in worldly affairs was central to the structure and substance of all universal historiographies in the early modern period. The geographical center for any comprehensive study of space on a universal scale was defined by the designation of a chosen people to rule by the Creator. Often such narratives culminate in a presentation of contemporary rulers and communities within the framework of a providential scheme, thereby encompassing the entirety of human history within its scope.

However, the primary distinguishing feature of a universal history is its scope - the attempt to bring together a wide range of geographical and chronological material within a structured framework. In contrast to the empires of Latin and Greek Christendom, Arabic and Persian historiography for much of this period was characterized by a remarkable breadth of geographical and chronological coverage.²⁶⁷ Rashīd al-Dīn Hamadānī's (d. 718/1318) "*Jāmi' al-Tawārīḥ*" arguably marks the emergence of the first comprehensive universal historiographer within medieval monotheism, his aim was to cover the whole of the known world, not just the lands of Islam. Rashīd al-Dīn composed his Universal History in the 14th century, a period marked by the rise of Islamic universal historiography. This flourished particularly under the patronage of the Mongol and Timurid rulers. This period is recognized as having begun to produce truly comprehensive universal histories.

The challenge of compiling the history of the entire universe without omission is formidable, as Arnaldo Momigliano has argued. The very term 'universe', however, introduces a certain degree of ambiguity into this discourse. Andrew Marsham points out that the connotation of the term has evolved over time, leading contemporary scholars to ascribe a different meaning to the term 'universe'. Consequently, when assessing universal histories written in the early modern period, modern scholars may argue that they fail to meet the criteria of universality because they do not encompass the totality of existence. The universe of universal history comprises two interrelated zones: the inner core, typically the region of the author's affiliation, and its outer counterpart. Histories of the inner core often neglect explicit acknowledgement of the

²⁶⁷ Marsham, "Universal Histories," 451.

complementary zone, as observed in dynastic histories or accounts focused on specific spatial units. Their narrative focus remains predominantly inward.²⁶⁸

The genre of universal history for Muslim scholars can be understood as a form of historiography that reflects the shared religious heritage of monotheistic civilizations.²⁶⁹ Early modern universal historians perceived the unity of human history as existing in two temporal states: the distant past, characterized by common origins, and the distant future, representing a collective human destiny from creation to redemption. The coherence offered by universal history concerned the initial and final stages of human existence.²⁷⁰ It was in the context of the shared network of scholars that surrounded him that Lārī wrote his Universal History. In the early modern period, a sense of global consciousness was not widespread, and scholars tended to focus their attention primarily on their immediate surroundings.

Lārī wrote his Universal History while living in Baghdad, in the company of Īskender Pasha.²⁷¹ This was during Īskender Pasha's tenure as governor of the city. It is likely that this period in Baghdad provided Lārī with the time and material resources he needed to tackle such an important historical work.²⁷² *Mir'atu'l-advār* is important from a number of perspectives. First, it is important to examine why *Mir'atu'l-advār* exists in so many copies. This may underscore its importance and appeal. The relative obscurity of both the story and its author adds a fascinating layer to the significance of the book. *Mir'atu'l-Advār* is a concept of significance from several perspectives. A fundamental aspect of this is the fact that it is to be found in numerous copies, which underscores both its impact and its appeal. The relative obscurity of both the story and its author adds an intriguing layer to the work's importance. The author's primary motivation for composing this historical account was not to contribute to historiography for its own sake, but rather to establish a personal legacy. This focus on self-preservation and personal recognition influenced his approach to history. In contrast to conventional Arabic and Persian historiographical works, which typically

²⁶⁸ Subrahmanyam, "On World Historians in the Sixteenth Century," 35.

²⁶⁹ Marsham, "Universal Histories," 433.

²⁷⁰ Frank L. Fillafer, "A World Connecting? From The Unity Of History To Global History," *Wesleyan University, History and Theory*, 56, no. 1 (2017): 5, doi:10.1111/hith.12000.

²⁷¹ Ghazi Ahmad Ghomi, *Kholasat o Tavarikh*, ed. Ihsan Eshraghi, vol. 1 (Tih-rān: Intisharat-i Daneshgah-i Tehran, 1383), 580.

²⁷² Anooshahr, "Science at the Court of the Cosmocrat," 306.

remained anonymous, the author occasionally references his sources, thus drawing attention to his own intellectual contributions. This suggests that his objective was not solely to document events, but rather to ensure that his role in shaping the narrative was acknowledged and remembered. *Mir'atu'l-advār* appears to be a compilation of notes that Lārī had collected from a variety of sources over a long period of time. But the turbulent events of the time prevented him from writing the book immediately. In the preface, he explains that his professional responsibilities, coupled with the many adversities and hardships that he had to face, forced him to suspend the writing process and thus prevented him from completing the history. After considerable delay, he was finally able to resume the writing of this work.²⁷³

Lārī was able to resume and complete his history only with the encouragement and patronage of Sokullu Mehmed Pasha, the Grand Vizier who promoted knowledge during the reign of Sultan Selīm II. Lārī says that the main impetus for him to work on it was rooted in the teachings and principles derived from the Qur'ān. His deep familiarity with the Qur'ān, which emphasizes the importance of knowing history, served as his primary motivation for undertaking this historical work.²⁷⁴ Besides his Qur'ānic motivation, Lārī was compelled to write this history by a strong desire to understand and preserve the words, experiences and ideas of those who came before him.²⁷⁵ Lārī's scholarly influence extends across many fields, but his importance in contemporary scholarship is primarily associated with his Persian Universal History, *Mir'atu'l-Advār*.

According to Jalil Sagharvanyan, who first published and edited *Mir'atu'l-advār* in Iran from five different manuscripts found in libraries across the country²⁷⁶, Lārī

²⁷³ Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in British Museum*, 106.

²⁷⁴ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2012, 1:36.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 1:5.

²⁷⁶ Sagharvanyan used five copies in his edited version:

- The copy in the library of Astan-i Quds-i Rizavi
- Two copies in Malek's library
- A copy in the British Library
- The copy in the Central Library of Tehran

Sagharvanyan notes that while the content of these copies remains the same, there are differences in the style of writing and the use of words and phrases according to the scribes. He also notes that the copy in the Astan-i Quds-i Rizavi has a more detailed section on the Twelver Shi'ite Imām. This detailed section may be an addition by the scribe, as the other copies he examined are not as elaborate in their treatment of the Twelver Shi'ite Imāms.

possessed a strong and objective personality that enabled him to produce an impartial history. He wrote his history in a way that showed minimal religious bias between Shī'a and Sunnī perspectives, despite his residence at the Ottoman court and his adherence to the Shāfi'ī school of thought. Moreover, in an indication of his commitment to presenting a more balanced historical account, he narrated historical events in a way that showed less bias between the Safavid and Ottoman Sultans.²⁷⁷ According to Sagharyan, this work is also known as *Ta'rīḥ -i Lārī*.²⁷⁸ This work, which is also known as the "*Ta'rīḥ -i Lārī*", is a comprehensive history which is divided into ten chapters. It begins with the time of the Prophet Adam and continues through various historical periods. It ends with the author's own era, which corresponds to the reign of the Ottoman Sultan Selīm II, who ascended the throne in 974/1566.²⁷⁹ The last chapter of this work is devoted to Ottoman history, covering events up to the death of Sultan Süleymān (d. 974/1566). A list of writers, statesmen and scholars who died during different historical periods is also included at the end of each chapter. This provides a valuable record of the prominent figures of the different periods of history.²⁸⁰

Table 3.1. Overview of Chapters in Mir'atu'l-Advār

Chapters	Chapter Title	Years	Number of Rulers/ Prophets	Pages
1st Preface				6 folios
Creation of the World				2 folios
Chapter I	From Adam to Nūḥ	2500	10	8 folios
Chapter II	Pishdadian Dynasty	2568		23 folios
Chapter III	Kayāniān Dynasty	738	9	22 folios
Chapter IV	Sāsānids Empire	618		20 folios

²⁷⁷ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2012, 1:54.

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁹ Me'ani, *Tarih-I Tezkireha-Yi Farsi*, 775.

²⁸⁰ Babinger, *Osmanlı tarih yazarları ve eserleri*, 106.

Table 3.1. (cont.)

Chapter V	Prophet Muḥammad, al-Ḥulafā' al-RāShidūn, Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd Caliphates	645		162 folios
Chapter VI	Şafarīd Dynasty	56	3	3 folios
	Sāmānīds Dynasty	102	10	6 folios
	Deylamān (Buyīd) Dynasty	128	12	10 folios
	Ghaznaīds Dynasty	161	12	9 folios
	Ghūrīds Dynasty	64	5	10 folios
	Seljukīds	161	14	41 folios
	Khwarazamīan Empire			10 folios
	Ismā'īlīs of East and West	300	14	17 folios
Chapter VII	The Mongol Empire			67 folios
Chapter VIII	The Timurīd Empire			85 folios
Chapter VIII	Ḥasan Beg Aḳ Ḳoyunlu			5 folios
Chapter X	The Ottoman Empire	Till 1566		29 folios

Lārī's extensive historical work, *Mir'atu'l-Advār*, consists of ten chapters. It provides a comprehensive study of various empires, dynasties and kingdoms. Within this work, certain entities are treated in more detail, while others are given a comparatively smaller amount of space. In particular, certain dynasties are examined in greater depth, accompanied by detailed contextualization. This is an example of Lārī's universal perspective. It is also evident in his characterization of *Mir'atu'l-Advār* as a global history, albeit one steeped in an Islamic and, more importantly, Persian framework. What I mean by a Persian framework is that in *Mir'atu'l-Advār*, when we examine Persian universal history, it adheres to a similar structure. For example, the *Tārīkh-i Nigāristān* written by Aḥmed Ġaffārī (d. 975/1567) follows a chronological sequence: introduction, prophets, Persian dynasties, Mongols, Timurīds and Safavīds.²⁸¹ In his history, Lārī extends this framework by including earlier Islamic dynasties and recounting their stories in a manner similar to Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāme*. Referring to the list given earlier, it is clear from the number of folios he devotes to the early Islamic

²⁸¹ Qazi Ahmad Ghaffari, *Tarikh-i Nigaristan*, vol. I (Tehran: Farhang, 1979).

Persian kingdoms While discussing the Safavid and Ottoman dynasties, Lārī omits any mention of the Mughals, despite the fact that he spent a considerable amount of time in their empire and received considerable acclaim. Although he discusses the Timurid Empire, he notably excludes its Indian branch, which ruled from 1526 to 1761. This omission appears to be deliberate, suggesting Lārī's intention to produce a Persian-centered universal history that shows a discernible lack of interest in other geographical regions. More significant for this argument is his omission of North Africa and al-Andalus, although he does include them to some extent in Chapter V when discussing the Prophet Muḥammad. He mentions these regions and provides relevant information about them.²⁸²

The exclusion of India, China and Europe from his narrative underlines his focus on the Persian and Turkic spheres. The Timurid Empire was ruled by individuals of Turkic origin. However, its administration, art, and literature exhibited a distinctly Persian style of governance. In this sense, the *Mir'atu'l-advār* can be considered a Persian-centered universal history, rather than an Islamic-centered one. While the text certainly covers Islamic history, it also encompasses a significant portion of Persian dynasties that existed before the advent of Islam. By taking this broad view of universal history, Lārī expands our understanding of the cultural, social, and political forces that have shaped our world over time.

An examination of the table reveals that Lārī assigned specific importance to particular chapters of *Mir'atu'l-Advār*. A structural analysis of *Mir'atu'l-Advār* reveals notable parallels with *Rawzat aṣ-ṣafā'*, particularly with regard to the employment of a dynastic and historical narrative, interwoven with philosophical and moral reflections. A further point of convergence between the two works is that both cover political events, rulers, and their legacies, with the authors employing similar structures to analyse the events and their significance. While *Rawzat aṣ-ṣafā'* exhibits a more expansive, universal scope, encompassing multiple dynasties, both works share a narrative-driven approach that integrates moral and philosophical discourses. First and foremost, a significant portion of the narrative is devoted to the chapter on the Prophet Muḥammad and the caliphate of the Rashidun. This chapter covers various timelines,

²⁸² Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2012, 1:508.

from the life of the Prophet through the four caliphs to the 'Abbāsīd and Umayyad periods. However, there is a clear emphasis on the life of the Prophet Muḥammad. In Lārī's historical narrative, the later sections dealing with later historical periods receive comparatively fewer pages and details. This preference can be explained in two ways. First, Lārī probably had greater access to historical sources on the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, which allowed him to compile more extensive details. Second, in keeping with his intention to create an Islamic-Persian-centered history of the world, Lārī places the life of the Prophet in the foreground. This highlights a recurring theme throughout his treatise, where Lārī focuses on an individual and constructs historical narratives around that central figure, rather than foregrounding events. In particular, the Timurid Empire, which is discussed at length in the *Mir'atu'l-Advār* (discussed in chapter IV of this study), takes up the second largest part of the narrative. In *Mir'atu'l-Advār*, while various events, periods and dynasties are discussed, only two names stand out: Prophet Muḥammad and Tīmūr.

Lārī's heroic portrayal of Tīmūr is particularly noteworthy. This suggests that Tīmūr serves as the central heroic figure in Lārī's historical scope²⁸³. Additionally, there are instances in which specific rulers are only mentioned by name, thereby signaling that Lārī did not consider their reigns significant enough to warrant in-depth coverage. Despite these potential shortcomings, it is worth considering that Lārī's decision-making process as a historian may have been deliberate and discerning. In other words, it is possible that he chose to omit certain details or events because he deemed them less relevant to the larger narrative he was constructing. This would suggest a level of expertise and skill on Lārī's part, as he demonstrated an ability to determine what information was essential to his historical account and what could be omitted. Thus, while the unevenness of the chapter lengths and the lack of detail regarding certain

²⁸³ Tīmūr occupies a central place in Lārī's historical worldview, not only as a political and military leader but also as a pious and moral ruler. While the significance of the Prophet Muhammad in Islamic history is indisputable, Tīmūr's prominence in Lārī's work can be attributed to his embodiment of both temporal power and Islamic virtues. Lārī strategically aligns Tīmūr with the qualities of a just ruler, incorporating moral reflections and pious actions within his political decisions and military campaigns. This dual role, that of military conqueror and virtuous leader, positions Tīmūr as a central figure in Lārī's narrative. By intertwining Tīmūr's political achievements with moral and religious lessons, Lārī elevates Tīmūr to the role of a model ruler, positioning him as a bridge between the political and spiritual realms. In this manner, Tīmūr's character serves as a reflection of Lārī's ideal ruler, demonstrating how a powerful leader can maintain a deep commitment to Islam while shaping the course of history.

rulers may be viewed as critiques of his work, they could also be interpreted as a reflection of his capabilities as a historian.

Mir'atu'l-advār, was completed in 974/1566 and was originally intended for Sultan Süleymān. However, it was eventually presented to Sokullu Mehmed Pasha, the grand vizier of Sultan Selīm II (reigned 1566-1574). The role of patronage and the influence of key figures in the dissemination of such historical works during this period is highlighted by the presentation to the Grand Vizier.²⁸⁴ A distinctive historiographical feature of Lārī's work is his meticulous attention to sources, their diversity, and his practice of critique and evaluation of reports from different sources on specific issues. Like contemporary historians, he introduces his sources by name at the beginning of the book. However, at the end of his narrations, although he may not criticize these sources at first, he carefully evaluates them on certain issues. This approach, a rarity among Muslim historians of his time. He often cross-references two or three different sources even in brief narratives, even if only a single line of information. Sometimes he will express his own preference, while at other times he will leave the judgment to the reader. Lārī's critical approach extends to reporting Persian legends and the accounts of the earliest prophets, such as Adam, Nūḥ (Noah) and Ibrāhīm, where he does not hesitate to examine the reported traditions and narratives.²⁸⁵ Lārī says that his book *Mir'atu'l-Advār* is a meticulous compilation of many historical works. Lārī uses a remarkably wide and varied range of historical sources as the basis for his historical account, unlike many general historians, both before and after his time, who often rely on only one or a few sources when recounting events before their contemporary era. Underlining his commitment to drawing on a wide range of perspectives and references in the construction of his comprehensive history.²⁸⁶

Lārī displays a careful approach to his historical writing, thoroughly researching minor accounts and details from secondary sources in order to present fresh and clear information to his readers. His bibliography is organized relatively chronologically rather than by subject or language, and appears at the end of his history.²⁸⁷ For

²⁸⁴ Pourjavady, "Muṣliḥ Al-Dīn Lārī's and His Samples of the Sciences," 297.

²⁸⁵ Ali Sadeqi, "Lārī," 131.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., 129.

²⁸⁷ A detailed examination of its resources is made in section 2.8 of this chapter.

example, he begins with *'Ta'rīḥ-i Tabari'* at the beginning and ends with some of the latest histories, including those relating to the Mongol and Timurid periods, at the end of the bibliography. This arrangement helps to understand how the sources developed and evolved during Lārī's time.²⁸⁸

Sholeh Quinn, in her book "Persian Historiography Across Empires", presents the argument that despite Lārī's claims that his bibliography includes sources that he used in the composition of his history, he essentially reproduces the same titles that Mīrḥvānd used in the composition of his history "*Rawzat aṣ-ṣafā*". This suggests that Lārī may have drawn extensively on Mīrḥvānd's sources in his own work. It also highlights a certain reliance on earlier historiographical material.²⁸⁹ Contrary to the previous assertion that Lārī's work might have imitated the *Rawzat aṣ-ṣafā*, I argue that Lārī's account shows no signs of such imitation. A comparison of the two histories shows that, in selecting his historical material, Lārī placed more emphasis on the stylistic sophistication and linguistic elegance characteristic of the Safavid-Persian tradition of historiography. Lārī focuses on a more concise and stylistically sophisticated account of events, in contrast to Mīrḥvānd, who remains faithful to the Timurid style by providing a straightforward and detailed narrative. Lārī's deliberate preference for literary style over exhaustive content explains the significant differences in the level of detail between Lārī's work and that of Mīrḥvānd. In addition, Mīrḥvānd enjoyed the patronage of 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī (d. 906/1501) and consequently had greater access to Timurid sources. He was also a contemporary witness to a significant part of the historical events he documented. Lārī, on the other hand, wrote with the aim of securing substantial patronage at the Ottoman court. This aspiration probably influenced the focus and emphasis of his historical account, shaping it according to the expectations and preferences of his intended Ottoman audience.

Moreover, Lārī chose a highly elaborate Arabo-Persian language to convey his historical narrative. This suggests that Lārī's work is a unique and original historical account. It differs from *Rawzat aṣ-ṣafā* in its style and approach to historical writing. Lārī's reliance on linguistic elegance and stylistic sophistication marks a sharp departure from Mīrḥvānd's style and approach. "*Rawzat aṣ-ṣafā*" was indeed widely

²⁸⁸ Quinn, *Persian Historiography across Empires*, 47.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 46.

recognized among Ottoman scholars in the middle of the sixteenth century, during Lārī's time. This is evidenced by the fact that before Lārī undertook to write his own history, the work had been translated into Ottoman Turkish on several occasions.

In addition, Sholeh Quinn's perspective suggests that certain sections of the *Mir'atu'l-Advār* imply Lārī's familiarity with Mīrḥvānd's '*Rawzat aṣ-ṣafā*' and indicate a substantial reliance on this earlier work. This perspective highlights the interplay and influence of earlier historiographical works on Lārī's writing of history.²⁹⁰ A close examination of *Mir'atu'l-Advār* reveals that Lārī's narrative was not significantly influenced by Mīrḥvānd and his *Rawzat aṣ-ṣafā*, although he used it as a source. Contrary to what Sholeh Quinn claims, the linguistic and stylistic differences between these two historians are striking.

Lārī seems aware of the potential credibility problem that could arise if he included in his bibliography exactly the same titles as those used by Mīrḥvānd. To avoid such duplication and to establish his own distinctive approach to historiography, he supplements his bibliography with various post-Mongol titles. In addition, by deliberately omitting references to Mughal, Safavid, and Ottoman history from his bibliography, Lārī departs from the traditions of Timurid historiography.²⁹¹ His efforts to create a unique and original historical account are underscored by this deliberate departure from established historiographical norms.²⁹²

Lārī's deliberate selection of stories and names in his work is an expression of his awareness of earlier historiographical traditions, particularly those of the Mughal and Timurid periods. He demonstrates his familiarity with and engagement with these

²⁹⁰ Ibid., 146.

²⁹¹ In this dissertation, the terms 'Persian historiography', 'Timurid historiography' and 'Safavid historiography' will be employed. It is imperative to emphasise that both Timurid and Safavid historiography are constitutive elements of Persian historiography, characterised primarily by the utilisation of the Persian language. In her work "Persian Historiography Across Empires", Sholeh Quinn adopts a unified approach, categorising all historical narratives under the umbrella of Persian historiography on the basis of linguistic criteria. However, in order to reflect the diversity of historical writing methods in these contexts, this dissertation uses different terms for each empire under consideration. Specifically, the corpus of historical works produced during the Timurid Empire is referred to as Timurid historiography, while the histories produced under the patronage of the Safavids are termed Safavid historiography. Chapter III of this dissertation examines Safavid historiography in detail, delineating its evolution from Persian historiography and analysing its incorporation of Timurid elements while asserting its distinctiveness.

²⁹² Quinn, *Persian Historiography across Empires*, 47.

traditions while forging his own narrative style and approach to historiography through the inclusion and exclusion of certain stories and names.²⁹³

Lārī's work differs from Mīrḥvānd's *Rawzat aṣ-ṣafā'* in its inclusion of four historical accounts not included in *Rawzat aṣ-ṣafā'*. These four historical narrations are not found in Mīrḥvānd's work. They are as follows *Tārīḥ-i Waṣṣāf* by Shihāb al-Dīn Waṣṣāf (d.730/1329-30), *Madhhab Ilāhī* by Mu'īn al-Dīn Yazdī Parwāna (d. 676/1277), *Ẓafarnāma* by Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, and finally *Rawzat al-Ahbab Fi Sayr al-Nabi va l-Al Aṣḥāb* by Ala ul-lah Dashtakī (d. 803/1401-2?).²⁹⁴ Lārī's *Mir'atu'l-Advār* is not only aligned with the historiographical traditions of the Mughal and Timurid periods, as seen in Mīrḥvānd's *Rawzat aṣ-ṣafā'*, but also shows compatibility with the historical approach of the Safavid historian Yaḥyā b. 'AbdulLatīf Ḳazwīnī (d. 948/1541-42)'s *Lubbu't-Tawārīḥ*.²⁹⁵ Furthermore, in his bibliography, Lārī makes a notable mention of the fact that in the composition of his comprehensive historical work, he drew on Turkish prose and poetic works in addition to other sources.²⁹⁶ It is true that Lārī concludes this section by confirming that he has made use of Turkish prose and poetic historical sources in his narrative. However, Lārī does not mention the names of the authors or the titles of these sources. Nor does he give any details about these references.

There are certain additions to Lārī's bibliography that set him apart from earlier historians, as has been noted by scholars such as Sholeh Quinn, Sagharvanyan, and Maqsudi. The purpose of this discussion is to have a look at the three main features of his bibliography.

Haft Awrang: Lārī makes extensive use of poetry, a practice not unknown in Persian historiography, throughout his historical narrative. Poetry occupies an important place in Persian literature, and Lārī uses it to great effect in writing what follows. Lārī's inclusion of Firdawsī's *Shahnāma* in his Universal History is an illustrative example of this use. *Shahnāma* serves as a central historical source for Lārī, even though it is

²⁹³ Ibid., 147.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., 147.

²⁹⁶ Ibid., 47.

an epic narrative covering numerous early Persian kingdoms and dynasties.²⁹⁷ Despite occasional embellishments, *Shahnāma* outlines a chronological lineage of forty-nine rulers of Persia. It thus serves as a profound reflection on the shortcomings of leadership in Firdawsī's contemporary milieu.²⁹⁸ As a result, within Lārī's narrative framework, the *Shahnāma* emerges as a highly influential historical source. However, the inclusion of Jāmī's *Haft Awrang* (Seven Thrones) is another notable addition that Lārī introduces into his narrative. *Haft Awrang* was written in the fifteenth century under the patronage of the Timurids. During Lārī's time, it was of great importance in Persian literary circles. Structured as a *mathnawī*, the *Haft Awrang* consists of seven distinct sections, each of which is presented in the form of a narrative poem and is rich in didactic and allegorical stories.

- *Selselat az-ẓaahab* (Necklace of gold)
- *Yūsuf-u Zulaiḥā*
- *Ṣabḥat al-abrār* (Rosary of the Pious)
- *Salāmān-o Absāl*
- *Tuhḥfat ol-aḥrār* (Gift of the Free)
- *Laylī wa Majnūn*
- *Ḥired-nāme-i Iskanderī* (Alexander's Book of Wisdom)

All seven *mathnawīs* in *Haft Awrang* are underpinned by the fundamental themes of religion, philosophy and ethics that derive from Sufi origins. Lārī's strategic use of this framework throughout his universal story is an illustration of ethical considerations. The significance of his inclusion, however, goes beyond mere scholarly inclination. It reflects his personal convictions. As a practitioner of the Naqshbandī Sufi tradition, Lārī felt it essential to include the teachings of Abd-Al-Raḥmān Nur-Al-Dīn Jāmī (d. 898/1492). The importance of Jāmī's inclusion in Lārī's narrative is further underscored by his status as a prominent figure within the Naqshbandī Sufi order due to his leadership role.²⁹⁹ Moreover Lārī's inclusion of Jāmī's *Haft Awrang* within his narrative framework demonstrates his unconventional approach to historical

²⁹⁷ An important point to note is that, although the *Shahnāma* is an epic narrative, it was frequently regarded as 'history' during this period.

²⁹⁸ S. Frederick Starr, *Lost Enlightenment: Central Asia's Golden Age from the Arab Conquest to Tamerlane* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 294.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 639.

composition. Lārī's decision to include *Haft Awrang* in his work offers fascinating insights into the popularity of certain literary works during the sixteenth century.³⁰⁰ It is primarily the method of historiography and the historical perspectives espoused by its author that distinguish *Mir'atu'l-advār*.

Persian Centric: Lārī's approach has a distinctly Persian-centric orientation, as I will argue further in this dissertation. I argue that rather than adhering to an Islamic-centered framework, his universal history also adopts a Persian-centered perspective. Iranian scholars such as Sagharvanyan and Maqsudi argue that Lārī structured his historical work by focusing on Persian (Iranian) history both before and after Islam came to rule. In the process, he skillfully incorporated events, narratives from other regions, and the accounts of the prophets, among other elements, into the chronological framework of Persian history.³⁰¹ Lārī also displayed a meticulous approach to the history of Persia (Iran) prior to the Islamic period, according to Maqsudi's statement. He examined and compared the accounts found in these sources carefully in order to construct a full and accurate history of Persia (Iran).³⁰² This portrait of Lārī as historian highlights his distinctive approach and emphasis on Persian history in his narrative. In contrast to conventional Persian general histories, Lārī's account is distinctive in terms of both chronology and narrative style. He devotes separate chapters to each Persian dynasty, especially the Pishdadian, Kayāniān, and Sāsānid empires.

Lārī's dedicated chapter on the Kayāniān dynasty underscores its importance in Persian history and culture, reflecting Lārī's comprehensive approach to universal understanding. In addition to presenting the chronology and historical background, he delves into the intricate stories associated with this dynasty.³⁰³ In particular, he refers to the famous story of Rostam and Sohrāb, an integral part of Ferdowsi's epic. In addition to recounting stories, Lārī provides insights into the cities and lifestyles of the Kayāniān rulers. For example, he highlights the reign of Humāy bint Bahman, a prominent ruler who ruled for thirty years. He writes that one of her notable achievements was the construction of a bridge over the Tigris, which was later

³⁰⁰ Ibid., 149.

³⁰¹ Ali Sadeqi, "Lārī," 128.

³⁰² Ibid.

³⁰³ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2012, 1:88.

destroyed by Alexander. Despite subsequent efforts, the bridge has never been fully restored to its former glory.³⁰⁴ He provides detailed narratives for each period. It is noteworthy that these sections occupy a substantial portion of the manuscript, exceeding the coverage of other dynasties such as the Ottomans or Safavids.

A profound focus on the Persian world is at the heart of Lārī's historical narrative. Despite the influence of available sources, Lārī's deliberate focus on these specific dynasties reflects a deeper commitment to the elucidation of the historical trajectory of Persia. His dedication to showing the importance of Persian civilization within a broader historical context is underscored by his meticulous attention to detail and his prioritization of Persian history over others. Furthermore, Lārī's narrative choices suggest a conscious effort to present a Persian-centered perspective within his universal history, which is indicative of his cultural and intellectual affiliations. This highlights the uniqueness of Lārī as a historian and sheds light on his role in shaping the narrative of Persian history within the broader discourse of universal histories written in the Persian language.

Biographies: Besides the political narratives of each historical period, another noteworthy aspect that enhances Lārī's work is the inclusion of biographical accounts throughout his chronicle. This approach is considered to be a valuable method in the context of his work. Another factor that distinguishes *Mir'atu'l-advār* from many conventional historical works is its extensive exploration of cultural history, as highlighted by Maqсуди. Indeed, much of the book transcends the boundaries of political history, delving deeply into the cultural history of Persia and other regions of the Islamic world.³⁰⁵

A significant feature of Lārī's historiography is the inclusion of biographies in his universal history *Mir'atu'l-Advār*. While it is common for historians, both early modern and earlier and later, to include biographies of scholars, poets and mystics in their chronicles, Lārī's approach is distinctive. Lārī uses a more specific criterion for selecting individuals to include in his biographies, unlike contemporaries such as

³⁰⁴ Ibid., 1:89.

³⁰⁵ Ibid., 131.

Mirhānd, Hāfiz-i Abrū, and Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī, who typically organized biographies based on geography and chronology. His criteria are both distinctive and personal, resulting in a unique presentation of the individual in the context of his universal history.³⁰⁶ As will be seen in chapters III and IV of this study, Lārī selects individuals who are particularly close or associated with him. The primary criterion for inclusion in his biography is the personal, educational or spiritual network they shared with him.

Lārī was likely aiming to reconcile pre-Islamic historiographical traditions with the Arab-Islamic framework for writing history. He did not set the standard for this approach within Islamic historiography. However, his work is one of the earliest examples of such a synthesis within the Ottoman territories.³⁰⁷ Notably, this historical work is placed within the political climate of the time, particularly the ongoing confrontation between the Ottomans and Safavids. Lārī managed to produce a history that refrained from showing significant bias towards either side of the conflict, according to Sagharvanyan's analysis. Instead, he maintained a balanced perspective throughout the historical narrative. He showed minimal traces of unwarranted religious prejudice.³⁰⁸ However, it is my opinion that Sagharvanyan's claim does not stand up to scrutiny. There is a strong and at times vitriolic tone to Lārī's portrayal of the Safavids, particularly his treatment of Shah Ṭahmāsp I. His language seems more closely aligned with the Ottoman perspective, which calls into question the claim that his work maintains a truly balanced and impartial stance regarding the Ottoman-Safavid rivalry.³⁰⁹ In his account of the Battle of Çaldıran, he claims that the Ottomans fought the Safavids because they considered them heretics and questioned the authenticity of their beliefs. He emphasizes the idea that the Safavids and their religious beliefs were not in line with Islamic doctrine.³¹⁰ This notion was prevalent among Ottoman scholars before the Battle of Çaldıran. This belief was used as an excuse by Sultan Selīm , who sought to create a formidable Islamic front in preparation for a military conflict against another Muslim empire.

³⁰⁶ This dissertation analyses the unique criteria used by Lārī in order to include scholars in his biographical sections. This analysis is conducted in Chapters III and IV.

³⁰⁷ Tezcan, “Muşlihidin Lari,” 622.

³⁰⁸ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2012, 1:42.

³⁰⁹ Chapter V of this dissertation analyses his Ottoman perspective and anti-Safavid tone in the context of studying the Battle of Çaldıran.

³¹⁰ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:939.

Lārī was also concerned with the integration of cultural events into the context of his historical narrative. His aim was the portrayal of the lives, ideas and contributions of prominent cultural figures of the same historical period. Throughout his work, he carefully selected individuals who stood out in various fields of scholarship. He then provided detailed accounts of their achievements. Beginning with the earliest periods of Islamic history, Lārī has combined the biographies of the scholars with the accounts of the political developments. This approach enables the reader to gain a comprehensive understanding of the intellectual milieu of each period through the merging of these individual biographical narratives.³¹¹

Lārī's inclusion of biographies, presented in the final sections of his historical work, reveals a remarkable pattern in the use of '*Tazkira*' (biographical dictionaries of poets, scholars and saints) for political purposes. It is suggested that Lārī had a deliberate intention to enhance the intellectual foundations of scholars from different periods as well as their contributions, particularly those who lived in periods close to his own.³¹² Lārī's expertise in a wide range of disciplines enables him to offer a rich understanding of these figures. This sometimes includes information that is not readily available in existing sources. The loss of certain historical documents over time and the existence of unique and lesser-known manuscripts are probably responsible for this. As a result, the accounts that Lārī gives of certain figures may prove to be valuable to contemporary researchers, as they may provide insights and details that would otherwise be difficult to access.³¹³ In the preface to his book, he acknowledges this aspect and writes:

While I have had the privilege of writing numerous commentaries and annotations on the works of eminent persons of my time, and have devoted a considerable amount of time to the exploration and study of the sciences and knowledge of my time, there came a moment when a fervor ignited in my heart and mind to document the lives of the eminent persons and my predecessors.³¹⁴

Both before and after Lārī, a large number of historians, especially those who wrote their works in the Persian language, included sections of *Tazkira* in their chronicles.³¹⁵

³¹¹ Ali Sadeqi, "Lārī," 124.

³¹² Ibid., 127.

³¹³ Ibid., 130.

³¹⁴ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2012, 1:67.

³¹⁵ Quinn, *Persian Historiography across Empires*, 156.

In Ottoman historiography, instances of *tazkira* are evident to some extent. Works such as Āşıkpaşazāde's *Tevārīḥ-i Āl-i ‘Osmān* and Ramazanzāde Meḥmed Çelebi's *Tārīḥ-i Nişancı*, both composed in Ottoman Turkish, exemplify this phenomenon within Ottoman chronicles. Additionally, figures such as Muştafā ‘Ālī, and to a lesser degree İdrīs-i Bitlisī, significantly contribute to the inclusion of *tazkira* in their historical narratives, particularly regarding the reigns of Meḥmed II and Bāyezīd II.

However, Lārī is not the first historian to include *Tazkira* (biographical dictionaries). Numerous scholars both before and after him also included biographies in their historical works. Some examples of this are:

- Abu 'l-Ḥasan Bayhaqī (d. 470/1077), *Tārīkh-i Bayhaqī*
- Ibn-i Isfandiyār (d. 613/1216), *Tārīkh-i Ṭaberistān*
- Ḥvāndmīr (d. 942/1535-36), *Ḥabīb al-siyār*
- Ḥaidar-Mīrzā Dūḡlāt, (d.958/1551) *Ta' rīḥ-i Rashidī*
- Abu 'l-Faẓl (d.1011/1602), *Akbar-nāma*
- Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmed (d. 1003/1594), *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*
- Mulla ‘AbdulQādir Badā’ūnī (d.1023-24/1615), *Muntakhab al-Tawārīḥ*
- Iskandar Beg Munshī (d. 1043/1633 [?]), *Ta' rīḥ-i ‘alam-ara-yi ‘‘Abbāsi*

These biographies cover a wide range of Islamic history, going back to the earliest periods. Notably, Lārī included the largest number of biographical accounts in his narrative, with a particular emphasis on the Timurid era.³¹⁶ With regard to the intellectual and cultural luminaries of his time, Lārī devotes a special and separate section to the ‘*Arīf* (sages), *Shaykh* and ‘*Ulamā*’ (clerics) who lived during the reign of Tīmūr (d. 807/1405). In this section, he meticulously records the biographies of some fifteen individuals.³¹⁷

The incorporation of biographies into historical narratives, as observed in Lārī's work, is a characteristic feature of Timurid historical writing. The Timurid anthology "*Majālis al-naḡā'is*" by Navā'ī is considered the first example that influenced Ottoman

³¹⁶ Ibid., 185.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

historiography in this way.³¹⁸ Although the tradition of biographical collections began in Arabic literature, it flourished especially in Persian literature. The tradition of anthologies, initiated by narrators who compiled poetry in the pre-Islamic period, continued with the collection of ḥadīṣ after the advent of Islam. This process involved not only the compilation of ḥadīṣ, but also the identification of their sources and the reliability of the compilers, thereby integrating these works into both literature and history. Known as *Ṭabaqāt*, these works were called *tazkīra* in Persian circles. A seminal example is Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār's (d. 618/1221) *Tazkīrat al-Awliyā*, which documents the lives of saints throughout the Islamic world.³¹⁹ This tradition first entered the Ottoman Empire through Navā'ī's *Majālis al-naḫā'is*, which served as a biographical dictionary. Other important works by Herat scholars include 'Abdul Raḥmān Jāmī's (d. 898/1492) *Bahāristān* and Dawlatshāh ibn 'Ala al-Dawla Bakhtishah's (d. 900/1494-95 [?]) *Tazkīrat al-shu'arā*, which also influenced Ottoman scholars of the time. Ottoman scholars subsequently adopted Navā'ī's work as a model for their own biographical writings.³²⁰

Lārī has made a concerted effort to describe and illustrate the intellectual milieu of his own time in the sections dealing with periods close to his own, particularly the last two chapters of the book. In doing so, he introduces many of the scholars who lived and worked in his own time, describing in detail the intellectual work they did and the intellectual contributions they made.³²¹ Lārī extends his admiration for Ġīyāṣ al-Dīn Dashtakī to a particularly profound level in the *Tazkīra* section of his work.³²² This expression of admiration can be seen as evidence of Ġīyāṣ al-Dīn's profound influence on Lārī, as Pourjavady suggests. It may also serve as an indication of the widespread popularity that Ġīyāṣ al-Dīn enjoyed as a renowned scholar within the Ottoman domains.³²³ The biographies included in his history are consistently placed at the end of each chapter; it is unusual for a scholar to be introduced in the main body of the narrative. Moreover, as the following chapters will show, he lacks a specific criterion

³¹⁸ Mustafa İsen, "XVI. Yüzyıl Sonuna Kadar Osmanlılarda Biyografi Geleneği," in *Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları*, vol. XXXI, 1–2 (Akçağ Yayınları, 1997), 214.

³¹⁹ J. Stewart-Robinson, "The Tezkere Genre in Islam," *The University of Chicago Press* 23, no. 1 (1964): 60.

³²⁰ İsen, "XVI. Yüzyıl Sonuna Kadar Osmanlılarda Biyografi Geleneği," 24.

³²¹ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2012, 1:41.

³²² İbrahim Halil Üçer, "Muşliḥuddīn Lārī," *İslam Düşünce Atlası*, n.d., <https://islamdusunceatlasi.org/Muşliḥuddin-lari/415>.

³²³ Pourjavady, "Muşliḥ Al-Dīn Lārī's and His Samples of the Sciences," 304.

for inclusion, with the result that some biographies are presented in detail while others are merely mentioned by name.

Furthermore, Lārī devotes the ninth chapter of his historical work to Uzun Ḥasan (r. 1453-1478). He is the most important ruler of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu dynasty. In this chapter, he gives a brief overview of Uzun Ḥasan's successors. He concludes with Shah Isma'īl, who was Uzun Ḥasan's grandson through his daughter Alam Shah Begum. It is worth noting that, unlike his compatriot Fazlullāh Ḥundjī (d.927/1521), who migrated to Bukhara during the Safavid period and expressed strong hostility and animosity towards the Safavid government in his historiographical works, Lārī refrains from adopting a hostile stance or sowing discord between the Uzbeks and the Safavids in his own narrative.³²⁴ However, despite being a native of Safavid territory, Lārī does not devote a separate chapter to the Safavids in his historical work. In addition, he does not provide a comprehensive account of Shah Isma'īl, the founder of the Safavid dynasty.

Lārī's account of Shah Ismā'īl is relatively brief, consisting mainly of a straightforward description including Shah Isma'īl's birth and death dates, a chronology of his military campaigns, and a description of the territories he conquered. Lārī concludes his account of Shah Ismā'īl by mentioning his defeat at the decisive battle of *Çaldıran* in 1514.³²⁵ However, in telling the story of Uzun Ḥasan, Lārī intertwines it with the Safavid narrative. Thus, the two historical strands become intertwined. It seems that Lārī chose to provide brief summaries of the Safavid period, including information about its rulers, in an effort to avoid potential conflicts and to respect political and religious sensitivities. Until the reign of Shah Ṭahmāsp I, he refrains from discussing the Safavid period in detail. Although he spent a considerable part of his life in the Mughal territories, it remains unclear why Lārī deliberately chose not to include any Mughal content in his universal history.³²⁶

On the other hand, a certain aspect of this historical work gives rise to a number of speculations. In most books, including this one, the main text is usually preceded by a

³²⁴ Ali Sadeqi, "Lārī," 122.

³²⁵ Quinn, *Persian Historiography across Empires*, 186.

³²⁶ Tezcan, "Muşliḥiddin Lari," 623.

preface or introduction. However, in *Mir'atu'l-advār*, in addition to the initial *Ḥuṭba*³²⁷ preface at the beginning, there is an additional prose preface at the beginning of chapter ten. This prose preface is devoted to Ottoman history. There have been various interpretations and studies of this variation from the standard structure.³²⁸ It's possible that the arrangement of the book was such that the beginning of chapter ten was placed at the beginning of a separate volume. This may have prompted Lārī to provide a separate preface at the beginning of the chapter. This assumption is, however, unconfirmed in the light of other versions of the text. Another suggestion is that Lārī wanted to express his appreciation for the Ottoman Empire and convey his sincerity and respect for the dynasty in the introduction to the book, since he lived in the Ottoman period.

As a result, he began the chapter on the Ottomans with a preface of his own. Baki Tezcan is of the opinion that Lārī may have initially been in the process of writing two separate works - a universal history and a history of the Ottoman Empire. However, when he received the news of Sultan Selīm II's accession to the throne, he may have changed his plans and decided to merge the two works, integrating the history of the Ottoman Empire into a universal history that he may have written earlier.³²⁹

I argue that Lārī composed his comprehensive historical account in a single effort. In my view, Lārī's statement at the beginning of his work, in which he presents the book as a compilation of notes accumulated over several years, implies that the earlier parts of his historical narrative probably consisted of drafts and notes. Nevertheless, all these components were transcribed in 1566. This conclusion is supported by Lārī's reference to a specific date in the early chapters of his history, especially when discussing the Prophet Muḥammad and Anūshīrvān (d. 579). In this context, Lārī states that the remains of the palace of Anūshīrvān, after the collapse of 14 columns, still exist today, corresponding to the year 974 (1566). Thus, Lārī was in the year 1566 when he composed this sentence of his universal history.³³⁰ However, it is also plausible that

³²⁷ The discursus, or *ḥuṭba*, serves as the primary formal occasion for the public preaching of the Islamic tradition. Lārī calls the beginning of his universal history *ḥuṭba*, which can be seen as the introduction to his narrative.

³²⁸ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2012, 1:53.

³²⁹ Tezcan, "Muşliḥiddin Lari," 652.

³³⁰ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2012, 1:138.

the year mentioned corresponds to the specific time at which he wrote this particular sentence. He may have written the rest of the chapter either years earlier or later, as he indicates in the introduction to his history that he wrote his History over the course of his lifetime. By providing such precise temporal markers, Lārī enables his readers to better understand the chronology of events and the historical context in which they occurred.

Additionally, Lārī's interest in providing accurate and precise dates extends to the composition of his historical account. Moreover, this date serves as an important point of reference for scholars seeking to understand the historical context and circumstances in which Lārī wrote his work. By providing such a specific date, the author enables readers to situate his text within a broader historical context, and to better understand the cultural and political climate of the era.

It is worth noting that the last chapter of the work was revised and expanded, though not independently, by Hoca Sādeddin Efendi, a renowned historian of the period, at the request of the Grand Vizier Sokollu Meḥmed Pasha. This revised version of last chapter was widely circulated and became very popular.³³¹ As a result, several other parts of *Mir'atu'l-advār* were also translated from Persian into Ottoman Turkish.³³² The role of Hoca Sādeddin, who made the first translation of Lārī's History into Turkish, is a significant factor in the popularity of this work. Prefacing his own *Tacū't-Tavarikh*, Hoca Sādeddin Efendi notes that Lārī did not know Ottoman history very well. Consequently, Lārī had only included a condensed account of the Ottoman Dynasty to conclude his general history. According to Hoca Sādeddin, Lārī's treatment of the Ottoman Empire did not do justice to its greatness.³³³ This led Hoca Sādeddin to see the need for a more comprehensive history of the Ottomans.³³⁴ According to Baki Tezcan, it was his involvement with this particular work, the translation and revision of Lārī's *Mir'atu'l-advār* into Turkish, that launched Hoca Sādeddin Efendi's

³³¹ Mehmet İpşirli, "Tācū't-Tevārīh," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi*, 2010, 357.

³³² Babinger, *Osmanlı tarih yazarları ve eserleri*, 105.

³³³ Chapter V of the dissertation will be devoted to a comprehensive examination of this subject. Within this chapter, an in-depth analysis of Hoca Sādeddin's statement will be undertaken, with particular attention paid to the sections relating to More. The specific statement of Hoca Sādeddin regarding Lārī and his Universal History *Mir'atū'l-advār* will be made available for detailed study on the following page.

³³⁴ Tezcan, "Muslihiddin Lari," 624.

career as both a historian and an important figure in Ottoman politics.³³⁵ According to Baki Tezcan, Hoca Sādeddin Efendi's entry into the inner circle of the Grand Vizier was largely due to the translation of Lārī's work and its subsequent popularity, as well as the high praise he received from Sokullu Meḥmed Pasha. This new-found proximity to power, especially during the reigns of Murād III (r.1574-1595) and Meḥmed III (1596-1603), enabled Hoca Sādeddin Efendi to secure a position that would significantly advance his career. His appointment as tutor to Prince Murād in 1573 marked the beginning of his journey.³³⁶

Hoca Sādeddin's *Tācū't-tevārīh* is often regarded as an unofficial rendition of Lārī's *Mir'atu'l-advār*. Obviously, the stylistic approach of Hoca Sādeddin's *Tācū't-tevārīh* and Lārī's *Mir'atu'l-Advār* are very different. Lārī's *Mir'atu'l-Advār* functions as a comprehensive universal history, while *Tācū't-tevārīh* serves as a dynastic history specifically written for the Ottomans. This is exemplified in the cataloguing of Hoca Sādeddin's translation of "*Mir'atu'l-Advār wa Mirḳātu'l-Aḥbār*", catalogued under the reference number Cod. N. F. 196 HE MA at the National Library of Vienna.

In this case, *Mir'atu'l-Advār wa Mirḳātu'l-Aḥbār* is identified with the names of both historians. *Tācū't-tevārīh* has the distinction of being the second most famous dynastic history among those written up to the reign of Sultan Süleymān, after Küçük Nişancı's (d. 979/1571) *Tārīḥ-i Tevki'i*.³³⁷ The conclusion is derived from the extensive corpus of copies attributed to '*Tācū't-tevārīh*'. Documentation of instances of reproduction for the *Tācū't-tevārīh* is abundant, both from the lifetime of Hoca Sādeddin Efendi and from the period following his death. Hoca Sādeddin Efendi's translation had additions; he was not in favor of the translation of the Ottoman history section.³³⁸ Indeed, Hoca Sādeddin Efendi translated all of the sections of Lārī's Universal History with the exception of the section dealing with the Ottomans.³³⁹

In the introductory section of his work, *Tācū't-tevārīh*, Hoca Sādeddin Efendi articulates the following:

³³⁵ Ibid., 621.

³³⁶ Ibid., 624.

³³⁷ Tezcan, "Muslihiddin Lari," 624.

³³⁸ Ibid., 621.

³³⁹ Safa, *Tarikh-i Adabiyat Dar Iran*, 5:1665.

In these days, the celebrated scholar of virtue, and the glorious leader of the alliances of knowledge and and skill, may the grace of our benevolent Lord be upon him, Mawlānā Muşliḥ Al-Dīn Lārī's, wrote a highly esteemed history book. He dedicated it to the blessed threshold (Ottoman court) with the honorable name of our great Sultan (Selīm II) and gave it honor. The last part of the book was devoted to the history of the Ottomans. However, in this section in particular, he (Lārī) mixed up the subjects and made the summary too short. As a result, he neglected many important issues. Moreover, the lack of information to tell the stories and triumphs of those Sultans who won hearts with their traditions showed the inadequacy of explaining their behavior and attitudes. In this way, the aforementioned work (*Mir'atu'l-Advār wa Mirkātu'l-Aḥbār*) had no connection with their noble sovereigns of values and fortunes. Therefore, it became necessary to write a history of the Ottoman Empire that would be appreciated by all the great and small scholars.³⁴⁰

The eminent Orientalist Hammer-Purgstall (d. 1856) was fascinated by the contents of the *Tacū't-Tevārīḥ*, which is shown in his 1835 annuals. According to Hammer, *Tacū't-Tevarikh* is an extended adaptation and translation that is based on İdris-i Bitlisi's *Hasht Behesht* (Eight Paradises) and Muşliḥ al-Dīn Lārī's *Mir'atu'l-advār*.³⁴¹ Another person who attempted to translate *Mir'atu'l-advār* besides Hoca Sādeddin Efendi was Esad Efendi (d. 1264-65/1848). However, he was not able to bring the task to a conclusion. Esad Efendi called his incomplete translation *Ziba-yı Tevarikh*, which translates as (The Beauty of the Histories).³⁴²

Mehmet İpşirli notes that during Hoca Sādeddin's translation of Lārī's history into Turkish, he found the chapter on the Ottomans to be inadequately written. He therefore decided to write a separate history of the Ottoman Empire up to 1520. He dedicated his work to Murād III and entitled it *Tācū't-tevārīḥ*. In his work *Keşfü'z-zunūn*, Katip Çelebi states that Hoca Sādeddin was the translator of nine chapters of *Mir'ātü'l-edvār* into Turkish. There is, however, some uncertainty about this matter. Scholars argue that *Tācū't-tevārīḥ* itself may be a translated version of *Mir'ātü'l-edvār*.³⁴³ In order to clarify this matter, I have examined the extant translations of the *Mir'ātü'l-edvār* and confirmed that Hoca Sādeddin translated all nine chapters except chapter X, which deals with the Ottomans. Subsequent scribes reproduced and transcribed Hoca Sādeddin's translation. I have identified 22 surviving copies of this translation, which is remarkable given that it exceeds the number of the original Persian text copied. Moreover, these copies began to appear shortly after the translation was completed.

³⁴⁰ Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, "Tācū't-tevārīḥ" 1600/1008, 5b–6a, <https://sufiworld.com/tacut-tevarih>.

³⁴¹ Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in British Museum*, 216.

³⁴² Kılıç, "LĀRĪ, Muşliḥuddin," 104.

³⁴³ Kılıç, "LĀRĪ, Muslihuddin."

The earliest known copy dates from 1611, exactly 12 years after Hoca Sādeddin's death. Until the late 18th century, the production of these copies continued.

The following is a comprehensive list of the surviving copies of Hoca Sādeddin's translation:

- **Mikrofilm Collection (00704) - Record No.: 654395** - Süleymaniye Library
This manuscript is a translation by Esad Efendi, titled *Zī bā-yı Tevārī h*. In folio 1b, he notes that his intention was to summarize Hoca Sādeddin's translation of Lārī's *Mir'ātü'l-edvār*.
- **Mikrofilm Collection (00972) - Record No.: 654729** - Aşir Efendi Library, Süleymaniye
This translation is dated November 1672 and is attributed to Muḥammad bin Muḥammad of the Janissaries. The manuscript notes that this is a translation of Hoca Sādeddin's work.
- **Beyazıt Collection (B10319) - Record No.: 563652** - Beyazıt Library
The first folio of this manuscript states that it is a translation of *Mir'ātü'l-edvār* by Lārī, completed by Hoca Sādeddin. The manuscript does not carry a date.
- **Hüsrev Pasha Collection - Record No.: 277302** - Süleymaniye Library
This copy, dated 1627, begins with Chapter VI. Although there is a note suggesting that it might be Hoca Sādeddin's actual translation, the manuscript is incomplete.
- **Pertev Pasha Collection (00479) - Record No.: 319123** - Süleymaniye Library
Dated September 1617, this manuscript was scribed by Derviş Çavuş bin Muhammed.
- **Şehid Ali Pasha Collection (01944) - Record No.: 330286** - Süleymaniye Library
This manuscript is an incomplete translation, ending with the Umayyad period.
- **Hacı Beşir Ağa Collection (00470) - Record No.: 250001** - Süleymaniye Library
This manuscript is dated August 1694. Although it lists chapters up to Chapter VIII at the beginning, Chapter IX is also translated within the manuscript.
- **Aşir Efendi Collection (00245) - Record No.: 198030** - Süleymaniye Library
This manuscript is identical to the entry under **Mikrofilm Collection (00972)**, with the same details.

- **Hüsrev Pasha Collection (00347) - Record No.: 277304** - Süleymaniye Library
This is an incomplete version that starts with the Caliphate and ends with the 'Abbāsīd period.
- **Hüsrev Pasha Collection (00347) - Record No.: 277303** - Süleymaniye Library
This is the first part of the previous entry (No. 9) and ends with the death of the Prophet Muḥammad.
- **Yeni Cami Collection (00826) - Record No.: 355836** - Süleymaniye Library
This is a complete translation, labeled as the translation of Lārī's history by Hoca Sādeddin. The manuscript is dated 1724.
- **Hamidiye Collection (00922) - Record No.: 266600** - Süleymaniye Library
This complete translation is dated 1748, with the scribe named as Muhammed Rakım.
- **Beyazıt Collection (B5147) - Record No.: 568739** - Beyazıt Library
This manuscript was scribed by Süleyman bin Shaykh Muhammed in May 1611. It ends with the 'Abbāsīd period and notes that the copy was from the foundation of Valide Sultan Rabia Şermi Kadınefendi, the mother of Sultan Abdul Hamid I (d. 1789).
- **Revan Köşkü Collection (001400) - Record No.: 562217** - Topkapı Palace Library
This copy is dated 1635, with the scribe identified as Molla Meḥmed Veli.
- **Revan Köşkü Collection (001398) - Record No.: 562215** - Topkapı Palace Library
This manuscript is undated, but the scribe is noted as Muştafā b. Hacı Hüsam.
- **Revan Köşkü Collection (001397) - Record No.: 562214** - Topkapı Palace Library
This manuscript is dated 1632.
- **Revan Köşkü Collection (001399) - Record No.: 562216** - Topkapı Palace Library
No further details provided for this manuscript.
- **Ankara Adnan Ötüken İl Halk Library (06 Hk 4446) - Record No.: 590170** This manuscript ends with the 'Abbāsīd period and indicates that it is the translation of the first volume of *Mir'ātü'l-edvār*.
- **Rodos Hafız Aḥmed Ağa Library (1144) - Record No.: 662486** - Rodos Fethi Pasha Vakfı Hafız Aḥmed Ağa Library
This complete translation is dated 1670, with the scribe named as Ismail bin İbrāhīm.
- **Nuru' 'Oşmāniye Collection (03229) - Record No.: 176759** - Nuru' 'Oşmāniye Library

This is a complete translation with a list of chapters and subchapters at the beginning. It was written between 1618-1622, with a prayer by Sultan ‘‘Osmān II on the first page and a note about Shaykh Sayyid Muḥammad Murād Naḳshībāndi at the end.

- **Nuru ‘‘Osmāniye Collection (03230) - Record No.: 176760** - Nuru ‘‘Osmāniye Library

Similar to the previous entry, this manuscript was also written between 1618-1622 and begins with a prayer by Sultan ‘‘Osmān II.

- **Esad Efendi Collection (0249) - Record No.: 186702** - Süleymaniye Library

This manuscript, dated January 1640, ends with the ‘Abbāsīd period.

Coming back to *Mir’atu’l-advār*, on the basis of the entry in TDV Turkish Islamic Encyclopedia, it is reported that there are two known copies of Lārī’s *Mir’atu’l-advār* in Turkey, both of which are in Istanbul. These copies can be found in the Nuru ‘‘Osmāniye and Süleymaniye libraries respectively.³⁴⁴ However, further research has revealed the existence of some 12 other copies scattered throughout libraries in Turkey.³⁴⁵ It is noteworthy that parts of this work, in particular the tenth chapter dealing with the Ottoman Empire, have been translated into the Turkish language and published as separate volumes.³⁴⁶ Ali Sadeqi writes that in his introduction, Lārī admits that the last part of the book, especially the section on the Ottoman Empire, is largely based on his first-hand observations and information.³⁴⁷ It is clear that Lārī does not make or support such a claim when one examines the introductory pages of the *Mir’atu’l-Advār*. Lārī’s aim is to establish his historical work as a well-founded endeavor on the basis of documentary evidence. In support of his approach, he presents an impressive array of about fifty Arabic and Persian sources. In addition, he states at the beginning of his history that he also had recourse to a wide range of Turkish literary works in both prose and verse during the compilation of his historical narrative.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁴ Ibid., 104.

³⁴⁵ The section entitled 'Mir'atü'l-advār wa Mirqat al-Akhbar: An in-depth analysis' contains a comprehensive inventory of these manuscript copies.

³⁴⁶ A number of scholars, notably those of Iranian origin, have asserted that Hoca Sādeddin's Tacüt-Tevārikh is merely a rendition of Mir'atü'l-advār. However, a thorough examination discloses that Hoca Sādeddin Efendi undertook the translation of all sections of Lārī's Universal History except the Ottoman historical narrative. The tenth chapter was then thoroughly revised and supplemented before being published independently as Tacüt-Tevārikh. Consequently, Tacüt-Tevārikh manifests as an autonomous historical composition, bearing substantial disparities from a mere translation of Mir'atü'l-advār.

³⁴⁷ Ali Sadeqi, "Lārī," 128.

³⁴⁸ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2012, 1:10.

It is possible that Lārī had recourse to these Turkish sources, especially for the section on Ottoman history. But it is remarkable that none of the sources he cites appears to be of Ottoman historical origin. Lārī's engagement with sources goes beyond mere citation and use. He also offers critiques of specific passages and source material. Furthermore, he expresses his own opinions and assessments in relation to these sources, thus showing his active and critical approach to historical analysis.³⁴⁹ Referring to Garshāsp, he says: *Garshāsp's lineage is supposedly traced back to the Prophet Ya'qūb. However, there is considerable disagreement among historians about the length and nature of Garshāsp's reign. The narratives describing these reigns vary so widely and are so unreliable that it is impossible to rely on any single version.*³⁵⁰

Lārī's meticulous consideration of multiple sources, along with his sophisticated critique of their content, reveals his approach to the study of history. Particular attention is paid to the *Shah nāme*, the epic poem by Abū l-Ḳāsim Firdawsī (d. 411/1020 [?]), among his verse sources. Lārī occasionally praises this work with expressions like "the jewel of writings". In addition, he often makes comparisons between narratives found in other sources and those presented in the *Shah-nāma*, thus demonstrating the importance of the latter in his historical evaluations.³⁵¹ It is true that Lārī does not universally favor the narrative style found in the *Shah-nāma* for all historical contexts. However, in the field of historical literature, the *Shah-nāma* occupies a special category that cannot be disregarded when telling the epic history of Iran, he seems to think. It cannot be used as the sole basis or measure for other sources. Nevertheless, it is a valuable reference for this particular aspect of the history of Persia. Lārī also acknowledges the wisdom contained in Ferdowsi's poetic verses. He occasionally refers to them for advice. In this broader context, he also pays tribute to several important Persian poets, such as Sa'di Shīrāzi (d.691/1292), Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzi (d. 792/1390 [?]), Ḥākānī Shirvānī (d.595/1190), Niẓāmī Ganjavī (d. 611/1214 [?]), Sanā'ī Ġaznavī (d. 525/1131 [?]), and more. Lārī integrates their poetic works into his historical and didactic narratives. However, he does not refrain from critiquing certain poems of these poets in specific historical contexts.

³⁴⁹ Ibid., 1:49.

³⁵⁰ Ibid., 1:84.

³⁵¹ Ali Sadeqi, "Lārī," 129.

Lārī's approach to the evaluation of historical narratives is remarkable, especially in his method of critique of these narratives. It shows that he perceives historical narration as a multifaceted process. He believes that it is not enough to consider only the accounts coming from different sources, but also to consider the nature of these sources. He emphasizes the importance of drawing on different categories of sources. He seems to argue that relying solely on one type of source is insufficient for a full and accurate understanding of historical events.³⁵² The prose style used in these writings, especially in the prefaces, often has an ornate quality. This reflects the author's desire to demonstrate his skill and mastery of Persian prose. At times, however, Lārī's prose tends towards a more poetic style of writing. In general, due to Lārī's extensive annotations and commentaries on earlier Arabic works, as well as his mastery of the Arabic language, the prose of the book shows a stronger inclination towards the Arabic language.³⁵³

This history contains a variety of ownership and endowment letters, as well as unique rituals that shed light on the book markets of the period. It also includes letters from several rulers and scholars. Lārī's own letter, found at the end of the British Museum copy, provides an insight into the style and context of letter writing in this historical period.³⁵⁴ There is a letter written by Lārī to Amīr Sultan Ḥusain Al- Kurdī (d.1573), the governor of al-Imadiyyah in Kurdistan, at the end of this copy. In this letter, Lārī recommends a Turkish person named Mawlānā Aḥmed to Sultan Ḥusain.³⁵⁵

Prayer shielded from the stain of criticism and adorned with the essence of sincerity, a praise connected with the signs of purity and free from all aspects of ostentation, a gift for the noble assembly and the exalted gathering of His Majesty, the most gracious, illustrious and glorious. May God prolong the days of his reign and greatness. He sums up the nights and days with a prayer for his continued reign and majesty, hoping that the state of affairs may sometimes enter his noble and receptive mind and heart, and not be overlooked by the scribes who serve wealth. After this, the complete and virtuous, morally admirable Mawlānā Aḥmed - may God increase his virtues - who, by virtue of his association and devotion to the threshold of prosperity, holds the rank of pride and glory, and whose superiority over peers in various perfections and virtues, and excellence in various honorable qualities and traits, is clear and evident, informed this humble servant of the attention given to this dignified and respectful place. Therefore, it was deemed necessary to renew the offering of prayers and praises. Since the aforementioned individual, by virtue of the abundance of his virtues and qualities, deserves increased attention from this auspicious nature, and since the noble disposition also necessitates the nurturing of this group, especially as he is honored by association and devotion to the divine threshold of assistance, it will undoubtedly come to fruition. Moreover, it is to be expected that some

³⁵² Ibid., 131.

³⁵³ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2012, 1:50.

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

³⁵⁵ Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in British Museum*, 116.

representatives who are not well suited to the scholars will be charged with good conduct towards the associates of the said individual. May the means of everlasting dominion and the causes of everlasting prosperity be continuous.
The Humble, Muşliḥ Al-Dīn al-Lārī³⁵⁶

As the letter is not dated or accompanied by any additional information, it is difficult to make any definitive assumptions. Furthermore, the letter was not included in any of the other copies I examined during my research. Sultan Ḥusain al-Kurdī served as governor of al-Imadiyyah until his death in 1572, after which his son succeeded him.³⁵⁷ Lārī's letter must have been written during this period, as he was appointed to the *Hüsreviyye* madrasa. This position at the madrasa enabled him to have students under his guidance. Therefore, I assume that he is recommending one of his students in this letter.

In addition to its political and cultural dimensions, Lārī's work also has an astronomical aspect.³⁵⁸ His approach to historiography was also greatly influenced by his knowledge of various religious sciences, including ḥadīṣ, theology, jurisprudence and interpretation. This interdisciplinary method is especially evident in the initial parts of his book, where he discusses astronomical phenomena and their implications. However, as the narrative progresses, particularly in the chapters focused on the Ottomans, this emphasis on astronomy diminishes, and the text becomes more centered on political and historical developments. It's possible that factors such as age-related limitations and a decrease in available time and energy during the writing process may account for the lesser focus on this method in the later parts of the book.³⁵⁹ Lārī sees the study of history as a means of achieving a "double profit". It benefits both the present life and the hereafter. He emphasizes the importance of recording past events by referring to certain Qur'ānic verses that emphasize this importance. In addition, Lārī sees history as a discipline of particular value to rulers. Rulers can prolong their reign and increase their prosperity through a deep understanding of historical solutions, the strategies of their predecessors in government and warfare, and insights into the virtues and ethics of the past. At the same time, it is important for

³⁵⁶ For original, see Appendix A

³⁵⁷ Rahmi Tekin, "Osmānlı Döneminde Zaho'nun Siyasî ve Sosyal Yapısı," no. 14 (2018): 210.

³⁵⁸ Anooshahr, "Science at the Court of the Cosmocrat," 305.

³⁵⁹ Ali Sadeqi, "Lārī," 131.

rulers to be aware of the negative aspects of history. These can counteract the above-mentioned benefits.³⁶⁰

3.3. The Linguistic Features of Mir'atu'l-advār: An Analysis

The literary style of Lārī's historical writings is marked by an ornate and embellished use of language. The linguistic intricacy of Lārī's writing is reflective of the ideas conveyed within his historical prefaces. These ideas are presented in a manner that is tailored to an exclusive audience of high-ranking individuals, thus underscoring the importance of linguistic proficiency and familiarity with the cultural and historical contexts in which Lārī wrote. Upon closer examination of Lārī's writing style, it becomes apparent that he often assumes a level of familiarity with the historical context among his readers. Rather than explicitly naming the Sultan he is discussing, Lārī frequently employs the pronoun "he" throughout the text, hoping that his readers will be able to discern the identity of the subject based on the surrounding context. However, this stylistic choice can prove to be challenging for readers who lack sufficient historical background and familiarity with the subject matter. In particular, the use of ambiguous pronouns like "he" can lead to potential confusion or ambiguity in the interpretation of the text, making it difficult for readers to follow the narrative or understand the author's intended meaning. Consequently, without a complete command of the historical context, comprehending his work may pose a significant challenge for readers. Thus, it is essential for scholars and researchers to have a deep understanding of the historical and cultural context in which he wrote in order to fully appreciate and interpret his work.

Infinite appreciation and unbounded adoration are rightfully due to the all-powerful Creator. Let the erudite chroniclers of history, endowed with sagacity, inscribe upon the sacred scrolls of existence since the inception of individuality, heralding the profound import of the verse "بديع الفص كان الله و لم يكن معى شى" resonating through the ages. May those astute observers, perceiving the entirety of beings submersed within the vast seas of His unity, fathom that the resounding declaration "المن الملك اليوم الله الواحد القهار" is indicative of a majestic manifestation of His sovereignty."³⁶¹

To comprehend Lārī's texts fully, readers must have a deep mastery of both Arabic and Persian. In addition, they must also possess a strong familiarity with the ḥadīṣ of the

³⁶⁰ Ibid., 130.

³⁶¹ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2012, 1:1.

Prophet and the verses from the Quran that Lārī references in his work. In this regard, Lārī's writing can be seen as a sophisticated interweaving of language and religious discourse, which is not readily accessible to those without extensive knowledge in these areas. His writings reflect his exceptional scholarly qualities that are evident in every sentence he produces. Lārī has demonstrated his mastery of both languages that were held in high regard in the Ottoman domains. His facility with both Arabic and Persian is apparent in the linguistic nuances presented in his work. Additionally, his expertise in various fields of study, particularly Islamic sciences, is clearly evident. Notably, Lārī not only references the religious texts, such as Ḥadiṣs and verses, but also provides insightful interpretations and commentaries on them. This reflects his profound understanding of the religious and cultural contexts in which these texts were produced, as well as his ability to navigate complex theological concepts. As in instance, regarding Dhū l-Qarnayn, Lārī writes that according to some sources, Dhū l-Qarnayn assumed the mantle of prophethood after the Prophet Ṣāliḥ, and he was once again sent to the tribe associated with Ṣāliḥ. Scholars have dared to propose that Dhū l-Qarnayn be identified with none other than Alexander. This claim has its roots in a hadith in which Prophet Muḥammad refers to a person who was given a piece of land in Anatolia and who founded a city called Alexandria. However, the authenticity of this particular hadith is a matter of contention.³⁶²

It is important to recognize that Lārī is primarily renowned for his commentaries on religious texts. His commentaries represent a unique and sophisticated form of literary expression, which requires an in-depth knowledge of the subject matter, as well as a nuanced understanding of the linguistic and cultural contexts in which these texts were produced. Through his commentaries, he has made a significant contribution to the scholarly discourse on Islamic sciences and has helped to advance our understanding of these disciplines. Conversely, when discussing the rulers of ancient Rome and Greece, Lārī expounds upon the prominent intellectuals of their time and expatiates on the achievements of illustrious figures such as Plato and Aristotle. This attests to their interest in philosophy, a subject on which they have authored several works. He writes that throughout history, the Greeks have been known for their devotion to worship at three prominent sites. Firstly, a temple on Mount Antioch, sadly lost to the ravages of

³⁶² Ibid., 1:52.

time. Secondly, the famous pyramids of Egypt, believed to house gods, a practice vehemently opposed by Socrates. His implacable stance on the matter probably played a part in his eventual downfall. Finally, the third holy site was Jerusalem, where the construction of a temple was begun by Dawūd and completed by Sulaimān. Despite the cultural and religious eminence attributed to these sites, it is prudent to acknowledge the possibility of embellishment by the Greeks regarding the extent of veneration accorded to these architectural marvels.³⁶³ His command of language is also evident in their meticulous attempts to elucidate the etymology of names and places. They meticulously explore the meanings behind the names of certain rulers, and provide an explanation for why they were referred to by a particular name. For example, talking about Aristotle, he mentions that his Greek name "Aristoteles" has deep meaning, meaning perfection and virtue.³⁶⁴

In regards to place names, Lārī delves into their origins and provides a narrative account of how they came to be known by a certain name. He writes that the city of Samarkand owes its origins to the vision and establishment of Abu Shammr. In honor of his influence, the city was originally named Shamar-kend, meaning the city of Shammr. Over time, the name evolved and the city became widely recognized as Samarqand.³⁶⁵ On another occasion, Lārī suggests that the term derives from the combination of 'bagh', meaning idol, and '-dad', meaning forgiveness, when explaining the etymology of the name 'Baghdad'. This linguistic analysis leads him to explain that when Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (d. 158/775) visited the city, he expressed his disapproval of the name. As a result, Mu'ammad al-Manṣūr initiated the reconstruction of the city as a deliberate effort to abandon the association with the name "Baghdad".³⁶⁶

Lārī demonstrates linguistic sensitivity in the broadest sense, displaying his linguistic skills with refined understanding in a variety of contexts. His skill goes beyond simple linguistic expression. It enters into the complex realms of artistic and highly skilled language. It is not only in the act of writing that he reveals his linguistic skills, but also

³⁶³ Ibid., 1:116.

³⁶⁴ Ibid., 1:117.

³⁶⁵ Ibid., 1:151.

³⁶⁶ Ibid., 1:353.

in his refined understanding of the profound meanings inherent in words and the thoughtful naming of places and objects.

3.4. Lārī's Narrative Techniques in *Mir'atu'l-advār*: An Analysis

Lārī's writing style in *Mir'atu'l-advār* can be characterized as highly structured and strictly chronological. Each of the six chapters follows a similar pattern, with a clear focus on dynasties and their rulers. Firstly, Lārī starts every chapter with an overview of the dynasty, including the number of rulers, the duration of their reign, and the names of the first and last rulers.

This chapter is devoted to the Pishdadian dynasty, which covers the reigns of the Persian monarchs from Keyūmarš to Vishtaspa (Gashtasp) and spans a period of two thousand five hundred and sixty-eight years.³⁶⁷

This provides a helpful context for the reader to understand the historical era that will be explored in detail throughout the chapter. Next, Lārī delves into the details of each ruler according to chronology, presenting their background, date of birth, enthronement, and important events of their reign. By doing so, he provides a comprehensive understanding of the personalities and actions of each ruler, thereby allowing readers to understand the reasons behind their successes and failures.

Malik-Shah bin Alp Arslan took the throne with the support of Nizām al-Mulk and ruled for twenty years. Throughout his reign he undertook extensive building and restoration work in Baghdad. The Sultan's brother, Tegish, initially rebelled against him, but was later pardoned. However, Tegish later rebelled again, leading to his capture and subsequent blindness. During the reign of Malik-Shah, considerable efforts were made to excavate and restore Baghdad.³⁶⁸

Lārī also highlights the important historical events that occurred during each dynasty, such as wars, invasions, and other social and environmental changes happening in their era. For example, in his account of the siege of the fortress of Herat (Arg) in 625/1227, he recounts a remarkable incident:

³⁶⁷ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2012, 1:33.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 1:518.

In the year 625, Sultan Bahādur led a military force to besiege the fortress of Arg in Sistān. At the same time, there were reports of an epidemic characterized by initial symptoms of mouth pain, which progressed to toothache and death within a short period of three days. The governor of the fortress strategically stationed 700 men at the northern gate and another group at the eastern gate in anticipation of any developments. When the drumbeat was heard the next morning, none of the inhabitants emerged from the fortress. Subsequent investigations revealed that all the inhabitants had succumbed during the night. Notably, one individual had bound his daughter with henna during this time, perhaps foreseeing her imminent demise. Remarkably, only the girl survived, leading to the revelation that henna had healing properties for cholera, as she had applied henna to her mouth by rubbing her finger.³⁶⁹

Furthermore, Lārī's inclusion of the social and environmental events that occurred during the reigns of the various rulers adds a layer of context to his historical account, allowing readers to understand the impact of these events on the people of that time. Lārī notes that "in the era of al-Mu'taṣim bi'llāh (227/842) there was a catastrophic earthquake accompanied by the unusual phenomenon of the Tigris River turning yellow. This event resulted in the tragic loss of some 45,000 lives."³⁷⁰ It is noteworthy that Lārī's style of writing is not limited to the mere recitation of facts about each ruler and their reign. He also delves into the importance of each ruler in the broader historical context, their contributions to society, and their architectural achievements, such as the construction of mosques and schools, as well as bridges. While documenting the period of al-Mustansir bi'llāh (d. 486/1094), the author highlights that:

During the reign of al-Mustansir bi'llāh, his father's philanthropic contributions doubled. In addition, al-Mustansir bi'llāh personally sponsored the construction of a school and library with four classrooms, each dedicated to a specific religious sect. There were 61 students in each class. The appointed director of the school was Mu'īd al-Dīn ibn al-Alqamī, who had previously held the position of vizier during the reign of al-Mu'taṣim bi'llāh.³⁷¹

This focus on the cultural aspects of each dynasty allows readers to appreciate the legacy that each ruler left behind. Additionally, he provides information on the scholars of each era, giving insight into the intellectual and cultural developments that took place. Finally, Lārī provides insight into the family lives of rulers, including how many children they had and who became the crown prince. This information provides readers with a glimpse into the personal lives of these historical figures, which can be interesting and illuminating. A remarkable illustration provided by Lārī's is that of Genghis Ḥān. According to Lārī:

³⁶⁹ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:667.

³⁷⁰ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2012, 1:391.

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 1:441.

Genghis Hān had more than 500 wives, the most prominent of whom was Börte. Börte in turn bore Genghis Hān four sons and five daughters, namely Jochi, Chagatai, Ögedei and Tolui.³⁷²

In conclusion, Lārī's *'Mir'atu'l-Advār wa Mirkātu'l-Aḥbār'* is a remarkable contribution to the field of historiography, primarily because of its strong skilful inclusion of various historical events into a single narrative, complemented by the inclusion of historical context, increases the scholarly value of the work. Lārī's writing style, characterized by a highly structured and chronological approach, helps the reader to understand complex historical accounts. The detailed and factual examination of each dynasty and its rulers provides the reader with valuable insights into the political, social and cultural dynamics of previous times. Lārī's praise-worthy consistency in the use of a chronological methodology in all the chapters ensures a clear and well-organized presentation of the numerous dynasties and rulers that played a pivotal role in shaping the historical narrative of the Islamic world.

3.5. The Function of Poetry in Lārī's *Mir'atu'l-advār*

Lārī's history is a treasure trove of literary works, encompassing a wide range of poetic forms and styles. His literary account is enriched by a significant number of Arabic and Persian verses that serve to embellish the narrative and provide a deeper understanding of the historical events being described. Notably, Lārī refrains from mentioning the name of the poet responsible for each poem before or after its recitation, making it challenging to identify the author with certainty. Despite this, it is evident that Lārī had an in-depth knowledge of the works of renowned Persian poets, highlighting his understanding and appreciation of the rich literary tradition of Persia. While some of the poems featured in Lārī's text may have been of his own creation, it is impossible to confirm this without a *Divān* or collection of his poetry. Unfortunately, the absence of such an anthology makes it difficult to attribute authorship with certainty, leading to some ambiguity about the origin of certain poems.

Nevertheless, the poetic works included in Lārī's written work are of significant value in their own right, serving as important literary sources that enrich the historical narrative and provide insight into his cultural and artistic landscape. The inclusion of

³⁷² Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:643.

poetry in Lārī's written work serves multiple functions that contribute to the richness and complexity of his narrative. In the introduction, Lārī asserts that a discerning historian recognizes that prior to the emergence of any observable phenomena in the world, there was only one entity - God. Lārī emphasizes that a wise historian understands that all events take place under divine direction, which compels the historian to act accordingly. Such a historian is aware that the temporal nature of all things contrasts with the eternal permanence attributed to God alone.

چنین دانست هر تاریخ دانی
که او بود و نبود از کس نشانی
چنین مشهود ارباب معانیست
که او باقی و باقی جمله فانیهست

*He who knows history like this
knows that He (God) was there when there was no sign.
Such a clear sign from the Master of Wisdom
That only He (God) is eternal, all else will vanish³⁷³*

On the one Hand, poems provide a unique perspective on historical events, often shedding light on aspects of the event that might otherwise be missed. Through poetry, Lārī is able to provide a more nuanced and emotive portrayal of the events he describes, capturing the complexities of human experience in a way that is not always possible through prose alone. In recounting the historical events surrounding the Battle of Ankara in 1402, fought between the Ottoman Sultan Beyazid I and Tīmūr, Lārī uses poetic expression to vividly depict the enormity and brutality of the conflict. Through the art of verse, he seeks to convey the intensity of the engagement, depicting the clash between the two Islamic armies and capturing the magnitude of the confrontation through imaginative language and poetic diction.

ز هر سو گشته خنجر های خونریز
به خون چون غمزه کافر دلان تیز
خندنگ تیر مردان سینه خسته
ز قید سرکشان در خون نشسته
روان پیک اجل هر سوی چون تیر
که گردد مرد جنگی را عنان گیر

*Bloodthirsty daggers have come from every direction,
Like the bloody gaze of unbelieving hearts.
The bowstring, weary, bears the burden of warriors,
Bound by the rebellious, drenched in blood.
The soul, like the arrow of fate, flies in every direction,
Seizing the reins of a warrior destined for war³⁷⁴*

³⁷³ Ibid., 1:1.

³⁷⁴ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:807.

In addition to their value as historical sources, poems also serve a didactic function in Lārī's work, conveying moral lessons and emphasizing the importance of particular values or virtues. For example, Lārī highlights the significance of knowledge and the transformative power of the arts in human life. He uses poetries to convey his message and to reinforce the importance of these values to his readers.

نیک بختان که حکیم آیین اند
تیز هوشان حقیقت بین اند
نقش الواح زمان را نگرند
حال نیکان و بدان را نگرند
ز غبت را سیرت اختیار کنند
نفرت را ظلمت اشرار کنند

*Fortunate are those who follow wise ways.
They are sharp-witted and perceive the truth.
They observe the inscriptions of time,
considering the present state of both good and bad.
They choose virtue in their conduct
while detesting the darkness of evildoers.³⁷⁵*

Through the use of poetry, Lārī is able to create a richer historical narrative that goes beyond a straightforward recitation of events. The inclusion of poems that serve both historical and didactic functions speaks to Lārī's skill as a writer and his appreciation for the power of language and art to shape our understanding of the world. Lārī's use of poetry as an illustrative tool is a testament to the multifaceted nature of his written work. By including descriptions of poems composed for rulers or those written about them, Lārī is able to provide a richer, more textured understanding of the historical events he is describing. This approach allows readers to gain insights into the cultural and literary traditions of the era, and to appreciate the depth and complexity of Persian written histories. In the discussion of the death of Chinggis, Lārī includes a poetic element by presenting a verse to emphasize this event. This verse is from Jāmī's famous *mathnawi* called "*Haft Awrang*" (The Seven Thrones).

چنگیز که بود گرگ این دشت
این دشت ز گرگیش تهی گشت
در پنجه مرگ روبهی کرد
قالب به مصاف او تهی کرد

*Chinggis, who was the wolf of the plain, left
the plain empty of his wolfish presence.
He faced a fox in the claws of death,
and his form emptied into the battlefield.³⁷⁶*

³⁷⁵ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2012, 1:5–6.

³⁷⁶ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:670.

The poem conveys a moral message about the inevitability of death and the fleeting nature of power. It reflects on how even Chingiz Hān, a historical symbol of dominance and fear, was powerless before death. The transformation of the wolf to the fox serves as a metaphorical representation of the decline and fall of even the most formidable figures before the inevitable passage of time. The poem serves as a reminder to readers of the transient nature of worldly power and the universal fate that befalls all.

Lārī criticises poems and poets according to specific historical events. For example, in his discussion of Mu‘āwiya I, he refers to a poem by Sanā’ī (d. 525/1131 [?]) in which Sanā’ī criticises those who do not express hostility towards Mu‘āwiya and Yazīd.³⁷⁷

دوست دار پسر هند مگر آگه نیست
 که ازو سه کس او به پیمبر چه رسید
 پدر او زد دندان پیمبر شکست
 مادر او جگر عم پیمبر بمکید
 او به ناحق حق داماد پیمبر بستد
 پسر او سر فرزند پیمبر ببرید
 بر چنین قون تو لعنت نکنی شرمت باد
 لعنت الله بزید و علی آل یزید

*The lover of the son of Yazid, are you not aware,
 What happened from him and his three kin to the Prophet?
 His father broke the teeth of the Prophet,
 His mother chewed the liver of the Prophet's uncle
 Unjustly, he took the rights of the Prophet's son-in-law,
 And his son beheaded the Prophet's grandson
 If you do not curse such a lineage, shame on you!
 May the curse of Allah be upon Yazid and the family of Yazid*

Lārī argues that Islamic laws do not attribute the disbelief and curse of a father to the last generation. He claims that expressions like those in Sanā’ī’s poem differ from Sunnī methodology and violate the principles of politeness.³⁷⁸

While the poems included in Lārī’s written work are undoubtedly significant, the inclusion of poetry adds an additional layer of richness and complexity to the work, providing readers with a deeper understanding of the cultural and artistic landscape of

³⁷⁷ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2012, 1:296.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

the era. Moreover, the poems included in Lārī's text can serve as a valuable resource for researchers interested in exploring the various poetic sources used by Lārī to document historical events. The poems offer insights into the literary traditions of the era, highlighting the ways in which poets and writers of the time grappled with the challenges and opportunities presented by the historical events of their day. As such, the poems can be a useful tool for scholars seeking to gain a deeper understanding of history and culture through Persian poems.

3.6. Chronology as a Narrative Tool in *Mir'atu'l-advār*

The historical text produced by Lārī is notable for its emphasis on chronology, with particular attention paid to the inclusion of dates throughout the narrative. The significance of dates is regarded by the author as being of indispensable value in conveying the historical account he wishes to present. The first illustration of this claim is evident in the inclusion of the date in his composition. Lārī explicitly states the year 974 (1566) as the temporal context of his *Mir'atu'l-advār*.³⁷⁹ On another occasion, when describing the date of birth of the Prophet Muḥammad, Lārī meticulously ensures a comprehensive and clear presentation. He provides several expressions to convey the Prophet's date of birth. The Prophet's birth is closely linked to the incident of the elephant, which took place in the year 288 of Alexandria and the 42nd year of Anūshīrvān's reign. Lārī then provides precise details, stating that the Prophet Muḥammad was born at dawn on Monday, the 12th of Rabī' al-Awwal, either after sunrise or during the previous night. It is clear that the inclusion of dates and chronology is of central importance in Lārī's historiography.³⁸⁰ In recording the death of Genghis Ḥān, Lārī adopts a precise approach to support his narrative. He underlines the importance of accuracy by stating that Genghis Ḥān died in the month of Ramaḍān in the year 624.³⁸¹ Indeed, Lārī appears to place a great deal of importance on the chronological order of events, beginning each chapter with a detailed exposition of the reigns of rulers and prophets, and including corresponding dates for their birth and death. This emphasis on precise dates serves a number of purposes. Firstly, it enables the author to provide a clear and structured account of historical events, which can be

³⁷⁹ Ibid., 1:138.

³⁸⁰ Ibid., 1:167.

³⁸¹ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:670.

more easily understood and contextualized by the reader. Secondly, it enhances the overall accuracy and reliability of the historical account, since the inclusion of dates enables the author to avoid errors of sequencing or chronological ambiguity. Moreover, the author's approach to dating events suggests a deeper appreciation for the significance of chronology in historical inquiry. By emphasizing the inclusion of dates in the narrative, Lārī is able to demonstrate the importance of temporal context in shaping the historical events he describes.

Lārī's careful attention to chronological detail extends beyond early Islamic events to include Ottoman history, indicating his awareness of Ottoman sources despite their absence in his writing. An obvious instance is his account of Sultan 'Ala al-Dīn Kayqubad III's (d. 702/1302) recognition of 'Oṣmān Bey's (d. 724/1324) victories. Lārī reports that when the Sultan heard of 'Oṣmān Bey's successful campaigns, he presented him with golden swords and swords bearing his own name. This significant event took place in 688.³⁸² The inclusion of precise dates can be seen as a means of situating historical events within a broader context, and of enabling the reader to gain a deeper understanding of the social, political, and cultural factors that shaped the period under consideration. Lārī's emphasis on chronology and the inclusion of precise dates serves a number of important functions within the context of his historical account. By providing a clear and structured account of events, enhancing accuracy and reliability, and situating historical events within a broader temporal context, his approach to dating events reflects a deep appreciation for the importance of chronology in historical inquiry. It can be argued that, while his commitment to the historical discipline was unquestionable, however his achievements in the specific field of Ottoman history were somewhat limited.

The historical text produced by Lārī not only exhibits an emphasis on chronology, but also reveals his keen interest in astronomy. This is evident in his detailed discussion of various lunar years and their respective significance. Lārī's interest in astronomy is not merely confined to the discussion of lunar years, but extends to a critical examination of certain dates provided by his sources. In his treatment of historical events, Lārī employs an astronomical lens to scrutinize the temporal and celestial

³⁸² Ibid., 2:908.

context of the era in question. This critical approach attests to his thoroughness and attention to detail, as well as his desire to provide an accurate and comprehensive historical account. By examining the astronomical context of the events, he describes, Lārī seeks to uncover the underlying factors that shaped historical events. In describing how the Prophet Muḥammad died, Lārī undertakes a critical examination of the recorded events. He states that the demise occurred on the 12th of Rabi al-Awwal, a Monday. However, he acknowledges that there are different opinions about this date in Rabī' al-Awwal. According to a narrative, 'Arafa (Day of Arafah) fell on a Friday in the same year (632). Lārī notes that in this scenario, the first day of Dhū al-Ḥijjah would have fallen on a Thursday. As a result, he notes that the 12th of Rabī' al-Awwal could not have fallen on a Monday. Furthermore, Lārī stresses the variability in the duration of the three holy months (*Rajab, Sha' bān, Ramaḍān*), emphasizing that their span could vary between 29 and 30 days. This admission adds to the complexity of establishing specific dates and emphasizes the nuanced nature of temporal considerations in historical narratives.³⁸³

Lārī's interest in astronomy is perhaps most apparent in his discussion of lunar years, which were of great significance in the historical period under consideration. In addition to providing detailed information on lunar years and their associated significance, Lārī also draws attention to the importance of lunar observations in determining the onset of important festivals and religious observances. Furthermore, Lārī's use of an astronomical lens to scrutinize dates provided by his sources demonstrates his dedication to ensuring the accuracy and reliability of his historical account. By examining the celestial context of historical events, Lārī is able to identify discrepancies and errors in the dating of events, thereby enhancing the overall credibility of his historical narrative.

Mir'atu'l-advār is a remarkable work of world history, notable for its chronological organization. Lārī, has opted for a linear approach that follows events and developments over time, rather than a thematic or dynastic one. This method provides a comprehensive overview of world history, and allows the reader to trace the evolution of human societies and cultures across time and space. One example of Lārī's

³⁸³ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2012, 1:260.

approach is his treatment of the story of Adam.³⁸⁴ Instead of providing an exhaustive account of every prophet mentioned in the chapter, he chooses to focus on rulers, scholars, and dynasties that lived in the same era. In his account of the 1402 Battle of Ankara between Tīmūr and Bāyezīd I, Lārī's discussion of Bāyezīd is primarily contextualized from the Timurid perspective.³⁸⁵ In particular, he refrains from delving into post-Bāyezīd events in this particular context. He does, however, move seamlessly into an account of Bāyezīd and subsequent developments within the Ottomans in a later chapter. This distinctive chronological structure is a characteristic of Lārī's narrative technique, as he aligns his account with dynastic succession and focuses on relevant actors within their historical contexts. As a result, Lārī refrains from digressing to address other contemporary figures and emphasizes a strict adherence to the chronological sequence that is outlined in his text. By doing so, he creates a more nuanced and complex portrait of the historical context in which these individuals lived, highlighting the connections and interactions between different cultures and civilizations. In sum, Lārī's commitment to precise dating is not limited to the events he describes, but extends to the composition of his historical account. By providing such detailed temporal markers, Lārī enables readers to better understand the chronology of events and the historical context in which they occurred. Furthermore, his interest in precise dating serves to situate his text within a broader historical context, and to enhance the overall accuracy and credibility of his historical account.

3.7. Challenging the Narratives in Mir'atu'l-advār: An Examination of the Problems

In his preface, Lārī provides a comprehensive list of sources that he has utilized to construct his historical account. However, he does not explicitly indicate which specific portions of his work are derived from each source, thereby rendering it difficult to trace them within the narration. Despite this challenge, Lārī offers clues to his sources by referencing the works of other historians and their perspectives on particular topics or events in various parts of the narrative. Mīrḥānd's *Rawzat al-ṣafā* is a remarkable source that Lārī quotes repeatedly in various sections of his work. In particular, Lārī begins the narrative by explicitly referring to the information contained

³⁸⁴ Ibid., 1:19.

³⁸⁵ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:803.

in *Rawzat al-ṣafā* when telling the story of Shaddād b. ‘Ād.³⁸⁶ At the same time, Lārī demonstrates a nuanced approach when referring to Mīrḥvānd's *Rawzat al-ṣafā*, agreeing with Mīrḥvānd's account when they agree, but openly addressing discrepancies when they arise. In one particular case, Lārī notes that Mīrḥvānd incorrectly gives a stomach ailment as the cause of the death of al-Nāṣir Faraj (d. 815/1412), and he refutes this claim by pointing out that al-Nāṣir Faraj was in fact murdered.³⁸⁷ Lārī also makes use of the insights of another prominent Timurid historian, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū (d. 833/1430). While bringing his accounts into the narrative, Lārī also subjects them to critical analysis. In fact, Lārī highlights specific instances in which Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū attributes the act of consuming poison to Ḥasan b. ‘Alī and the burning of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr to Mu‘āwiya. Lārī expresses reservations about these attributions, claiming that such actions are inconsistent with the respected character of the Companions. As a result, he claims that the claims of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū are contrary to Sunnī methodology and the principles of propriety.³⁸⁸ Lārī sometimes uses the term "the source" instead of naming it explicitly to address inaccuracies in certain details. For example, when discussing Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767), Lārī notes that, according to some sources, Abū Ḥanīfa's lineage is traced back to Sāsān bin Bābak. However, he disputes this claim, stating that the exact parentage of Abū Ḥanīfa is a matter of debate.³⁸⁹

Lārī expresses doubt about the accuracy of certain ḥadiṣ, even as he narrates the story of Prophet Mūsā. He recounts a ḥadiṣ that attributes to Mūsā a sentiment about the insignificance of life's challenges in light of the inevitability of death. However, Lārī is skeptical about the authenticity of this ḥadiṣ. He argues that it is unlikely for Mūsā, a prophet, to have failed to recognize ‘Izrā’īl, the angel of death. Lārī further contends that the angel of death does not take on a human form, making it implausible for Mūsā to have perceived him in the way the ḥadiṣ describes. Moreover, he questions the validity of the ḥadiṣ by pointing out that, according to Islamic tradition, prophets typically have control over the timing and circumstances of their passing.³⁹⁰

³⁸⁶ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2012, 1:49.

³⁸⁷ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:798.

³⁸⁸ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2012, 1:296.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 1:393.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1:77.

It is evident that Lārī had access to a wide range of historical works and utilized them to supplement his own research, in order to provide an accurate account of the events that he was documenting. Lārī's preface provides a glimpse into the approach he took in constructing his historical account. Although the sources are not explicitly identified, Lārī's references to other historians and their works provide important clues to the sources he drew upon. This serves as a reminder of the importance of careful sourcing and the critical role that it plays in constructing accurate and trustworthy historical narratives.

However other than sources, there exist particular difficulties in comprehending and analyzing the contents of the *Mir'atu'l-advār* text. One of the primary challenges associated with the *Mir'atu'l-advār* text is that it may pose difficulties for readers who lack sufficient familiarity with the historical and cultural contexts it references. The text is replete with allusions to various people, events, and concepts that may be unfamiliar to readers who are not well-versed in the history and culture of the Islamic history. Moreover, the text is also marked by a distinctively Persian mode of expression, which may present additional difficulties for readers who are not familiar with this literary tradition. Overall, while there are challenges associated with reading and interpreting the *Mir'atu'l-advār* text, its historical significance, cultural richness, and unique literary style make it a valuable resource for scholars of Islamic Intellectual history.

3.8. Navigation of Primary Sources in Lārī's History

In his universal history, the *Mir'atu'l-Advār*, Lārī gives a thorough list of 36 sources that have been used to construct his historical narrative. He makes it clear that *Mir'atu'l-Advār* is a compilation of these valuable works at the beginning of the work. Lārī acknowledges that the collection comprises a large number of sources. However, in the introductory pages of his history, he highlights a selected number.³⁹¹ Lārī refers to these sources either by their titles or by naming the authors and historians who wrote them. The range of these works is extensive, from the 8th century "*Mağāzī Rasūl-ūl-lāh*" by Wahb b. Munabbih to the 15th century "*Rawzat'l-Aḥbāb*" by Jamāl al-Ḥusaini.

³⁹¹ Ibid., 1:9.

The diversity of periods covered by these sources is summed up in the title of Lārī's work, *Mir'atu'l-Advār wa Mirkātu'l-Aḥbār*, which translates as 'The Mirror of Epochs and the Staircase of Historical Reports'. Through this title, Lārī conveys the essence of his approach to history, presenting his work as a mirror that reflects the different epochs by means of historical narratives collected from a wide range of sources from different periods. Lārī's work is unusual in two important respects. First, in a practice akin to the modern historian's bibliography, he provides a comprehensive list of all the sources he has used. Secondly, obtaining and studying such a wide range of sources in the sixteenth century was not trivial. The acquisition and study of these sources reflected Lārī's status as a respected scholar of his time. At the time, access to these materials was largely restricted to scholars, intellectuals and those with an educational background, particularly within intellectual circles. Lārī's ability to navigate and understand these sources was a testament to his scholarly prowess and a mark of distinction within the learned community of his time. Access to this kind of material was not as readily available to the general public as it is in the present day.

The source list is as follows:³⁹²

- Wahb b. Munabbih's (d.114/732) *Maḡāzī Rasūl-ūl-lāh*
- Ibn al-Muḡaffa's (d.142/759) various works
- Ibn Ishāq's (d.151/768) *Kitāb al-Maḡāzī*
- Abū 'Abdallāh Muḡammad al-Buḡārī's (d.256/870) *al-Ta'rīḡ al-Kabīr*
- Ibn Ḳutayba's (d.276/889) *el-Ma'ārif*
- Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī's (d.282/895) *al-Aḡbārar al-Ṭawīl*
- al-Ṭabarī's (d.310/923) *Ta'rīḡ al-Ūmam al-Mulūk*
- Ibn A'ṣam al-Kūfī's (d.320/932) *Kitāb al-Futūḡ*
- Abu'l-Ḥasan 'al-Mas'ūdī's (d. 345/956) *Murūj Ez-zeheb*
- Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī's (d.360/971)'s *Ta'rīḡu'l- Ḥamza*
- Abu'l-Ḳāsim Firdawsī's (d.411/1020) *Shah-nāma*
- Ibn Miskawayh's (d.421/1030) *Tajārib al-umam va te'aḡibu'l-himem*
- al-'Utbī's (d.427/1036) *Kitāb al-Yamīnī*
- Abū al-Faḡl Bayḡaḡī's (d.458/1066) *Ta'rīḡ-i Bayḡaḡī*

³⁹² Ibid., 1:9–10.

- Abū ‘Ubayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām’s (d.546/1151) *Ḥal ‘u’n-na’leyn ve iḳtibāsu’n-nūr min mevzi ‘i’l-ḳademeyn*
- Ibn al-Aṣṣīr’s (d.630/1233) *al-Kāmil fī l-ta’rīḥ*
- Muḥammad Ufi’s (d.639/1242) *Jawāmi’ ul-Hikāyāt*
- Abū l-Faraj ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ibn al-Jawzī’s (d.656/1258) *al-Muntazam fī ta’rīḥ al-muluk wa-al-umam*
- Ḳādī al-Bayzāwī’s (d.658/1259) *Nizām ‘t- Tawārīḥ*
- Minhāj-i Sīrāj-i Jūzjānī’s (d.662/1266) *Ṭabaqāt-E Nāşeri*
- Ibn Khallikān’s (d.681/1282)’s *Wafayatū’l- A ‘yān*
- Aṭā-Malek Jovayni’s (d.681/1283) *Ta’rīḥ -i Jahān-gushā*
- Rashīd al-Dīn Faḫr Allāh’s (d.718/1318) *Jāme ‘ Al- Tawārīḥ*
- Sharaf al-Dīn Waṣṣāf’s (d.730/1329-30) *Ta’rīḥ-i Waṣṣāf*
- Abū Sulaymān Banākātī’s (730/1330) *Ta’rīḥ-i Banākātī*
- Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī’s (d.740/1340) *Ta’rīḥ-i Guzida*
- Shams al-Dīn Zehebi’s (d.748/1348) *Ta’rīḥ al-Islam al- Kabīr*
- Abū ‘Abd Allāh b. As‘ad al-Yāfi‘ī’s (d.768/1367) *Ta’rīḥu’l- Yāfi‘ī*
- Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī’s (d.771/1370) *Ṭabaqāt al-Sāfi‘iyyat- Kubrā, Wusṭā wa Ṣughrā*
- Ibn Kaṣīr’s (d.774/1373) *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*
- Mu‘īn al-Dīn Yazdī’s (d.789/1387) *Mavāhib-i Ilāhī*
- al-Fīrūzābādī’s (d.817/1415) *el-Miraḳatu’l-vefiyye fī tabaḳati’l-hānefiyye*
- Ḥāfiz-i Abrū’s (d.833/1430) *Majma’ al- Ta’rīḥ*
- Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī Yazdī’s (d.858/1454) *Zafarnāma*
- Mīrḥānd’s (d.903/1498) *Rawzat aṣ-ṣafā’*
- Jamāl al-Ḥusaini’s (d.927/1521) *Rawzat’l- Aḥbāb*

An examination of the list compiled by Lārī in his introduction reveals a clear focus on Islamic-centered works, reflecting the intellectual resources available in the sixteenth century. This emphasis provides insights into the worldview that prevailed at the time. Sixteenth-century scholars, including Lārī, focused primarily on Islamic geography, resulting in histories and writings centered on Islamic narratives. Lārī’s Islamic-focused universal history is a testament to this mindset and the sources available to him. Within his list, all the sources can be divided into four main sections.

First, there is a group of sources that serve as (*Tazkira*) or biographical dictionaries. These include "*al-Ta'rīḥ al-Kabīr*," which provides biographies of early Islamic figures and scholars, and "*Wafayātū'l-A'yān*," another biographical source. "*Ṭabaqāt al-Sāfi'īyyat-Kubrā Wusṭā wa Ṣuḡrā*," "*el-Mirkātū'l-vefiyye fī ṭabaqāti'l-Ḥanefiyye*" and "*Ta'rīḥ al-Islam al-Kabīr*" are other works that contribute to the genre of biographical dictionaries. Furthermore, "*Rauzat al-aḥbāb*" also falls into this category. In the same category we find "*Kitāb al-Maḡāzī*" "*Maḡāzī Rasūl-ūl-lāh*" and "*Ta'rīḥu'l-Yāfi'ī*", both of which give biographical details of the Prophet Muḥammad. The inclusion of such works, emphasizes the Islam-centric approach in the historical narratives of the 16th century. Scholars, including Lārī, were deeply rooted in researching and preserving the legacy of Islamic figures and contributed to shaping a historical discourse that was firmly rooted in the Islamic intellectual tradition. Furthermore, the remarkable focus on biographical dictionaries in Lārī's compilation underlines the predominant emphasis on Islamic personalities and scholars in sixteenth-century intellectual circles. This particular intellectual context of the sixteenth century also sheds light on the limited scope of geographical inclusion in the historical writings of the period. The focus on Islamic geography, as reflected in Lārī's compilation, stakes out the boundaries of the intellectual landscape and reveals a worldview that began and ended primarily with Islamic narratives.

The second category includes universal histories - comprehensive historical accounts that typically range from the origins of the world to the specific time in which the historian lived. Within this category, Lārī cites several universal histories, all of which have a distinctive Islamic perspective. These histories include sources such as "*Ta'rīḥ al-umam wa-al-Mulūk*," "*Murūj al-dhahab*," "*Tajārib al-umam wa ta'āqibu'l-himam*," "*al-Kāmil fī l-ta'rīkh*," "*Nizām't-Tawārīḥ*," "*Ta'rīḥ-i Guzida*" *Tarikh-i Banākatī*, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsirī* and *al-Muntaẓam fī ta'rīḥ al-mulūk wa-al-umam* begin with the story of Adam, the first man, and move through the history of Islamic empires. It is noteworthy that although these histories are described as 'universal', their scope remains confined to the Islamic realm, similar to the approach adopted by Lārī in his own work. Consequently, these sources, like Lārī's *Mir'atu'l-Advār*, do not include regions of the world that are not closely associated with Islam.

In the third category, Lārī includes histories that deal specifically with the history of Persia, providing detailed accounts of early Persian dynasties and kingdoms. These works offer insights not only into the history of Persia but also into the broader context of Islamic civilizations. Among the sources in this category, "*al-Akhbar al-Tiwal*" stands out as a comprehensive history that covers the early Persian dynasties and interweaves them with other aspects of early Islamic history. "*Ta'rīḥu'l-Ḥamza*" focuses on the history of the Sassanids, providing a nuanced exploration of this pivotal period. "*Kitāb al-Yamīnī*" turns its attention to the Ghaznavids, offering a detailed account of their rule. "*Ta'rīḥ-i Bayhaqī*" also focuses on the Ghaznavids and the Eastern Seljukids, delving into the dynamics of these Persian kingdoms. The historical work of Ibn al-Muḳaffa' focuses on early Persian and pre-Islamic dynasties and contributes to the understanding of the historical development of Persia. "*Mavāhib-i Ilāhī*" is dedicated to the Muzaffarids and provides a focused examination of this particular Persian kingdom. Similarly, within the realm of poetry and verses referred to by Lārī in his "*Mir'atu'l-Advār*", the most prominent mention is given to Abu'l-Qāsem Ferdowsi's "*Shah-nāma*". This epic work falls within the realm of early and pre-Islamic Persian history. Written by Ferdowsi, "*Shah-nāma*" is distinguished by its richness of content, especially when it delves into the narratives of early and pre-Islamic Persian history, including the narratives of various Persian dynasties. Lārī's recognition and inclusion of Ferdowsi's *Shah-nāma* in his historical compilation may be interesting and unusual from a historical perspective. Although *Shah-nāma* is famous for its richness and rarity, it is not without its exaggerations, myths and various stories. Nevertheless, Lārī's use of this literary masterpiece underscores its enduring importance in preserving and narrating the cultural and historical heritage of ancient Persia. Despite the possible embellishments and mythical elements within the *Shah-nāma*, its role as an invaluable source of early Persian history remains undeniable.

In a separate category, Lārī includes universal histories which are tailored to specific dynasties and provide a detailed examination of their history. These histories offer detailed narratives that intertwine the broader context of Islamic civilization with the specific trajectory of these dynasties, and are written with a lens focused on specific ruling entities. Among the sources in this category, "*Rawzat aṣ-ṣafā'*," "*Zafarnāma*," and "*Majma' al-Ta'rīḥ*" stand out as histories written with the Timurids in mind, not

only covering the earlier dynasties but also placing a particular emphasis on the Timurids and their historical legacy.

Similarly, "*Ta'rīh-i Jahān-gushā*", "*Jāme' Al-Tawārīh*", and "*Ta'rīh-i Waṣṣāf*" are histories devoted to the Mongols and provide comprehensive accounts of their rule and influence. "*Kitāb al-Futūḥ*" is a history specifically written for the Umayyads. It is dedicated to al-Ma'mūn (d. 218/833). Two distinct works that deviate from the dominant historical focus within Lārī's sources are Abū 'Ubayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām's "*Ḥal'u'n-na'leyn ve iqtibāsu'n-nūr min mevzi 'i'l-qademeyn*", which focuses on Sufism and tafsīr, and Muḥammad Ufi's "*Jawāmi' ul-Hikāyāt*". Unlike the other sources mentioned, these two works do not belong directly to the historical genre. Abū 'Ubayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām's "*Ḥal'u'n-na'leyn ve iqtibāsu'n-nūr min mevzi 'i'l-qademeyn*" has a distinct focus on Sufism and *tafsīr*, offering insights into spiritual and interpretative dimensions rather than providing a chronological historical account. On the other hand, Muḥammad Ufi's "*Jawāmi' ul-Hikāyāt*" presents a collection of diverse stories on various topics ranging from moral values to governance and administration, as well as providing information on different geographical regions.

However, in order to demonstrate the differences and parallels between Mīrḥvānd's *Rawzat aṣ-ṣafā'* and Lārī's *Mir'atu'l-Advār*, a comprehensive list of sources referenced by Mīrḥvānd in his extensive historical work is presented here. Given the importance of *Rawzat aṣ-ṣafā'* as an authoritative reference, Lārī used it extensively in the composition of his historical narrative. Mīrḥvānd enumerates some 36 sources, a number that matches Lārī's citation count.³⁹³ However, Lārī emphasizes that, in addition to the sources mentioned, he also incorporated additional references into his narrative, particularly those concerning Ottoman history documented in Ottoman Turkish. In particular, twenty-two of these sources overlap between *Rawzat aṣ-ṣafā'* and *Mir'atu'l-Advār*.

Similarly, within the aforementioned pool of 36 sources, 14 are absent from the repertoire of sources cited by Lārī in *Mir'atu'l-Advār*. *Mir'atu'l-Advār* has an additional set of 14 different sources exclusive to its narrative framework. Interesting

³⁹³ Mīr Mīrkhavnd, *Rawzat Al-Safa*, 1994, 1,2,3:12–13.

questions about Lārī's historiographical methodology arise from his omission of these 14 sources. This omission provides an opportunity to re-examine Lārī's approach as a historian. One plausible explanation for Lārī omitting these 14 sources available to Mīrḥvānd is that they are primarily concerned with Islamic history. As noted above, *Rawzat aṣ-ṣafā'* is a seminal work in Persian historiography, containing a wealth of sources relating to Islamic history. Many of these sources, which may explain their absence in Lārī's historical narrative, shed light on aspects of Islamic history and Islamic studies.

Mīrḥvānd's list of 14 sources in the *Rawzat aṣ-ṣafā'*, which are not included in the *Mir'atu'l-Advār* written by Lārī.

- Kabīr al-Dīn 'Irāqī³⁹⁴
- Abū al-Ḳāsim Kāshānī (d. VIII. /XIV. century)
- Abu al-Faḏl al-Mikālī³⁹⁵ (d.?)
- Abū al-'Abbās al-Sayyārī (d. 342/953-54)
- Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmed Sayyārī al-Marwazī³⁹⁶
- Abū Ishāq al-Bazzāz (d.234/848/849)
- 'Aqīl al-Balkhī³⁹⁷ (d.316/928)
- 'Abd Allah ibn Aḥmed Ka'bi (d. 319/931)
- 'Abd al-Ghāfir ibn Ismā'īl Fārisī (d.484/1091)
- Ḥasan Nizāmī (d. 626/1229 [?])
- al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī (d. 355/966)
- Abū Mansūr al-Tha'alībī (d.429/1039)

³⁹⁴ Kabīr al-Dīn 'Irāqī was the descendant of Fakhr al-Dīn 'Irāqī (d. 688/1289) and the grandson of Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā (d. 661/1262 [?]). Fakhr al-Dīn 'Irāqī gained fame as a prominent mystical poet. Inheriting his father's mystical leanings, Kabīr al-Dīn 'Irāqī followed in his footsteps and remained closely associated with him. However, beyond this familial association and his own mystical pursuits, little information is available about Kabīr al-Dīn 'Irāqī. Mīrḥvānd makes reference to Kabīr al-Dīn 'Irāqī by name, but does not furnish the reader with any details regarding his works or the sources he utilised.

³⁹⁵ Abu al-Fadl al-Mikālī was an Arabic poet and prose stylist who is associated with the Samanid-Ghaznavid era. He is known to have compiled a *Dīwān*, a collection of poems. It is plausible that Mīrḥvānd drew upon al-Mikālī's poetic oeuvre as a source for the period under discussion.

³⁹⁶ Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmed Sayyārī al-Marwazī (c. 200-268) was a prominent figure in the field of Shāfi'ī jurisprudence and ḥadīṣ scholarship during the third/ninth century.

³⁹⁷ 'Aqīl al-Balkhī (d. 316/928), a renowned ḥadīṣ scholar from Balkh, was highly regarded for his exceptional ability to memorise and was considered trustworthy by his contemporary ḥadīṣ scholars.

- al-Wāqidī (d. 207/823)
- al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 216/831)

In contrast to Mīrḥānd, Lārī shows an increased emphasis on sources relating to later Islamic empires, especially the Timurid dynasty. Therefore, the sources that are absent from *Rawzat aṣ-ṣafāʿ* but present in Lārī's *Mir'atu'l-Advār* focus predominantly on Islamic dynasties and empires. Notably, these Islamic empires were predominantly of Persian and Turkic origin. Consequently, *Rawzat aṣ-ṣafāʿ* serves as an important source for Lārī, who sees it primarily as a chronicle of the Timurid era.

To sum up valuable insights into the structure and emphasis of Lārī's universal history can be gained by analyzing his list of sources. The chronological sequence of his work, beginning with the creation of the world and moving through the pre-Islamic dynasties with an emphasis on the Persian rulers, is consistent with the sources available to him. In line with the wealth of sources he cites in these areas is his extensive coverage of Islamic history, particularly the chapters on the Prophet, the Mongols and the Timurids. Lārī's omission of Mughals from his historical narration is indeed remarkable, especially considering that he spent some time at Mughal court. It suggests a deliberate choice on Lārī's part that Ṣahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur and the subsequent Mughal rulers, including the Bāburids, are not mentioned. There could be several reasons for the decision to exclude the Mughals. It may have resulted from limited access to Mughal or Bāburid sources during his stay at the Mughal court, or it may stem from a specific focus on other dynasties and regions within his general history. The last two chapters on the Safavids and the Ottomans, however, are intriguing.

There is a noticeable lack of sources specific to the Safavids, which results in a relatively brief treatment of this dynasty. Although *Rawzat aṣ-ṣafāʿ* does include sections on the Safavids, the lack of a dedicated source may explain the limited coverage. On the Ottoman front, Lārī mentions the use of certain sources without explicitly naming them, which makes it difficult to identify the specific references to the Ottomans. Lārī was not an eyewitness to all the Ottoman history. However, his reliance on written sources suggests an informed account derived from historical records. The absence of the names of the Ottoman sources adds an element of mystery

to his narrative and leaves room for speculation as to the origin of the Ottoman historical information he provides.

Lārī's method of sourcing and the depth of his historical narrative reveal the difficult challenges and multiple layers involved in compiling a universal history covering different periods and dynasties. His choice of specific universal histories deliberately highlights Islamic narratives, stressing a historical framework centered on the development of Islamic empires. This focus reflects the dominant intellectual milieu of the sixteenth century, which was characterized by an Islamic worldview that shaped historical narratives within the Islamic cultural and geographical context. However, a conscious decision on Lārī's part is evident in the absence of any specific sources for the Safavids and Ottomans. By refusing to source the Safavids, he seems to have taken a personal stance against including them in his narrative. On the other hand, since linguistic barriers would not have been an obstacle, the lack of Ottoman sources may be due to Lārī's possible disinterest in Ottoman history. Universal histories and works on the Ottoman dynasty written by Persian historians were available in Persian during Lārī's time. The complexities involved in writing a universal history require decisions to include and exclude, depending on the priorities of the historian, the available sources, and the narrative they wish to establish.

I will present a comprehensive list of works attributed to Lārī at the end of this chapter. The identification of Lārī's works has proven to be a difficult task due to the discrepancies between different sources, which often give different titles and details. For example, an initial review of the works listed in the Encyclopedia of Islam revealed that many of these works were either not located in the places indicated or were incorrectly attributed to Lārī.³⁹⁸

³⁹⁸ The results of the research are presented, concluding with a list of 34 works by Lārī, recorded in the collections of the Süleymaniye Manuscript Library, which can be found in Appendix 4 at the end of this dissertation

CHAPTER IV

BETWEEN SILENCE AND NARRATION: LĀRĪ'S PORTRAYAL OF THE SAFAVIDS

4.1. Introduction

Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Lārī's comprehensive historical account is of particular importance, especially in the sections dealing with the Safavid³⁹⁹ and Ottoman Empires. This is primarily due to the author's unique perspective, having traversed and interacted with all three of the aforementioned empires, namely the Safavids, Mughals, and Ottomans. In the parts of his work contained in the *Mir'atu'l-Advār* that are devoted to these empires, particularly the Safavids, it is evident that Lārī draws extensively on his own personal experience. While he does incorporate external sources into his narrative, certain sections on the Safavid dynasty appear to be more personal observations than systematic analysis of historical sources. In particular, the section on the history of the Safavids is one of the shortest and least detailed sections of his work. However, it also contains the most vehement and individualistic criticism articulated by an Ottoman-based historian when discussing the Safavid dynasty.

It is notable that Lārī himself came from the Safavid Empire, the very territory of his birth and early education. Paradoxically, the Safavids, whose empire so shaped his own life, are conspicuously absent from his narrative. To remedy this omission, he includes the Safavid dynasty in the chapter devoted to Uzun Ḥasan (d. 882/1478) and his descendants, a brief ten-page examination that focuses primarily on the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu dynasty, which reached its zenith under Ḥasan Beg, also known as Uzun Ḥasan. The importance of Lārī's perspective and historical interpretation in these

³⁹⁹ Lārī's historical account does not contain a chapter devoted exclusively to the Safavids, as mentioned above. Instead, Chapter IX is entitled 'Aq Qoyunlū'. However, at the end of this chapter, Lārī includes sections on Safavid history. Since the primary aim of this study is to examine Lārī's history in the context of the three great Islamic empires - the Ottoman, the Mughal and the Safavid - I have assigned this chapter to his coverage of the Safavids.

sections cannot be overestimated. He overlooks the dynasty of his own time and place of birth, a historical paradox worthy of investigation. Moreover, the 16th century, in which Lārī lived and wrote, witnessed the height of the Ottoman-Safavid rivalry. Curiously, Lārī opts for brevity and avoids in-depth details when discussing this epochal rivalry. Instead, he focuses more on Uzun Ḥasan or Ḥasan Beg, than on the Safavids themselves. Shah Ismā‘īl I and Shah Ṭahmāsp I the central figures of the Safavid dynasty, receive only cursory treatment in his narrative. This chapter is structured to address three key aspects. First, we will consider Lārī's perspective on the historical positioning of the Shī‘aa dynasty within the broader global narrative. We will examine the style and method of historiography he employs, exploring the ways in which he uses historiography as a vehicle for conveying his ideological underpinnings. Particular attention will be paid to how Lārī's counterpart of Safavid historiographical model evolves into a distinct paradigm as he injects his personal interpretations into the historiographical process. The second facet of our analysis will revolve around Lārī's use of the Safavid historiographical method to discredit the legitimacy of the Safavid dynasty. Lārī incorporates several elements commonly found in Safavid historiography; however, his purpose in doing so is to challenge and undermine the Safavids' ideological claims to legitimate rule.

Firstly, the historiographical approach of the Safavid dynasty is markedly different from that of the Timurid period, although there are many similarities that suggest a continuity between the two. One important difference lies in the use of language. While Timurid historiography is characterised by its clarity and focus on content, Safavid historiography prioritises stylistic and linguistic elegance. Safavid historians are renowned for the elaborate and eloquent manner in which they present their narratives. Second, the approach to legitimacy differs between the two historiographical traditions. Safavid historians considered it essential to address the issue of legitimacy by emphasizing the religious and spiritual credentials of their dynasty. In contrast, Timurid historians did not prioritise spirituality; instead, they focused on tracing Tīmūr's lineage back to Genghis Ḥān in order to establish a genealogical basis for his authority. For instance, in several sections, he openly questions the validity of the Safavids, and I will analyze the strategies he employs in this regard. Finally, as we conclude this chapter, our examination will extend to the biographical component of

Lārī's work, where we will analyze his underlying motivations for introducing intellectuals and scholars into the narrative.

Furthermore, our aim is to place this chapter in the wider context of Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Lārī's life and the historical milieu in which he operated. In addition, we will undertake a comprehensive examination of the Ottoman point of view, particularly as articulated by Muṣṭafā 'Ālī, as well as the Safavid perspective offered by Ḥvāndmīr. Through a comparative analysis of these two contemporaneous historical accounts of the same events, we seek to identify both the differences and the similarities between Lārī's narrative and that of his Ottoman contemporary as well as his main Safavid source, *Ḥabīb al-siyār*. A close examination of his sections on the Safavids raises a compelling question: given his background as a scholar born in Safavid territory and educated in the Safavid context, where do the Safavids fit into Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Lārī's universal history? How do the Safavids fit into the framework of his world and ideology? Therefore, the basic question that guides this chapter can be succinctly formulated as follows: "Where are the Safavids in Lārī's world?"

4.2. Lārī's Reversal of Safavid Historiographical Traditions

The geographical region commonly known as 'Persia' or 'Iran' from the Arab conquest of the Sasanian Empire to the Mongol invasions lacked a clearly defined political identity. Historical writing became the primary means by which smaller regional and religious communities, as well as the larger collective entity, developed a coherent sense of identity. Consequently, a wide range of literary works played a role in preserving the historical record in significant quantities. These works took various forms, including poetry, literary collections, compilations of historical anecdotes, curiosities, biographical dictionaries, geographical descriptions, hagiographies and other texts. Historical writing in this context doesn't refer to the study of history itself, but to the study of the process of recording history. In modern discussions, the term encompasses several related but distinct areas of inquiry. From an educational point of view, it encompasses the basic training in the practical aspects of the production of historical narratives, involving skills such as source identification and evaluation, bibliography, manuscript preparation and related tasks. By and large, historiography is a broad field of study. Significantly, as Tilmann Trausch states a crucial role of

history is to convey meaning and persuade, and this purpose would be compromised if these historical accounts were not treated as accurate.⁴⁰⁰ By examining these historical texts as unique written compositions, we can gain a relatively accurate understanding of the authors' intentions, their intellectual contexts, and their worldviews. This approach allows us to gain insights into both the personal perspectives of the authors and those of their readers. Conversely, only a minority of chroniclers revealed substantial details about their own lives. Information about the chroniclers themselves can, however, be found in other historical accounts or sources such as biographical dictionaries.⁴⁰¹

Furthermore, the consideration of a chronicle's intended audience remains a particularly challenging and relatively unexplored facet of historical writing well beyond the sixteenth century. Although it is now widely accepted that chronicles were written primarily for the contemporaries of their time rather than for later historians, the precise individuals at the royal court who had access to these chronicles often remain uncertain. The initial audience of the author at the time of writing plays a central role in Persian historiography from any pre-modern period, mainly because of its immediate relevance. This aspect gives history a fundamentally political, normative and educational role. It explains why chronicles tend to emphasize matters of importance to military and administrative elites. In essence, the readership of these historical works shapes both the nature of the historical content and its intended purpose, which often corresponds to the political and educational demands of the time. Scholars such as Sholeh Quinn and Charles Melville have argued forcefully that Safavid histories were created for an exceptionally exclusive and limited readership. The composition of this select audience is likely to have had a profound effect on the content and arguments presented in these historical accounts, and significantly influenced the structure of the chronicles.⁴⁰²

⁴⁰⁰ Tilmann Trausch, "Continuing A Legacy in Times of Change, Courtly Historiography in the Sixteenth-Century Safavid World," in *The Safavid World*, ed. Rudi Matthee (New York, NY: Routledge, 2022), 196.

⁴⁰¹ Sholeh Alysia Quinn, "Safavid Historiography, The Place of the Safavids in Iranian History," in *The Safavid World*, ed. Rudi Matthee (New York, NY: Routledge, 2022), 173.

⁴⁰² Sholeh Alysia Quinn and Charles Melville, "Safavid Historiography," in *Persian Historiography*, ed. C. P. Melville, *A History of Persian Literature / General Ed.: Ehsan Yarshater*, Vol. 10 (London: Tauris, 2012), 210.

Research on Persian historiography tends to be limited to historiographical endeavors within specific dynasties. In other words, numerous works focus on different Persianate dynasties and their distinctive historiographical models, but there is a lack of a comprehensive study that encompasses the entirety of Persian historiography from the Middle Ages to the modern era. In particular, there are no comprehensive biographical studies of the prominent Safavid historians. Moreover, comparative research, which would involve placing Safavid Persian writing in the context of concurrent Mughal, Uzbek, and Ottoman traditions of historical writing, is still in its infancy and requires further development.⁴⁰³ Only three book-length studies in European languages on historical writing under the Safavids exist today.⁴⁰⁴ Trausch refers to three important works in his study. The first is Sholeh Quinn's "*Historical Writing during the Reign of Shah 'Abbās: Ideology, Imitation, and Legitimacy in the Safavid Chronicles*", published in 2000. The second is his own work entitled "*Formen Höfischer Historiographie Im 16. Jahrhunderts: Geschichtsschreibung Unter Den Frühen Safaviden: 1501-1578*", published in 2015. The third is Philip Bockhold's dissertation, "*Weltgeschichtsschreibung zwischen Schia und Sunna. Ḥvāndamīr's (d. 1535-6) Ḥabīb al-siyar und seine Rezeption im Handschriftenzeitalter*", published in 2018.

The Safavids are not as widely recognized for their contributions to historiography, despite their extensive and varied efforts at record keeping.⁴⁰⁵ The Safavid era was a significant period in Persian historiography, marked by religious upheaval, intellectual and political change, and the development of new approaches to recording history. This era witnessed the emergence and development of a new perspective on time and techniques for documenting historical events.

In particular, the most significant feature of this historiography was the coexistence of pre-Safavid models and regulations, alongside the establishment of a distinctive Safavid structure for historiography. Safavid historians continued to adhere to and follow these earlier models in recording events. Prominent Safavid historians,

⁴⁰³ Sholeh Alysia Quinn, "Safavid Dynasty," in *Encyclopedia Iranica*, December 15, 2003, iranicaonline.org.

⁴⁰⁴ Trausch, "Continuing A Legacy," 183.

⁴⁰⁵ Quinn, "Safavid Historiography," 164.

including Ḥvāndmīr⁴⁰⁶ (d. 942/1535-36), Kāzī Aḥmed Kūmī, and Iskandar Beg Munshī consciously produced their works in the spirit of Timurid models, seeking to match and in some cases exceed their quality.⁴⁰⁷ For instance, Amīnī Heravī's (d. 941/1535) narration of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn's (d. 735/1334) dream in his work "*Futūḥāt-i Shāhī*" illustrates the continuing historiographical practices that were carried over from the Timurid era into the Safavid period. According to the narration of Amīnī Heravī:

One night, Shaykh Ṣafī had a dream in which he found himself sitting on the roof of the mosque in Ardabil. Suddenly, the world was illuminated as if by sunlight. On closer inspection, he realised that the radiance illuminating the world was emanating from himself. When Shaykh Ṣafī related this dream to his mother, she interpreted it as a sign that he would become a figure who would illuminate the world with the light of his guidance.⁴⁰⁸

In Islamic historiography, from the Timurid to the Safavid and Ottoman periods, the tradition of visionary dreams has a long history. In these traditions, future emperors or kings often have dreams in which their future will be revealed to them, or in which they receive signs indicating that they and their offspring will rule for long periods of time, bringing enlightenment to the world through their presence.⁴⁰⁹

In the pre-modern world, individuals were not trained as historians. Instead, people became historians because they chose to be. This role was often taken on by court secretaries, known as munshi, who continued to write these historical accounts. Historical writing was also undertaken by individuals from a variety of backgrounds, such as court astrologers and accountants.⁴¹⁰ These individuals were tasked with recording human history from the Safavid perspective. For example, the official astrologer of Shah 'Abbās (d. 1038/1629) Jalāl al-Dīn Yazdī (d. 1027/1618), was often in the presence of the king and had the opportunity to witness his actions. He probably

⁴⁰⁶ Ḥvāndamīr is known for his work as a historian and promoter of the Safavid dynasty. However, historical evidence shows that at least until 1517 he maintained a certain distance from fully aligning himself with this dynasty, which was characterised by a mixture of millenarian beliefs, Sufi mysticism and Shī'a Islam. For more see, Colin Mitchell, "Exploring Patronage, Genre, and Scholar-Bureaucracy: The Trans-Imperial Career of Ḥvāndamīr (d. 1534)," *Entangled Religions* 13, no. 5 (August 15, 2022), doi:10.46586/er.13.2022.9629.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 166.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibrāhīm Ibn-Mīrak Jalāl-ad-Dīn Amīnī, *Futūḥāt-i Shāhī*, ed. Muḥammad Riḍā Naṣrī, Čāp-i 1, *Silsila-i intiṣārāt-i Anḡuman-i Ātār wa Mafāḥir-i Farhangī* 294 (Tihārān: Anḡuman-i Ātār wa Mafāḥir-i Farhangī, 1383), 12.

⁴⁰⁹ Read more about this in, Özgen Felek and Alexander D. Knysh, eds., *Dreams and Visions in Islamic Societies* (Albany, N.Y: State University of New York Press, 2012).

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 175.

documented them to help him make astrological predictions.⁴¹¹ Jalal-al-Dīn's use of technical language in his narrative suggests that he probably had a role in the drafting of official royal court letters and documents, which he incorporated into his narrative. In addition, historical works, mainly hagiographies, were written by his son and grandson. This link suggests a relationship between astrologers and historical writing during the Safavid period.⁴¹² Safavid historiography did not emerge from nowhere. Rather, models from the Timurid and even pre-Timurid periods were used, modified and expanded by the earliest Safavid chroniclers.⁴¹³ Safavid historians skillfully used elements of both the Turkoman and Timurid historical legacies to construct a comprehensive narrative that encompassed their western and eastern predecessors.⁴¹⁴

The historiography of the Safavid dynasty underwent a transformation, encompassing a diverse collection of texts produced by different authors. Some of these historians followed the styles of the Timurid era, emphasizing the continuing influence of traditional historiographical methods. Conversely, various Safavid chroniclers introduced new formats, merged existing genres, and extended their historiographical practices to neighboring empires.⁴¹⁵ A secondary influence on Safavid historians was the western Turkmen historiographical tradition, with the two historiographical strands of the Timurids in the east and the Turkmen in the west coming together in the hands of Safavid historians. Despite these antecedents, Safavid historiography developed its own distinctive features as the dynasty consolidated its rule.⁴¹⁶ The western Turkmen traditions of the Aq Qoyunlu and their historical narratives were shaped by tribal and regional influences, in contrast to the more Persianized historiography of the Timurids. However, as Charles Melville suggests, the differences between these eastern and western traditions are primarily due to the fact that the respective chroniclers were writing on behalf of different dynastic regimes, rather than any intrinsically different viewpoints or methodologies.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹¹ Quinn, "Safavid Dynasty."

⁴¹² Ibid.

⁴¹³ Quinn, "Safavid Historiography," 165.

⁴¹⁴ Charles Melville, "Between Tabriz and Herat: Persian Historical Writing in the 15th Century," in *Iran und iranisch geprägte Kulturen: Studien zum 65. Geburtstag von Bert G. Fragner*, ed. Markus Ritter, Ralph Kauz, and Birgitt Hoffmann, Beiträge zur Iranistik, Bd. 27 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2008), 38.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid., 166.

⁴¹⁶ Quinn, "Safavid Dynasty."

⁴¹⁷ Melville, *Persian Historiography*, 213.

Nevertheless, it could be argued that it is largely because of the association with the sheer volume and scholarly sophistication of the historical works produced by the late Timurid court that the term 'Timurid school of historiography' has persisted.⁴¹⁸ The purposes of courtly historiography, the means of implementing them and the style of shaping the past into a narrative form did not change fundamentally from the beginnings of Persianate historical writing in the late tenth century.⁴¹⁹ When recounting historical events, Safavid historians predominantly used an approach known as imitative writing. This technique involved selecting an earlier text as a model and then updating it to suit the stylistic, political and legitimizing tendencies of their contemporary era. They recorded past developments, such as battles and campaigns, in great detail and as a coherent narrative in highly adorned rhymed prose with significant use of lyric.⁴²⁰ The Safavid historians placed the king at the center of all their discourse, and the monarch played a central role in all the narratives of the Safavids.⁴²¹

In stark contrast, aspects such as religion, social and economic conditions, the experiences of the common people, women and other segments of society receive little or no mention in these accounts.⁴²² Governors of smaller provinces or cities are mentioned only in cases of upheaval or disobedience, while lower-ranking members of the administration are mentioned only in connection with conflicts. Similarly, scholars and poets are mentioned only when they take part in military and political actions. In essence, storytelling and the creation of a compelling narrative often took priority over strict historical accuracy in these chronicles. As Trausch points out in these chronicles, which focus mainly on war and conflict, important aspects of Safavid society are often overlooked or omitted. As a result, little attention is paid to the Safavid world and political narratives are prioritized over a full account of Safavid life.⁴²³

⁴¹⁸ Melville, "Between Tabriz and Herat: Persian Historical Writing in the 15th Century," 38.

⁴¹⁹ Trausch, "Continuing A Legacy," 196.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*, 184.

⁴²¹ Quinn, "Safavid Dynasty."

⁴²² Trausch, "Continuing A Legacy," 188.

⁴²³ *Ibid.*, 190.

These chronicles often overlook or omit important aspects of the Safavid world itself. This omission is part of a broader trend in historiography that tends to emphasize stories of war and conflict, reflecting a politically normative narrative. This is not specific to the Safavid period, but a general problem in many historical contexts. Due to their direct influence on the course of history and the availability of sources that emphasize these aspects, historians have often given priority to political and military events. In the case of the Safavid world, however, this tendency is particularly limiting, as it does not provide a complete account of Safavid society and its structure due to the predominant focus on political narratives.

The most important new structural element in the Safavid histories is the biographical section. Ḥvāndmīr was the first in the Safavid domains to fuse biographical material with the historical chronicle at the end of each section of his *Ḥabīb al-siyār* and later Safavid historians such as Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, Ḳāzi Aḥmed Ḳūmī, and Iskandar Beg Munshī continued the tradition; many Safavid histories include sections providing biographical information on important military leaders, bureaucrats, artists, clerics, scholars, and other important high-ranking individuals.

Although the inclusion of biographies is not a phenomenon unique to Safavid historiography - it has a longer tradition in Islamic historiography - the Safavids continued and expanded this tradition within their own historical narratives. What I am arguing here is that the Safavids maintained and developed the practice of including biographical accounts in their historiographical works. Lārī includes biographical details in almost all of his chapters. In addition, as the following pages will show, Lārī, in response to the Safavid style of writing history, includes his own favourites in the biographical sections. Instead of introducing prominent Safavid scholars, he introduces scholars he considers important. In this way, he shifts the Safavid-centred narrative to his own self-centred narrative style. He personalises and enriches the historical narrative by including his own favourite figures in the biographical sections, although he often presents individuals who are comparable to those found in earlier historical accounts.

Chronicles held a prominent position in the Safavid court in the context of the sixteenth century, which is our focus of interest. This was particularly the case since Lārī's birth

and life had been in that century. In a broader sense, the creation of chronicles served several primary purposes: To record and interpret historical events, to validate and legitimize the ruling authority, and to impart ethical lessons from history, essentially as a practical guide for the present.⁴²⁴ Moreover, chronicles are intentional and essentially rhetorical, interested at least as much in meaning as in facts and as secretaries or court officials.⁴²⁵ In the early sixteenth-century Safavid historiography, most of the chronicles written are universal histories.⁴²⁶ Shohleh Quinn suggests that the predominant focus on general histories during the reigns of Ismā'īl I and Ṭahmāsp I was influenced by the fact that the Safavid dynasty was relatively new to power. As a result, chroniclers found it convenient to add a section on Safavid history at the end of a general history. This approach served the dual purpose of placing the Safavids in the historical context of a succession of Persian dynasties and politically legitimizing their rule as the latest in that line.⁴²⁷ In the mid-sixteenth century, there was a shift towards various other genres of writing. Later, Safavid historiography returned to the production of universal histories.⁴²⁸

Most historical works in this century were produced during Shah Ṭahmāsp I's and Shah Ismā'īl II's reigns.⁴²⁹ Chroniclers looked back to the time of Shah Ismā'īl I and earlier with nostalgia and a desire to rewrite the history of that period.⁴³⁰ Claiming to tell the history of the world – while actually covering only parts of the Islamicate or Persianate world – from the creation of mankind to the scribes' own times. The only exception of this period can be Ḥasan-i Rūmlū. He gives far more information about the Safavids' neighbors, most notably the Ottomans and Uzbeks.⁴³¹ Ḥasan-i Rūmlū's *Aḥsanu't-Tawāriḥ* stands out for its exceptional level of detail when it comes to the Ottoman Empire. In particular, he incorporated histories from the Ottoman sphere into his work, with particular reference to İdrīs-i Bitlisī's *Hasht Behesht*. This suggests that in order to enhance the historical content and perspective of his own chronicle, Ḥasan-i Rūmlū drew on Ottoman sources, including works such as *Hasht Behesht*.

⁴²⁴ Ibid., 182.

⁴²⁵ Ibid., 195.

⁴²⁶ Ibid., 185.

⁴²⁷ Quinn, "Safavid Dynasty."

⁴²⁸ Quinn, "Safavid Historiography," 179.

⁴²⁹ Ibid., 173.

⁴³⁰ Ibid., 179.

⁴³¹ Trausch, "Continuing A Legacy," 186.

In terms of genre, during the second half of the sixteenth century the universal chronicle gave way to dynastic history in Safavid Iran. In terms of historical continuity, the tradition of dynastic history writing continued till the reign of Sām Mīrzā (d. 974/1566-67). As well as continuing and reviving various forms of historical writing from the previous era, new stylistic approaches emerged in the period following Shah ʿAbbās.⁴³² Nevertheless in addition to dynastic history, historians composed narratives about single events, such as a specific military campaign. As the Safavids sought to distinguish themselves politically and religiously from their Ottoman and Mughal neighbors, it is likely that notions of common ancestry and shared history would have been less popular.⁴³³ The Safavid state developed a historiographical tradition that emphasised its distinctiveness and superiority over the Ottoman Empire in order to establish and consolidate its legitimacy. For example, Amīnī Heravī, in his *Futūḥāt-i Shahī*, illustrates that:

Shaykh Ṣafī dreamt he was sitting on a mountain, with a long, concealed sword strapped around his waist and a sable fur hat on his head. Despite his efforts, he was unable to unsheathe the sword. Upon removing the hat, light emanated from his head, illuminating the world.⁴³⁴

Safavid historians often presented their history as a narrative of divine favor and just rule and drew explicit contrasts with Ottoman rule. Sometimes these contrasts were exaggerated to emphasize the virtues and achievements of the Safavid dynasty. This strengthened the identity of the Safavids as guardians of Shīʿa Islam and promoted a distinct Shīʿa identity vis-à-vis the Sunnī Ottomans.

The emphasis on Safavid origins was a new element in late Safavid historiography. We can say that sixteenth-century historians shared a common historical and intellectual context that shaped the way they wrote about and interpreted the past. It also suggests a degree of homogeneity in the way history was approached and recorded in the period. Only during the reign of Shah ʿAbbās did Persian historiography witness the composition of a number of historical works that we may characterize as popular history. They contain a great deal of dialog and have other characteristics suggesting that they were intended to be read aloud in places like coffee houses by storytellers.⁴³⁵

⁴³² Quinn, "Safavid Historiography," 179.

⁴³³ *Ibid.*, 175.

⁴³⁴ Amīnī, *Futūḥāt-i šāhī*, 1383, 12.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.* 179.

When it comes to the identity of these historians, we are told that most of the historians of the sixteenth-century Safavids were court historians. There is little biographical information on the historians of sixteenth-century Safavids. It is to be believed that most held relatively minor positions within the court, serving as scribes, secretaries or assessors, particularly in Qazvin.⁴³⁶ We are even told that they no longer left the city to accompany their rulers' mobile courts, as most had a rather reserved relationship with their Safavid elites.⁴³⁷ Though these Safavid scribes did not travel to collect their material, still they had access to first-hand information and also eyewitnesses many of the incidents they were recording. However, when it came to documenting Safavid rule, it seems that early scribes were equally secretive.⁴³⁸ In order to create compelling narratives, their use of source material was impressive in its ingenuity. They emphasized certain events, downplayed others, and even resorted to the invention of elements. They restructured the chronology of events to emphasize, minimize or invent causal connections. To illustrate their main ideas, they strategically positioned notable events or key episodes as narrative focal points. In spite of their apparent simplicity, these narratives are in fact complex compositions with occasional inconsistencies that serve a variety of purposes through the use of a wide range of literary and rhetorical techniques.

After the establishment of the Safavid dynasty under Shah Ismā‘īl I, the early Safavid historiography began to focus on the young king's reign and promptly undertook the task of reworking the historical narrative of the Safavid period that preceded his reign.⁴³⁹ However, it was not until after the death of Shah Ismā‘īl I that Safavid historiography really began to flourish. A great enthusiasm for historical writing was shown by Shah Ṭahmāsp I. He is the only Safavid monarch to have written his own memoirs. It is known as *Tazkira -yi Shah Ṭahmāsp*. Initially, Shah Ṭahmāsp I acted as the primary patron of this historical narrative. The second generation of historians under Shah Ṭahmāsp I continued to develop the historiographical traditions established by Amīnī Heravī and Ḥvāndmīr, which later came to characterize Safavid

⁴³⁶ Trausch, "Continuing A Legacy," 186.

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.*, 183.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*, 186.

⁴³⁹ Quinn, "Safavid Historiography," 167.

historiography. All the Safavid historians of the second generation wrote their works in the capital city of ̤azwīn.⁴⁴⁰

To summarise the discussion so far: Safavid historiography emerged as a continuation of Timurid historiography, but with distinct differences. Safavid historiography is characterised by a greater emphasis on language and style, while continuing the historiographical tradition of the Timurids. In addition, by focusing on the spiritual and religious lineage of their dynasty, the Safavids addressed the issue of legitimacy in their chronicles and dreams and visions were integral to their narratives. In contrast to Timurid historians, who focused on establishing Timur's identity as a leader, in the following sections, I will argue that there are certain features that are consistently present in the Safavid histories, and that Lārī is particularly attentive to these features in his narrative.

Historical works were produced throughout the Safavid period, with the exception of the reign of Shah Muḥammad Ḥodā-bende (d. 1003-04/1595). Ḥodā-bende does not appear to have officially commissioned any historical works, so the historians of Shah ‘Abbās (r. 1588-1629) began writing after a ten-year historiographical gap. During the reign of Ḥodā-bende however, the events of this earlier period were included in the narratives of the chroniclers of Shah ‘Abbās. Safavid historiography continued to develop after Shah ‘Abbās. During his reign the official court chroniclers were more interested in events related to the king and what was happening in the capital in terms of regional coverage.⁴⁴¹

The historiography of the Safavid Empire emerged as a development of Timurid historiography. The majority of Safavid historians, with the title *Munshi*’ (court chroniclers or master stylists), were in charge of documenting the history of the empire in the form of chronicles. With a revival of universal history in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, their focus shifted from universal to dynastic history. Interestingly, Safavid historians rarely discussed their own role, but a few provided prefaces explaining what they intended to achieve. They also included biographies of scholars, intellectuals, and poets, thus providing a multi-faceted view of Safavid

⁴⁴⁰ Quinn, “Safavid Dynasty.”

⁴⁴¹ Ibid.

society. Emphasizing eyewitness accounts and court documents for their authenticity, these historians meticulously gathered information from a variety of sources. They offered a unique perspective on the history and culture of the empire, with the Safavid Shah at the center of their narrative. In essence, the shah is the main character, and everyone around him plays secondary roles. The entire narrative revolves around this single figure, a focus that is particularly evident in the biographical sections. Scholars and intellectuals who are integral to the Safavid identity are prominently featured, but their contributions and importance are often framed in such a way as to emphasize their relationship with the Shah and the state, thus maintaining the central focus on the Shah.

Lārī does not support the Shī‘a policies of the Safavid Empire. He is critical of their policies, their hypocrisy towards scholars, and their questioning of their legitimacy and identity. In the course of his history, Lārī does not express hatred of Shiite identity per se, but he openly opposes Safavid politics. My impression is that what troubles Lārī more is not just politics, but his personal trials and sufferings. The emphasis in his biographical sections on his mentors and teachers is indicative of a yearning for stability in his hometown. It may be the case that he had to migrate frequently in search of a stable life and career as a result of Safavid politics.

Lārī wrote his universal history *Mir’atu’l-Advār* while he was residing in Baghdad in 1566. However, Lārī was born in Lārīstan⁴⁴², south of Shiraz⁴⁴³. His hometown came under Safavid sovereignty during the reign of Shah ‘Abbās I (r.1587-1629).⁴⁴⁴ However by that time Lārī had already left for Shiraz for the reason of getting a better education⁴⁴⁵. In Shiraz he studied at the *Manṣūriyya* Madrasa. In *Manṣūriyya* madrasa, he received his education in different branches of science from the important scholars of the period which gave him a solid educational background. He took lessons from renowned scholars of the time such as Manṣūr Dashtakī, Mir Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusain

⁴⁴² The adoption of the pseudonym 'Lārī' suggests that he was from Shiraz. All sources reviewed in this study provide consistent information that he was born in Lār. However, a thorough examination of the available sources did not reveal any autobiographical writings by Lārī himself that would provide his birthplace.

⁴⁴³ Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in British Museum*, 115.

⁴⁴⁴ Muhammad Baqir Vusuqi, *Tarikh-i Mufaaaal-i Laristan* (Tihrān: Hamsaya Publishers, 2006), 91.

⁴⁴⁵ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2012, 1:27.

Lārī and Shams al-Dīn Ḥafīrī.⁴⁴⁶ Lārī studied the science of astronomy with Manṣūr Dashtakī.⁴⁴⁷

According to Reza Pourjavady, he appears to have studied the science of astronomy with Shams al-Dīn Ḥafīrī as well.⁴⁴⁸ Unfortunately no source gives information about the initial years after he finished his studies at the *Manṣūriyya* madrasa. However, since the *madrasa* years of Lārī coincided with the reign period of Shah Ṭahmāsp I (r.1576) it is understood that he did not spend much time in the territories of the Safavid Empire. From the beginning of the 16th century, with the establishment of the Safavid dynasty by Shah Ismā‘īl I and the formalisation of Shī‘ism in the Safavid territories, the activities of the Sunnīs, including those in Lār where the Lārī family resided, were increasingly restricted.

Lārī appears to have departed from his country conceivably for grounds related to his family’s possibly stalwart Sunnī background, which might have made it arduous for him to secure patronage from the Safavids who were a committed Shī‘ate dynasty.⁴⁴⁹ Probably it was for this reason that after completing his studies in Shiraz, he moved to the Mughal and Ottoman empires, centers where Sunnīs ruled. It is clear that Lārī had no animosity towards Shī‘as from an analysis of his work, especially his section on biographies. This is evidenced by the fact that religious differences were not a significant issue in his academic environment, as evidenced by the inclusion of Shī‘a teachers among those he studied with while living in Shiraz. Therefore, rather than personal or sectarian prejudices, it can be argued that the deterioration of Lārī’s situation was primarily a consequence of Safavid political dynamics.

An examination of the historical work of Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Lārī, "*Mir’atu’l-Advār*", reveals a striking dichotomy. Lārī consistently gives response to the Safavid model of historiography throughout his work, while the historical narrative devoted to the

⁴⁴⁶ Sholeh Alysia Quinn, *Persian Historiography across Empires: The Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals* (Cambridge New York: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 215.

⁴⁴⁷ Thomas Hockey, ed., *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, Springer Reference (New York, NY: Springer, 2007), 679.

⁴⁴⁸ Reza Pourjavady, "Muṣliḥ Al-Dīn Lārī’s and His Samples of the Sciences," *Oriens* 42, no. 3–4 (January 1, 2014): 299, doi:10.1163/18778372-04203002.

⁴⁴⁹ Tezcan, "Muṣliḥiddin Lārī (d. 1572): The Fate of an Immigrant Polymath in the Sixteenth Century Ottoman Empire," 616.

Safavid era remains concise and limited. I argue that Lārī's universal history, "*Mir'atu'l-Advār*," serves as a direct response to the Safavid style of historiography, particularly the universal histories produced during the reigns of Shah Ismā'īl I and Shah Ṭahmāsp I in the Safavid Empire. Moreover, as Charles Melville has shown in another context, Safavid authors display a significantly more elaborate and ornate style than the relatively straightforward and plain narratives of Timurid historians. In this respect, Lārī's account conforms to the stylistic convention of Safavid writing.

My argument, however, is that despite his use of the Safavid style and methodology of historical writing, he injects his own ideology into these structures. What I mean is that Lārī gives response the Safavid model as a framework, and incorporates his ideology in order to counter the Safavid approach to historiography. I will now present five key aspects that demonstrate Lārī's response to the Safavid historiographical model in his Universal History. I will also show how he injects his own ideology into each section in order to distinguish his work from the Safavids. Finally, I will illustrate this by using his universal history as a compelling example.

4.2.1. The Art of Making a Universal Story

Before embarking on the composition of his universal history, *Mir'atu'l-Advār*, for the Ottoman Sultan Selīm II in 1566, Lārī had distinguished himself in a wide range of scholarly disciplines. He excelled in "*ulūm-ı aqliye*" or speculative sciences and "*ulūm-ı naqliye*" or practical sciences, including fields such as *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), *tefsir* (Qur'ānic exegesis), and *ḥadiṣ* (prophetic tradition). He also made significant contributions in several other areas of scholarship. Lārī was one of the most versatile polymaths of his time, with a wide range of knowledge. His scholarly activities revolved mainly around writing commentaries on the works of earlier scholars. While his body of work, when examined today, includes a focus on philosophy and Islamic sciences, particularly *fiqh* and *Manṭik* (logic), a notable absence from his list of works prior to 1566 is a historical work. *Mir'atu'l-Advār*, the universal history he wrote and dedicated to Selīm II in 1566, is the only historical work attributed to him.

Tragically, Lārī completed this work towards the end of his career and died six years later in 1572.⁴⁵⁰ Lārī wrote his universal history in the sixteenth century. According to Sanjay Subrahmanyam what makes this period significant is the rise to prominence of the innovative form of universal history and world histories⁴⁵¹, which is to say history writing on a world scale.⁴⁵² He further argues that the sixteenth century represents a global historical opportunity not simply only for Europe but all the rest of the world.⁴⁵³ In the Ottoman context, Abdülkadir Özcan notes that during the reign of Sultan Süleyman (r. 1520-1566), which lasted almost half a century, various types of historical works were produced. Continuing the established tradition, these works treated Ottoman history as an extension of general world and Islamic history, alongside the *Tevārīh-i Āl-i ‘Osmān* works that began with the foundation of the Ottoman Empire. During Süleyman's reign, general histories were also written, starting from the creation of the world until the time of Süleyman. These observations underscore the global and interconnected nature of historiography during this period, emphasising how Ottoman historians engaged with broader trends in universal history, thereby situating works such as Lārī's *Mir'atu'l-Advār* within this intellectual and cultural milieu.

Notable among these works are Matrakçı Nasuh's (d. 971/1564) *Majmū' t-tawārīh*, Ramazanzāde Mehmed's (d. 979/1571) *Tārīh-i Nişancı*, and Muşliḥ al-Dīn Lārī's (d. 979/1572) *Mir'atu'l-Advār wa Mirkātu'l-Aḥbār*.⁴⁵⁴ Lārī's decision to conclude his professional life with a universal history in Persian was not a coincidence but a well thought plan of his. The timing of writing matched perfectly with the growing interest in universal histories in the Ottoman empire. Moreover, it was during the sixteenth century that the institution of *şehnāmecilik*, which was not very successful during the

⁴⁵⁰ Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, *Osmānlı Bilim Mirası* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2017), 396.

⁴⁵¹ The genre of universal history is based on a template in which symmetry is crucial. Of course, the history of the inner core could be written without explicit reference to the existence of the complementary zone, as is the case in most dynastic histories or histories of spatial entities such as Christendom or the Islamic lands. World history then extends the field by explicitly recognizing the history of the complementary zone. This is where world history differs from universal history, for world history is based on the recognition of the need for completeness, for a complete coverage, as it were, of the world. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "On World Historians in the Sixteenth Century," *University of California Press* 91, no. 1 (2005): 26–57.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*, 28.

⁴⁵³ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁴⁵⁴ Abdülkadir Özcan, "Osmanlı Tarihçiliğine ve Tarih Kaynaklarına Genel Bir Bakış," no. 1 (2013): 276.

reign of Meḥmed II (d 886/1481), became an official institution during the reign of Süleymān I.⁴⁵⁵ These works recount the heroic deeds of the Ottoman Sultans in Persian. They are written in an epic style similar to Ferdowsi's *Shah-nāme*, in the form of *maṣnawī*.⁴⁵⁶ Amid all this Lārī chose to write a universal history in Persian but not in the Ottoman-style of writing rather in Safavid style of writing.

He decided to write a universal history in the mid-sixteenth century, at a time when the Safavid Empire was turning to other genres of writing. By the middle of the century, the Safavid Empire, which had begun producing universal histories in the early sixteenth century, was experiencing a decline in such production. Later on, however, Safavid historiography would return to the production of universal histories.⁴⁵⁷ In other words, he chose to respond to the Safavid style at a time when the Safavids were not actively engaged in writing universal histories. Instead, it was his host empire, the Ottomans, who showed a strong interest in producing universal histories in Persian.

As noted above, the Ottoman Empire experienced significant and steady growth during the long reign of Sultan Süleymān. Reflecting the Ottomans' desire to emphasise their global dominance and expansion, a universal approach to documenting Ottoman conquests emerged in the 16th century. The result was the production of historical works that demonstrated the universality and growth of their empire and asserted their status as a pre-eminent world power. In response to this Ottoman interest, Lārī chose to compose a universal history. Conversely, Safavid historiography during the same period tended to focus on chronicles specific to individual reigns.

4.2.2. Biographies as Endnotes

The inclusion of biographies at the end of Lārī's work is another facet of the Safavid style of historiography. This historiographical feature is particularly well known in the Arabic language and, by extension, in the local historiography of early Persia. *Tārīkh-i Ṭaberistān* of Ibn-i Isfandiyār (d. 613/1216) is a prominent example of such historic

⁴⁵⁵ Kadir Alper, "Türk Edebiyatında Süleymānnāmeler," *International Periodical For The Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic*, no. 9 (2016): 269.

⁴⁵⁶ Christine Woodhead, "Şehnameci," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi*, 2010, 456.

⁴⁵⁷ Quinn, "Safavid Historiography," 179.

works. At the end of each chapter, Lārī includes biographies of prominent scholars, poets and intellectuals of the time. The inclusion of scholars at the end of his chapter on the Safavids is particularly noteworthy and fascinating. Lārī's obvious awareness of the scholars and intellectuals who flourished during this period is undeniable. This fascinating facet of his writing invites us to delve deeper into his historical preferences and priorities.

4.2.3. Spotlight on the Shah

Another aspect of Safavid history writing was the central position of the Shah. I am not suggesting that this aspect is exclusive to Safavid historiography. As noted above, Safavid historiography was strongly influenced by Timurid models in which the ruler often played a central role in the narrative. In the 16th century, there was a trend towards imitative writing, in which Safavid historians imitated earlier Timurid styles and themes. However, I would argue that the central role of the shah in Safavid historiography served to reaffirm the legitimacy of the ruler's authority and rule. This emphasis on the central role of the shah reflects not only Timurid traditions, but also Safavid political ideologies and the need to portray the shah as a powerful and legitimate leader.

By focusing on the shah's actions and decisions, Safavid historians sought to reinforce the narrative of royal authority and justify the shah's position as the rightful ruler of Iran. Although the central role of the shah in Safavid historiography bears similarities to Timurid models, his specific function in the Safavid political and cultural context underscores his unique role in asserting and legitimizing the shah's authority. The Safavid historians recorded past developments, such as battles and campaigns, in great detail and as a coherent narrative in highly adorned rhymed prose with significant use of lyric.⁴⁵⁸ The Safavid historians placed the king at the center of all their discourse, and the monarch played a central role in all the narratives of the Safavids.⁴⁵⁹ In stark contrast, aspects such as religion, social and economic conditions, the experiences of the common people, women and other segments of society receive little or no mention

⁴⁵⁸ Trausch, "Continuing A Legacy," 184.

⁴⁵⁹ Quinn, "Safavid Dynasty."

in these accounts.⁴⁶⁰ However, in Lārī's account, which is a response to the Safavid model of writing, the role of the Shah or king has been diminished. Lārī's account of the Safavids and their historical milieu clearly places an emphasis on the scholars who flourished under their patronage. In contrast to the brevity with which he treats the Safavid rulers themselves, Lārī's treatment of these intellectuals and scholars is nothing less than remarkable. This observation suggests that Lārī's main concern in chronicling the Safavid era was to highlight the contributions and importance of the intellectual luminaries who were crucial to that era. Moreover, Lārī criticizes the Shah rather than idealizing him. Whereas in the Safavid chronicles present an idealized vision of the past, and the Shah at the center. They depict a history of Safavids in which the Shahs are portrayed as righteous believers who are deeply committed to their legitimate power. A moralizing narrative thread emphasizing the importance of right and wrong behavior often accompanies this idealization.

In this context, success and failure are fundamentally linked to the moral choices and behavior of individuals and societies. The difference between the two depends on adherence to the moral values and principles of these historical narratives.⁴⁶¹ The behaviour of the Safavid shahs towards scholars is explicitly questioned by Lārī. He observes that the Safavid rulers were unable to distinguish between true and false scholars due to their lack of awareness and knowledge of what constitutes a true scholar. As a result, this lack of knowledge led to the decline of scholarship in their domain.

4.2.4. A Historical Insight: Prefaces

The inclusion of a preface and the subject of history is another element of the Safavid way of writing history that Lārī replicates. Safavid historians rarely delved into their philosophical perspectives on history or explicitly articulated their motivations for writing. However, their prefaces occasionally touched on these aspects, especially when they emulated Timurid models.⁴⁶² In the introduction to his *Rawzat aṣ-ṣafā'*, Mīrḥvānd provides a discussion or list of the 'Ten Benefits of History' in which he

⁴⁶⁰ Trausch, "Continuing A Legacy," 188.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid., 190.

⁴⁶² Ibid., 189.

explains the importance of the study of history. Although Lārī does not explicitly state his views, he does implicitly offer insights into how he perceived history as a field of knowledge, how it should be studied, and how it should be applied in practice.⁴⁶³ The work of Lārī begins with a heartfelt expression of gratitude to God. But what is interesting about his worship is that it is deeply related to history. In the very first lines of his work, he acknowledges that God gives historians the gift of knowledge and reason, and that the faithful and pious will always recognize God's presence in their historical accounts.⁴⁶⁴ For Lārī, history is more than a mere chronicle of events; it is a means of understanding the society in which we live and our place in it. He suggests that the pursuit of scholarship and the pursuit of faith are not mutually exclusive; they can and should co-exist. A historian who recognizes this; is better equipped to understand and interpret the past. Lārī's preface offers a valuable perspective on human origins and God's role in creation, emphasizing the importance of recognizing the larger historical and cultural contexts shaping human events.

Lārī's focus on the moral dimension of human existence offers a glimpse of the unique qualities that make each individual special and the importance of nurturing these qualities in ourselves and others. This idea reflects a common theme in religious and philosophical traditions: human actions have moral significance and individuals are accountable for their choices. Ottoman historian Aḥmed Cevdet Pasha also writes in his account that the role of the historian involves the elucidation of events in such a way that valuable lessons can be drawn from them. At the same time, the historian should be discerning in the choice of topics that offer inherent advantages to study.⁴⁶⁵ Moreover, Lārī claims that his familiarity with the Qur'ān and the benefits that the holy book enumerates in knowing history are the main motivations for writing such a history.⁴⁶⁶

4.2.5. Crossing Era: The Ancient Stories

The final element of Lārī's historiography that aligns it with the Safavid style of writing is his inclusion of pre-Islamic dynasties and histories. Lārī's universal history is not

⁴⁶³ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 1:7.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 1:1.

⁴⁶⁵ Ahmet Cevdet Pasha, *Tārīḫi Cevdet*, vol. 1 (University of Toronto Library, 1891), 14.

⁴⁶⁶ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 1:38.

solely Islamic; he strives to give it a broader, more global and universal dimension, although he does not fully realize this ambition. He goes to considerable lengths to include various pre-Islamic dynasties. In particular, within the ten chapters of his work *Mir'atu'l-Advār*, the first four chapters are devoted to pre-Islamic dynasties. Baki Tezcan notes that the attempt to reconcile the pre-Islamic Persian historical tradition with the Arab-Islamic one is not unique in Islamic historiography, but it is one of the earliest instances in the Ottoman territories.⁴⁶⁷ Marinos Sariyannis points out that Lārī's narrative of ancient history is significantly more detailed and comprehensive than that of another Ottoman historian and chancellor, Ramazanzāde Meḥmed Çelebi. It is worth noting that Ramazanzāde also included parts of ancient history relating to the pre-Islamic era in his historical work.⁴⁶⁸ Moreover not only historians, but also prominent thinkers and scholars such as Imām al-Ġazālī (d. 505/1111) summarised pre-Islamic Iranian history and commented on the administrative skills of the period in works such as *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk*. The considerable influence of this work within the Ottoman Empire is evident from the many translations it has undergone.⁴⁶⁹

Similarly, in the third section of his work, Lārī links the Persian dynasty that followed Alexander not only with the biblical prophets, from Elijah to Jesus, but also with Greek philosophers such as Socrates, Plato and Aristotle.⁴⁷⁰ A similar approach can also be seen in the *İskendernāme* of Aḥmedī (d. 815/1412-13) and in the *Bahjat al-Tawārikh* of Şükrullah (d. 868/1464).⁴⁷¹ Kāzī Aḥmed Kāzwinī, another prominent Safavid historian, famous for his world history, *Ta'rīḥ-i Jahān-ārā*, written for the Safavid Shah Ṭahmāsp I, takes a similar approach.⁴⁷² Kāzwinī adhered closely to the Safavid style of historiography, which focused primarily on his patron, Ṭahmāsp I. At the same time, however, he included the pre-Islamic dynasties, thus departing from a sole emphasis on Islamic or Safavid history. The inclusion of pre-Islamic dynasties in the Safavid chronicles served a specific purpose, as it aimed to establish an even earlier

⁴⁶⁷ Tezcan, "Muşliḥiddin Lari," 622.

⁴⁶⁸ Marinos Sariyannis, "Ancient History in Ottoman Universal Histories," n.d., 7.

⁴⁶⁹ For more see; Mehmet Şakir Yılmaz, "Gazzālī Ve 'Osmānlı Siyaseti: Nasīhatü'l-Mülük'ün Kanûnî Devrinde Gerçekleşen Tercümeleleri," in *Kanûnî Sultan Süleyman ve Dönemi: Yeni Kaynaklar, Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, ed. Çalışır M.Fatih, Mehmet Şakir Yılmaz, and Suraiya R. Faroqhi (Istanbul: Ibn Kḥaldūn Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2020), 189–213.

⁴⁷⁰ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 1:120.

⁴⁷¹ Bünyamin Ayçiçeği, "Aḥmedī (815/1412-13) İle Behiştī (917/1511-12?)'nin İskender-Nāme'lerinin Şekil ve Muhteva Bakımından Karşılaştırılması," no. 10 (2013): 129–204.

⁴⁷² Qāzi Ahmad Qazvini, *Tarikh-i Jahan-Ara*, ed. Muḥtaba Minavi (Tehran: Hafez, n.d.).

lineage and heritage for the Safavid Shahs. This intention and its implications will be discussed in the following sections. The main objective of the first part of this chapter was to examine Lārī's historical approach and style. He uses this approach throughout his comprehensive history. Particular emphasis was placed on how he applies this method in detailing Safavid history.

The central argument of this chapter is that, while Lārī deals extensively with the Safavid style of historiography, he offers a counterpoint through the use of his own approach and methodology. In doing so, he seeks to challenge the established conventions of Safavid historiography and ends up developing his own. As the chapter closes, it becomes clear that he intends to address and criticise the Safavid approach to historiography. His ideologies play a crucial role in shaping his historical narratives, giving his universal history a committed yet distinctive character. In this first section of the chapter, five major facets of Safavid historiography have been examined in relation to Lārī and his universal history.

4.3. Re-Examining the Legitimacy of The Safavid Dynasty

چو دولت کسی را شود کارساز
به دنیا و دینش کند سرفراز
همایی است دولت ز پیرمایگی
به ضل خدا کرده همسایگی

*When fortune smiles upon a chosen soul,
Triumphing in both realm and sacred role.
Prosperity, a phoenix in royal flight,
In God's shadow, neighborly favor shines.*
'Abdī Beg Shīrāzī (d.988/1581)

Lārī followed the Safavid approach to historiography in documenting historical events. However, despite his adoption of their methods, the ideology behind his writing was distinctly his own. By incorporating various ideologies, Lārī created a unique style of historical writing. His exploration of the theme of 'legitimacy' in relation to the Safavids was particularly noteworthy. In systems where rule is justified on the basis of divine authority or a system of hereditary succession, challenges to legitimacy are likely to revolve around claims of divine approval or hereditary lineage. In such contexts, disputes and debates about legitimate rule are likely to center on arguments about perceived divine approval or hereditary legitimacy. Since the early years of Islam, the question of the legitimacy of success has played an extremely important

role.⁴⁷³ The activity of legitimation creates and expresses identity, argues Rodney Barker: "When those who rule legitimize themselves, they account for who they are."⁴⁷⁴ In Lārī's extensive work of history, which includes numerous empires and dynasties, there is one conspicuous omission—the absence of the empire from which Lārī himself came. It is notable that Lārī himself came from the Safavid Empire, the very territory of his birth and early education. It is not until the last chapter, just before the Ottomans, that the Safavid Empire, or the 'missing Safavids' in *Mir'atu'l-Advār*, appears. This is in contrast to his usual historical approach of inserting different historical events simultaneously.

Lārī devotes a few pages to the Safavids, but he does not discuss the main historical events of their time or draw comparisons with other dynasties. It is noteworthy that Lārī's chapter is mainly about Ḥasan Beg, the ruler of Aḳ Ḳoyunlu. Lārī shows more interest in him and Shah Ya'ḳūb (d.896/1490) than in any of the later Safavid Shahs.⁴⁷⁵ Lārī's lack of sources on the Safavids can be seen as an explanation for this omission. As has been repeatedly pointed out, among the sources that he mentions, there is no reference to the works of the Safavids. *Rawzat aṣ-ṣafā'*, identified by Sholeh Quinn as an important source for Lārī, was written before the rise of the Safavid dynasty and therefore has no information about them. In addition, *Ḥabīb al-siyār* of Ḥvāndmīr is not included among the sources of Lārī. This exclusion suggests that Lārī made a conscious decision not to include any of the Safavid sources or to present their point of view.

The Safavids' descent from the revered fourteenth-century mystic Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn Ardabīlī (d. 735/1334) had lent Ismā'il's grandfather Shaykh Junayd (d. 864-65/1460) and father Shaykh Ḥaydar (d. 893/1488) an aura of sanctity in the eyes of their Turkoman followers, and had linked their house to the powerful Aḳ Ḳoyunlu ruler Uzan Ḥasan through intermarriage.⁴⁷⁶ The Safavids strategically constructed their legitimacy by drawing on historical traditions. However, it is imperative to

⁴⁷³ Alexander V. Akopyan, "Coinage and the Monetary System," in *The Safavid World* (London; New York, NY: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2022), 286.

⁴⁷⁴ Dressler, "Inventing Orthodoxy," 159.

⁴⁷⁵ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:891.

⁴⁷⁶ Hani Khafipour, "The Safavid Claim to Sovereignty According to a Court Bureaucrat, Source Studies of the Safavids, Ottoman, and Mughal Literate Communities," in *The Empires of the Near East and India*, ed. Hani Khafipour (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2019), 182.

acknowledge that the Safavids also made distinctive claims, particularly in the area of statecraft and its legitimization.⁴⁷⁷ Lārī's lack of in-depth information about the dynasty reflects his personal view of it. Aḳ Ḳoyunlu's era is portrayed as a culmination that flows seamlessly into the reigns of Shah Ismā'īl and Shah Ṭahmāsp I, according to Lārī's narrative.⁴⁷⁸

Ḥvāndmīr who is regarded as the most important historical source for the first two decades of Safavid rule in Iran and Central Asia and his *Ḥabīb al-siyār* was the first historical work written in Iran under the early Safavid dynasty.⁴⁷⁹ However, as discussed in Chapter II, Lārī does not explicitly cite *Ḥabīb al-siyār* as one of his sources. Thus, he omits the Safavid sources. Instead, Lārī's account of the Safavids is based mainly on his personal observations. Nevertheless, works such as *Jāme' al-Tawārīḥ* and *Rawzat aṣ-ṣafā'* seem to be used in the earlier parts of his narrative.

Nevertheless, Ḥvāndmīr writes in his *Ḥabīb al-siyār* that The Sun (Shah Ismā'īl), whose radiance illuminates both the East and the West, doesn't require a detailed genealogy or origin. However, as is customary among Arabs and non-Arabs, it is written that the lineage of Shah Ismā'īl is connected to the Imām Ṣafī through five intermediaries. And the lineage of Imām Ṣafī is connected to the seventh Imām, Imām Mūsā al-Kāzīm. In this way, the lineage of Shah Ismā'īl reaches Imām Mūsā al-Kāzīm.⁴⁸⁰ Lārī on the other hand recounts the rise of Safavids to power with '*and suddenly Shah Ismā'īl b. Ḥaydar b. Junayd b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥvāja 'Alī b. Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn Shaykh Ṣafī came to power*' without elaborating on their right to rule.⁴⁸¹ This contrasts with *Ḥabīb al-siyār*, which provides a more detailed and less abrupt account of Shah Ismā'īl's rise.

However, sources say that many doubted their claimed lineage, something even the early Safavids were aware of. A Sayyid lineage was not easily forged. This was

⁴⁷⁷ Rudi Matthee, "Introduction," in *The Safavid World* (London and New York: Routledge, 2022), 1.

⁴⁷⁸ Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar Wa Mirqat al-Akhbar*, ed. Sayed Jalil Sagharyanyan, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Tehran: Miras Maktoob, 2018), 891.

⁴⁷⁹ Philip Bockholt, "Writing History Is a Difficult Task: On Khvandamir's General History *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* and the Origin of Safavid Historiography Writing," ed. Olga Yastrebova, vol. 2 (European Conference on Iranian Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg: State Hermitage Editorial Board, 2015), 70.

⁴⁸⁰ Giyathuddin Khavandmir, *Ḥabīb Al-Siyar*, 4th ed. (Tehran: Khayyam, 2001), 409.

⁴⁸¹ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:899.

especially true of prominent families with political ambitions. It often required textual verification. There are reliable reports that when Shaykh Ḥaydar, the father of Shah Ismā‘īl went out for his political bid, he pressured the Prophet's descendants in the tomb of Imām ‘alī Al-Rezā ibn Mūsā al-Kāzīm and other places to include his son Ismā‘īl's name in the book *Baḥr al-ansāb*.⁴⁸²

The book "*Kitāb baḥr al-ansāb al-musammā bi-al-Mushajjar al-kashshāf li-uṣūl al-sādah al-ashrāf*" (*baḥr al-ansāb*), written by Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Amīd al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Ḥusainī al-Najafī [d ?], is a genealogy that focuses on tracing the lineage of Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī and his descendants. According to Hakan Karateke, the idea that the Safavid genealogy goes back to the seventh Imam Mūsā al-Kāzīm was accepted only after a massive propaganda campaign.⁴⁸³ Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī adds that at key moments in the emergence of the Safavid dynasty, particularly after victories in the campaigns of Shirvan and Nakhchivan, Shah Ismā‘īl also assumed the title of '*Shah*' for himself.⁴⁸⁴ Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī throughout his narrative stresses the importance of Shah Ismā‘īl's lineage, emphasizing in particular its questionable reliability.

It is worth noting that Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī consistently reiterates this claim throughout his textual discourse and substantiates it by providing various illustrative examples. According to Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī, Shah Ismā‘īl set out to invade Persia and establish his own lineage. Attempts have been made to establish a genealogical link between Shah Ismā‘īl and the Shahs of Ardabil. It is worth noting that the validity of this lineage has not yet been verified.⁴⁸⁵ In order to promote the legitimacy of the dynasty, the historical sources associated with the Safavids consistently portray Ṣafī al-Dīn as a committed adherent of *Twelver Shī‘aism* and emphasize his lineage as a Sayyed, tracing his lineage back to the Prophet.⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁸² Khafipour, "The Safavid Claim to Sovereignty," 183.

⁴⁸³ Hakan T. Karateke, "Legitimizing the Ottoman Sultanate: A Framework for Historical Analysis," in *Legitimizing the Order: The Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power*, ed. Hakan T. Karateke and Maurus Reinkowski (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 23.

⁴⁸⁴ Mustafa bin Ahmet Āli, *Kūnhū‘l-ahbār: (tenkitli metin)*, ed. Suat Donuk and Derya Örs, 1. baskı, vol. 3 (Fatih, İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2020), 447.

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 3:446.

⁴⁸⁶ Ata Anzali, "Sufism in the Safavid World," in *The Safavid World* (London ; New York, NY: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2022), 353.

Furthermore, Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī point out in his historical narrative that Shaykh Junayd was the first of Safavids. However, he writes that the veracity of this claim remains uncertain, although they claim that their lineage goes back to the prophets.⁴⁸⁷ Ṭahmāsp I also based his claim to legitimacy with the wider public primarily on his lineage to the Prophet's household (*Ahl al-bayt*), rather than on his esteemed Sufi heritage.⁴⁸⁸ Shah Ismāʿīl refers to this claim in his *divān*: "The time of the *Mahdī-i zamān* has begun, the light of eternal life has come".⁴⁸⁹ Among *Twelver Shīʿites*, the *mahdī* is not only an apocalyptic figure, but is also equated with the hidden Twelfth Imām. This belief in the *mahdī* significantly influences perspectives on earthly rule. It's worth noting that the figure of the *mahdī* also features prominently in Sunnī apocalyptic imagery.⁴⁹⁰ The Ottomans, on the other hand, went to great lengths to explain why the Safavid Shīʿaa claims and Ismāʿīl's claim to be a descendant of the *Ahl al-Bayt* were false.⁴⁹¹

When Sultan Süleymān was campaigning in Nakhchivan, he asked Ebussuʿud Efendi whether it was permissible in Islam to eliminate the Safavids, who practiced Shīʿism, as an answer Ebussuʿud Efendi, when asked about the sacred genealogy of the Safavids, said: "*No, not at all. Their evil deeds show that they are not related to this pure genealogy*".⁴⁹² Ebussuʿud Efendi's reply was that their claimed lineage was unreliable.⁴⁹³ Ebussuʿud Efendi's response can be seen as representative of the Ottoman court's rejection of, or contradiction to, a fundamental element used by its rival to legitimize its rule. Ideological disputes over the rightful claim to universal Muslim sovereignty were fierce during this period. Ebussuʿud Efendi's reply thus serves as part of the Ottoman court's argument against the legitimacy of its rival's claim, and highlights a period of intense ideological conflict over the true and universal authority within the Muslim world. The political rivalry with the Safavids played a

⁴⁸⁷ Āli, *Kūnhūʿl-ahbār*, 3:445.

⁴⁸⁸ Hani Khafipour, "Custodial Charismatic Authority: The Crafting of a Sovereign's Image in the Public Sphere," in *The Safavid World* (London ; New York, NY: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2022), 119.

⁴⁸⁹ Dressler, "Inventing Orthodoxy," 158.

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 166.

⁴⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 163.

⁴⁹² Khafipour, "The Safavid Claim to Sovereignty," 183.

⁴⁹³ Āli, *Kūnhūʿl-ahbār*, 3:445.

role in promoting the establishment of Sunnī Islam as the dominant orthodoxy within the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁹⁴

It was very important for the Safavids to enjoy Islamic legitimacy in the eyes of the Ottomans. The legitimacy of the Safavid rulers became closely tied to their genealogical connection, especially in the context of the dominant *Shī'a* Islamic identity in the empire during sixteenth century.

The aim of this discussion is to understand Lārī as a historian. Lārī devoted only a limited number of folios to the history of the Safavids, and in those few pages he deliberately avoided addressing the legitimacy of the Safavids. He neither supports nor criticizes their legitimacy, but omits the subject altogether. In my view, this omission reflects Lārī's perspective: he does not consider the Safavids' claims to legitimacy important enough to mention. By deliberately omitting any discussion of the legitimacy of the Safavids, Lārī departs from this trend and suggests a critical stance, or perhaps strategic neutrality.⁴⁹⁵ Descent is an important element in Lārī's discussions of major dynasties such as the Mongols, Timurids and Ottomans, as well as the lineage of the Prophet Muḥammad. For smaller dynasties, however, he provides minimal information. For example, he briefly notes that the Salghurids, also known as the Atabegs of Fars, were of Turkmen origin.⁴⁹⁶

In contrast, when discussing the Mongols, he traces their lineage back to Noah. This begs the question: Does descent imply legitimacy for Lārī? This is questionable, as his treatment of the Safavids shows. Thus, while lineage is important in Lārī's historiography, it does not unambiguously confer legitimacy. Furthermore Lārī in his account has a brief narration of the famous battle of *Çaldıran* (920/1514), which was a major confrontation between the Ottoman Sultan Selīm I and Shah Ismā'īl. Lārī notes

⁴⁹⁴ Dressler, "Inventing Orthodoxy," 163.

⁴⁹⁵ A useful comparison can be made with Ḥvāndmīr's *Ḥabīb al-siyar*. In this work, Ḥvāndmīr meticulously details the genealogy of Shah Ismā'īl in order to establish and legitimise his rule. This contrasts sharply with Lārī's approach, where he deliberately avoids discussing the legitimacy of the Safavids. This comparative analysis underscores Lārī's unique perspective as a historian and his selective focus on aspects of Safavid history, further emphasizing his implicit critique or strategic neutrality regarding their claims to power. For a more detailed account, see Ḥvāndmīr's *Ḥabīb al-siyar* on Safavids Amir Mahmud Khavandmir, *Zeyl-i Ḥabīb al Siyar*, ed. Muhammad Ali Jarrahi (Tehran, Iran: Gustara, 1991), 12.

⁴⁹⁶ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2012, 1:582.

that the climax of this battle was Shah Ismā'īl's defeat at the hands of Selīm I.⁴⁹⁷ When discussing the battle of *Çaldıran*, he offers his perspective. Lārī writes that the Safavids were heretics who had strayed from the true faith.⁴⁹⁸

The legitimacy of the Safavid dynasty rested on three distinct foundations: first, the theory of the divine right of Persian kings; second, the claim of the Safavid shahs to be the earthly representatives of the *mahdī*; and third, their position as the *murshid-i kāmīl*, or perfect spiritual director, of the Sufi order known as the *Şafaviyya*.⁴⁹⁹ Strikingly, the terms 'Safavids' or '*Şafaviyya*' do not appear in Lārī's account. It is interesting to note that Lārī does not give the Safavids an explicit name. There is no mention of a formal title or any other descriptive detail about them. Lārī gives the known names and additional information for every other dynasty or kingdom he mentions. This includes not only major dynasties but also minor ones mentioned in subchapters. For example, his discussion of the Ghurid dynasty is followed by details of the rise of the Khilji dynasty, together with their names and rulers. The only exception to this is the Safavid dynasty, for which there is no explicit mention by Lārī.

The genealogical component of the Safavids' political legitimacy depended on promoting their alleged Imami Shī'ite lineage. This claim was a major aspect of the Safavids' overall legitimization programs. In order to substantiate their claims, the Safavid Shahs used various means, with writing being a prominent one.⁵⁰⁰ Philip Bockholt, in his study of Ḥvāndmīr's *Ḥabīb al-siyār*, writes that in modern times Persian chronicles are no longer regarded as simple records of historical events, describing 'what actually happened'. Rather, they are recognized as intricate historical documents with diverse ideological and narrative elements, offering insights into the past through their textual complexity.⁵⁰¹ Broadly speaking, these chronicles were created to record and analyse historical events, to validate prevailing societal norms, and to impart ethical lessons from history to serve as contemporary guidance.

⁴⁹⁷ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:899.

⁴⁹⁸ See Chapter V

⁴⁹⁹ Roger Savory, *Iran under the Safavids* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 3.

⁵⁰⁰ Sholeh Alysia Quinn, "The Timurid Historiographical Legacy: A Comparative Study of Persianate Historical Writing," in *Society and Culture in the Early Modern Middle East: Studies in Iran in the Safavid Period*, ed. Andrew J. Newman and The University of Edinburgh, Islamic History and Civilization 46 (International Round Table on Safavid Persia, Leiden: Brill, 2003), 26.

⁵⁰¹ Bockholt, "The Origin of Safavid Historiography Writing," 70.

Chronicles played a central role in the Safavid narrative of legitimacy, and historians such as Ḥāndmīr and Amīnī Heravī wrote their chronicles with the explicit aim of reinforcing this legitimacy. According to the Safavid historian Amīnī Heravī (d.941/1534) in his *Futūḥāt-i Shahī*, Shah Ismā‘īl’s lineage can be traced to the seventh Imām, Imām Mūsā al-Kāzim. Furthermore, in terms of governance, his lineage can be traced to Ḥasan Beg and Muẓaffar al-Dīn Jahān Shah (d. 868/1467). This genealogical heritage gives Shah Ismā‘īl both political and religious legitimacy and underpins his authority to rule.⁵⁰² On the other hand ‘Abdī Beg Shīrāzi (d.980/1580) was a prominent court poet in sixteenth-century Iran who rose through the bureaucratic ranks to become an accountant in the central administration. In his work *Takmilāt al-Aḥbār*, ‘Abdī Beg presents the reader with the sanctioned perspective of the Safavid dynasty on the question of its legitimacy.⁵⁰³ The chronicles convey the notion that Shah Ismā‘īl and the entire Safavid lineage, as direct descendants of the Prophet, are considered his legitimate successors. From this perspective, they are seen as legitimate leaders, entrusted with the responsibility of guiding the community and correcting centuries of perceived oppression by despotic caliphs.⁵⁰⁴

In the case of Ismā‘īl I, for example, these links were particularly emphasized with figures such as Alexander the Great.⁵⁰⁵ A valuable resource in exploring Shah Ismā‘īl’s self-image is his Azeri-Turkish *divān* (a collection of poetries), written under the pseudonym *Khataī*. This collection provides a vivid portrayal of Shah Ismā‘īl’s religious claims. In its verses, Shah Ismā‘īl presents himself as the reincarnation and descendant of ‘Ali, possessing the qualities of both ‘Muḥammad and ‘Ali. He claims the title of "Seal of the Prophets and Perfect Guide".⁵⁰⁶ The *divān* is rich in *Ġulāt* (exaggeration) ideas and repeatedly expresses the concept of *Hulūl* the embodiment of God in human form. Shah Ismā‘īl goes so far as to claim to be a manifestation of God

⁵⁰² Ibrāhīm Ibn-Mīrak Ġalāl-ad-Dīn Amīnī, *Futūḥāt-i šāhī: tāriḫ-i Ṣafawī az āgāz tā sāl-i 920 h.q.*, ed. Muḥammad Riḍā Naṣīrī, 1st ed., *Silsila-i intišārāt-i Anḡuman-i Ātār wa Mafāḥir-i Farhangī* 294 (Tīhrān: Anḡuman-i Ātār wa Mafāḥir-i Farhangī, 2004), 1–2.

⁵⁰³ Khafipour, “The Safavid Claim to Sovereignty,” 180.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 185.

⁵⁰⁵ Tilmann Trausch, “Continuing A Legacy In Times of Change, Courtly Historiography in the Sixteenth-Century Safavid World,” in *The Safavid World*, ed. Rudi Mathee (New York, NY: Routledge, 2022), 191.

⁵⁰⁶ In another passage of his poetry, Shah Ismā‘īl declares: “My name is Shah Ismā‘īl. I am God’s secret. I am the leader of all these Ghazis. My mother is Fatimah, my father is Ali, and I am the Pir of the Twelve Imams.”

himself, claiming that the secret of *Anā al-Haqq* is in his chest and proclaiming himself to be the *Ḥaḳḳ-i muṭlak* (absolute truth) metaphorically representing God.⁵⁰⁷

As *Shī'ism* became more deeply rooted in the Safavid Empire during the seventeenth century, their lineage became the main basis of Safavid legitimacy.⁵⁰⁸ The two components of the Safavid legitimacy; the Sufi lineage and Shī'aite lineage were strongly emphasized and articulated within the family's genealogical structure, reinforcing the authority and legitimacy of the Safavid rulers by Safavid scholars as can be seen in case of *Ḥabīb al-siyār*, in his account, Ḥvāndmīr places considerable emphasis on the Safavid Sufi lineage.⁵⁰⁹ Nevertheless, Muṣṭafā 'Ālī mentions that although it is claimed that the lineage of Shāh Ismā'īl can be traced back to Shāh Ṣafī, who is considered a holy figure, it is important to acknowledge that this claim of lineage has not been substantiated. Furthermore, he notes that it is claimed that the resting places of their other ancestors have been lost to history, and that only the tomb of Shaykh Ṣafī can be positively identified.⁵¹⁰

With the establishment of the Safavid dynasty by Shah Ismā'īl Safavid and the formalization of Shī'a in Safavid lands, the activities of the Sunnīs, including the Sunnīs of Lār, Lārī's family was among them, were limited. Lārī appears to have departed from his country conceivably for grounds related to his family's possibly stalwart Sunnī background, which might have made it arduous for him to secure patronage from the Safavids who were a committed *Shī'a* dynasty.⁵¹¹

Lārī, seems to be critical of Shah Ṭahmāsp in his writings. For Lārī it is Shah Ṭahmāsp I who has to be condemned for his behavior towards Sunnīs. He writes in his history that Shah Ṭahmāsp showed an unwavering commitment to the promotion of the Shī'aa sect to the highest possible degree within his realm. He brought all Sunnī scholars and literary works under his direct control and authority. He banned the writing of Sunnī

⁵⁰⁷ Dressler, "Inventing Orthodoxy," 157.

⁵⁰⁸ Trausch, "Continuing A Legacy," 191.

⁵⁰⁹ Ghiyās al-Dīn ibn Humām al-Dīn Khvānd Mīr and Muhammad Dabīr Siyāqī, *Ḥabīb al-siyar ft akhbār al-bashar* (Tehran: Khayyām, 2001), 409–10.

⁵¹⁰ Āli, *Kūnhū 'l-ahbār*, 3:445.

⁵¹¹ Tezcan, "Muṣliḥiddin Lārī (d. 1572): The Fate of an Immigrant Polymath in the Sixteenth Century Ottoman Empire," 616.

texts and made sure none of them would be kept for the future.⁵¹² According to him, Shah Ṭahmāsp I's hostility and behavior towards the Sunnī strata forced hundreds of Sunnī people, including scholars, poets, and artists, to leave their homeland.⁵¹³

Lārī's omission of the genealogy of the Safavid Shahs in his account is a notable departure from the Safavid tradition of historical writing. While he does acknowledge the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu and continues the narrative from Shah Ismā'īl I to Shah Ṭahmāsp I, he refrains from attributing any legitimacy to their rule in his writings. The fact that Lārī's work was written in the sixteenth century in the Ottoman Empire raises another remarkable consideration. Lārī shows a cautious approach to avoid any possible mistakes, despite the period of relative peace between the two empires. Interestingly, when discussing the significant rivalry between the Ottoman and Safavid empires, he deliberately opts for brevity and refrains from going into great detail. Lārī's approach suggests a nuanced account of Ottoman-Safavid relations, suggesting personal conflict or strategic choice in his historiography rather than outright bias. His selective narrative highlights the complexity of his perspective as a historian working under the auspices of the Ottoman Empire. Selim Güngörürler emphasizes that as the Ottoman-Safavid treaty relationship took on an Islamic character, adherence to it was formalized through references to the Qur'ān.⁵¹⁴

This transformation resulted from the Ottoman recognition of the legitimacy of Safavid rule in Iran, which provided an additional dynamic. The Sublime Porte's recognition of the Safavid Shahs as regional caliphs, meaning that they were fully independent, legitimate, Muslim and sovereign monarchs, inferior only to the greater caliph in terms of title and hierarchical precedence. Surprisingly, Lārī devotes more attention to Uzun Ḳasan than to the contemporary Safavid Shahs, Shah Ismā'īl I and Shah Ṭahmāsp I, who, as key figures of the Safavid dynasty, are treated briefly in his narrative. He chooses not to discuss or document the Safavid claims to legitimacy in any detail, and does not attach any significant importance to them. It could be argued

⁵¹² Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:900.

⁵¹³ Ibid.

⁵¹⁴ Selim Güngörürler, *The Ottoman Empire and Safavid Iran, 1639-1682: Diplomacy and Borderlands in the Early Modern Middle East* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2024), 7.

that he deliberately sidesteps the issue and presents his point of view by downplaying the issue or avoiding it altogether.

The question is why Lārī did not pay sufficient attention to the Safavids, and why their description in his work is so brief. There are three main possible reasons. First, political prejudice and patronage were important. Despite periods of peace between them, the Ottomans and Safavids were bitter rivals. Lārī eventually allied himself with the Ottoman court, and his brief treatment of the Safavids may reflect a political bias, perhaps to downplay the Safavids so as not to glorify a rival power. Scholars often adapt their works to the needs of their patrons, and Lārī may have strategically minimised the importance of the Safavids in order to curry favour with Ottoman rulers, particularly during the reigns of Sultan Süleymān and Selīm II.

Second, and a point repeatedly emphasised in this chapter, is the issue of accessible or reliable sources. A lack of accessible or reliable sources may account for Lārī's limited discussion of the Safavids. He may have deliberately excluded Safavid perspectives by not including Safavid sources such as *Ḥabīb al-siyār*. In addition, Lārī may have focused his narrative on those dynasties and events that he considered to be more significant or relevant to his overarching historical framework. The Safavids may not have fit neatly into his vision of universal history. This was probably a Sunnī-centred narrative.

Finally, his portrayal of the Safavids may have been significantly influenced by Lārī's personal ideologies. As his comments on the Battle of *Çaldıran* suggest, his beliefs and background may have led him to view the Safavids as heretics. In his historical account, this perspective may have led him to deliberately minimise their role. This subchapter demonstrates that Lārī's approach to historiography was heavily influenced by political and personal elements.

4.4. Chasing Prestige: Safavid Intellectuals in Lārī's *Tazkira*

Lārī devotes the final section of his Safavid chapter to examining the Safavid intellectuals and scholars, providing information about them. This method of historical narrative is in line with the Safavid tradition, in which historians appended a

biographical dictionary or *Tazkira* at the end of their works. Lārī provides insights into sixteen Safavid intellectuals. However, the basis for his selection and presentation of these specific individuals appears arbitrary on the surface, but has a deliberate rationale. The argument presented here is that Lārī's inclusion of these particular figures is not arbitrary; rather, it is based on an underlying motivation. Lārī seeks to present biographies not of individuals in general, but of those with whom he has a meaningful connection, be it as a mentor under whom he studied, an acquaintance he met, a compatriot from his homeland, or a member of his educational institution. Lārī seeks to legitimize his transition to the Ottoman Empire by presenting cases similar to his own. He also sought to carve out a niche for himself within Ottoman territory. This was achieved by highlighting the eminence of his educational lineage. In the following analysis, each of the sixteen intellectuals will be presented individually. Their significance will be explained in the context of Lārī's narrative.

In this part of Lārī's *tazkira*, the scholars are divided into two distinct groups: those who were active during the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu era and those who were prominent in the early Safavid era, roughly 1497 to 1550. The descriptions and information presented by Lārī in his *tazkira* differ from conventional *Tazkira* models. Lārī's approach does not adhere to a systematic or methodical structure. Although it is difficult to determine the exact dates of death of certain individuals mentioned by Lārī, his *tazkira* roughly sticks to a chronological pattern. Furthermore, the content is characterized by brevity, with the descriptions offered being concise. In particular, the details provided are not exhaustive; some entries are rudimentary, comprising only one or two lines. This feature, namely Lārī's departure from the established conventions of *tazkira*, makes his historical writing style uniquely characteristic of his own approach. Looking at the scholars mentioned in *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, only two prominent figures, Ṣadr-al-Dīn Dashtakī and Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ed-Dawwānī, have anything in common with Lārī's *tazkira*. Ḥvāndmīr, however, concentrates on scholars with closer ties to the Safavid court.

The first intellectual whom Lārī presents in his work is **Ṣadr-al-Dīn Dashtakī** (d.903/1497-8).⁵¹⁵ Ṣadr-al-Dīn Dashtakī belongs to the Dashtakī family, which is

⁵¹⁵ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:895.

recognized for its scholarly contributions. He was given the title *sayyid al-mudaqqiqin*, meaning Master of Knowledge of the details of things.⁵¹⁶ He is also recognized as the last exponent within the philosophical tradition. It is reported that his lineage goes back to ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb through Zayd b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusain (d. 122/740).⁵¹⁷ Ḥvāndmīr asserts in his *Ḥabīb al-siyār* that Ṣadr-al-Dīn Dashtakī (d. 949/1542), spent his formative years as a disciple of Mawlānā Ḳuwām al-Dīn Gulbarī (d.?), from whom he acquired proficiency in poetry and logic within a short time. He then used his financial resources to establish a substantial educational institution in the city. Ṣadr-al-Dīn 's literary contributions include numerous works, mostly in the form of marginal notes or commentaries.⁵¹⁸ Lārī's account of Ṣadr-al-Dīn is characterized by a lack of intricate detail, but it is nonetheless informative. He begins his narrative by delving into the intellectual attributes of Ṣadr-al-Dīn, with the aim of providing a comprehensive understanding of his scholarly character.

He writes that Ṣadr-al-Dīn was remarkably discerning in his intellectual pursuits and maintained a principled stance, refusing to align his thoughts and aspirations with individuals who did not meet his criteria. Demonstrating a firm commitment to ethical principles, he consistently refused gifts or favors from contemporary rulers. Widely recognized and respected, he commanded considerable reverence, and social norms made respect for him obligatory.⁵¹⁹

Another outstanding aspect of Lārī's narrative about Ṣadr-al-Dīn is the brief information he provides about the construction of the *Manṣūriyya Madrasa*. Ṣadr-al-Dīn emerged as the principal architect of the Shiraz school, founding the *Manṣūriyya madrasa* in Shiraz in 883/1478, a seat of learning where Lārī continued his studies. This educational institution, named after his son Ġīyāṣ al-Dīn Manṣūr, was dedicated to the dissemination of philosophy, logic and natural sciences. In time, the *Manṣūriyya Madrasa* became one of the preeminent centers of advanced learning and exerted considerable influence in the annals of later Islamic history.⁵²⁰ Lārī's account not only

⁵¹⁶ Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Islamic Philosophy from Its Origin to the Present: Philosophy in the Land of Prophecy*, SUNY Series in Islam (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006), 196.

⁵¹⁷ Halil Görgün, "DASHTAKĪ, Sadreddin," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi*, 2, 2020, 320.

⁵¹⁸ Khavandmir, *Ḥabīb Al-Siyar*, 608.

⁵¹⁹ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:895.

⁵²⁰ Nasr, *Islamic Philosophy from Its Origin to the Present*, 196.

sheds light on the scholarly endeavor, but also highlights the ethical and personal dimensions of Şadr-al-Dīn's character, particularly his generosity. He writes that he showed remarkable industriousness, establishing a *Madrasa* (scholarly institution) in Shiraz and generously donating all his possessions. In particular, the information presented by Lārī seems to deviate from a direct reliance on *Ḥabīb al-siyār*. Instead, Lārī seeks to incorporate the Ottoman connection of Şadr-al-Dīn Dashtakī into his narrative. He writes that Müeyyedzāde Abdurrahman Efendi (d. 922/1516) on his arrival in Shiraz, wrote a letter of praise to Sultan Bāyezīd II (d. 918/1512) on behalf of Şadr-al-Dīn. Subsequently, after Müeyyedzāde had completed his studies and returned to Shiraz, Şadr-al-Dīn wrote a new manuscript margin and entrusted Müeyyedzāde with its delivery to Sultan Bāyezīd II.⁵²¹

During his lifetime, Şadr-al-Dīn wrote numerous works on a wide range of subjects, including treatises on logic, philosophy, natural sciences and even contributions to the field of agriculture.⁵²² But according to Lārī, his most influential contribution was a commentary he wrote on the *Tajrīd al-i 'tikād* of Naşīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274).⁵²³ *Tajrīd al-i 'tiqād* was highly regarded in the Ottoman Empire. Sharīf al-Dīn Jurjānī's (d.816/1413) commentary on the *Tajrīd al-i 'tiqād* was also included in the educational material of Ottoman madrasas.⁵²⁴

Remarkably, there are several sets of glosses and criticisms by Dawwānī on this commentary, alongside Şadr-al-Dīn's replies. This intellectual discourse, characterized by debate between these two luminaries of logic and philosophy, received considerable scholarly acclaim. Significantly, Şadr-al-Dīn was seen as having the upper hand in this intellectual exchange.⁵²⁵ Ḥvāndmīr notes that Şadr-al-Dīn was a scholar of the time of Ḥasan Beg and Ya'qūb Beg and he died sometime after the death of Ya'qūb Beg with no specific date.⁵²⁶ Nevertheless, Lārī provides additional nuances in his account. He relates that after the death of Sultan Ya'qūb (d. 896/1490), Ḳāsim b. Maṣṣūr, driven by ignoble and degrading motives, sought financial compensation from Şadr-al-Dīn.

⁵²¹ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:895.

⁵²² Nasr, *Islamic Philosophy from Its Origin to the Present*, 196.

⁵²³ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:895.

⁵²⁴ For more see, Agil Şirinov, *Nasirüddin Tûsî'de Varlık ve Uluhiyet* (Istanbul: Isam Yayınları, 2012).

⁵²⁵ Nasr, *Islamic Philosophy from Its Origin to the Present*, 196.

⁵²⁶ Khavandmir, *Habib Al-Siyar*, 608.

The ensuing conflict came to a terrible end with the tragic martyrdom of Şadr-al-Dīn.⁵²⁷ However, alternative sources claim a tragic end to his life, suggesting that the Turkish ruler of the city, suspecting Şadr-al-Dīn's involvement in social unrest, sent a force of aggressors to his residence, resulting in his death in 903/1497.⁵²⁸

Although Lārī himself studied under Ġīyāş al-Dīn Manşūr Dashtakī, he does not delve into the biography of his immediate mentor, opting instead for an account of his father. This choice can be attributed to the esteemed reputation of Şadr-al-Dīn, who was known as the last philosopher and was celebrated as *şadr al-'Ulamā* or the most outstanding among the scholars.⁵²⁹ Whether Şadr-al-Dīn Dashtakī was a Shī'a or a Sunnī, Lārī does not specify. In fact, he refrains from providing such information for each scholar or mystic he introduces. Although there is some discussion about Dashtakī being a Shī'a, this remains uncertain.⁵³⁰ This observation is in line with my earlier point that Lārī does not show any sectarian bias; rather, his concerns seem to be more personal in nature.

It could be argued that by ignoring assumptions about certain individuals being shī'a, he is attempting to create a narrative that is more aligned with Sunnī thought. In addition, Lārī's decision to leave out sectarian affiliations suggests that he is prioritising the intellectual and academic contributions of the individuals he is discussing. This implies a scholarly approach that values the content of their work more highly than their sectarian affiliation.

The importance of Şadr-al-Dīn Dashtakī extended beyond Safavid Shiraz, resonating in both the Ottoman and Mughal empires. His debates with Dawwānī, which gained him recognition among scholars, were particularly noteworthy. Lārī strategically emphasizes his institution's prestigious background, implicitly asserting, "*I come from such an esteemed institution; pave the way for my scholarly efforts*". This serves as a reminder that at the beginning of his career in the Ottoman Empire, Lārī received an allowance of 40 *dirhams* or 40 *akçes*, a testament to the recognition and reward he

⁵²⁷ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:895.

⁵²⁸ Nasr, *Islamic Philosophy from Its Origin to the Present*, 196.

⁵²⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁰ Görgün, "DEŞTEKÎ, Sadreddin."

received for his profound knowledge and scholarly acumen.⁵³¹ Lārī seemed to be unhappy with this salary, although he did not express his dissatisfaction openly. It is possible that his decision to leave Istanbul was a result of his dissatisfaction with this situation. Lārī's grant of a small allowance of 40 *akçes* in Istanbul implies a potential lack of recognition for his contributions.

This may have created a sense of insult for Lārī.⁵³² Interestingly, Lārī moves on to other scholars without mentioning Ġīyāş al-Dīn Manşūr after discussing Şadr-al-Dīn Dashtakī and providing information about his life. It is noteworthy that Ġīyāş al-Dīn Manşūr was one of Lārī's teachers, and although Lārī mentions other teachers, he omits Ġīyāş al-Dīn. A possible reason for this omission could be Ġīyāş al-Dīn's affiliation with the Safavid court later in his life. For a short time, Ġīyāş al-Dīn even served as grand vizier in Shah Ṭahmāsp's court.

Ḥvāja ‘Abdul-Malik Sāwajī (d.?) is the next scholar introduced in Lārī's *tazkira*. Lārī's account of Sāwajī is brief. It provides limited information. There is mention of his membership of the Savaji family, but there is no further detail.⁵³³ He writes that he was Ḳāzī ‘Īsā's (d.896/1490-91) uncle on his mother's side. Lārī further writes that he produced a large body of eloquent writings. There is little information about Sāwajī. However, his nephew, Ḳāzī ‘Īsā, emerges as a notable figure in the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu government. Ḳāzī ‘Īsā held a prominent position as chief counsellor to Sultan Ya‘ḳūb. Christopher Markiewicz, in his study of Īdrīs-i Bitlisī (d. 926/1520), suggests that Ḳāzī ‘Īsā probably played a key role in orchestrating Bitlisi's rise within the chancellery.⁵³⁴ This is supported by Bitlisī's apparent affinity for Ḳāzī ‘Īsā, as evidenced by dedicating a work to him. He wielded considerable influence within Sultan Ya‘ḳūb's administration, a power he skillfully exercised and consolidated through the appointment of close friends and relatives to prestigious positions. It is plausible that Ḳāzī ‘Īsā strategically positioned his uncle, Sāwajī, within his network of friends and family for a prominent role in Sultan Ya‘ḳūb's court.

⁵³¹ Pourjavady, "Muşliḥ Al-Dīn Lārī and His Samples of the Sciences," 296.

⁵³² Mehmed Süreyyā, Akbayar, and Kahraman, *Sicill-i Oşmānī*, 1127.

⁵³³ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:896.

⁵³⁴ Markiewicz, *The Crisis of Kingship*, 57.

This assertion is in line with Lārī's observation that Ḳāzī 'Īsā displayed a sophisticated awareness of contemporary events.⁵³⁵ Lārī writes that like Ḳāzī 'Īsā, met his end at the hands of the Ṣūfī Ḥalīl Beg (d.896/1491) after the death of Sultan Ya'qūb.⁵³⁶ It is important to recognize that after the death of Sultan Ya'qūb, Ḳāzī 'Īsā consolidated his control over various civil administrations.⁵³⁷ Drawing from *Jawāher al-aḥbār* by Munshī Ḳazwīnī Budāk (d. after 984/1578), John Woods writes that Ḳāzī 'Īsā quickly outranked other ministers and his growing influence instilled fear in dignitaries. The majority of religious authorities sanctioned his execution as legal. In particular, Ṣūfī Ḥalīl Beg accused him of deviating from Sunnī religious principles, leading to his subsequent execution.⁵³⁸ In his brief narrative, Lārī refrains from giving the reason for the execution. This omission may have been due to the widespread disapproval of Ḳāzī 'Īsā among scholars because of his behaviour and harsh treatment of others. Lārī may have felt justified in expelling him on the basis of these sentiments, as well as reports that Ḳāzī 'Īsā had made inappropriate remarks about sensitive religious issues.⁵³⁹

However, during the execution of Ḳāzī 'Īsā, Sāwajī also met the same fate. Lārī's deliberate inclusion of Sāwajī in his *taẓkira* probably reflects a strategic intention. In Lārī's methodical approach, each scholar presented in his historical narrative for the Ottomans is a conduit for conveying facets of Lārī's own life and experience. Lārī may have wished to highlight personal connections, networks or influences that shaped his intellectual and scholarly milieu through the inclusion of Sāwajī. It's worth mentioning that the Sāwajī Family originated in Iraq and is recognized as the Persians of Iraq.⁵⁴⁰ Similarly, the Lārī family also originated in Iraq, and they constitute the Persian community of Iraq that has emigrated to Persia.⁵⁴¹

⁵³⁵ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:896.

⁵³⁶ Ibid.

⁵³⁷ John E. Woods, *The Aqqyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire*, Rev. and expanded ed (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1999), 132.

⁵³⁸ Ibid., 152.

⁵³⁹ Ayşe Atıcı Arayancan, "Akkoyunlu Sarayında Güçlü Bir Kadı Örneği: Kadı İsâ es Sâvecî," in *Orta Çağ'da Din ve Devlet - Doğu Batı Ekseninde*, ed. Ayşe Atıcı Arayancan (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2018), 160.

⁵⁴⁰ Woods, *The Aqqyunlu*, 108.

⁵⁴¹ Ahmad Ḥān Eghtedari, *Lārīstan-ı Kohn* (Tehran: Rangin, 1966), 194.

The Sāwajī family were initially in service to Uzun Ḥasan and his openly anti-Shī'a and anti-Safavid son and successor, Ya'qūb.⁵⁴² The Sāwajī family did manage to gain a partial role in the Safavid administration after 1525.⁵⁴³ Unfortunately, this period of influence proved to be short-lived, as a significant number of the family members who held government positions were either executed or condemned by the Safavid government.

The third scholar to appear in the *tazkira* of Lārī is **Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ed-Dawwānī (d.908/1502)**. Lārī writes that during the reign of Sultan Ḥasan Beg (r.1452-1478), known for his patronage of mystics, Dawwānī rose to the esteemed position of *Ḳāẓīul-ḳuzāt* (Chief Judge) in Shiraz, a rank bestowed upon him by Sultan Ya'qūb. He played a pedagogical role in the *Dār al-Aytām* school. Pourjavady in his study of Dawwānī writes that Dawwānī settled in Shiraz and took up a long-term teaching position at the *Begum Madrasa* which later became known as *Dār al-Aytām*.⁵⁴⁴ He makes a note that this information on Dawwānī is based on the writings of Lārī. Lārī further notes that the teachings and lectures of Dawwānī had a profound influence, elevating many to high positions and imparting extensive knowledge.⁵⁴⁵ In this context, two crucial aspects should be considered.

First, Dawwānī emerged as a remarkable scholar and philosopher of his time. By the time he was in his thirties, Dawwānī had secured a prominent position as a religious scholar.⁵⁴⁶ His profound insights into *Siyāsat* (politics) and *Aḥlāk* (ethics) were of great importance in the Islamic world.⁵⁴⁷ His influence was felt not only within the confines of Shiraz, where he was an active teacher, but also in the Ottoman Empire, underlining his widespread recognition. During Sultan Ya'qūb's reign, many of Dawwānī's works were dedicated to authorities outside Iran. Through his student Müeyyedzāde, Dawwānī cultivated a relationship with Bāyezīd II (d.918/1512) In particular, at least

⁵⁴² Andrew J. Newman, *Safavid Iran: Rebirth of a Persian Empire*, Paperback ed (London: Tauris, 2009), 17.

⁵⁴³ Colin Mitchell, "Custodial Politics and Princely Governance in Sixteenth-Century Safavid Iran," in *The Safavid World*, ed. Rudi Matthee (London ; New York, NY: Routledge, 2021), 27.

⁵⁴⁴ Reza Pourjavady, *Philosophy in Early Safavid Iran: Najm al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Nayrīzī and His Writings*, Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Science. Texts and Studies, v. 82 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2011), 9.

⁵⁴⁵ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:896.

⁵⁴⁶ Pourjavady, *Philosophy in Early Safavid Iran*, 8.

⁵⁴⁷ Anay, "Devvani," 259.

three of his writings were specifically dedicated to the Ottoman ruler. In recognition of Dawwānī's contributions, Bāyezīd II conveyed his gratitude in a letter accompanied by five hundred filori (gold coins).

In return for the Sultan's generosity, Dawwānī composed a *masnawī* in his honor.⁵⁴⁸ Dawwānī extended his influence beyond his immediate surroundings by producing a work which he dedicated to Sultan Maḥmūd I of Gujarat (d. 917/1511). In recognition of his efforts, the Sultan awarded him the sum of one thousand dirhams.⁵⁴⁹

Pourjavady notes that Dawwānī is said to have refuted the messianic claims of the Safavid Shah Ismā'īl I.⁵⁵⁰ This particular stance may have attracted Lārī's interest and provided a possible motivation for including Dawwānī in his *Tazkira*. In the first section of his *Unmūdhaj al-'ulūm* (Sample of Sciences), dedicated to Sultan Maḥmūd I of Gujarat, Dawwānī introduces himself by listing his teachers.⁵⁵¹ This parallel with Lārī's approach in the scholarly work *Mir'atu'l-Advār* underlines a common practice of providing a scholarly lineage and context in historical and dedicatory writings.

Lārī enumerates Ḳāzī Mīr Ḥusain Maybudī (d. 909/1503-04), Mawlānā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Lārī (d.?), Mawlānā 'Abdul Ṣamad al-Baḡdādī (d.?), Mawlānā Shams al-Dīn Gerdoushkan (d.?) among the distinguished disciples of Dawwānī. 'Abdul Ṣamad al-Baḡdādī (d.928/1521-22), shams al-Dīn Gerdoushkan (d.?), Mawlānā Maḡhar al-Dīn (d.?), and several others, all of whom achieved eminence under his guidance. Given Lārī's own training at the *Manṣūriyya madrasa* in Shiraz, where many of the teachers were from the *Dār al-Aytām*, it is plausible that the names mentioned were among his own teachers. Lārī concludes his account by stating that Dawwānī undertook a journey to Lārīstan in 908/1502-3 to pay his respects to Abu 'l-Faḡḡ Bayīndīr (d.?). Tragically, Dawwānī died near Kāzerūn and was buried in the village of Dawwān, his birthplace.⁵⁵² This conclusion provides another poignant link to Lārī's hometown in the story of Dawwānī.

⁵⁴⁸ Pourjavady, *Philosophy in Early Safavid Iran*, 11–12.

⁵⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁵⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵² Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:896.

The later scholar introduced in Lārī's *tazkira* is **Ḳāzī Mīr Ḥusain Yazdī**, better known as Mīr Maybudī. Lārī records that during the reign of Sultan Ḥasan Beg, Maybudī assumed the position of judge, or *qāzī*, in Yazd. In this capacity, he was prolific in his writings and engaged in a wide range of scholarly activities.⁵⁵³ He studied under Dawwānī in Shiraz, and through him he met Sultan Ya'qūb, one of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu princes. During his reign, he was appointed judge of the city of Yazd.⁵⁵⁴ Lārī's interest in introducing Maybudī has two main aspects. Firstly, Maybudī's connection with the school in Shiraz and his study under Dawwānī coincides with the thematic focus on scholars associated with the *Mansuriye Madrasa*. Secondly, and more importantly, it emphasizes Maybudī's status as a Sunnī scholar who taught in various madrasas in Iran for over forty years. In particular, his unwavering stance led to a number of allegations that eventually led to his stepping down from the judgeship at an undisclosed date.⁵⁵⁵

In 1503, Shah Ismā'īl I defeated the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu ruler Murād Beg (d. 923/1518). Having achieved this, he summoned Sunnī scholars and asked them to insult the first three caliphs of Islam. Except for one, none of them complied with Shah Ismā'īl's request and were killed as a result. It is believed that Maybudī was among those killed for not complying with Shah Ismā'īl's request.⁵⁵⁶ In his *Sharḥ-i Dīwān-i 'Alī*, Maybudī criticizes those who curse the Sunnī caliphs. This stance is consistent with his disapproval of Shiite extremism during the early Safavid period.⁵⁵⁷ Lārī records that Maybudī unfortunately met a tragic end at the hands of the *Ḳızılbaş*, although he bravely maintained his dedication to knowledge and justice.⁵⁵⁸ Indeed, it is notable that Lārī refers to *Ḳızılbaş* rather than explicitly mentioning the Safavids. He concludes his account by noting that eminent figures such as Mawlānā Kamāl al-Dīn al Ḥusain Lārī and Mawlānā Kamāl al-Dīn 'Abdul Ṣamad Lārī (d.?) remained prominent figures in Shiraz until the era of Shah Ṭahmāsp I. It is significant to note that both individuals mentioned at the end were Lārī's mentors and shared the same hometown.⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁴ H. Bekir Karlıḡa, "Kādī Mīr Meybudī," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 2001), 118.

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁷ Pourjavady, *Philosophy in Early Safavid Iran*, 36.

⁵⁵⁸ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:896.

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid.

The next scholar introduced in Lārī's *tazkira* is **Mawlānā Muẓaffar al-Dīn** (d.922/1516). “If the knowledge of logic had a physical form, it would be that of *Muẓaffar al-Dīn*” said Dawwānī about him.⁵⁶⁰ The case of Muẓaffar al-Dīn is indeed one of the most fascinating intellectual journeys recorded in Lārī's *tazkira*. According to Lārī, in the last years of Sultan Ya'qub's reign, Muẓaffar al-Dīn made a pilgrimage to Mecca and then travelled to Egypt. In Egypt, he immersed himself in scholarly pursuits and devoted himself to writing a treatise on the chapters of the Qur'ān.⁵⁶¹ However the reason he is part of this *tazkira* is that he was taught by eminent scholars such as Dawwānī and Dashtaki and later married Dawwānī's daughter.⁵⁶² Lārī adds that Muẓaffar al-Dīn's treatise on the Qur'ānic verse "فاتوا بسورة من مثله" (*Bring forth a Surah like this*) (2:23) sparked intellectual exchange and debate among scholars.⁵⁶³ Taşköprülüzāde Aḥmed Efendi (d. 968/1561) writes that his reputation as a scholar became so widespread that he was appointed to a *Madrasa* in Shiraz, which required the best teacher of the time as a professor. During Dawwānī's illness, Muẓaffar al-Dīn assumed the role of his deputy.⁵⁶⁴

Taşköprülüzāde states in his *eş-Şekā'iku'n-nu'māniyye* that Muẓaffar al-Dīn migrated to Anatolia because of the turbulent conditions in the Persian territories, especially under Safavid rule. Taşköprülüzāde also mentions that Muẓaffar al-Dīn belonged to the *Shāfi'ī* school of thought. His departure from the Safavid lands may therefore be attributed to the increasing influence of *Twelver Shī'ism* in the region.⁵⁶⁵ Taşköprülüzāde goes on to say that both Muẓaffar al-Dīn and Müeyyedzāde studied under Dawwānī. While studying under Dawwānī, Muẓaffar al-Dīn showed exceptional ability and surpassed his fellow students. As a result, when he arrived in Anatolia, Müeyyedzāde, who held the position of *kāḍī-asker/Kazasker* (chief military judge) in Anatolia at the time, treated him with great respect and introduced him to Sultan Bāyezīd.

⁵⁶⁰ Manuchehr Akbari and Abdullah Ḥasan Alkabasi, “Moarrefi-Ye Sharh-e Golshan-e Raz Az Sheikh Muẓaffar ad-Dīn Ali Ibn Muhammad Shirazi Rumi,” *Sabk Shenasi Nasr-i Parsi* 1, no. 23 (2013): 250.

⁵⁶¹ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:896.

⁵⁶² Aḥmed ibn Muştafā Taşköprülüzāde, *Eş-şakā'iku'n-Nu'māniyye fī ulemāi'd-devleti'l-osmāniyye: Osmānlı ālimleri: (çeviri, eleştirmeli metin)*, ed. Muhammet Hekimoğlu and Derya Örs, 1. baskı, Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı yayınları; Tarih ve toplum bilimleri serisi, 134. 20 (İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2019), 526.

⁵⁶³ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:896.

⁵⁶⁴ Taşköprülüzāde, *Eş-şakā'iku'n-Nu'māniyye*, 526.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid.

The Sultan appointed him to the *Muṣṭafā Pasha Madrasa* in Istanbul. After a period of teaching there, he was assigned to one of the madrasas in *Sahn-i Semān*. Unfortunately, after some time of teaching, he lost his eyesight and was unable to continue. In recognition of his services, Sultan Selīm I granted him a daily pension of sixty dirhems for his old age. He eventually settled in Bursa, where he died.⁵⁶⁶ However, it is at this point that Lārī's narrative diverges from Taṣköprülüzāde's. In Lārī's account, Muẓaffar al-Dīn took part in intellectual exchanges with other scholars and eventually made his way to the court of Sultan Selīm in Anatolia. However, the Sultan dismissed him due to linguistic difficulties. He did not speak Turkish and had difficulty articulating Persian, partly due to bad dental conditions.⁵⁶⁷

It is indeed interesting that Lārī omits any mention of Muẓaffar al-Dīn's status at the Ottoman court, particularly his teaching at *Sahn-i Semān*, which would have been a significant achievement. Instead, Lārī focuses on the challenges Muẓaffar al-Dīn faced due to language barriers, suggesting that he was not well received at the Ottoman court. This narrative choice contrasts with Taṣköprülüzāde's account, in which Muẓaffar al-Dīn is highly praised by the Ottoman court, particularly by both Sultan Bāyezīd II and Sultan Selīm I. Lārī's approach may indeed reflect a specific agenda, possibly influenced by his own experiences and reception at the Ottoman court. In other words, Lārī himself took part in intellectual debates and, like any other scholar, wanted recognition and praise from the Sultan. Like any other scholar, however, Lārī's desire for recognition and praise from the sultan was unfulfilled, and his final move was to Diyarbakır. Lārī seems to draw a parallel with his own career by selectively mentioning aspects of Muẓaffar al-Dīn's career while omitting others.

The next scholar mentioned in the *tazkira* is **Mawlānā Shams al-Dīn**(d.?). According to Lārī, Mawlānā Shams al-Dīn travelled from Shiraz to Gujarat, where he gained great respect and credibility. He then proceeded to Sind, where he eventually died.⁵⁶⁸ Unfortunately, I have not been able to identify this particular scholar, Mawlānā Shams al-Dīn, in my research. Despite a search among Persian scholars in Sindh in 'Muḥammad'Ali Ḥasan Bhopali's *tazkira* entitled *Subh-i Gulshan* and Nūr ul-Ḥasan

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁷ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:896.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid.

Bhopali's *Tazkira Negaristān-i Suḥan*, the specific individual Shams al-Dīn does not appear among the figures listed.

Beginning with the mention of **Pīr Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmed** (d.879/1474-75), Lārī goes on to discuss mystics and spiritual leaders in his *tazkira*. Lārī states that Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmed belonged to the *Zehiriyeh* sect and lived in the city of Ḳayīn⁵⁶⁹. He also mentions that there were disputes and problems between Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmed and Jāmī, as evidenced by Jāmī's references to him in some verses.⁵⁷⁰

چون ترا چاشنی شهید محبت نرسید
از شه نحل چه حاصل ز لباس عسلی

*When the elusive essence of love remains out of reach,
What is the purpose of the honeycomb adorned in expansive robes?*

Lārī finds it important to explain what was the quarrel between Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmed and Jāmī. He writes that the question was not about matters of faith. It was about different ways of dealing with these challenges of purity that both had. Abstaining from marriage during the period of cultivation of body and soul is one of their strategies in *Zehiriyeh* sect. Lārī says that they abstain from excessive and indulgent eating, and adopt unobtrusive dress that avoids attracting attention, almost to the point of ostentation. They show a preference for securing sustenance through channels that involve minimal material desire, avoiding excessive greed. To protect themselves from the lure of ego and malign influences, they deliberately avoid exposure to various worldly affairs, abstaining from witnessing and hearing about them. Their unwavering commitment revolves around the perpetual preservation of purity of mind and soul.⁵⁷¹ Despite my best efforts, I haven't been able to uncover any specific information about Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmed as introduced by Lārī.

However, I suggest that this individual may be synonymous with Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmed Ardīstānī (d.879/1474), better known as Fażlullāh Jamālī Ardīstānī.⁵⁷² This suggestion

⁵⁶⁹ In different copies of the *Mir'atü'l-advār* manuscript, the name of the city is spelled differently, with variations such as Qayin, Bayin or Mayin being observed.

⁵⁷⁰ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:897.

⁵⁷¹ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:897.

⁵⁷² For more see, Pir Jamal al-Din Ardestani, *Mirat Al-Afrad*, ed. Hussain Anisipur (Tehran, 1985); Sururi Umid, "Sharh-i Ahval Wa Marifi Nuskha-i Khati Az Kuliyyat Asar-i Pir Jamal Ardestani," no. 4 (2009): 109–19; Zeynep Özel, "Pir Cemâl Erdistânî'nin (ö. 879/1475) Bidâyetü'l-Mahabbe İsimli Eserinde Hicret," *Meridyen Association* IV, no. 2 (2018): 109–34.

is supported by the common association with Jāmī (d. 898/1492),⁵⁷³ a Persian poet mentioned by Lārī, and the concurrent periods in which both figures lived, which lends valuable weight to the possible connection.

Lārī's decision to begin the section on mystics with Pīr Jamāl is an intriguing one. First and foremost, Pīr Jamāl stands out as a renowned poet and mystic of the early Safavid and Timurid eras, with a diverse body of work spanning various fields.⁵⁷⁴ However, it is plausible that Lārī's choice to introduce him was driven by his association with Jāmī. Jāmī, a highly respected Persian poet, received praise and honor not only in his local context but also among the Ottomans, as evidenced by Bāyezīd II's persistent invitations for him to visit Ottoman lands.⁵⁷⁵ Lārī's interest in discussing the subject through the lens of Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmed may have been influenced by Jāmī's prominence as a Persian poet and mystic. In addition, the exploration of shared beliefs with different ideologies and belief systems could be another contributing factor, although it remains difficult to draw a precise conclusion on this aspect.

The second mystic introduced by Lārī is more consistent with his personal chronology and writing style. He introduces **Shaykh Sa‘d al-Dīn Abū Sa‘īd** (d.?), emphasizing a personal connection by mentioning that he had met him. Lārī notes that Shaykh Sa‘d al-Dīn became a mentor to a certain *zāhid*⁵⁷⁶ and during their meeting Lārī observed their commitment to a life of profound austerity and self-renunciation. These individuals adopted an ascetic lifestyle and refrained from associating with those who were deeply involved in worldly affairs.⁵⁷⁷ Lārī goes on to specify that Shaykh Sa‘d al-Dīn died at the beginning of the *Ḳızılbaş* era, using the term '*Ḳızılbaş*' to denote the beginning of Shah Ṭahmāsp I's reign.

The inclusion of Shaykh Sa‘d al-Dīn in Lārī's list of mystics is a logical choice, as it establishes a personal connection with Lārī's own life. Lārī mentions meeting Shaykh Sa‘d al-Dīn and being influenced by the mystic way of life. In brief, Lārī hints at his own mystical leanings by praising this way of life. The lack of further information

⁵⁷³ Ömer Okumuş, "Câmî, Abdurrahman," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, 1993.

⁵⁷⁴ Safa, *Tarikh-i Adabiyat Dar Iran*, 5:455.

⁵⁷⁵ Ömer Okumuş, "Jāmī, Abdurrahman," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, 1993, 95.

⁵⁷⁶ The Sufi term for a person who has renounced everything except for the rights of God, which means the rights of God. See for more *Zühd*, Semih Ceyhan (TDV, 2013)

⁵⁷⁷ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:897.

about Shaykh Sa‘d al-Dīn may indeed indicate that he may not have been a widely known or prominent mystic of his time. It's also possible that the historical records about him are limited or poorly documented.

By including Shaykh Sa‘d al-Dīn, Lārī may wish to emphasize a personal influence or association rather than a wider historical significance. In such cases, the significance may lie more in the individual influence on Lārī and his perspective on mysticism, rather than in the mystic becoming widely known. When a scholar introduces a mystic in a biographical dictionary, he usually writes about his lineage, his school, his mentors, and so on.

However, Lārī omits such information, although he refers to many as Shaykh, such as Shaykh Sa‘d al-Dīn. In doing so, he may have wanted to emphasize their teachings and influence over their biographical details, thus promoting a more universal and comprehensive account of the mystics. Furthermore, by emphasizing the nature of scholarship and spirituality over denominational or familial affiliation, this approach may have reflected Lārī's own experiences and priorities.

Lārī then presents **Mawlānā Ḳuṭb al-Dīn**, also known as Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥyī Kushkenārī (d. 909/1503-4?).⁵⁷⁸ Lārī writes that he was the son of Mawlānā Muḥyī al-Dīn Kushkenārī, a learned teacher and disciple of ‘Abdul Ḳāhir Jurjānī (d. 816/1413). During his formative years, he became proficient in a variety of sciences and arts and contributed extensively to scholarly works.⁵⁷⁹ Lārī's introduction of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥyī Kushkenārī in his *tazkīra* has a personal connection that goes beyond the mystic's literary qualities. In the 9th/15th centuries, cultural centers were established in Lārīstan, and in the latter part of the century, the third center in Owaisheh, Lārīstan, was established under the leadership of Kushkenārī.

This center, located near Jahrom, flourished under Kushkenārī 's influence. Kushkenārī 's enthusiasm led to the creation of a Sufi city in the four neighborhoods of the north-eastern region of Jahrom. The intention was to provide a specialized environment for

⁵⁷⁸ Al-Faiz Al-Kashani, *Basharat ‘ül-Shī‘a* (Iraq: Hussainiya Muqadesa, 2018), 261.

⁵⁷⁹ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:897.

students to concentrate on religious matters.⁵⁸⁰ Since Lārī came from this city, he found it imperative to introduce Qutb ad-Dīn among the eminent mystics of the time, because of the significant role he played in the cultural development of Lārīstan.⁵⁸¹ Following in his father's footsteps, Qutb ad-Dīn began teaching at the *Dār al-Aytām madrasa*. Although Dawwānī laid claim to this position, but he was unable to secure it.⁵⁸²

Lārī tells us that unexpectedly, one day Qūṭb al-Dīn experienced a divine inspiration that led him to embark on exploratory journeys in different directions to unravel the mystery. He took refuge in the mountainous region near the city of Jahrom, known as Karakan. Visitors coming from the road would ask at his residence to find out the path he had taken.⁵⁸³ While Lārī focuses on his mystical character, other sources write that Kushkenārī was a great writer of Persian letters. He used simple language in his writings. As described by Qazwīnī, Kushkenārī's compositions are characterized by the utmost clarity, lacking in embellishment, free from affectation and completely devoid of artificiality. At times, his discourse takes on a Sufī poetic quality.

Kushkenārī's letters are among the most exquisite examples of Persian prose.⁵⁸⁴ Their common connection to their hometown, Lār, is a clear explanation for why Kushkenārī receives so much attention from Lārī and why Lārī feels such empathy for him. Several Persian sources that I have come across in the course of my research are evidence that Qūṭb al-Dīn Muḥyī Kushkenārī is not introduced in any other *tazkira* besides Lārī's.

Lārī then proceeds in the same family line to introduce Qūṭb al-Dīn Kushkenārī's son **Niẓām al-Dīn Maḥmūd**. Lārī says that after Qūṭb al-Dīn Kushkenārī, his son Niẓām al-Dīn took over the leadership and articulated eloquent expressions of knowledge and wisdom. Unfortunately, he met a tragic end as a martyr in 946/1539-40, succumbing to intense suffering.⁵⁸⁵ Interestingly, Lārī makes a personal connection by claiming to have met the person responsible for the tragic fate of Niẓām al-Dīn in Shiraz. He identified the culprit as Mir Ḥusain ibn 'Ali Mālikī Astarābādī. Known for his various

⁵⁸⁰ Ihsan Pur-Abrishom, "Arba' in Negari-Ye Sufiyan Barresi va Tashih-e Arba'inat-e Manzum Az Qutb Ad-Dīn Kushkenari," *Ayina-Yi Miras* 1, no. 70 (2022): 205.

⁵⁸¹ Hussam al-Din Naqwa, "Inḥiṭāṭ-e Naṭr-e Fārsī Dar Qolamr-e Ḥokūmat-e Hermez," 2013, 1891.

⁵⁸² Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:898.

⁵⁸³ *Ibid.*, 2:897–98.

⁵⁸⁴ Naqwa, "Inḥiṭāṭ-e Naṭr-e Fārsī Dar Qolamr-e Ḥokūmat-e Hermez," 1892.

⁵⁸⁵ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:898.

transgressions, including the consumption of wine and other intoxicants, Mālikī Astarābādī had a volatile temperament that was evident in his actions. Despite numerous invitations to attend the Niẓām al-Dīn's discussions, Mālikī always refused. His lack of respect for the traditions of his elders and his resistance to religious guidance manifested itself in Maleki's preference for Mu'āwiya over 'Umar b. 'Abdul 'Azīz.⁵⁸⁶ Lārī's account of this incident is brief, but there is no indication of his point of view. It is clear, however, that he is critical of Mālikī and of what he used to say and do.

However, Lārī does not provide a detailed description of the events that led to Niẓām al-Dīn's demise. Nevertheless, it is plausible to assume that Mir Ḥusain, the individual introduced by Lārī, played a role in the tragic fate of Niẓām al-Dīn. Kuṭb al-Dīn, a prominent mystic of the time, is wisely included in Lārī's *tazkira*. Unfortunately, details about his son, Niẓām al-Dīn, remain difficult to find. This information gap may be due to the suggestion that Lārī may have met in Shiraz the person ultimately responsible for Niẓām al-Dīn's demise, thus justifying his inclusion in this section of the text. Lārī continues his *tazkira* by focusing on Safavid scholars and intellectuals. He provides an account of the reigns of Shah Ismā'īl and Shah Ṭahmāsp before discussing various scholars, which is a clear indication that these scholars were active during this period.

He begins his narrative with the account of **Shams al-Dīn al-Ḥafrī** (d. 942/1535-6). Lārī writes that the mastery of Ḥafrī extended to all the branches of the arts, and his skill in the most varied matters was evident to all.⁵⁸⁷ Ḥafrī was educated in Shiraz, where he studied under Ṣadr al-Dīn Dashtakī.⁵⁸⁸ Notably, he was one of the teachers under whom Lārī, the author, had the privilege of studying. In this section, however, Lārī offers few details about his esteemed teacher, and this omission may be due to the notable shift in Ḥafrī's ideological stance in the later stages of his life. Biographical sources indicate that Ḥafrī embraced *Shī'ism* immediately after Shah Ismā'īl's conquest of Shiraz in 909/1504. In particular, Ḥafrī maintained friendly relations with Shah Ismā'īl I and his court.⁵⁸⁹ However, Lārī does not mention this explicitly. He

⁵⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid., 2:900.

⁵⁸⁸ Pourjavady, *Philosophy in Early Safavid Iran*, 37–38.

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid., 38.

describes him in one sentence as a great scholar in all fields of knowledge. When it comes to his connection with the Safavid court and Shah Ismā‘īl, Lārī remains silent and does not discuss his adherence to Shī‘ism. This is consistent with my earlier argument that Lārī does not indicate whether a scholar is Shī‘a or Sunnī, probably because he believes that intellectual ability is more important than sectarian affiliation. Another explanation could be that this universal history was ultimately dedicated to the Ottoman Sultan, which led Lārī to omit his master's Safavid connection and Shī‘a affiliation.

Lārī then goes on to discuss another scholar from whom he received instruction in Shiraz - **Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusain Lārī**. Lārī describes to Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusain an extraordinary degree of precision, suggesting that his discernment was so profound that he could accurately judge the meanings of diverse phenomena. Kamal ad-Dīn was adept at unravelling hidden subtleties within his field of expertise, demonstrating a deep understanding of these subtleties.⁵⁹⁰ Apart from his role as Lārī's teacher and his training in Shiraz under Dawwānī and Dashtakī, little information is available about Kamāl al-Dīn Lārī. In his *tazkira*, Lārī credits Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusain with an extraordinary ability to comprehend a wide range of subjects. Unfortunately, the limited availability of scholarly works on Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusain has hindered the possibility of a comparative analysis of Lārī's narrative.

Kamāl ad-Dīn Ḥussain Ardabīlī (d.955/1548-49) is the next scholar from the Safavid era introduced by Lārī'. On the other hand, Porujavady claims in his article that Ardabīlī died in the year 950/1543.⁵⁹¹ Lārī writes that Kamāl ad-Dīn Ḥussain came from Azerbaijan.⁵⁹² He was born in Ardabīl in the second half of the 9th/16th century.⁵⁹³ Lārī, in his chronicle of Ardabīlī, describes Kamāl ad-Dīn Ḥussain as devoting much of his time to the unceasing pursuit of knowledge. Initially, he served as a teacher at the Safaviya Mausoleum.⁵⁹⁴

⁵⁹⁰ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:900.

⁵⁹¹ Pourjavady, *Philosophy in Early Safavid Iran*, 41.

⁵⁹² Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:900.

⁵⁹³ Pourjavady, *Philosophy in Early Safavid Iran*, 41.

⁵⁹⁴ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:900.

However, Lārī's account lacks the intricate details of this particular event. Subsequent scholarship suggests that during his stay in his native city, Ardabīlī became a follower of the master of the Safavid order, particularly Shaykh Ḥaydar (d. 892/1487).⁵⁹⁵ Lārī writes that in the later stages of his life, under the guidance of Shaykh Ḥaydar, he devoted himself wholeheartedly to the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge.⁵⁹⁶ It is true that Shaykh Ḥaydar is said to have played a key role in encouraging Ardabīlī to continue his educational pursuits.⁵⁹⁷ According to Lārī he later, travelled to, Khorasan and immersed himself in scholarly pursuits.⁵⁹⁸ During his stay in Herat, Ardabīlī entered a period of patronage under the vizier of the Timurid Sultan Ḥusain Mīrzā, who was the son of Mansūr b. Bāyḡarā. This patronage was facilitated by Amīr 'Alī-Shīr Nawā'ī (d. 906/1501).⁵⁹⁹

Though Lārī does not mention it in his account, Ardabīlī was an accomplished scholar with wide-ranging interests in philosophy, astronomy and mathematics. To his patron at Herat, Amīr 'Alī-Shīr Nawā'ī, he dedicated three mathematical works.⁶⁰⁰ Lārī finished his narration by saying that Ardabīlī after completing his studies, returned to his homeland and lived there until his death in 955/1548-49.⁶⁰¹ Again, Lārī omits any discussion of Ardabīlī's sectarian affiliation, although various sources indicate that Ardabīlī was a Shī'a.⁶⁰²

Lārī then goes on to introduce the scholar **Sa'id Jamāl al-Dīn 'Aṭā' Allāh b. Faḏl-Allāh** (d.927/1520-21), specialized in studying ḥadīṣ.⁶⁰³ According to Lārī, Sa'id Jamāl al-Dīn was extensively involved in teaching the science of ḥadīṣ in the region of Khorasan.⁶⁰⁴ Lārī says that in particular, he focused on the teachings of the Prophet and actively contributed to the dissemination of knowledge.⁶⁰⁵ According to Ḥvāndmīr he was a devoted person, he was constantly striving to fulfil religious obligations and engage in acts of worship. In the early stages of his life, he deliberately refrained from

⁵⁹⁵ Pourjavady, *Philosophy in Early Safavid Iran*, 41.

⁵⁹⁶ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:900.

⁵⁹⁷ Pourjavady, *Philosophy in Early Safavid Iran*, 41.

⁵⁹⁸ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:900.

⁵⁹⁹ Pourjavady, *Philosophy in Early Safavid Iran*, 41.

⁶⁰⁰ Abdullah Efendi Isfahani, *رياض العلماء وحياض الفضل*, vol. 2 (Leiden: Al-Tarikh-ul Arabi, n.d.), 109.

⁶⁰¹ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:900.

⁶⁰² Muhammad Deyhem, *Tezkire-i Shuara-Yi Azerbaijan*, vol. 1 (Tabriz: Azarbadegan, 1988), 18.

⁶⁰³ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:901.

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁵ Ibid.

indulging in transgressions and worldly pleasures, concentrating on piety and asceticism. His wholehearted devotion was evident in his commitment to devotional practices, especially prayer. Disdaining self-righteousness in the service of hermits and recluses, he showed remarkable expertise in jurisprudence and economic principles.⁶⁰⁶

Ḥvāndmīr mentions him among the eminent scholars and virtuous people during the reign of Ḥusain Bāyqarā (d. 911/1506) in Herat. It is said that he taught for some time at the *Sūltaniye Madrasa* and the *Iḥlāṣiye Ḥānaqāh* in that city. He also delivered weekly *ḥuṭba* at the Great Mosque of Herat. Ḥvāndmīr writes that he holds important positions during Ḥusain Bāyqarā. He began his ministerial duties during the reign of Ḥusain Bāyqarā and rose steadily through the ranks until he reached the esteemed position of head of the *Divān* (administrative body). After the king's death, he declined positions for his descendants, later under Muḥammad Shaybānī (d. 916/1510), although he always sought his advice.⁶⁰⁷

Lārī records that in the middle of the siege of Khorasan led by ‘Ubayd Allāh Ḥān (d. 946/1539), Sa‘īd Jamāl ad-Dīn took the initiative to venture outside the city to negotiate peace between the conflicting sides. When he met ‘Ubayd Allāh Ḥān, he received neither the respect nor the recognition he had hoped for. Discouraged by this response, Sa‘īd Jamāl al-Dīn returned without reaching a solution. He then began prayers and recitations to counteract the influence of ‘Ubayd Allāh Ḥān. Tragically, he was found dead in his house.⁶⁰⁸ Sa‘īd Jamāl al-Dīn's son, Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad, commonly known as Mīrak Shah, also distinguished himself as a scholar of religious sciences, particularly in the field of *ḥadīṣ*. Upon the death of his father, he assumed his position and produced notable works in history, *ḥadīṣ* and interpretation, contributing to the intellectual legacy associated with Sa‘īd Jamāl al-Dīn.⁶⁰⁹

An issue arises regarding Lārī's inclusion of an account of a scholar of the Uzbek khanate in the context of individuals associated with him and his milieu. However, it is Ḥvāndmīr who claims that the scholar in question belonged to the Dashtakī family

⁶⁰⁶ Khavandmir, *Habib Al-Siyar*, 332.

⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 112.

⁶⁰⁸ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:901.

⁶⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

of Shiraz, with his family moving to Herat during the reign of Abū Sa‘īd Mīrzā (d. 873/1469).⁶¹⁰

On the other hand, the evidence suggests that Sa‘īd Jamāl al-Dīn was Sunnī until the conquest of Herat by Shah Ismā‘īl I in 916. According to Mīrḥvānd, Sa‘īd Jamāl al-Dīn was among the prominent figures who welcomed the Sunnī Muḥammad Shaybānī when he attacked Herat in 913 and then took control of the city. However, in 916, when Shah Ismā‘īl expelled the Uzbek soldiers from Herat, Sa‘īd Jamāl al-Dīn delivered a fervent *ḥuṭba* aimed at inciting the people to accept the shi‘ate sect, until Shah Ismā‘īl I conquered Herat in 916. In this *ḥuṭba* he extolled the virtues and merits of the *Shī‘a* Imāms. While there may be a semblance of similarity between Mīrḥvānd and Lārī’s narrations of Sa‘īd Jamāl al-Dīn, a closer examination reveals notable differences. Mīrḥvānd portrays Sa‘īd Jamāl al-Dīn as an important minister at the court of Ḥusain Bāyḳarā. In contrast, Lārī’s account focuses on Sa‘īd Jamāl al-Dīn as a scholar. Throughout this subchapter, this is a recurring theme. In his discussion of scholars and intellectuals, Lārī appears to be objective, as he does not mention the Shī‘a or Sunnī affiliation of any scholar, nor does he mention their administrative ranks. Instead, he focuses solely on their intellectual contributions. However, this objectivity may have been influenced by the fact that many of these scholars had some kind of connection with Lārī, which suggests that while his account may be objective in some respects, it may still reflect a degree of personal preference.

The famous mathematician, astronomer and jurist **Nizām al-Dīn Bīrjandī** (d. 934/1527-28 [?]) is the next scholar introduced by Lārī. Regarding Bīrjandī, Lārī notes that he demonstrated mastery in various sciences, with a discernible depth of understanding in matters of piety and purity. He further writes that Bīrjandī’s intellectual legacy is manifested in numerous writings and compositions, including a concise commentary on Ḥanafī jurisprudence, a commentary on a *taḏkira* in science of Logic, a commentary on the exposition of *al-majisṭī* (The Great Treatise), and a marginal commentary on al-Jaghmīnī’s commentary.⁶¹¹ Bīrjandī also composed a work which he dedicated to the Ottoman Sultan Selīm I (d. 926/1520). The introduction to Bīrjandī’s composition, entitled *Tuḥfe-i Selīmī*, reveals that he

⁶¹⁰ Khavandmir, *Habib Al-Siyar*, 322.

⁶¹¹ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:901.

presented this work to Yavuz Sultan Selīm during his princely years. *Tuḥfe-i Selīmī*, also known as *Ta'yīn-i Semt-i Qibla-i Trabzon*, is a Persian work from 911/1505 on the determination of the direction of the Qibla in Trabzon.⁶¹²

From the introduction, it is clear that Bīrjandī not only visited Trabzon, but also had a meeting with the prince during his stay there.⁶¹³ What makes him significant for Lārī, however, is not only his education or piety, but rather the common destiny he shared. In the last years of his life, Bīrjandī sought refuge in the Ottoman Empire in order to avoid a fate similar to that of his teacher, Taftāzānī, the *Muḥtāṣab* of Herat, who was killed on the orders of Isma'īl.

Lārī concludes his *tazkira* with a reference to **Muḥammad Ḥanafī**. Lārī describes the deep piety and devotion of Muḥammad Ḥanafī. He notes his prolific contributions in the form of numerous commentaries. In the end, Ḥanafī gave up his worldly pursuits and devoted himself entirely to the vocation of teaching.⁶¹⁴ He wrote commentaries on the *Semāil-i Tirmizī* and *Tefsir-i Qāzī*. It was in Bukhara that Muḥammad Ḥanafī's life came to an end, and in his infirmity, he was visited by 'Ubayd Allāh Shaybānī, who asked for advice about his children and other matters. In his last moments, Ḥanafī recited the following verse:⁶¹⁵

خلاف طریقت بود که اولیا
تمنا کنند از خدا جز خدا

*Contrary to the behavior of the saints,
is the desire for anything from God, except God Himself?*

The inclusion of a poem at the end of the narrative is noteworthy. It was originally written by the famous Persian Shirazi poet Sa'dī Shīrāzī (d. 691/1292) and conveys a poignant message. The verse emphasizes the idea that a pious person, especially one inclined towards mysticism, seeks divine favors only from God and refrains from seeking anything from earthly authorities. This may have been emphasized by Lārī. It is crucial to recognize that Lārī composed his historical work, *Mir'atu'l-Advār*, during

⁶¹² The only known copy of this work is in the Istanbul University Library (FY, no. 71). For more see, Cengiz Aydın and Gülseren Aydın, "Bircendī," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi*, 1992.

⁶¹³ Genghis Aydın and Gülseren Aydın, "Bircendī," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi*, 1992, 188.

⁶¹⁴ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:901.

⁶¹⁵ Ibid.

the twilight years of his own life. Nevertheless, my research has yielded little information beyond Lārī's detailed account of Muḥammad Ḥanafī. Identifying this scholar proved to be a major challenge in the course of my research. The scholar's connection with ʿUbayd Allāh Shaybānī and the circumstances of his death in Bukhara add a layer of intrigue. I can only hypothesize that Muḥammad Ḥanafī, possibly a scholar from Shiraz, ended his life and career in Bukhara amidst connections with the Uzbeks. This assumption is based on the possibility that he may have chosen to move from the Safavid region to Bukhara to continue his work. Lārī's narrative may reflect an attempt to present a parallel trajectory in the life of the scholar.

At the end of his chapter VIII, Lārī presents a distinctive section that can be characterized as “Lārī's *tazkira*”, a specialized form of biographical dictionary focusing on scholars, intellectuals and mystics from both the pre-Safavid and Safavid eras. It is through the biographies of these scholars that Lārī strategically constructs a framework of context for his own life, highlighting the shared challenges, migrations, and affiliations that resonate with his own narrative. Consistent with his approach throughout the historical narrative, Lārī employs a unique methodology, infusing his own ideology and personalized techniques into the composition of this *tazkira*. In particular, Lārī's *tazkira* does not adhere to conventional organizational principles based on names, dates or professions. The scholars presented here are based roughly on a chronology that spans the period from 1497 to 1550. The common thread that unites the diverse group of scholars presented in this section is their association with Lārī, either directly or indirectly.

While the majority lack a direct connection, their indirect ties to Lārī become the central organizing principle. An important theme emerges in Lārī's *tazkira*. The scholars featured have a deep connection to Shiraz, and in particular to the Madrasa where Lārī studied. In addition, there is a striking pattern in the way that most of these scholars faced challenges from the Safavids, forcing them to seek refuge and a new beginning. Probably they all experienced circumstances similar to Lārī's.

Noteworthy is Lārī's deliberate choice to include those associated with Ottoman lands. This deliberate selection adds to the narrative of Lārī and underlines the fact that he is not a solitary figure who sought refuge at the Ottoman court on the run from the

Safavids. The shared experiences of these scholars collectively support Lārī's case at the Ottoman Court and further reinforce the sincerity of his personal journey.

To Summarise this Sub-Chapter:

- Lārī's *tazkira* encompasses biographical accounts of 16 scholars.
- The initial segment features ten scholars, ranging from Ṣadr-al-Dīn Dashtakī (d. 903/1497-8) to Niẓām al-Dīn Maḥmūd, situated within the context of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu dynasty.
- The subsequent six scholars, from Shams al-Dīn al-Ḥafri (d. 942/1535-6) to Muḥammad Ḥanafī, are introduced in the section pertaining to the Safavid era, following brief expositions on Shah Ismā'īl and Shah Ṭahmāsp.
- The time period covered by these entries extends approximately from 1470 to 1550.
- Only Ṣadr-al-Dīn Dashtakī (d. 903/1497-8) and Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ed-Dawwānī (d. 908/1502) are also included in the Ḥabīb al-siyar.
- Lārī categorizes the figures into scholars and mystics:
- Scholars: Ṣadr-al-Dīn Dashtakī, Ḥ'āja 'AbdulMalik Sāwajī, Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ed-Dawwānī, Ḳāzī Mīr Ḥusain Yazdī, Mawlānā Muẓaffar al-Dīn, and Mawlānā Shams al-Dīn.
- Mystics: Pīr Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmed (d. 879/1474-75), Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥyī Kushkenārī (d. 909/1503-4?), Niẓām al-Dīn Maḥmūd.
- In the Safavid Era section:
- Scholars: Shams al-Dīn al-Ḥafri (d. 942/1535-6) and Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusain Lārī (two of Lārī's teachers).
- Mystics: Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥussain Ardabīlī (d. 955/1548-49), Sa'īd Jamāl al-Dīn 'Aṭā' Allāh b. Faẓl-Allāh (d. 927/1520-21), Niẓām al-Dīn Bīrjandī (d. 934/1527-28 [?]), and 'Muḥammad Ḥanafī.
- Mawlānā Muẓaffar al-Dīn (d. 922/1516) and Mawlānā Shams al-Dīn are recognised as disciples of Ḳāzī Mīr Ḥusain Yazdī. Mawlānā Muẓaffar al-Dīn later moved to Ottoman Egypt, while Mawlānā Shams al-Dīn moved to Gujarat.
- Shams al-Dīn al-Ḥafri (d. 942/1535-6) and Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusain Lārī are recognised as Lārī's mentors.

- Sa'īd Jamāl al-Dīn 'Aṭā' Allāh b. Faḏl-Allāh and Ḥvāja 'Abdul Malik Sāwajī are specifically mentioned for their contributions to ḥadīṣ studies, while other scholars are praised for their expertise in various scientific disciplines.
- Ṣadr-al-Dīn Dashtakī, Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ed-Dawwānī, shams al-Dīn al-Ḥafri, and Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusain Lārī and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥyī Kushkenārī, Sa'īd Jamāl al-Dīn 'Aṭā' Allāh b. Faḏl-Allāh, Ḳāzī Mīr Ḥusain Yazdī, Mawlānā Muḏaffar al-Dīn and Mawlānā Shams al-Dīn are associated with the Shiraz.
- Ḳāzī Mīr Ḥusain Yazdī is mentioned as having been unjustly martyred by Shah Ismā'īl.
- Of the 16 scholars listed, 5 are identified as Shī'a, while 11 are Sunnī scholars.⁶¹⁶

4.5. Conclusion

Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Lārī's historical account, as outlined in the introduction, unfolds as an engaging exploration of empires, particularly the Safavid and Ottoman, informed by the author's unique perspective, having experienced life in the realms of the Safavids, Mughals, and Ottomans. In particular, Lārī's personal encounters with these empires lend a distinctive touch to his work, which is evident in the sections devoted to the Safavids and Ottomans. Despite the incorporation of outside sources, his treatment of the Safavids appears to be more personal observation than systematic historical analysis. Coming from the Safavid Empire, Lārī's paradoxical omission of the Safavids from his narrative becomes a focal point. To fill this gap, the chapter examines the Safavid dynasty in the context of Uzun Ḥasan and introduces Lārī's overlooked birthplace. The historical milieu of the sixteenth century, marked by the height of Ottoman-Safavid rivalry, adds complexity to Lārī's selective brevity, emphasizing figures such as Uzun Ḥasan over Shah Ismā'īl I and Shah Ṭahmāsp I.

The chapter's analysis is organized around three key aspects. First, it examines Lārī's perspective on the historical positioning of the *Shi'ite* dynasty, exploring his response

⁶¹⁶ The identification of certain scholars as Shī'a or Sunnī is quite challenging. Accurate information is available for only a few of the scholars, while for others it remains a debatable question with lingering doubts. To address this, I have sought additional sources to ensure accuracy. For some scholars where direct information is unavailable, I have examined their backgrounds, including their teachers, journeys, cities, and works, to infer their affiliation as Shī'a or Sunnī. Nevertheless, I acknowledge that the numbers provided can be debated and require further documentation.

to the Safavid historiographical model and the infusion of personal interpretations. Secondly, the study focuses on Lārī's use of Safavid historiography to challenge the legitimacy of the Safavid dynasty, unravelling the strategies employed in this critical endeavor.

Finally, the biographical component examines Lārī's motivations for incorporating intellectuals into his narrative, weaving a deeper understanding of his historical approach. The wider context is illuminated through a comparative analysis of Ottoman and Safavid perspectives, looking at Muṣṭafā 'Ālī and Ḥ'āndmīr. The question that echoes throughout the chapter is profound: "Where are the Safavids in Lārī's world?" This question acts as a leitmotif that compels a comprehensive examination of Lārī's life, the historical milieu in which he operated, and the complex interplay between personal experience, ideological underpinnings, and historiographical choices in shaping his universal history.

The first section of this chapter examines the historical approach and style of Lārī, focusing on his response to Safavid historiography. The primary aim is to analyse Lārī's methodological choices and their consistent application in his extensive historical work. In particular, this analysis focuses on how Lārī's approach is applied to the narrative of Safavid history, illustrating his role as a historian who challenges Safavid historiography. The chapter argues that Lārī emerges as a historian who offers a critical response or opposition to Safavid historiography, a stance that is evident in the distinctive methods and styles he employs.

In other words, he is an upholder of the Safavid historiographical tradition, but offers little in the way of detail about Safavid history itself. Instead, he refrains from endorsing the Safavid historians' claims about their lineage and instead addresses the challenges faced by Sunnī scholars. Throughout the chapter, he offers a critique of their methodology and does not endorse their historical claims. This deliberate infusion serves as a means of challenging established conventions within Safavid historiography, ultimately leading to the development of a unique narrative paradigm. The concluding reflections, however, underscore the problematic nature of Lārī's historiographical journey. Despite the inclusion of his own ideological touches, the chapter shows that he remains fundamentally faithful to the Safavid style of

historiography. The complex interplay between his ideologies and the Safavid narrative gives his universal history a committed yet distinctive character. In essence, the examination of five major facets of Safavid historiography in the context of Lārī's Universal History highlights the complicated dynamics at play and offers a balanced understanding of his historical contributions and the complexities of Safavid historiography in his scholarly efforts.

Secondly, crucial insights into Lārī's historical perspective are revealed through the meticulous study of Safavid genealogy and the specific rulers recorded, as dictated by the Safavid method of historiography. In particular, in its contribution to our understanding of Safavid legitimacy, Lārī's unique interpretation of this genealogical aspect is of paramount importance. The historical irony involved in Lārī's narrative, in which he, coming from the heartland of the Safavid Empire, overlooks the dynasty of his own time and birthplace, becomes a focal point for investigating. His deliberate omission of the genealogy of the Safavid Shahs, a notable departure from Safavid tradition, stands out. While acknowledging the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu s and continuing the narrative from Shah Ismā'īl I to Shah Ṭahmāsp I, Lārī refrains from attributing legitimacy to their rule, presenting a cautious approach despite the relative peace of the period between the Ottoman and Safavid empires. Significantly, Lārī's deliberate brevity in addressing the Ottoman-Safavid rivalry adds a layer of complexity to his historiographical choices.

A notable aspect of his narrative is the unexpected emphasis on Uzun Ḳasan over the contemporary Safavid Shahs, Shah Ismā'īl I and Shah Ṭahmāsp I. Lārī conveys his perspective through deliberate omission, strategically sidestepping and minimizing Safavid claims to legitimacy, in contrast to Muṣṭafā 'Ālī's distortion of claims. The second part of this chapter reveals a more refined dimension of Lārī's historiographical strategy - a deliberate and selective shaping of the narrative through omission. By refraining from addressing Safavid claims in detail, he underscores the deliberate nature of his historical choices. By downplaying and avoiding, Lārī creates his own perspective on Safavid legitimacy, revealing the intricacies of his historical methodology and the subtle power of silence in shaping historical narratives. There is a widespread belief that the Safavids' claims to their lineage are fabrications and are historically dubious. One would expect these claims to be either refuted or dismissed

by a diligent historian in this context. Therefore, Lārī's approach in this regard can be seen as both appropriate and valid.

Finally, Lārī's chapter on the Safavids culminates in a distinctive and illuminating section that I have termed "*Lārī's tazkira*" a specialized biographical dictionary focusing on scholars, intellectuals, and mystics of the pre-Safavid and Safavid eras. This unique section is a testament to Lārī's methodological ingenuity. It demonstrates his commitment to injecting personal ideology and personal techniques into historical composition. Departing from conventional organizational principles, *Lārī's tazkira* eschews chronological order, names, dates or professions. Rather, the central principle of the organization is the connection of the scholars, directly or indirectly, to Lārī himself. A compelling theme begins to emerge, as these scholars share a deep connection to Shiraz, and especially to the Madrasa where Lārī continued to study. In particular, a striking pattern emerges in which these scholars, like Lārī, faced challenges from the Safavids that forced them to flee and start anew. Lārī's deliberate inclusion of scholars associated with Ottoman lands reinforces the narrative. It emphasizes that he is not a solitary figure seeking refuge, but part of a collective experience.

The shared challenges, migrations and affiliations of these scholars form a strategic framework of context for Lārī's own life. This reinforces the sincerity of his personal journey. Through the biographies of these scholars, Lārī creates a narrative that transcends the individual experience, highlighting the shared struggles and affiliations that resonate with his own narrative. In short, "*Lārī's tazkira*" demonstrates Lārī's careful construction of historical context and shows how the experiences of scholars become integral threads in the texture of his own narrative.

CHAPTER V

THE NARRATIVE OF GLORY: TĪMŪR'S HEROIC PORTRAYAL IN *MIR'ATU'L-ADVĀR*

5.1. Introduction

Lārī's comprehensive historical work, *Mir'atu'l-Advār*, comprises ten chapters and covers a wide range of empires, dynasties and kingdoms. Among these, a single empire and its ruler occupy a prominent place in *Mir'atu'l-Advār*. Tīmūr b. Tarağay Barlas (d. 807/1405), the founder of the Timurid Empire, emerges as the central figure in this universal story. The section devoted to the Timurid Empire has the distinction of being the most extensive and detailed in comparison with other historical accounts. Lārī's wandering experiences crossed all three Islamic empires: from the Safavids, where he was born and raised, to the Mughals, to the Ottomans, where he died. While Lārī's observations on the Safavids and Ottomans offer fascinating insights through his first-hand experience, it is noteworthy that he did not directly experience or reside in the Timurid Empire. Instead, his time was spent in the Mughal Empire, the descendants of Tīmūr in India.

It is appropriate to highlight Lārī's extensive use of Timurid historical sources, including Mīrḥānd, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, and Ḥāndmīr, all of whom are prominent Timurid historians. This chapter will address three main questions. First, it examines how Lārī portrays Tīmūr, examining both his characterization and leadership qualities, as well as the facets of his life that are elaborated upon. Ultimately, it seeks to identify the composite image of Tīmūr that Lārī's narrative is intended to create.

The second part of the study examines Lārī's portrayal of the decisive Battle of Ankara in 804/1402. This was a crucial turning point in Ottoman history, leading to the *Fetret Devri* (Ottoman Interregnum), which lasted from 1402 to 1413. Finally, it examines

Lārī's portrayal of the fifteen Timurid scholars and mystics presented in his work. The final section of this chapter seeks to identify the criteria used by Lārī to select and present intellectuals and mystics associated with the Timurid period. Lārī's rationale for highlighting Timurid scholars, in contrast to his approach in the chapter on the Safavids, where he consistently endeavored to portray individuals with proximity or relevance to his personal life, warrants investigation. This investigation seeks to unravel the underlying purpose and intention behind Lārī's inclusion of these particular figures in his narrative.

By examining his portrayal of Timurid scholars, the analysis aims to shed light on the larger motives that guide Lārī's presentation of these intellectual and mystical figures in the contexts of the Timurid era. In the final section of this chapter, I will attempt to determine the originality of Lārī's portrayal of Tīmūr, the information he presents about the Timurid Empire, and the conceptual frameworks he introduces. I will examine whether the ideas outlined in the chapter are truly his own innovations or merely derivative of his predecessors, particularly scholars such as Mīrḥānd, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, and Ḥāndmīr. Through this analysis, I aim to elucidate the distinctive features of his historiographical methodology. In general, this chapter will deal with the study of Tīmūr as perceived through the lens of Lārī.

5.2. An Illustration of the Heroic

Alexander the Great tried to conquer these mountains and regions, but he had a hard time in doing so. Eventually the conquest was achieved by Tīmūr.⁶¹⁷

This passage is indicative of Lārī's deliberate elevation of Tīmūr as a heroic and almost superhuman figure in his historical narrative. By juxtaposing Tīmūr's conquests with those of Alexander the Great – a universally recognised symbol of power and military genius – Lārī emphasises Tīmūr's unparalleled strength and determination. The implication that Alexander encountered difficulties in regions where Tīmūr ultimately prevailed serves to portray Tīmūr not merely as a conqueror, but also as a ruler divinely favoured and destined for triumph.

⁶¹⁷ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:788.

The manner in which Lārī positions Tīmūr within this paradigm appears to be an endeavour to portray him as a ruler who possesses a combination of both physical prowess and strategic ingenuity, thus eclipsing even the illustrious figures of antiquity. Furthermore, it is evident that Lārī has endeavoured to position Tīmūr within the lineage of world conquerors, juxtaposing him with the historical archetype of the ideal ruler and thereby suggesting his superiority. This portrayal serves to emphasise Tīmūr's legitimacy and authority, depicting him as a ruler uniquely capable of achieving what others could not. In this way, Lārī aligns Tīmūr's narrative with his broader historiographical goals, which are to highlight Tīmūr's role as a moral, pious, and destined ruler whose legacy should be remembered and revered within Islamic and world history.

5.2.1. Tracing the Lineage of Tīmūr

Lārī's portrayal of the Timurid Empire is full of heroism. In keeping with the Safavid/Timurid historiographical tradition, he adheres to a narrative style that revolves around a single central figure. Whereas in Safavid historiography the Shah is the central figure, for Lārī here this central figure is none other than the Timurid emperor Tīmūr. Lārī delves into various facets of Tīmūr's life, covering his journey from childhood through adulthood and into his later years. His affection and support for scholars, his passion for innovation, his piety and religious devotion, and his courage are all covered, from his enthronement to his military campaigns. Even the motives behind Tīmūr's cruelties are explored, with Lārī often seen defending him.

Lārī skillfully adapts his narrative approach to the unique historiographical conventions of the Safavid and Timurid styles. In particular, within the Safavid historical context, Lārī avoids questions of legitimacy of rule and descent by deliberately omitting such considerations in the portrayal of Safavid rulers. In describing Tīmūr's life, on the other hand, Lārī prioritizes the elevation of Tīmūr's status in terms of royal legitimacy and martial distinction. Tīmūr's legitimacy stemmed from the Turko-Mongolian concept of leadership based on charisma, a form of

legitimate rule in history according to Max Weber's typology.⁶¹⁸ The steppe empire was a constant source of inspiration for Tīmūr. He actively sought to be seen not only as the equal of Chinggis Ḥān, but as a figure of even greater power and glory.⁶¹⁹

Lārī's detailed account of this is done with the intention of enhancing Tīmūr's royal credibility and emphasizing his martial prowess. Lārī writes that Tīmūr Kuragan⁶²⁰ was born near Kesh, now known as Shahrisabz, in Uzbekistan. Muḥammad Turgay Noyan⁶²¹, Tīmūr's father, was a member of the prestigious Barlas clan, whose lineage can be traced back to Kaçuli Bahādur. The Barlas are of Turkic origin, but their exact ancestry remains uncertain.

Despite the ambiguity surrounding the early history of the Timurids, fifteenth-century texts emphasize that the Barlas clan was assigned to Chaghatay 's retinue before the death of Chinggis Ḥān in 1227.⁶²² Though not of direct Chinggis descent, Tīmūr was the descendant of an important Mongolian tribal family, the Barlas, who had maintained close ties with the house of Chinggis Ḥān's second son, Chaghatay Ḥān (d.639/1241).⁶²³ Tīmūr Kūragan's family connections include Kubilay Kağan (d. 693/1294), and his lineage includes Karaçar Noyan, who held the prestigious position of chief of generals for Chaghatay Ḥān and was the fifth ancestor in Tīmūr's line.⁶²⁴ Genealogically, he was related not only to Chinggis Ḥān (d.624/1277), the founder of the Mongol clan, but also to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the first *Shi'ite* Imām and principal member of the family of the Prophet Muḥammad.⁶²⁵ Tīmūr was in the unique position of being a descendant of the two most influential dynastic lines in thirteenth- and

⁶¹⁸ Maria E. Subtenly, "Tamerlane and His Descendants: From Paladins to Patrons," in *The Eastern Islamic World Eleventh to Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. David O. Morgan and Anthony Reid, vol. 3, *The New Cambridge History of Islam* (Edinburgh: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 170.

⁶¹⁹ Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Tīmūr and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989), 24.

⁶²⁰ Tīmūr's marriage to a Chinggisid princess, the daughter of Qazan Ḥān, earned him the privilege of bearing the title Kūragan, or imperial son-in-law.

⁶²¹ The term 'Noyan', which can be loosely translated as 'lord', served as both a military and a civilian title, and can be regarded as being analogous to the Islamic title of emir.

⁶²² Lentz and Lowry, *Tīmūr and the Princely Vision*, 27.

⁶²³ Subtenly, "Tamerlane and His Descendants," 171.

⁶²⁴ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:755.

⁶²⁵ Subtenly, "Tamerlane and His Descendants," 170–71.

fourteenth-century Iran and Central Asia.⁶²⁶ According to Ḥvāndmīr in *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Tīmūr's ancestry goes back to Noah.⁶²⁷

However, Ḥvāndmīr does not provide a comprehensive genealogy of Tīmūr. Instead, he traces his lineage only as far back as Alānqu, claiming that Alānqu was descended from Ḳayyān, who in turn traced his ancestry to Yafes bin Nūḥ. Consequently, Tīmūr's lineage is said to be linked to Nūḥ. However, according to Islamic belief, the genealogy of all humanity can be traced back to Nūḥ, so Ḥvāndmīr's assertion is not particularly remarkable, but rather a commonly accepted tenet within the Islamic tradition. A more satisfactory approach would have been for Ḥvāndmīr to delineate the complete lineage of Tīmūr down to Nūḥ, thereby elucidating the connections and enumerating the successive ancestors in the line.

Ḳarachar Noyān's descendants eventually settled around the city of Shahrīsabz and established a remarkable ruling dynasty. Tīmūr's father, Turgay, however, chose not to pursue the emirate. He lived a modest life. By emphasizing his connection to the descendants of the Mongol rulers, Tīmūr positioned himself as the rightful restorer of the House of Chaghatay Ḥān and thus the head of a revived Chinggis kingship.⁶²⁸ According to various sources Timurid historians even gave Tīmūr a date of birth that deliberately coincided with the year of the Īkhānate Abū Sa'īd Bahādur Ḥān (d. 736/1335), suggesting an unbroken continuity of Chinggis rule in West Asia.⁶²⁹ Indeed that is what Lārī writes, Tīmūr was born in Shahrīsabz in 736/1335, coincidentally the same year that Sultan Abū Sa'īd Bahādur died.⁶³⁰ Despite being an expert in astronomy, Lārī does not attribute any astronomical significance to the birth of his protagonist, Tīmūr. Moreover, he does not give the exact details found in his primary sources. In contrast, Ḥvāndmīr in his *Rawḏat aṣ-ṣafā'* offers a more comprehensive account than Lārī.

Sultan Abū Sa'īd Bahādur Ḥān (d. 736/1335), the last prominent Mongol emperor in Iran, died on the thirteenth of Rabī' al-Ṣānī in 736 AH (8, April 1336). Amīr Tīmūr was born on the

⁶²⁶ Lentz and Lowry, *Tīmūr and the Princely Vision*, 27.

⁶²⁷ Khavandmir, *Ḥabīb Al-Siyar*, 393.

⁶²⁸ Lentz and Lowry, *Tīmūr and the Princely Vision*, 27.

⁶²⁹ Subtenly, "Tamerlane and His Descendants," 171.

⁶³⁰ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:755.

twenty-fifth of Sha'bān in the same year. This particular year coincides with the sıçgan yılı, which serves as the basis for both the Turkish and Mongolian calendar systems.⁶³¹

Lārī clearly cites *Rawzat aş-şafā'* as a primary source at the beginning of his historical work. However, it is clear from this example that he does not simply reproduce Ḥvāndmīr's account verbatim. Instead, Lārī formulates his own narrative, demonstrating a departure from the meticulous accuracy and detail characteristic of Ḥvāndmīr's approach. Lārī opts for a broader portrayal of Tīmūr, selectively emphasizing elements he deems important while omitting others. Lārī's nuanced approach underscores his distinctive historiographical style, in which discernment in the selection and presentation of historical material takes precedence over exhaustive detail.

Tīmūr and his descendants skillfully manipulated the complex social, political and cultural traditions of their Turko-Mongol heritage to legitimize their rule. Emphasizing the links between their dynasty and that of Chinggis Ḥān was one of the ways in which they achieved this.⁶³² However, Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn 'Arab Shah (d. 854/1450) asserts that regardless of the field he ventured into, Tīmūr would always spin a web of trickery, magic, and deceit⁶³³. Lārī clearly addresses the issue of Tīmūr's legitimacy and lineage, recognizing and affirming his Mongol connections as an established fact. In line with standard Timurid historical narratives, unlike Ḥvāndmīr, Lārī presents Tīmūr's clan as Chinggis, and like other historians of the Timurid era, he observes the end of the Ilkhanates with Tīmūr's birth, marking the beginning of the Timurid Empire. Lārī does not delve into the lineage of 'Alī and Nūḥ. Instead, he finds satisfaction in the connection with Chingis as the ancestral link to Tīmūr.

⁶³¹ Muhammad Mir Mirkhavnd, *Rawzat Al-Safa*, ed. Abbas Zaryab, vol. 4,5,6 (Tehran: Ilmi Publishers, 1994), 1012.

⁶³² Lentz and Lowry, *Tīmūr and the Princely Vision*, 27.

⁶³³ Muhammad İbn Arabşah, *Acā'ibü'l-Mağdûr Fî Nevā'ibi Aḥbāri Tīmûr*, trans. Ali Nejati (Bengah-i Terjuma, 1977), 297.

5.2.2. Building Leadership Excellence: The Triple Action of Strategy, Skills and Character

According to Ḥvāndmīr's account in *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Tīmūr remained undefeated throughout his reign, from its beginning to its end.⁶³⁴ Ibn ʿArabshah writes that the broad extent of his victories and the intricacy of his rule, despite his disapproving stance on influential nations and his amassed wealth, caused widespread worry and apprehension. Even though he caused widespread fear, and even though he seemed resolute in his beliefs, his true objectives were always unclear.

He infiltrated the world like a malignant force, spreading like poison within a living being, and sought to invade human existence.⁶³⁵

Tīmūr proved to be an exceptionally skilled leader, gaining a loyal following based on both his tangible abilities and the carefully cultivated mythical image he consciously created. His physical prowess, intellect and the legendary persona he constructed played a significant role in inspiring loyalty.⁶³⁶ Ibn ʿArabshah wrote that his army and his followers were closer to Tīmūr than to God.⁶³⁷ Lārī notes Tīmūr's remarkable memory but then reveals the irony that despite this remarkable memory, Tīmūr was an illiterate man. Lārī, however, emphasizes Tīmūr's linguistic skills in Persian, Turkish and Mongolian in an effort to soften the impact of Tīmūr's illiteracy. It was this linguistic skill that enabled Tīmūr to engage in effective communication in these three languages, thereby drawing attention away from his illiteracy.⁶³⁸

Lārī's emphasis is not only on Tīmūr's linguistic skills, but also on his remarkable abilities beyond language. In spite of his supposed illiteracy, Tīmūr's exceptional ability to communicate and his astute ability to work with individuals played a crucial role in establishing his greatness. Chinggis Ḥān maintained the traditional tribal units, but modified their structure by introducing an artificial system. In this system, tribal loyalties were placed under the authority of a newly formed military unit,

⁶³⁴ Khavandmir, *Habib Al-Siyar*, 395.

⁶³⁵ Ibn Arabshah, *Acā`ibü'l-Maḳdūr*, 59.

⁶³⁶ Lentz and Lowry, *Tīmūr and the Princely Vision*, 30.

⁶³⁷ Ibn Arabshah, *Acā`ibü'l-Maḳdūr*, 322.

⁶³⁸ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:828.

foreshadowing Tīmūr's strategy in the late fourteenth century.⁶³⁹ Ibn 'Arabshah notes that Tīmūr had a talent for gathering intelligence, sending eager spies to various countries. His team of spies included people from a range of professions, including Sufi mystics, merchants, ship captains, warriors, laborers, astronomers, magicians and representatives from a spectrum of social classes.⁶⁴⁰ To which Lārī explains that Tīmūr's brilliance manifested itself in his ability to network and cultivate alliances, a quality that contributed significantly to his increased prestige. Notably, Tīmūr's extensive informational resources were strategically employed to gather extensive information on the political landscapes of various cities, showing his ability to navigate complex power dynamics.⁶⁴¹

It is argued that Tīmūr's greatest strength lay in his ability to manage and shape the complex tribal affiliations that dictated life on the steppe.⁶⁴² Lārī examines the composition and characteristics of Tīmūr's formidable army in a discussion of his strategic brilliance. Lārī observes:

The soldiers under Tīmūr's command were known for their unflinching and ruthless nature, marked by a conspicuous lack of mercy". "Tīmūr's army was remarkably diverse, with members from various backgrounds, including poets, Sufis and scholars, several of his military personnel were part of the group that adhered to the principles of 'وَتَوَاصُوا بِالْحَقِّ وَتَوَاصُوا بِالصَّبْرِ'.⁶⁴³

Lārī also highlights the military prowess of Tīmūr's troops. He emphasizes their possession and use of the most advanced military technologies of the time. This technical prowess demonstrated Tīmūr's commitment to maintaining a powerful and advanced military machine. The vast size of Tīmūr's army is emphasized by Lārī, who vividly depicts its vastness to the point where the eye cannot discern its end, providing evidence of the broad scope and scale of Tīmūr's military power. It is generally believed that Tīmūr's success in campaigning and his ability to maintain control over the diverse territories of his empire was largely due to his methodical use of terror.⁶⁴⁴ Ibn 'Arabshah writes that individuals of greater bravery, irascibility, ruthlessness and unwavering determination were held in high esteem within his military ranks.⁶⁴⁵

⁶³⁹ Lentz and Lowry, *Tīmūr and the Princely Vision*, 20–21.

⁶⁴⁰ Ibn Arabshah, *Acā'ibü'l-Maḳdūr*, 297.

⁶⁴¹ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:829.

⁶⁴² Lentz and Lowry, *Tīmūr and the Princely Vision*, 32.

⁶⁴³ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:828.

⁶⁴⁴ Lentz and Lowry, *Tīmūr and the Princely Vision*, 26.

⁶⁴⁵ Ibn Arabshah, *Acā'ibü'l-Maḳdūr*, 322.

Furthermore, Lārī provides elaboration on the substantial perpetration of violence amidst Tīmūr's military pursuits, emphasizing the purposeful demolition of multiple cities.⁶⁴⁶ Lārī contends that Tīmūr's practice of burning cities and their inhabitants was not indicative of inherent cruelty, as suggested by historians such as Ibn ʿArabshah. Instead, Lārī attributes this strategy to Tīmūr's military acumen. As a strategic thinker, Tīmūr realised that if he left, dissidents and opposition forces would likely re-emerge within the city, causing considerable discord among the population. As a result, Tīmūr made pre-emptive plans to mitigate such challenges.

As Tīmūr Amīr moved from one location to another, he would strategically lay ambushes for opposing groups. As dissidents descended from the mountains, Tīmūr's military presence would metaphorically burn them with the relentless effectiveness of his sword.⁶⁴⁷

The conquest of Fushānj⁶⁴⁸ is another incident that illustrates Tīmūr's tactical brilliance and military prowess, as described in *Mir'atu'l-Advār*. According to the historical account, Tīmūr not only took control of Fushanj and its castle, but also made a rapid advance in the direction of Herat. Arriving in Herat, he made the strategic decision to build a defensive moat outside the fortress to prevent the city from getting attacked.⁶⁴⁹

Tīmūr quickly captured Fushanj. He then moved his forces towards Herat. On arrival, he ordered a trench to be dug near the Herat fortress to prevent the possibility of an unexpected night attack from the castle.⁶⁵⁰

In fact, Tīmūr's strategic acumen went beyond his military skills. It extended to politics and diplomacy. Tīmūr used the widespread appeal of Islam to create a stable economic environment in which the merchant classes could flourish. Lārī explains that Tīmūr sent a message to Malik Barḳūḳ, the Mamlūk ruler of Egypt (d. 801/1399). In this exchange of letters, Tīmūr stressed the importance of maintaining a positive relationship between their respective territories. The aim was to create an environment in which merchant could operate without fear.⁶⁵¹ This underlines Tīmūr's recognition

⁶⁴⁶ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:787.

⁶⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 2:779.

⁶⁴⁸ Posheng or Fushanj, which is now the capital of the district of Zendajan in modern-day Afghanistan, is the name of an ancient city in Khorasan. This city is in western Herat. The city was reported to be half the size of Herat in the 4th century AD. "The city was also the capital of the Tahirid dynasty (est. 821-873).

⁶⁴⁹ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:781.

⁶⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 2:768.

⁶⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 2:781.

of the central role of trade and commerce in maintaining diplomatic relations. Throughout his narrative, Lārī meticulously describes the physical appearance of only two people: The Prophet Muḥammad and Tīmūr. According to Lārī, Tīmūr was known for his stature, broad shoulders and wide face. His complexion was described as a mixture of red and white, and he wore two earrings.

Notably, Tīmūr had an aversion to humor, falsehood and exaggeration, and demonstrated a preference for the truth, even when it went against his own interests.⁶⁵² Lārī claims that as Tīmūr grew older, he displayed behavior and deeds that demonstrated his courage and physical prowess. He was fascinated by warfare and the conquest of territory, and had a great love of horseback riding.⁶⁵³ Ibn ‘Arabshah wrote a history of Tīmūr in Arabic called *‘Ajā’ib al-maḳdūr fi aḥbār Taymūr*. He writes that Tīmūr had the ability to effortlessly identify the inherent characteristics and lineage of any horse, demonstrating an ability to readily distinguish between commendable and substandard qualities.⁶⁵⁴ Lārī provides a detailed description of Tīmūr's assumption of authority over Balkh following its conquest at the age of 34, referring to his rule as a "sultanate".⁶⁵⁵ Despite Tīmūr never formally claiming the title of Sultan. On several occasions and in various incidents, Lārī emphasizes Tīmūr's character and bravery. He cites examples of how Tīmūr, undeterred by snow-covered roads, chose to engage in conflict and was victorious in many of these battles.⁶⁵⁶

Ibn ‘Arabshah on the other hand who was not a big supporter of Tīmūr writes that Tīmūr disliked exaggeration and vanity and refused to give in to fanciful and imaginative ideas. The appreciation of truth, even when conveyed in a frank manner, was of the utmost importance to him. Within his court, deliberations avoided topics of obscenity, bloodshed, imprisonment, dishonor or looting. He exhibited admiration for courage and bravery, while giving value to logical and intelligent ideas. Possessing a keen mind and great care, he was quick to recognize the difference between flattery and wise reasoning.⁶⁵⁷ Regarding Tīmūr's ethical and moral qualities, Lārī notes

⁶⁵² Ibid., 2:827.

⁶⁵³ Ibid., 2:755.

⁶⁵⁴ Ibn Arabshah, *Acā’ibü’l-Maḳdūr*, 7.

⁶⁵⁵ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:760.

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid., 2:765.

⁶⁵⁷ Ibn Arabshah, *Acā’ibü’l-Maḳdūr*, 293.

similar things and writes that Tīmūr had a mindset that did not dwell on the future or regret the past. Furthermore, Tīmūr showed little interest in satire and poetry, often going so far as to mock those who engaged in such pursuits.⁶⁵⁸ Tīmūr showed an absolute honesty, according to Lārī's account. Demonstrating his unwavering commitment to keeping his word, he was of the belief that death was better than breaking promises.⁶⁵⁹ One of the things that Ibn 'Arabshah also mentions is that he never refused to carry out a task after he had given an order or a command.⁶⁶⁰ Lārī elaborates on the various facets of Tīmūr's leadership, with a strong emphasis on his military prowess, a quality that was universally acknowledged even by Tīmūr's opponents. Lārī examines the early development of Tīmūr's military skills. He explains the various strategies he employed during his campaigns. In particular, Lārī extends his narrative to include Tīmūr's diplomatic and political acumen, an aspect that is often overlooked in other historical accounts.

In Lārī's account of Tīmūr, there is a conspicuous absence of reference to other historians or chroniclers. He neither quotes nor critiques previous sources. Nowhere does Lārī claim that previous historians have given an inadequate account of Tīmūr's life, or that certain historians have misrepresented him, and so he seeks to present a more accurate account. Lārī's portrayal of Tīmūr and his description of his characteristics suggest a conviction that his account is definitive and unassailable. This confidence in the accuracy and completeness of his account seems to obviate the need for Lārī to refer to or engage with other historical accounts of the subject. For instance, Lārī conspicuously omits any shortcomings or faults of his hero, Tīmūr. Lārī's portrayal of Tīmūr's character is nothing less than an idealised depiction of a hero who possesses unparalleled excellence in every skill.

Significantly, Lārī neglects to mention Tīmūr's lame leg, a characteristic that has earned Tīmūr the epithet '*Tīmūr the Lame*' in modern historiography. Obviously, in his effort to defend and glorify his hero, Lārī refrains from acknowledging any imperfections in Tīmūr's portrayal. It is widely recognised that Tīmūr himself was sensitive about his lame leg being visible to the public. Consequently, the historians of

⁶⁵⁸ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:827.

⁶⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 2:766.

⁶⁶⁰ Ibn Arabshah, *Acā'ibü'l-Maḳdūr*, 294.

his court refrained from emphasising this aspect, and Lārī, following the stylistic conventions of Tīmūr's court historians, maintains this silence. Lārī's decision not to refer to other historians or chronicles indicates a conscious effort to present Tīmūr's history independently and without comparative or contextual examination. This self-contained method raises questions about the scope and depth of Lārī's methods of historiography and the extent to which his narrative is situated within a broader historical context. Lārī's account of Tīmūr exudes a distinct confidence and authority that implies a belief in the unquestionable accuracy and completeness of his account. While this certainty may increase the readability and power of the narrative, it also opens the door to questioning the objectivity and neutrality of his historical interpretation. The lack of critical engagement can be seen as both a strength and a limitation: On the one hand, it can lend Lārī's account an element of definitive authority; on the other, it potentially reduces the depth and complexity that could emerge from a more interactive engagement with different historical viewpoints.

It is clear that Lārī is keen to portray Tīmūr as a multi-faceted and accomplished leader. Although Lārī had no first-hand knowledge of Tīmūr, he, who had met the Safavids and the Ottomans and had probably witnessed the Safavid Shah and the Ottoman Sultan, devotes considerable parts of his historical work to the detailed description of Tīmūr's physical features. This careful attention to Tīmūr's appearance parallels Ibn 'Arabshah's accounts, providing a full account of Tīmūr's physicality. Overall, Lārī's account of Tīmūr's character comes together to portray a leader of exceptional strength.

5.2.3. Pious Activities: Tīmūr's Journey of Faith and Religion

Tīmūr's piety as a ruler is of great importance and has been the subject of much documentation. Tīmūr openly presented himself as a defender of Islam. He led numerous military campaigns, ostensibly in the name of preserving religious order and upholding the *Sharia*. Tīmūr's commitment to Islam can be seen in the many mosques, Madrasa and other religious buildings he sponsored. But the most obvious expression of his fascination with mystics and saints is his substantial support for the shrine of Aḥmed Yesevī (d. 562/1166), a 12th-century saint buried in Yasi (modern-day

Turkistan).⁶⁶¹ Lārī places strong emphasis on the piety of Tīmūr in various sections of his history of the Timurids. Tīmūr's customary practices after victory are another important feature noted by Lārī. After each victory, Tīmūr would greet his army and thank God for the victory. It was his belief that every victory was a divine gift from God.⁶⁶² In particular, Tīmūr's allegiance to Sunnī Islam is emphasized, along with his aversion to *Shi'ite* beliefs. In recounting Tīmūr's campaign to conquer Tus, a city in modern Iran, Lārī emphasizes an encounter while Tīmūr stayed in the conquered city. Ḥvāja 'Alī Mu'īd Sabzavāri, a *Shī'a*, came up to Tīmūr. When asked about his religion, Sabzavāri replied: "*People follow the religion of their rulers.* Tīmūr responded by quoting a ḥadīṣ: "*Whoever forsakes my Sunnah cannot claim my intercession*".⁶⁶³

Tīmūr added that he had personally chosen to follow Sunnī Islam, aligning himself with the Prophet and hoping to intercede for him. Furthermore, during the advance of the Timurid army towards Iran in 798/1395-96, as it passed through Mazandaran, Tīmūr issued an invitation to the *Shī'a* population to embrace Sunnī Islam⁶⁶⁴. Lārī recounts instances where Tīmūr sought a religious orientation that conformed to his Sunnī beliefs. Tīmūr's interest, however, went beyond Sunnī Islam; it encompassed Islam as a whole. According to Lārī, in numerous instances Tīmūr forced individuals to embrace Islam as a means of ensuring their survival. Lārī records that Tīmūr gave the conquered clans an ultimatum to either embrace Islam or face execution, and many chose to convert.⁶⁶⁵

This narrative serves not only to underline Tīmūr's religious fervor, but also to underline his reputation as a just ruler who consistently offered individuals the opportunity to choose and thereby ensure their survival. Lārī highlights the conquest of Baghdad in 803/1401 as an important event that reveals Tīmūr's piety and religious character. Previous scholarship has often portrayed the conquest as one of widespread destruction and massacre, but Lārī presents a more balanced perspective. According to Lārī, while Tīmūr ordered the wholesale destruction of the city, he also issued orders

⁶⁶¹ Lentz and Lowry, *Tīmūr and the Princely Vision*, 29.

⁶⁶² Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:780.

⁶⁶³ *Ibid.*, 2:733.

⁶⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 2:788.

⁶⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 2:763.

to protect temples and certain buildings used for virtuous purposes.⁶⁶⁶ However while supporting others, Tīmūr desecrated some Islamic shrines. After taking Damascus, for example, his followers indulged in activities such as drinking wine and gambling, and they eventually set fire to the city's famous mosque.⁶⁶⁷ Lārī goes on to explain that when Tīmūr arrived in Baghdad, he stayed for two months on the banks of the Tigris River. It was during this time that Tīmūr noticed that wine was being widely consumed in the city. As a result, he issued a decree for the demolition of all taverns.⁶⁶⁸ This showed his disapproval of the excessive number of alcoholic establishments. While Lārī effusively praises Tīmūr's pious support for Sunnī Islam, he simultaneously introduces a layer of complex contradiction into his narrative. Tīmūr's attitude to Islam and *Sharia* law became a matter of considerable concern and urgency. While he readily invoked Islamic legality when it served his interests, Tīmūr typically prioritized *yasa* over *sharia*, leading Islamic jurists to label him an infidel at one point.⁶⁶⁹

Lārī emphasizes Tīmūr's prioritization of the *Yasa* and the legal code of Chinggis Ḥān (d. 624/1227) over the *Sharia*, giving them a pre-eminent status. This divergence is evident in situations where Tīmūr's adherence to the *Yasa*, rather than Islamic *Sharia*, resulted in a *fatwā* being issued against him for alleged violations of *Sharia* blasphemy. In particular, Islamic scholars such as Mawlānā Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn Muḥammad Nāẓārī (d.?) and 'Alā' al-Dīn Bukhārī (d. 1438) issued this *fatwā*. These scholars also condemned anyone who favored the *Yasa* over the Islamic *Sharia*.⁶⁷⁰ However, Lārī merely presents the information without explicitly expressing his own perspective on Tīmūr's preference. As this subchapter will show, Lārī endeavors to portray Tīmūr's piety. Undoubtedly, he does not belong to the group of scholars who criticize Tīmūr for prioritizing *Yasa* over *Sharia*.

The Timurids cultivated the *yasa* or *töre* to preserve their nomadic military ethos and Chaghatay Ḥān identity, and to distinguish themselves from the predominantly Iranian Tajik sedentary population they ruled, who adhered to Muslim culture.⁶⁷¹ Although not

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid., 2:803.

⁶⁶⁷ Lentz and Lowry, *Tīmūr and the Princely Vision*, 30.

⁶⁶⁸ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:781.

⁶⁶⁹ Subtenly, "Tamerlane and His Descendants," 172.

⁶⁷⁰ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:828.

⁶⁷¹ Subtenly, "Tamerlane and His Descendants," 172.

in great detail, Lārī also discusses the religious dimension of Tīmūr's life and character. His point is that, despite Tīmūr's piety, his approach to governance was more in line with the *yasa* or *töre* of Chinggis.

Amīr Tīmūr always advised his soldiers to remain steadfast, asserting that victory comes from divine blessings and is achieved through faith and conviction rather than sheer numbers of soldiers and armies. Nevertheless, his strong adherence to the *Yasa* led him to priorities it over Islamic Sharia.⁶⁷²

Lārī proposes that while Tīmūr displayed piety, his approach to governance and administration was primarily shaped by his commitment to the legal and administrative system established by Chinggis. In doing so, Lārī emphasizes the enduring influence of the Chinggis lineage in shaping Tīmūr's principles of governance.

5.2.4. Tīmūr's Patronage: A Patron of Scholars, Arts and Intellectuals

Tīmūr's appreciation and patronage of intellectual pursuits is another notable aspect of Tīmūr that Lārī highlights. Tīmūr showed a deep respect for astrologers, physicians and scholars, and a keen interest in the histories and tales of other rulers, despite his reputation as a harsh and severe ruler.⁶⁷³ Tīmūr was an admirer of knowledge and scholars. For the learned and the wise he had great respect. In accordance to Ibn 'Arabshah, as he travelled around, Tīmūr liked to listen to stories about prophets, kings and historical events.⁶⁷⁴ In a similar vein, Lārī claims that Tīmūr enjoyed hearing about historical events; however, he also notes that Tīmūr could neither read nor write.

During his travels and interactions, he studied historical accounts, tales and biographies of monarchs. His memory was so remarkable that he remembered everything he heard. However, he lacked the ability to read and write.⁶⁷⁵

Known for his harsh and ruthless rule, Tīmūr was equally famous for his strong support of scholars in various disciplines. In particular, he held scholars in high esteem and acted as a major benefactor of scholarly endeavor. A perceptive explanation for the rise of cultural patronage and the creativity that resulted lies in Marshall Hodgson's concept of the military patronage state. Hodgson argued that while a state ruled by a

⁶⁷² Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:763.

⁶⁷³ *Ibid.*, 2:828.

⁶⁷⁴ Ibn Arabshah, *Acā'ibü'l-Maḳdūr*, 297.

⁶⁷⁵ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:828.

privileged military family did not necessarily increase the overall patronage of high culture, it did create an alternative framework for its distribution.⁶⁷⁶ Tīmūr's patronage extended beyond regional boundaries, as he often invited scholars from different places to join him. He showed great deference to scholars from newly conquered regions, often allowing them to accompany him on his territorial conquests. Thus, many scholars found their way to Samarqand. Another incident in the *Mir'atu'l-Advār* underlines Tīmūr's great respect for scholars, and shows a facet of his patronage that goes beyond his reputation for cruelty. Tīmūr was keenly aware of his historical mission. He employed secretaries to record his pronouncements and conquests. Moreover, the literary heritage of the Timurid period was closely linked to the creation of book manuscripts, many of which were lavishly illustrated and illuminated. Under Timurid patronage, the art of book production reached its zenith.⁶⁷⁷ Lārī describes Tīmūr meeting the distinguished historian and scholar Ibn Ḥaldūn (d.808/1406).⁶⁷⁸ Their meeting recalls historically significant meetings such as those between Aristotle and Alexander or Goethe and Napoleon.⁶⁷⁹ Lārī, in his depiction of Ibn Ḥaldūn, states that "Ibn Ḥaldūn, who stood as one of the foremost thinkers and scholars of his era."⁶⁸⁰ Despite the fact that Ibn Ḥaldūn did not hold any official position at the time, he was one of the civilian dignitaries invited by the Sultan to join him on the expedition. Nevertheless, and probably motivated by his desire to meet Tīmūr, Ibn Ḥaldūn chose to remain in Damascus. It was speculated that Tīmūr might be the "man of the century" as predicted in the latest prophecies.⁶⁸¹ Tīmūr, for his part, was a great admirer of historians. Ibn Ḥaldūn spent thirty-five days visiting Tīmūr in his private pavilion. At one of Tīmūr's meetings, Ibn Ḥaldūn expressed his desire for honor and recognition of Tīmūr as the conqueror of the world. Tīmūr replied that half of his life had already passed in the court of others. To which Ibn Ḥaldūn remained unperturbed and agreed to dedicate the rest of his life to Tīmūr, whom he considered the true ruler of the world. Lārī, in his depiction of Ibn Ḥaldūn, states that:

Despite the passage of many years since my service, and the conclusion of an era in which I was not in your service, I have not witnessed the brilliance of the auspicious dawn. The

⁶⁷⁶ Subtenly, "Tamerlane and His Descendants," 190–91.

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid., 194–95.

⁶⁷⁸ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:802.

⁶⁷⁹ Robert Irwin, *Ibn Khaldun: An Intellectual Biography* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2018), 97.

⁶⁸⁰ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:800.

⁶⁸¹ Irwin, *Ibn Khaldun*, 97.

following phases of my life are only stages. I now present myself at this juncture to dedicate my time to the furtherance of this goal. I shall devote myself to this Court for the rest of my life, regarding the intervening years as the most honorable periods, the pinnacle of ranks and the noblest of states.⁶⁸²

Lārī portrays Ibn Ḥaldūn as an eminent scholar and identifies him as one of the most important intellectuals of his time. However, the characteristic that Lārī emphasizes most is Ibn Ḥaldūn 's close association with Tīmūr. Lārī consistently indicates that Ibn Ḥaldūn wished to devote his life to the court of Tīmūr. Furthermore, Lārī mentions that Ibn Ḥaldūn referred to Tīmūr as (صاحب قران) the auspicious lord. Thus, Lārī's account of Ibn Ḥaldūn focuses more on his interactions with Tīmūr than on Ibn Ḥaldūn 's scholarly contributions. It is evident that Lārī draws his narrations from Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī's *Zafarnāma* and Ibn 'Arabshah's *'Ajā'ib al-maḳdūr*. Consequently, Lārī's perception of Ibn Ḥaldūn is centered on his relationship with Tīmūr, mirroring Yazdī and Ibn 'Arabshah's description.⁶⁸³

He further writes that Ibn Ḥaldūn presented Tīmūr with the books he had written, which ranged from the beginning of human existence to the present day, in order to demonstrate his profound knowledge and eloquence. Impressed by Ibn Ḥaldūn's erudition, Tīmūr decided to put him to the test by requesting books and asking questions, which Ibn Ḥaldūn answered skillfully.⁶⁸⁴

According to Ibn 'Arabshah, Ibn Ḥaldūn explained different parts of the history of the Arab rulers during a conversation with Tīmūr. Tīmūr had a strong desire to gain knowledge and insights into worldwide history, and enjoyed reading the literary works of Ibn Ḥaldūn.⁶⁸⁵ According to his narration in, *'Ajā'ib al-maḳdūr*, Ibn Ḥaldūn had flattered Tīmūr relentlessly and had promised him that he was destined to rule over Egypt.⁶⁸⁶ Impressed by Ibn Ḥaldūn, Tīmūr indicated he wanted Ibn Ḥaldūn to stay in Samarkand. However, he said that he was concerned about his collected writings from my years in the Maghreb. If I can get my hands on them, I'll dedicate it to you.⁶⁸⁷

⁶⁸² Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:801.

⁶⁸³ Sharaf al-Din Ali Yazdi, *Zafarnama*, ed. Abdul Hussai Navayi, vol. 2 (Isfahan: Merkez-i Asnad-i Majlis, n.d.), 1467.

⁶⁸⁴ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:802.

⁶⁸⁵ Ibn Arabshah, *Acā'ibü'l-Maḳdūr*, 294.

⁶⁸⁶ Irwin, *Ibn Khaldun*, 99.

⁶⁸⁷ Ibn Arabshah, *Acā'ibü'l-Maḳdūr*, 295.

Tīmūr showed a marked interest in the geographical details of North Africa, indicating a possible desire or interest in conquering it⁶⁸⁸. Indeed, Tīmūr was well aware of importance of books for his legitimization. At the end Ibn Ḥaldūn was allowed to leave for Egypt. He gives the misleading assurance that he would return with his family and his literary works.⁶⁸⁹ In his account, Lārī provides less detail than Ibn ‘Arabshah. Nevertheless, there are significant similarities between the narratives, with the main difference being the additional details provided by Ibn ‘Arabshah. As noted earlier, the basic source for Lārī appears to be Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī's *Zafarnāma* and Ibn ‘Arabshah's *‘Ajā’ib al-maḳḍūr*. One feature present in both Yazdī's and especially Ibn ‘Arabshah's accounts that is absent in Lārī's narrative is the absence of Lārī's personal commentary. While Lārī clearly describes the interactions between Ibn Ḥaldūn and Tīmūr, he refrains from offering his own interpretations or analyses of these interactions. In contrast, Ibn ‘Arabshah explicitly engages in such analysis, examining and commenting on Ibn Ḥaldūn 's conversations and actions with Tīmūr.

Ibn Ḥaldūn captivated Tīmūr with his cunning and highly eloquent discourse. Tīmūr was deeply impressed by his speech and showed such pleasure that he was almost moved to dance. Ibn Ḥaldūn told historical stories and expressed his views to Tīmūr in such a way that Tīmūr was stunned, portraying him as the father of historical knowledge.⁶⁹⁰

There are no comments in Lārī's account that describe Ibn Ḥaldūn as cunning or deceitful. Lārī does not delve into the motivations behind Ibn Ḥaldūn 's actions and words. This divergence from Ibn ‘Arabshah's narrative suggests that Lārī's use of Ibn ‘Arabshah as a source did not lead him to include such perspectives. One possible explanation for this discrepancy is that the anecdotes Lārī draws from Ibn ‘Arabshah relate Ibn Ḥaldūn 's efforts to ensure his safe return home by flattering Tīmūr. Given this, Lārī may have felt it unnecessary to comment on Ibn Ḥaldūn 's character in particular. Another reason could be that Lārī's perception of Ibn Ḥaldūn differed from that of Ibn ‘Arabshah. It is worth noting that Ibn Ḥaldūn 's own works were among the sources consulted by Lārī in compiling his historical work, *Mir’atu’l-Advār*. Lārī's approach to the character of Ibn Ḥaldūn, as evidenced in his historical account, reflects

⁶⁸⁸ Irwin, *Ibn Khaldun*, 98.

⁶⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 100.

⁶⁹⁰ Ibn Arabshah, *Aja’ib al-Maḳḍur fi Nawa’ib al-Taymur*, trans. Ali Nejati (Tehran: Bahman Prints, 1960), 89–90.

his methodological stance as a historian, which favors the presentation of events and interactions over subjective interpretations and motivations.

Two key facets of Tīmūr's character that are widely recognized and appreciated, even by his opponents, are his military skill and his patronage, as pointed out by Lārī. Tīmūr, though not a poetic enthusiast, showed a deep love for history and for scholars. His generous patronage of many intellectuals demonstrated his affinity for the arts and scholarship. Tīmūr's commitment to the promotion of intellectual pursuits was illustrated by his practice of relocating scholars from the conquered territories to his domain after his conquests. Lārī's account of one notable instance of Tīmūr's reverence for scholarship is the famous meeting between Tīmūr and the esteemed Arab historian Ibn Ḥaldūn. This account is particularly significant because Lārī places it prominently in his narrative, highlighting Tīmūr's respect for scholars and his eagerness to learn from them. Tīmūr's overarching goal of expanding his empire was inextricably linked to his quest to know the world. Lārī's careful description of this meeting with Ibn Ḥaldūn is evidence of Tīmūr's generosity towards scholars, regardless of their background or allegiance, and reflects Lārī's own experiences.

To sum in the first part of this chapter, the examination of Tīmūr's character through the lens of Lārī's narration is structured around three main questions. Firstly, an examination of how Lārī portrays Tīmūr as a skilled leader. This involves an analysis of Tīmūr's physical attributes, moral and ethical dimensions, and his abilities in the military and diplomatic spheres. A recurring theme in the historiography of Timurid and Safavid scholars,

Lārī's account extends to the elucidation of Tīmūr's genealogy, strategically linking him to Chinggis Ḥān. This genealogical association serves to position Tīmūr as the rightful heir and continuation of the legacy of Chinggis Ḥān, and to portray him as the destined leader to rule the steppe empires. In this way, he attempts to portray Tīmūr as a versatile and perfect leader, who embodies different qualities that together define his personality. The second question concerns Lārī's description of Tīmūr's piety and religious nature. In Lārī's narrative, Tīmūr is portrayed as a devout Muslim, with an emphasis on adherence to Sunnī Islam. While not presenting Tīmūr as overtly religious or devout, Lārī emphasizes Tīmūr's commitment to the principles of Sunnī Islam and

the importance of Chinggis Ḥān's and Mongol legal codes in shaping Tīmūr's religious outlook. Lārī's account suggests that Tīmūr's religiosity is grounded in a commitment to Islamic principles that are consistent with legal codes attributed to Chinggis Ḥān and Mongol tradition. Lārī therefore emphasizes Tīmūr's piety within the framework of Sunnī Islam, coupled with a pragmatic approach influenced by Mongol legal code. The last aspect to be considered is Tīmūr's patronage, a feature of his character that is widely recognized and celebrated in historical accounts. Although Lārī devotes a separate section towards the end of his chapter to describing the scholars of the Timurid era, the story of Tīmūr's encounter with Ibn Ḥaldūn stands out as a unique and remarkable story. Not only does this story illustrate Tīmūr's generosity and appreciation for scholars and history, but it also sheds light on the deep respect, and perhaps an element of fear, that the scholars had for him. The meeting with Ibn Ḥaldūn reflects the dual nature of Tīmūr's relationship with scholars - one of benevolence and one of awe or deference - and is presented as an event that captures Tīmūr's magnanimity towards intellectuals and his genuine interest in the realm of knowledge.

Lārī's description leaves a gap in describing Tīmūr's harsher qualities. While Lārī, who is known for his critical stance towards the Safavids, refrains from exploring the harsher facets of Tīmūr's leadership personality, his narrative tends to highlight the ruthlessness of Tīmūr's military forces rather than attributing it directly to Tīmūr himself. In addition, Lārī does not provide an exhaustive account of Tīmūr's rise to power and his acquisition of the throne.

It is remarkable that the narrative of Tīmūr's initial emergence as a bandit and his subsequent rise to global conquest is a dimension that Lārī seems reluctant to emphasize. Lārī's portrayal of Tīmūr is characterized by the depiction of a heroic figure endowed with unparalleled skill and strength. He emphasizes these exceptional qualities rather than engaging in a critical or analytical examination of the Tīmūr's character in his narrative.

5.3. Lārī's Insights: Uncovering the Battle of Ankara (1402)

The 1402 battle of Ankara between Tīmūr and Sultan Yıldırım Bāyezīd I hold a significant place in Ottoman history, marking the beginning of the Ottoman

Interregnum, more commonly referred to as the *Fetret Devri* in Ottoman historical terms. The decentralization of the Ottoman Empire and the collapse of its centralized state is largely attributed to the Battle of Ankara. Tīmūr's military campaign caused widespread devastation in Anatolia, particularly in the western regions, and brought about significant changes in the political landscape. There were immediate repercussions throughout the region from the Ottoman defeat at Ankara. Bāyezīd's imperial ambitions, which had caused concern among various factions, were abruptly ended by Tīmūr's capture.⁶⁹¹ After the Battle of Ankara, Tīmūr restored the former emirs of *Germiyan* (Germiyanids), *Saruhan* (Sarunhanids), *Aydın* (Aydinids), and *Menteşe* (Menteshe) to their former territories. He also restored the Karamanid dynasty, limiting Ottoman control in Anatolia to a narrow strip of land stretching from Amasya in the east to Bursa and the Sea of Marmara in the west.⁶⁹² Halil İnalcık has noted that the struggle for the throne among the descendants of Bāyezīd I, which began after the Battle of Ankara, continued until the culmination of the conquest of Constantinople.⁶⁹³

Sultan Yıldırım Bāyezīd died after the battle, leaving his sons in charge. Throughout the centuries, Ottoman historians have always credited Tīmūr with having started the Battle of Ankara and seen him as the main instigator. In the opinion of Ottoman historians, Tīmūr's motive was the decentralization of the Ottoman Empire. Thus, after the battle, he redistributed the Anatolian principalities to their former owners and the rest of the territories to Beyazid I's sons. As mentioned above, Hoca Sādeddīn Efendī expressed reservations about Lārī's contribution to *Mir'atu'l-Advār*. In the preface to *Tacü't-Tevārīh*, written by Hoca Sādeddīn, he criticized Lārī, claiming that there was a perceived inadequacy in Lārī's understanding of Ottoman historical events.

Hoca Sādeddīn's narrative of the Battle of Ankara adopts an Ottoman-centric perspective in which he not only censures Lārī for his treatment of Ottoman history, but also claims that historians such as İdris-i Bitlisi have overused language and

⁶⁹¹ Dimitris J. Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid: Empire Building and Representation in the Ottoman Civil War of 1402-1413* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 5.

⁶⁹² Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1650: The Structure of Power* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 17.

⁶⁹³ Halil İnalcık, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest," *Studia Islamica*, no. 2 (1954): 106, doi:10.2307/1595144.

presented extensive and superfluous details. Lārī's use of language, which may have contributed to Hoca Sādeddin's dissatisfaction, is noteworthy.⁶⁹⁴ However, Hoca Sādeddin takes a more nuanced view of the Battle of Ankara. Hoca Sādeddin asserts, as he does in numerous cases in his *Tacü't-Tevārīh*, that the authentic motive behind Tīmūr's intentions cannot be determined. He dismisses the chronicles' narratives, which offer different accounts and reasons for the battle, as baseless fabrications.

The Turkish Chronicle, which was intended to summarize Ottoman history, is riddled with inaccuracies and inconsistencies. Not only did the authors get the chronology wrong, they also lacked narrative structure. Among them, Mawlānā Idrīs-i Bidlīsī's *Hasht Bihisht*, while insightful, suffers from verbosity and imbalance. It reveals errors throughout its writings to the discerning reader.⁶⁹⁵

He also expressly rejects the idea that Tīmūr's intention was to destroy the Ottoman state's unity and centralized governance. Of particular interest is Lārī's account of the Battle of Ankara. Notably, he wrote his narrative for the Ottomans, with the dedication of his history to Selīm II. Moreover, as mentioned above, Tīmūr is presented as a heroic figure in *Mir'atu'l-Advār*. He is portrayed as a powerful, skillful and pious ruler. What makes Lārī's account of the battle fascinating is the context of his devotion to Selīm II, through which he hoped to gain the honor and prestige he believed he deserved from the Sultan. In this section, my aim is to present Lārī's account of the Battle of Ankara as it is presented in the *Mir'atu'l-Advār*. I will focus on examining how Lārī perpetuates the heroic image of Tīmūr, despite having written about an event concerning the Ottomans in the region where he lived. In order to gain a deeper understanding, I will analyse Lārī's narrative of the battle and draw comparisons with the accounts provided by Ottoman historians, with a particular focus on the narrative of Hoca Sādeddin Efendi in *Tacü't-Tevārīh*. This work is especially a response to Lārī's *Mir'atu'l-Advār*. By the end of this section, my aim is to understand whether Lārī maintained the presentation of Tīmūr as a heroic figure or whether he changed his style in dealing with matters related to his hosts, the Ottomans.

Lārī's account of the Battle of Ankara goes beyond simply reviewing what happened in 1402; it is comprehensive and detailed. This contrasts with the brief account he gives of the Battle of *Çaldıran*, which was fought between Sultan Selīm I and Shah Ismā'īl.

⁶⁹⁴ Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tacü't- Tevarih*, vol. 1 (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1979), 231.

⁶⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1:244–45.

There are two main reasons for the extensive detailing of the Battle of Ankara. First, Lārī's deep interest in the history of Timurid, especially the personality of Tīmūr, is evident in his meticulous account, which covers various aspects. On the other hand, the richness of the sources available to Lārī plays a decisive role. He had greater access to Timurid sources compared to other references, which allowed him to provide a more detailed narrative, especially regarding the Timurids. Nevertheless, it is clear that Lārī chose to narrate from the perspective of the Timurids. His narrative provides a unique perspective that is more in line with the Timurid stance, despite the fact that he lived in Ottoman territory. As Lārī develops Tīmūr's conquests and campaigns in sequence, he notes a consistent pattern in Tīmūr's strategy. Once he had conquered an area, Tīmūr would send messengers to that place to demand its surrender and to deliver a *ḥuṭba* on his behalf. Similarly, Tīmūr did this with the dispatch of a messenger to Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn (d. 800/1398).⁶⁹⁶ Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn, in addition to being a renowned Ottoman intellectual and poet, had the distinction of being the founder of the Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn Kingdom. This kingdom was established in central Anatolia, with its main centers in Sivas and Kayseri.⁶⁹⁷

According to Lārī, Tīmūr ordered Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn, who ruled over Kayseri and Sivas, to immediately issue a preaching in Tīmūr's name and that of Sultan Maḥmūd Chaghatay (d. 804/1402). Tīmūr also ordered the minting of coins to reflect this proclamation. However, Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn responded by beheading the messenger. His head was displayed on the domes. He then sent a message of defiance to the Ottoman Sultan Yıldırım Ḥān (Bāyezīd I) and to the King of Egypt (Al-Malik al-Zāhir Barḳūḳ). He expressed his intention to humiliate Tīmūr.

According to Lārī, Bāyezīd I, the ruler of Rūm⁶⁹⁸, not only approved of the actions and intentions of Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn but also pledged his support to him and his people. In a similar way, the king of Egypt pledged to support them in their intentions.⁶⁹⁹ According to İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı Tīmūr also provoked the nomadic Tatars who remained under Ottoman control after the annexation of the government of Ḳāḍī

⁶⁹⁶ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:783.

⁶⁹⁷ Abdülkerim Özeydin, "Ḳadı Burhāneddin," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 2001), 77.

⁶⁹⁸ The name used in the Persian and Turkish languages for the Byzantine Empire.

⁶⁹⁹ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:783.

Burhān al-Dīn and who were left by the Mongol invasion around Sivas, Kayseri and Malatya to cause difficulties for the Ottomans.⁷⁰⁰

The opening lines of Lārī's narrative indicate that Tīmūr continued his conquests without any apparent violation. However, it was the Ottoman Sultan, Bāyezīd I, who had a desire for Tīmūr's humiliation. Ultimately leading to chaos for the Ottomans. Nevertheless, according to Lārī's account, when Tīmūr became aware of Bāyezīd I's intentions, he decided to address the situation by sending a letter to the Ottoman Sultan. The letter from Tīmūr to Bāyezīd reads:

Praise and Glory be to the Highest on this propitious day; the sovereigns of the realm and the populace rest within the purview of our dominion, and the insignia of authority adorn the courtiers of our palace and the denizens of our threshold. The vastness of the terrestrial globe and the boundless plains of our realm have been brought under the rule of our esteemed vassals and our steadfast followers by the incomparable benevolence and guidance of the Highest. The monarchs and potentates of Turan and Iran wear the emblem of our loyalty in their ears and the symbol of our obedience on their shoulders. The rulers of the neighboring lands and those who dare to oppose us are compelled by the inexorable decree to dutifully and willingly obey the imperative edict. It has been reported that you are mainly involved in the conflict with the Franks (non-Muslims) and that you are directing all your efforts towards the extermination of the Christians, the infamous and the nameless. Finally, the focus of attention in this region has not shifted from potential capability to actual action. Our innermost sentiments fervently wished that the passage of these esteemed troops should not be followed by grief and remorse for the Muslim population, and derision and scorn for the infidels. The advice now given is to remain steadfast in the path of your forefathers and ancestors, and to take the ḥadīṡ "Leave the Turks until the time when they leave you" as an instructive maxim, so as not to bring discord and disaster upon yourselves.

As-Salamu Alaykum (And peace be upon you).⁷⁰¹

An examination of Tīmūr's letter to Bāyezīd reveals it to be a remarkable example of medieval diplomatic correspondence. The letter is notable for its highly ornate language, which, although concise, conveys a powerful message. It remains unclear whether the brevity of the letter is a deliberate choice by Tīmūr or the result of Lārī's summary, a matter that warrants further scholarly research. At first glance, the letter seems to serve as a diplomatic warning from Tīmūr to Bāyezīd, framed within a diplomatic discourse.

Tīmūr opens the correspondence with expressions of gratitude and admiration for God, emphasizing his religious piety and his status as a Muslim leader who aspires to rule

⁷⁰⁰ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 1 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1988), 262.

⁷⁰¹ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:794–95.

over all Islamic territories. This opening gesture also demonstrates Tīmūr's skill in navigating the diplomatic traditions of his time. Claiming to be the *Ṣāhib Kīrān*, (Lord of the Auspicious Conjunction), Tīmūr goes on to claim that the territories under his rule have been granted to him by divine providence and presents himself as the chosen leader on earth. He claims that the vastness and geographical contiguity of his empire are bestowed upon those who demonstrate merit and unwavering devotion. Furthermore, Tīmūr emphasizes his authority over significant territories, both kingdoms and nations, attributing this dominance to favorable circumstances and the 'servants of the holy place'.

Control over Mecca and Madina, key holy sites, was a coveted goal for Islamic empires, and Tīmūr's claim to authority over these sites serves to assert the sanctity of his empire. Tīmūr goes on to state that the monarchs and rulers of Tūrān and Iran are subordinate to his rule. This emphasizes their obligation to obey his directives. This statement implies an expectation of obedience on the part of Bāyezīd as well. Tīmūr emphasizes the discipline and adherence to the established world order maintained by his army and subjects, thereby emphasizing his military and administrative prowess as a ruling monarch.

Tīmūr then goes on to inform Bāyezīd that he is aware of the latter's preparations for war with the Franks, and expresses his reluctance to act against Bāyezīd because of Bāyezīd's involvement in fighting non-Muslims. The next section of the letter turns into a warning, in which Tīmūr articulates his benevolent intentions towards Bāyezīd and expresses his distaste for conflict between Muslim leaders. He advises Bāyezīd against actions that might please the infidels while causing suffering to the Muslims, suggesting that such actions could have disastrous consequences for the Ottomans.

Tīmūr concludes by quoting a ḥadīṣ⁷⁰²: “*Leave the Turks until they leave you*”, advising Bāyezīd to refrain from conflict with the Turks, implicitly referring to himself and the Timurid Empire, until they had distanced themselves. This advice serves as a clear directive to Bāyezīd to avoid any confrontation with Tīmūr and his forces. Tīmūr's reference to the Timurids as Turks, as opposed to Ottomans, further underlines

⁷⁰² Muhammad Salih Munajjid, “Al-Kelam Al’el- Hadith (اتركوا الترك ما تركوكم),” *Islam Sual u Jawab*, 2011, <https://islamqa.info/ar/answers/>.

the distinction between the two entities addressed in the letter. The letter concludes with a stark reminder to Bāyezīd of the potentially disastrous consequences for the Ottomans should they engage in battle with Tīmūr.

Lārī's account of the letter provides a Timurid perspective on the Battle of Ankara, with the epistolary exchange serving as a concrete representation of this view. Firstly, the letter uses a diplomatic language characterized by implicit warnings and strategic subtleties. Secondly, it encourages Bāyezīd to refrain from conflict, underlining Tīmūr's unwavering confidence in his own military capabilities and strategic expertise. The most notable emphasis in Lārī's account, however, is on Tīmūr's reluctance to engage in battle or conflict with Bāyezīd or any other Muslim ruler. Lārī portrays Tīmūr as an individual who, despite his formidable strengths, is reluctant to sow unnecessary discord within the Islamic empire, yet remains sufficiently powerful to emerge victorious should he engage in battle.

Before the Battle of Ankara, a series of four letters were exchanged between Tīmūr and Bāyezīd. Feridun Aḥmed Bey (d. 991/1583) meticulously compiled these letters in his work entitled *Münşeātü's-Selātīn* (The Correspondence of the Sultans). It is an important source of correspondence between high-ranking officials in the historical context of the Ottoman Empire. While these letters were sent by Tīmūr and received replies from Bāyezīd, their documentation is attributed solely to Feridun Aḥmed Bey, with no corroboration from other historical sources. Four letters from Tīmūr to Beyazid are documented within this extensive collection.⁷⁰³ However, the authenticity of some of the letters, particularly those relating to the early period of the Ottoman Empire, has been questioned, despite the fact that Feridun Aḥmed Bey's voluminous work contains a wealth of such correspondence. In particular, these four letters do not seem to include the letter referred to by Lārī. The four letters contained in *Münşeātü's-Selātīn* are three in Persian and one in Arabic. It is worth noting that the language used in the letters recorded by Feridun Aḥmed Bey seems to be more straightforward and unadorned in comparison to the language used in the letter documented by Lārī.

⁷⁰³ Feridun Aḥmed Bey, "Münşeātü's-Selātīn" (İzmirli İsmail Hakkı Bey, n.d.), 132, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi.

Abdurrahman Daş's scholarly article deals with the *Mükātābāt-ı Sultanīye* attributed to Hoca Sādeddin, where he examines a new compilation of letters contained in this collection. Daş claims that these letters show variations from those found in *Münşeāt's-Selātīn*, suggesting a divergence in content. Despite these discrepancies, however, Daş questions the authenticity of the letters in *Münşeāt's-Selātīn* that refer to interactions between Bāyezīd and Tīmūr, as they lack corroboration in contemporary chronicles.

Şamil Yüksel, another scholar, approaches the Battle of Ankara from a different angle, focusing on Arabic sources. He analyses the accounts of Ibn 'Arabshah, al-Maḳrīzī (d. 845/1442), and al-'Ainī (d. 855/1451), claiming that these sources, predominantly historians at the Timurid court, offer a perspective that is biased in favour of Tīmūr. Yüksel contends that this bias results in a more favorable portrayal of Tīmūr in these Arabic narratives.⁷⁰⁴

Ottoman chronicles mention these letters without elaborating on their content. Similarly, the Timurid chronicles acknowledge the dispatch of such letters, but fail to provide a comprehensive insight into their discourse. Ibn 'Arabshah provides contextual information about these letters within his source, but like other chroniclers he does not present the full text of the letters, a feat later accomplished by Feridun Aḫmed Bey. In addition to *Münşeāt's-Selātīn*, Abdurahman Daş postulates the existence of letters exchanged between Tīmūr and Bāyezīd, compiled in the *Münşeāt ve Mükātābāt-ı Sultanīye*, attributed to Hoca Sādeddin. All these letters have been translated into Turkish. Daş claims that the letters documented in *Mükātābāt-ı Sultanīye* are different from those taken from Feridun Aḫmed Bey's *Münşeātü's-Selātīn*.⁷⁰⁵ However, according to Halil Yınanç, the alleged threatening letter in Arabic attributed to Timur and the defamatory letter attributed to Bāyezīd, both documented in *Münşeātü's-Selātīn*, are completely fabricated.⁷⁰⁶

Nevertheless, none of the letters described in *Münşeātü's-Selātīn* or *Mükātābāt-ı Sultanīye* bear any resemblance to the letter documented in *Mir'atu'l-Advār*. There is

⁷⁰⁴ Musa Şamil Yüksel, "Dönemin Arap Kaynaklarına Göre 'Ankara Savaşı'" XXV, no. 1 (2010): 351–69.

⁷⁰⁵ Abdurrahman Daş, "Ankara Savaşı Öncesi Timur İle Yıldırım Bayezid'in Mektuplaşmaları," *Selçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 15 (2004): 142.

⁷⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

also another letter from Tīmūr to Bāyezīd in the Süleymaniye Manuscript Eserler Library, in the Esad Efendi Collection, number 3673.⁷⁰⁷ This letter is from the Münşeāt of Mawlānā Munshī and, once again, bears no resemblance to the letter addressed here by Lārī.

As noted above, all the letters in these two compilations are taken from passages in Ibn ‘Arabshah’s *‘Ajā’ib al-maḳdūr*. I claim that the speeches and texts recorded by Ibn ‘Arabshah were later transformed into letters by later historians. Among these historians, Lārī assimilated the accounts of Ibn ‘Arabshah as well as other Timurid chroniclers such as Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī and Ḥāfīz-i Abrū, who recorded the dialogues exchanged between Tīmūr and Bāyezīd. Lārī then reorganized the conversations and writings mentioned in these texts into a unified letter format in his work. Another possible argument that may arise is the claim that the letter documented by Lārī is original in itself. This implies that the letter has never been documented in any previous chronicle, and it is through Lārī and his Universal History that this letter comes to light for the first time. However, this argument may appear to lack depth for several reasons. First, Lārī was not a contemporary of Tīmūr, so it is implausible that he would have had access to a letter that no other Timurid historian possessed. Essentially, Lārī relies on Timurid sources for his account of Timurid history, drawing all his narratives from existing chronicles. To further substantiate this claim, it is imperative to identify similarities between Lārī’s letter and those recorded in *Münşeātü’s-Selātīn* and also *Mükātābāt-ı Sultanīye*.

In Tīmūr’s first letter to Yıldırım Bāyezīd, he begins by asserting the superiority and power of himself and his army. He says: "

We are the new favored and victorious Sultan of God. All the lands and all their commanders are our slaves now".⁷⁰⁸

Similarly, the letter to which Lārī refers has a parallel narrative in its opening lines. Lārī has obviously taken the opening sentences from this first letter. However, the later part of the letter, in which Tīmūr requests the presence of Ḳarā-Yūsuf and Sultan

⁷⁰⁷ Mawlana Munshi, “Esad Efendi No. 3673” (Münşeāt, Süleymaniye Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi, n.d.), 3673.

⁷⁰⁸ Feridun Aḥmed Bey, “Münşeātü’s-Selātīn,” 121.

Aḥmed Jalāyer, is conspicuously absent from Lārī's narrative.⁷⁰⁹ In the second letter, Tīmūr tries to portray himself as an advocate of peace. He says: "*Why did they flee from us? Because we always do justice to the Muslims and protect them*".⁷¹⁰ He also asserts his position as *Amīr al-Umarā*.⁷¹¹ Lārī includes these extracts in the body of the letter. Through his portrayal, Lārī suggests that Tīmūr was averse to war and in favor of peace. In the third letter, Tīmūr praises Bāyezīd's military campaigns and acknowledges his constant commitment to fighting the infidels. He also claims that fighting Bāyezīd would only harm Muslims and please non-Muslims, a consequence he vehemently opposes.

Therefore, there is no justification for groundless enmity between us and your esteemed self. It is obvious that there is no circumstance in this world and all its components that is so dire as to warrant an upheaval in the perception of reality and cause distress to Muslims and the servants of God Almighty.⁷¹²

Lārī interjects this aspect in his own letter, expressing Tīmūr's disapproval of engaging in warfare against Bāyezīd. Lārī claims that as a fellow Muslim ruler who consistently fights the infidels, it would be inappropriate for Tīmūr to engage in hostilities against another Muslim ruler. He notes that such a conflict would only result in harm to Muslims on both sides. In the fourth letter, documented in both *Münşeātü's-Selātīn* and *Mükātābāt-ı Sultanīye*, we see a series of escalating demands from Tīmūr to Bāyezīd. Tīmūr claims that Bāyezīd can demonstrate his sincerity, goodwill and friendship by agreeing to these demands.⁷¹³ However, Lārī omits any part of this letter from his narrative. Instead, he adds his own conclusion to the letter, warning Bāyezīd of the consequences of fighting Tīmūr.

What I am suggesting is that the letter documented by Lārī is not a completely new composition, but rather a synthesis of elements from all four letters. In his famous historical work entitled *Zafarnāma*, Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī reports that Tīmūr directed the writing of a letter addressed to Beyazid, characterized by benevolent intentions and wise advice. Tīmūr's aim was that Beyazid, after reading the letter, would understand its contents and would refrain from engaging in any form of conflict or confrontation.

⁷⁰⁹ Daş, "Timur İle Yildirim," 154–55.

⁷¹⁰ Feridun Aḥmed Bey, "Münşeātü's-Selātīn," 125–26.

⁷¹¹ Daş, "Timur İle Yildirim," 158.

⁷¹² Feridun Aḥmed Bey, "Münşeātü's-Selātīn," 159.

⁷¹³ *Ibid.*, 133.

In particular, Tīmūr entrusted Shams al-Dīn Munshī, his most skilled scribe, with the responsibility of drafting the letter. The resulting letter was written in an elaborate style and was decorated with effusive praise for both of the parties involved.⁷¹⁴ Clearly, works such as *Münşeātü's-Selātīn* or *Mükātābāt-ı Sultanīye* did not exist at the time of Lārī's writing. Nevertheless, he meticulously recorded the accounts found in the Timurid chronicles of communication between Tīmūr and Bāyezīd through their letters. However, no complete letter has survived in any source. Lārī skillfully gathers these fragments and shapes them into the form of a letter. He also makes his own additions and changes to the narrative. In his capacity as a historian, Lārī skillfully makes use of extant sources to carefully construct a letter in a manner characteristic of the Timurid era, bringing together various facets of the correspondence between Tīmūr and Bāyezīd. His letter represents the complex dynamics inherent in diplomatic exchange, ranging from warning to subliminal threats, while at the same time gently hinting at Tīmūr's stated preference for seeking a peaceful solution.

A significant characteristic of Lārī's identity as a historian is this differentiated approach to the letter. Unlike his predecessors, such as Yazdī or Ḥāfīz-i Abrū who primarily engaged in the act of chronicling by repeating their sources and directly constructing narratives, Lārī exceeds this trend. Not only does he document the events from his sources, but he also gives his contribution to the narrative by introducing his own unique style of writing into the letter. Therefore, Lārī's approach to the letter goes beyond simple reproduction to include the inclusion of his own individual style.

Hoca Sādeddin Efendi claims that the exaggeration of Bāyezīd's letters and rhetoric was perpetrated by Tīmūr's emissaries. In his account, these envoys exaggerated the language and severity of Bāyezīd's statements in order to appease Tīmūr.⁷¹⁵ Hoca Sādeddin Efendi obviously had knowledge of the correspondence between the two rulers. His intention seems to be to refute the portrayal of Bāyezīd as overly harsh, and instead to place the responsibility on Bāyezīd's envoys by suggesting that they had exaggerated his statements. To suggest that Hoca Sādeddin was unaware of these correspondences would be overly simplistic, as evidenced by his claim that the envoys embellished Bāyezīd's words when conveying them to Tīmūr. This claim is further

⁷¹⁴ Yezdi, *Zafarnama*, 2:1029.

⁷¹⁵ Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tacü't- Tevarih*, 1:235.

supported by the compilation of these letters, as discussed in Abdurrahma Daş's article.⁷¹⁶ Moreover, Hoca Sâdeddin does not allude to Lārī in this part of his narrative. It is therefore evident that he either did not examine Lārī's works on the Timurids in detail, or did not find any discrepancy significant enough to warrant inclusion in his own account.

Thus, he argues that the misinterpretation of the encounter with Bāyezīd, facilitated by Tīmūr's emissaries, played a key role in agitating Tīmūr and precipitating his decision to engage in battle. Unlike Hoca Sâdeddin, Neşrī (d. 926/1520 [?]) says that the Anatolian principalities, commonly referred to as Rūm, took refuge under Tīmūr for a wide variety of different motives. Neşrī argues that they used deceitful means to manipulate Tīmūr into acting against Bāyezīd, ultimately leading him to declare war on the Ottoman Rūm. Nonetheless, Neşrī reports Tīmūr's response as follows: “*I am not able to ascertain the truth of your statements; I cannot believe that Bāyezīd would oppress without a just cause or cause harm to the innocent.*” In spite of Tīmūr's skepticism, the principalities insisted on Bāyezīd's tyrannical nature and urged Tīmūr to regard himself as the only worthy ruler of these territories. According to Neşrī, Tīmūr, who already desired to rule the Rūm lands, saw these demands as further strengthening his ambitions and decided to move into the Rūm territories.⁷¹⁷ Colin Imber argues that conflicts arising from disputes over the allegiance of vassals served as a pretext for Tīmūr to wage war.⁷¹⁸

Despite the correspondence between Bāyezīd and Tīmūr in the years before the battle, both rulers continued to maintain their dominance over vassal states on the borders of their empires. When Bāyezīd demanded tribute from an emir loyal to Tīmūr, the latter used this as an excuse to launch an invasion of Anatolia.⁷¹⁹ In the eastern territories, Bāyezīd undertook a series of military expeditions against rival Muslim entities, namely the Turkish *beyliks*, or emirates, of Anatolia. These campaigns, unpopular with his Muslim constituency, required the use of predominantly *kul* (slave) and Christian vassal armies. In parallel with the Ottoman expansion in Europe, Bāyezīd expanded

⁷¹⁶ Daş, “Timur ile Yıldırım.”

⁷¹⁷ Mehmed Neşri, *Kitab-ı Cihan-Nüma Neşri Tārīhi*, ed. Faik Reşit Unat and Mehmed A. Köymen, vol. 1 (Ankara: Türk Tārīh Kurumu Basımevi, 1949), 343.

⁷¹⁸ Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1650*, 16.

⁷¹⁹ Rulia Tang, “Multi-Agent Simulation of the Battle of Ankara, 1402,” 2017, 1.

his Anatolian domains through these efforts. However, this eastward expansion led to confrontations with Tīmūr, whose territorial ambitions included eastern Anatolia.⁷²⁰

In any event Lārī writes that on receiving the letter, Bāyezīd expressed his eagerness for this moment and revealed his long-held desire to meet Tīmūr in battle and defeat him.⁷²¹ In order to explain this further, Lārī writes that Bāyezīd was persistent in his desire to engage in a battle with Tīmūr. He urged Sultan Aḥmed Jalāyer (d. 813/1410), who led the Jalāyerīd kingdom, and Ḳarā-Yūsuf (d. 823/1420) of Ḳarā-Ḳoyunlu to join him in confronting Tīmūr. Although Hoca Sādeddin agrees with the Ottoman viewpoint, he refrains from placing all the blame on Tīmūr, and instead places the blame on Ḳarā-Yūsuf and Sultan Aḥmed Jalāyer. According to him, in this context, Ḳarā-Yūsuf emphasized the need to deal with the threat and subjugation posed by Tīmūr, characterizing it as a catastrophe. He explained that Tīmūr's efforts were exclusively directed towards the acquisition of the Ottoman territory. Effectively, he managed to focus Bāyezīd's attention on this pressing issue.⁷²² In the meantime, according to Lārī's account, Tīmūr was preoccupied with the conquest of Shām (Syria).⁷²³ So, according to Lārī, whereas Tīmūr did not intend to start a conflict, Bāyezīd was actively planning against him and gathering forces for a possible battle. However, Colin Imber argues that Tīmūr's strategy encompassed both political and military dimensions, with a particular focus on exploiting the precarious loyalties of Bāyezīd's Anatolian subjects. Imber suggests that this tactic provided Tīmūr with a pretext for starting the war.⁷²⁴

Lārī provides further details of an incident that contributed to the outbreak of war. According to his account, while en route to Karabakh, Tīmūr received a delegation from Bāyezīd who presented a letter expressing gratitude. Tīmūr remarked that he had no intention of advancing into Bāyezīd's territory, given his continuous engagements against non-believers. However, he demanded that Bāyezīd should either hand over Ḳarā-Yūsuf to him, expel him from the court, or have him put to death. Lārī explains that Tīmūr sought out Ḳarā-Yūsuf because he believed that Ḳarā-Yūsuf was harming

⁷²⁰ Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid*, 1.

⁷²¹ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:795.

⁷²² Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tacū't- Tevarih*, 1:231.

⁷²³ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:795.

⁷²⁴ Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1650*, 16.

the Islamic community and deserved to be beheaded. Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī's (d. 858/1454) account is in line with Lārī's. Yazdī claims that Tīmūr's primary motivation was related to Ḳarā-Yūsuf. According to Yazdī, Ḳarā-Yūsuf was causing hardship and problems for the Muslims, which prompted him to flee and take refuge with Bāyezīd. Tīmūr, who was known as a ruler who upheld the principles of justice, tried to arrest Ḳarā-Yūsuf because of the disorder he was causing among the Muslim population.⁷²⁵ Nevertheless Hoca Sādeddin writes that when Tīmūr demanded that Ḳarā-Yūsuf be handed over to him or face beheading, Bāyezīd replied, "*For the guest who descends to this place, the sword is not unsheathed, and those who seek refuge in this corner of wishes remain untouched*"⁷²⁶ Tīmūr informed Bāyezīd's envoy that he intended to spend the winter in Karabakh and to move to Rūm in the spring. He warned that war would be inevitable if Bāyezīd didn't respond favorably.⁷²⁷ It is clear that Tīmūr's demands over the course of the battle went beyond the single instance mentioned. As noted above and reiterated in the letter, Tīmūr persistently escalated his demands on Bāyezīd, eventually presenting terms that Bāyezīd could not under any circumstances accept. Furthermore, Tīmūr was convinced that he deserved to be recognised by Bāyezīd as a world conqueror and as the *Amīr al-Umarā'* of the Muslims, in order to underline his supremacy over other Muslim rulers, especially Bāyezīd.

However, according to Lārī's report, Tīmūr hesitated to begin a war against Bāyezīd, despite waiting for spring in Karabakh. Lārī explains that Tīmūr's reluctance stemmed mainly from his recognition of Bāyezīd's vast territory, which encompassed Rūm. Furthermore, Tīmūr's extensive espionage networks revealed that Bāyezīd controlled a significant army. Tīmūr's troops were also exhausted from recent campaigns and conquests, and thus were not at their best for a fresh attack. However, Najm al-Dīn, a court astronomer working for Tīmūr, predicted that Tīmūr would emerge victorious if he continued the war, as his fortunes were rising while his enemy (Bāyezīd) was in a weakened state.⁷²⁸

⁷²⁵ Sharaf al-Din Ali Yazdi, *Zafar-Nama*, ed. Abdul Hussai Navayi, vol. 1–2 (Isfahan: Rayane-i Qayim-yi Isfahan, n.d.), 760.

⁷²⁶ Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tacū't- Tevarih*, 1:251.

⁷²⁷ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:796.

⁷²⁸ *Ibid.*, 2:805.

Hoca Sādeddin claims in his narrative that the statesmen at Tīmūr's court believed that engaging in battle against Bāyezīd would lead to disaster. Moreover, they believed that it was inadvisable for Tīmūr to confront a ruler who was actively engaged in fighting infidels and who was consistently committed to *jihād* for the advancement of Islam. According to Hoca Sādeddin, the Timurid side did not support the idea of entering into battle.⁷²⁹ Accordingly, Tīmūr chose to lead the campaign to Rūm. However, Lārī maintains that Tīmūr consistently avoided engaging in warfare and was ready to avoid it under any circumstances. For example, he argues that when he learned of Ḳarā-Yūsuf's departure from the court of Bāyezīd, Tīmūr's group stated its desire to end the conflict. Tīmūr then sent a message to Bāyezīd, urging him to surrender Ḳarā-Yūsuf and also requested the surrender of the fortress of Komach (*Kemah Kalesi*).⁷³⁰ According to Lārī, Tīmūr aimed to join forces with Bāyezīd in a joint effort against the infidels.

Lārī claims that Tīmūr's original intention to go to war was weak and, having achieved his goal of taking Ḳarā-Yūsuf, he chose to end the war. However, Lārī notes that Bāyezīd did not respond to Tīmūr's demands. The absence of obedience from Bāyezīd prompted Tīmūr to pursue the battle. In another instance highlighted by Lārī, as Tīmūr advanced towards Sivas with his forces, he once again sent a message to Bāyezīd. The message proposed that if Bāyezīd agreed to send one of his sons to join Tīmūr's forces, they would treat him with the same respect as their own offspring. Tīmūr assured them that in this way, the Rūm region would always be safe from their side.

By taking Tīmūr's demands and his call for Bāyezīd's submission as customary, Lārī obviously regards Tīmūr as superior to Bāyezīd. Tīmūr's demands clearly imply that he wants Bāyezīd and the Ottomans to become his vassals. Although Lārī refrains from explicitly stating whether Tīmūr's demands were justified or not, he also refrains from questioning them, suggesting implicit acceptance. Two different arguments can be derived from Lārī's stance: firstly, that Lārī believed Tīmūr to be superior to Bāyezīd, implying the necessity for Bāyezīd to comply with Tīmūr's demands. Alternatively, although Lārī does not comment directly on Tīmūr's demands, he acknowledges their existence, which could imply that Tīmūr sought to avoid battle by making demands

⁷²⁹ Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tacü't- Tevarih*, 1:256.

⁷³⁰ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:805.

that he knew Bāyezīd would reject. However, this latter argument seems weak, and the former, which asserts Tīmūr's superiority over the Ottomans, seems more robust. It can therefore be concluded that Lārī did consider Tīmūr to be superior to the Ottomans.

Lārī wants to show that Tīmūr was actively trying to find ways to avoid confronting. By this time, however, Tīmūr was in receipt of news that Bāyezīd was already in Tokat with his troops.⁷³¹ By this time, Tīmūr had decided how he wanted to proceed. Lārī explains Tīmūr's strategic cleverness. First, he ordered his soldiers to dig a trench around their camp in expectation of the arrival of Bāyezīd's Ottoman forces. Tīmūr also sent some of his own troops to survey the surrounding area. Tīmūr aimed to have a comprehensive understanding of all local geography before the proposed battle began.⁷³² He also ordered his troops to drain the local water sources with the intention of cutting off any accessible water sources to the incoming Ottoman army upon their arrival. Lārī provides a detailed narrative of the battlefield, meticulously outlining the formation of the lines of soldiers and specifying the dress of both the Ottoman army and the forces of the Timurid. Lārī describes the strategic placement of the soldiers and chronicles the beginning of the battle, giving the impression of being a first-hand witness and bringing the reader into the unfolding events.

Lārī's adoption of a distinctly Timurid perspective in recounting the Battle of Ankara within a universal history intended for presentation to an Ottoman Sultan raises intriguing questions about his motivations and possible concerns. One might wonder whether he was concerned about provoking the anger of the Ottoman ruler and his courtiers. Alternatively, one could speculate whether Lārī genuinely perceived the Timurid perspective as the most reliable and accurate narrative of the event, outweighing the Ottoman view. The primary explanation for these unanswered questions lies in the sources available to Lārī.

His reliance on Timurid chronicles and related materials inherently predisposed him to present a Timurid-centric perspective of the Battle of Ankara. It can be argued that he simply conveyed what was available to him without significant hesitation.

⁷³¹ Ibid.

⁷³² Ibid.

However, one might ask whether he had any reservations about the potential impact of his narrative choices. It is conceivable that Lārī remained convinced that Ottoman scholars and courtiers, including those at the court of the new Ottoman Sultan Selīm II, would be interested in examining his account of Ottoman history. He probably assumed that they would refrain from challenging his credibility as a historian or questioning his accuracy of Islamic and early histories. Consequently, it is clear that Lārī deliberately adopts a distinctly Ottoman perspective only in the chapter devoted to Ottoman history, a departure from his usual approach in the rest of his universal history.

بر آمد بانگ کوس و ناله نای⁷³³
 دو کوه آهنین جنبید از جای
 پدید آمد سواران آهنین تن
 نهان گردیده چون آتش در آهن
 چو شد قلب و جناح هر دو صف راست
 فغان کره نای و کوس برخاست
 زهر جانب علم زد آتش کین
 دو لشکر را علمها گشت رنگین

*The sound of the trumpet and the mournful melody of the reed filled the air
 Two massive mountains of iron moved from their positions.
 Warriors on horseback, with bodies of steel,
 emerged from their hiding places within the iron and approached
 The heart and wings aligned perfectly in formation.
 The sound of the reed's wail and trumpet's call were heard
 Wisdom's words were sharp and impactful, like a fiery lance
 Banners with emblems adorned the scene, creating a colorful circle*

Lārī describes the early stages of the conflict as evenly balanced. He describes it as a back-and-forth struggle between the two opposing forces. He praises the bravery of Meḥmed I (d. 824/1421), but notes that Meḥmed I finally decided to withdraw from the battlefield after witnessing the unwavering resistance of the Timurid forces. Hoca Sādeddin claims that the principalities that sided with Bāyezīd in the conflict, along with those that participated from his side, were the first to initiate a retreat from the battlefield. He also notes that the principalities of *Aydın*, *Saruhan* and *Menteşe* sided with Tīmūr's forces during the battle, thereby breaking their allegiance to Bāyezīd.⁷³⁴ On the other hand, Tīmūr had an army of thirty-two trained elephants, from which he reportedly unleashed the legendary liquid incendiary substance known as 'Greek fire'

⁷³³ Ibid., 2:807.

⁷³⁴ Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tacū't- Tevarih*, 1:267.

against the Ottoman army.⁷³⁵ It was at this point that Tīmūr ordered his troops to advance directly in the direction of Bāyezīd I, causing the Ottoman army to retreat.

According to Lārī, Tīmūr ended the battle in the evening, as the Ottoman forces were retreating, and decided to retreat himself.⁷³⁶

ز هر سو گشته خنجر های خونریز⁷³⁷
به خون چون غمزه کافر دلان تیز
خننگ تیر مردان سینه خسته
ز قید سرکشان در خون نشسته
روان پیک اجل هر سوی چون تیر
که گرید مرد جنگی را عنان گیر

*From every direction, bloodthirsty daggers have spread,
Swift as the blood-stained glances of the infidel.
The horse-neck of valiant men tired and worn,
From the stubborn's noose, in blood is torn.
The soul, like an arrow, seeks its destined flight,
To seize the reins of a warrior in the midst of the fight.*

After the battle, Lārī's defense of Tīmūr takes on a complex dimension. According to his account, Sultan Maḥmūd Chaghatay tried to reconcile Bāyezīd and Tīmūr and bring about peace. Lārī claims that Tīmūr expressed his willingness to reconcile with the Ottomans when Sultan Maḥmūd urged Tīmūr to make peace with Bāyezīd I.

Lārī argues that Tīmūr stated that he did not want to fight Bāyezīd, however Bāyezīd provoked Tīmūr to fight, and if Bāyezīd had acceded to Tīmūr's demands, the conflict in Ankara could have been avoided. Lārī emphasizes that Tīmūr was reluctant to start the conflict and that Bāyezīd was the provoker. In line with Lārī's defense of Tīmūr's actions, Tīmūr stated that he wanted to show Bāyezīd the respect and honor due to an emperor. Tīmūr is said to have promised to treat Bāyezīd and his family with great respect, also stating that Bāyezīd might not have shown the same kindness if the battle had gone the other way.⁷³⁸ It is in this context that Lārī relates the confession of Bāyezīd, suggesting that Bāyezīd admitted the mistake of facing Tīmūr in battle. Bāyezīd is said to have expressed regret, accepting that he should have accepted Tīmūr's demands and avoided engaging him in battle, according to Lārī's narrative.

⁷³⁵ Caroline F. Finkel, *Oṣmān's Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire 1300-1923* (London: John Murray, 2005), 64.

⁷³⁶ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:808.

⁷³⁷ *Ibid.*, 2:807.

⁷³⁸ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:808.

However, according to Ottoman sources when Tīmūr demanded that Bāyezīd recognize him as his sovereign, Bāyezīd refused to do so.⁷³⁹

Hoca Sādeddin claims that Tīmūr's demands were sufficiently burdensome for Bāyezīd to consider accepting them. Furthermore, he claims that Tīmūr's persistent insistence on these demands gives the impression that he intended to cause trouble and distress for the Ottoman side.⁷⁴⁰ At the end of his description of the Battle of Ankara, Lārī once again expresses his support for Tīmūr. He reports that when Tīmūr heard that Bāyezīd had died on the 13th of Sha‘bān 805 (8 March 1403), he became deeply upset. Later, when writing the chapter on the Ottomans, Lārī changed the date of Bāyezīd's death to 804. Hoca Sādeddin criticises this as a clear example of Lārī's lack of focus in writing the history.⁷⁴¹

According to Lārī's account, Tīmūr offered his condolences to Bāyezīd I's family and expressed his desire to return all of Bāyezīd I's territories, stating that he had no intention of dividing Bāyezīd I's territories into separate principalities.⁷⁴² As noted above, Ottoman historians accuse Tīmūr of deliberately decentralizing the Ottoman Empire by dividing the lands into principalities, thus dismantling the established system of central government. Lārī, in his *Mir'atu'l-Advār*, responds to this accusation by claiming that Tīmūr did not intend to accomplish such a thing. Although Lārī does not refer directly to Ottoman sources in his narrative, it is clear that he was aware of the ongoing debates among Ottoman intellectuals on this issue.

Lārī's argument seems to lack any substantial basis and displays a degree of naivety that makes it unreliable. It is obvious that Tīmūr harbored ambitions of supreme conquest, seeking to subjugate all existing rulers. An integral part of his goal was the acquisition of Anatolia and the subjugation of the Ottoman Empire. This assertion is supported by other Timurid sources, such as Ibn ‘Arabshah, who explicitly attests to Tīmūr's intentions to enter into conflict with the Ottomans.

⁷³⁹ Neşri, *Neşri Tarihi*, 1:344.

⁷⁴⁰ Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tacü't- Tevarih*, 1:253.

⁷⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 1:339.

⁷⁴² Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:811.

Tīmūr corresponded with Bāyezīd, the Sultan of Anatolia, known for his brave defense of Islam. Tīmūr communicated his ambitions for Anatolia in a direct manner, using Aḥmed Jalāyer and Ẓarā-Yūsuf as pretexts to conceal his true intentions.⁷⁴³

Thus, according to Ibn ‘Arabshah, Tīmūr's alleged demand for Ẓarā-Yūsuf and Aḥmed Jalāyer was merely a facade to conceal his true motive of Ottoman conquest. Departing from the perspective presented by Timurid scholars, Lārī's claims and arguments seem to be the product of his own suppositions and interpretations. Tīmūrid sources portray Tīmūr as the epitome of bravery, the ultimate ruler and champion of Islam, without attempting to exonerate him from any accusations. Understandably, Lārī may have felt compelled to defend Tīmūr, anticipating that his writings would be reviewed by an Ottoman Sultan. As a result, he sought to protect Tīmūr's reputation by suggesting that Tīmūr had never intended to invade Ottoman territory and that his demands were merely superficial, designed to make it easier to refuse to fight. However, the credibility of such an argument is questionable at best.

In this subchapter, my aim is to present Lārī's account of the famous Battle of Ankara - a pivotal event that brought the Ottoman Empire to the brink of collapse and led to the decentralization of its system. Lārī's narrative is particularly significant because of his unique perspective. He was an ardent admirer of the Timurid legacy who later found himself inside the Ottoman Empire. His historical work, *Mir'atu'l-Advār*, reflects his personal views at various points in time. The emphasis is on his feelings about Timurid history. Lārī's admiration for Tīmūr is evident throughout his narrative. His perspective is particularly pronounced when he delves into the details of the Battle of Ankara. In particular, Lārī staunchly defends Tīmūr and portrays him as his hero. What he writes corresponds closely to what the Timurid historians wrote in the chronicles. Lārī's narrative is notable for its consistent adherence to a point of view that reflects his deep admiration for Tīmūr, and this sentiment is particularly pronounced in his account of the Battle of Ankara. Importantly, Lārī's historical account is characterized by a deliberate avoidance of the Ottoman perspective. This underlines his awareness of the Ottoman chronicles and his decision to depart from their narrative in favor of the Timurid viewpoint. There are numerous passages in Lārī's narrative that stand out as clear indications of his support for Tīmūr and his

⁷⁴³ Ibn Arabshah, *Aja'ib al-Maqdur fi Nawa'ib al-Taymur*, 308.

activities. First and foremost, Lārī's narrative repeatedly claims that Tīmūr had no intention of entering into a clash with Bāyezīd. He consistently sought to avoid such a conflict. From the Ottoman point of view based on the letters recorded by Feridun Aḥmed Bey, when the letters are examined in chronological order; Tīmūr, by adding new demands and conditions to his letters each time, made the situation impossible and forced Beyazid to choose war.⁷⁴⁴ At the same time, Lārī describes Tīmūr's military campaigns as he led his army through Sivas and finally to Ankara.

To conclude, in light of Tīmūr's ability as a highly skilled military leader, he was undoubtedly aware of the challenges and financial burdens associated with the large-scale mobilization of an army from a distant area. There is no doubt that such a strategic decision would not have been an unthinking one. On the other hand, Lārī gives the impression that Tīmūr's demands were relatively insignificant, characterizing them as easily achievable by Bāyezīd. A critical examination, however, reveals that a considerable number of Tīmūr's demands posed enormous challenges for an emperor to accept. Of particular note is Tīmūr's demand that Bāyezīd send his son, a demand that Lārī interprets as a goodwill gesture on the part of Tīmūr towards the Ottomans. Given the historical context and the complexity of the specific circumstances, this narrative displays a marked degree of naivety. In order to highlight Tīmūr's character, Lārī goes to great lengths to present an alternative interpretation of the Battle of Ankara. However, it is argued that Lārī's remarks and narrative lack analytical accuracy and maintain a remarkably low-key tone. As a result, the reader may find it difficult to give credibility to the claims put forward by Lārī. The core of its significance, however, lies in Lārī's distinct subjectivity as a historian within this segment of world history.

His historical account bears the distinct mark of a court historian associated with the Timurid court, rather than emanating from an independent viewpoint or reflecting the viewpoint of a historian based in the Ottoman territories. It is clear that Lārī's desire to please Tīmūr is evident in the way he crafts his historical narrative. A layer of fascination is added to the analysis by the work *Mir'atu'l-Advār*, which is dedicated to Selīm II and Sokollu Meḥmed Pasha. Particularly interesting is Lārī's writing of the

⁷⁴⁴ Abdurrahman Daş, "Ankara Savaşı Öncesi Tīmūr İle Yıldırım Bayezid'in Mektuplaşmaları," *Selçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 15 (2004): 151.

first chapters of his historical work during his stay in the Mughal Empire, giving his writing a recognizable Timurid influence. When he arrived in the Ottoman Empire, he added only one additional chapter concerning the Ottomans, rushed through and apparently not reworked. Whether this rush was the result of time pressure or a deliberate choice on Lārī's part remains a matter of some debate. It is reasonable to argue that Lārī was confident in the selective interest of the Ottoman audience, expecting them to focus mainly on the chapter devoted to their own history. This section highlights the intellectual environment of the time and emphasizes Lārī's awareness as an outsider of the intellectual trends within the Ottoman Empire. Essentially, in a distinctive and sensitive way, this sub-chapter introduces Lārī the Historian.

5.4. Timurid Mindscapes: The Intellectuals of Timurid in *Mir'atu'l-Advār*

The last section of this chapter is devoted to a discussion of the scholars and intellectuals of the period. Lārī devotes the final pages of each chapter to an examination of the scholars and knowledgeable individuals associated with a particular dynasty or kingdom, as is customary in his comprehensive historical work. In this case, the chapter focuses on the Timurid era. This covers a considerable period of time and events. However, I choose to focus on portraying Tīmūr, with a more detailed examination of the learned men of his time. In his section on Timurid scholars, Lārī allocates the first segment to the mystics associated with the Naqshbandī Sufi order. The Naqshbandī Sufi order had a significant impact on the Timurid history, not only in the cultural and literary spheres, but also in the political and governmental system. After the Qādirī order, the Naqshbandī Sufi order is the second largest Sufi group, whose influence radiated from Central Asia and Khorasan to profoundly shape the Persian geographical landscape.⁷⁴⁵ It is noteworthy that the Naqshbandī Sufi order spawned offshoots and extended its influence into Ottoman territories in later centuries.⁷⁴⁶ During the reign of Sultan Mehmed II (d. 886/1481), who came to power in 1451 after the conquest of Constantinople, the Naqshbandī order gained

⁷⁴⁵ Muhammad Ali Kazim Beki, Muhsin Masumi, and Ali Aramju, "Sheyukh Naqshbandi wa Siyasat der Dawre-i Tīmūri" 52, no. 1 (2019): 127–55, doi:10.22059/jhic.2019.273239.653967.

⁷⁴⁶ For further discussion of Naqshbandīs in the Ottoman Empire, see, Dina Le Gall, *A Culture of Sufism: Naqshbandīs in the Ottoman World, 1450 - 1700*, SUNY Series in Medieval Middle East History (New York, NY: State University of New York, 2005).

considerable influence and prominence within the Ottoman territories and consolidated its position there.⁷⁴⁷

Lārī's special focus on the Naqshbandī Sufi order and some of its mystics in this section aims to provide a broader understanding of the Timurids. In particular, Lārī refrains from an analytical examination of their ideologies and schools. As a scholar with a multifaceted background, of which philosophy is a prominent facet, Lārī refrains from expressing personal opinions about individuals within the Sufi order, opting instead to offer succinct details and occasional anecdotes deemed pertinent to the narrative. In addition, he discusses mystics who are members of Sufi orders other than Naqshbandī, and finally he addresses scholars. Specifically, within the category of scholars, he focuses exclusively on one individual al-Taftāzānī (d. 792/1390).

Born in 722/1322 in Taftāzān, Khorasan, Taftāzānī received his education at various prestigious institutions across different cities. He thrived during the reign of Tīmūr, who acknowledged his intellectual potential and actively supported his scholarly pursuits, incorporating him into his court. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqālānī (d. 852/1449) famously extolled him, asserting that "*science in the East ended with him*" and that "*no one could ever replace him*."⁷⁴⁸ Following his demise in Samarkand in 792/1390, he was laid to rest in Sarakhs. Taftāzānī's scholarly endeavors spanned theology, Islamic jurisprudence, linguistics, rhetoric, logic, and literature. His writings, including commentaries, attained the status of "standard texts" among students of Islamic theology, offering a comprehensive array of perspectives on the foundational principles of Islam.⁷⁴⁹

As noted earlier, Lārī, in his capacity as historian and biographer, consistently influences the narrative surrounding himself. The biographical accounts he presents of Safavid scholars predominantly feature individuals who shared some form of connection with Lārī, be it personal, professional, or geographical. In particular, his

⁷⁴⁷ Itzhak Weismann, *The Naqshbandiyya: Orthodoxy and Activism in a Worldwide Sufi Tradition*, Routledge Sufi Series (London ; New York: Routledge, 2007), 45.

⁷⁴⁸ Hajar al-Askalani, "Al-durur al-kamina fi Ayan al-miat ath thamina" (Kolkata, India, n.d.), National Library of India, <http://indianculture.gov.in/rarebooks/al-durur-al-kamina-fi-ayan-al-miat-ath-thamina-0>.

⁷⁴⁹ Şükrü Özen, "Taftazani," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 2011), 306.

emphasis on Naqshbandī scholars is consistent with his own affiliation with the Naqshbandī Sufi order.⁷⁵⁰

Lārī in this section provides a biography of nine individuals. As I mentioned earlier, he divides his biographies into three sections. The first belongs to the section on Naqshbandīs and the mystics belonging to this Sufi order. In the second section he introduces two other mystics who were outside the Sufi order of Naqshbandīs during the reign of Tīmūr and finally in the third section he introduces scholars who lived in the era of Tīmūr. I argue that Lārī maintains his central, focused narrative through the introduction of scholars and mystics associated with Tīmūr and the Naqshbandī sufi order. He tells the stories of the mystics and scholars from his perspective while keeping Tīmūr at the center.

The subsequent table presents a list of individuals during the reign of Tīmūr who were introduced by Lārī:

Table 5.1. Timurid Scholars Introduced by Lārī

Naqshbandīs	Mystics	Scholars
Khāja Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband*	Amīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī*	Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd b. 'Umar al-Taftāzānī*
Mawlānā Ya'qūb Cherhī*	Mawlānā Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr Tāybādī*	Mawlānā Nu'mān Ḥārizmī*
Ḥāja 'Alā' al-Dīn Ġajduwānī*		<i>Mawlānā Bahā' al-Dīn</i> <i>Ḥulwānī **</i>
Shaykh Sirāj al-Dīn Bairāmī*		Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī Sharīf Al-Jurjānī**
'Abdul Ḥālīq al- Ġajduwānī*		

⁷⁵⁰ The fact that his tombstone identifies him as a member of the Naqshbandī Order was cited in Chapter I.

Table 5.1. (cont.)

<i>Mawlānā Saiḫ al-Dīn</i> <i>Manārī**</i>		
<i>Mawlānā Saiḫ al-Dīn</i> <i>Ḥūsh-ḥʿān**</i>		
<i>Mawlānā Saiḫ al-Dīn</i> <i>Bālāḥāne**</i>		
<i>Mawlānā Saiḫ al-Dīn</i> <i>Ḥʿārizmī**</i>		

* Signifies individuals for whom Lārī has provided biographical information.

** Signifies individuals whose names have been referenced in conjunction with other scholars, serving as a connection rather than being introduced themselves.

On the other hand, Ḥʿāndmīr's "*Ḥabīb al-siyar*" serves as a central Timurid source, containing a significant number of biographies from the Timurid period. In particular, Ḥʿāndmīr provides narratives about scholars, intellectuals, mystics, and respected figures who flourished during the reign of Amīr Tīmūr. Although Lārī does not explicitly mention *Ḥabīb al-siyar* as one of his sources, it is evident that he relies on it. This is supported by the fact that "*Ḥabīb al-siyar*" is a continuation of "*Rawzat aṣ-ṣafā*". It is also noteworthy that both Ḥʿāndmīr and Lārī were present at the Mughal court during the same period. Ḥʿāndmīr rose to the position of *Amīr-ul-Muwārith* (Commander of the Historians) during the reign of Humāyūn.⁷⁵¹ When we examine the scholars and mystics presented in Ḥʿāndmīr's account, we find only three names that match those in Lārī's narrative. Mīr Sayyid ʿAlī Hamdānī (d. 786/1385), Zayn al-Dīn Tāybādī (d. 790/1389), Bahāʿ al-Dīn Muḥammad Naqshband (d. 791/1389) and Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 792/1390) are scholars introduced in both accounts. Ḥʿāndmīr lists and introduces a further 19 scholars who are not mentioned in Lārī's account.

Ḥʿāndmīr's account introduces 19 scholars whom Lārī does not include in his narrative.⁷⁵²

⁷⁵¹ İsmail Aka, "Hāndmir," in *TDV İslām Ansiklopedis* (Istanbul, 1997), 551.

⁷⁵² Khwāndamīr, *Rijāl-i kitāb-i Ḥabīb as-siyar*, ed. ʿAbd-al-Ḥusain Nawāʿī, 2nd ed., *Silsila-i intishārāt-i Ancuman-i Āṭār wa Mafāḥir-i Farhangī* 213 (Tīhrān: Anjuman-i Āṭār wa Mafāḥir-i Farhangī, 2000).

- Zāhid Murgābī (d. 778/1376–77)
- Bābā Sankū (Sangū)
- ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Attār Buḥārī (d.841/1438)
- Muḥammad Taftāzānī
- Sayyid ‘Alī Al-Jurjānī (d. 816/1413)
- Lisān al-Dīn Ḥaṭīb (d.776/1374)
- Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī (d. 814/1411-12)
- Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 833/1429)
- Kamāl Ḥujandī (d. 803/1401)
- Muḥammad Shīrīn Maḡribī (d. 809/1407)
- Şafī Allāh Ḥātlānī
- Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī Kermānī
- Mawlānā ‘Alī Badr
- ‘Işmat Buḥārī (d. 840/1436-37)
- Najm-al Dīn al-Ṭāremī
- Tabrīzī Shaṭranjī
- Ḥusām al-Dīn Kermānī (d.786/1384)
- Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Imāmī
- Ibn Mubārak Shah (d. 784/1382)

5.4.1. Mystics of the Naqshbandīs

Focusing on the Sufi order of Naqshbandī, Lārī begins his narrative of the mystics and scholars of the Timurid era. Lārī first introduces **Ḥvāja Bahā’ al-Dīn Naqshband** (d. 791/1389) in his section on the mystics and scholars of the Timurid era, particularly during the reign of Tīmūr. Bahā’ al-Dīn Naqshband is known as the founder of the Naqshbandī order, which became one of the largest Sunnī Muslim Sufi groups. Lārī highlights him as a prominent figure of the Timurid era. Lārī’s exact intentions in the beginning of his account with the Naqshbandī Sufi order in the context of the Timurid era are not explicitly clear. His approach to the Timurid scholars, especially Bahā’ al-Dīn Naqshband, appears to be more generalized, although Lārī’s accounts of Safavid scholars may have been influenced by his personal experiences. Without expressing explicit praise or criticism of the Naqshbandī Sufi order or of Bahā’ al-Dīn Naqshband himself, he seems to be providing a broader biography.

Instead of a subjective assessment, the narrative should perhaps provide a comprehensive overview. Scholars have often struck different tones and styles in their historical accounts depending on context and purpose, and this may also be the case with Lārī's account of the Timurid scholars. According to Lārī, Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband was born in the month of Muḥarram in 718 (1318), during the reign of Sultan Abū Sa'īd Bahādur Ḥān. He died in 891 (1486).⁷⁵³ However, Lārī admits to a slight error in reporting the date of Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband's death. He states that it occurred in 791, which is the correct date found in all copies in the archives of the Süleymaniye Library.

In addition, Lārī notes that Kaşri 'Arifān's attribution is associated with Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband.⁷⁵⁴ Lārī provides additional details about the education of Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband, noting that he received his education from Amīr Kulāl (d. 772/1370). During this period of education, Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband spent seven years in the company of the learned scholar.⁷⁵⁵ Amīr Kulāl played a crucial role in fostering the spiritual growth of Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband, who had been adopted as a spiritual son by Muḥammad Baba Semmasi (d. 736/1335-36 [?]) when he was still an infant.⁷⁵⁶ Lārī goes on to introduce two of Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband's most famous successors, namely Ḥvāja 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār (d. 802/1400) and Ḥvāja Muḥammad Pārsā (d. 822/1420). In his account of these two successors, Lārī refers to them as the "*kāmīl*" (perfect).

In his account, Lārī mentions that Ḥvāja 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, in his last days of life and illness, expressed that by divine grace and under the guidance of the esteemed mentor Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband, everyone could reach the true goal if he chose.⁷⁵⁷ Lārī provides information about Ḥvāja Muḥammad Pārsā. He mentions that he belonged to the lineage of Mawlānā Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn Bukhārī (d. 256/870) and was regarded as one of the great scholars of Bukhara. According to Lārī, Ḥvāja Muḥammad Pārsā always emphasized that the purpose of the Naqshbandī Order was centered on having

⁷⁵³ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:820.

⁷⁵⁴ Qasri Arifan, formerly known as Qasri Hinduvan, is one of the historic villages of Uzbekistan. Situated in the Kogon district of the Bukhara region, the village was renamed Qasri Arifan in honor of Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband.

⁷⁵⁵ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:821.

⁷⁵⁶ Hamid Algar, "Emīr Külāl," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1995), 137.

⁷⁵⁷ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:821.

Muḥammad present. Ḥvāja Muḥammad Pārsā set out from Bukhara in the month of Muḥarram (d. 822/1420) with the intention of visiting the holy shrines. However, after completing the Hajj pilgrimage, he fell ill. He found repose in Medina, resting beside the revered domes of ‘Abbās and Ḥasan b. ‘Alī. Lārī states that his funeral prayers were led by Molla Fenārī, also known as Mawlānā Shams al-Dīn Fanārī Rūmī (d. 834/1431), and the people of Medina. Indeed, Lārī's mention of Molla Fenārī leading the last prayer for Ḥvāja Muḥammad Pārsā adds an Ottoman flavour to his narrative. By deliberately including a fifteenth-century Ottoman scholar in his narrative, Lārī provides a broader historical context beyond the specific Naqshbandī tradition. The fact that Molla Fenārī wrote treatises for Naqshbandī mystics further illustrates the interconnectedness of different Sufi traditions and scholarly circles during this period, even though Molla Fenārī may not have been directly associated with the Naqshbandī order.⁷⁵⁸

Lārī's inclusion of Molla Fenārī reflects a recognition of the broader intellectual and spiritual exchange that was taking place across different regions and Sufi lineages. He further writes that his noble grave has a white tombstone, which is a mark of distinction from the rest of his tomb.⁷⁵⁹ The details Lārī provides about the tombstone of Ḥvāja Muḥammad Pārsā are particularly intriguing, as it suggests his personal visit to the tombstone. Indicating his journey from Mughal India to perform Hajj, Lārī explicitly states that he visited the grave of Ḥasan b. ‘Alī, where he had the opportunity to witness the tombstone of Ḥvāja Muḥammad Pārsā. As a historian, Lārī emphasizes that his historical account is not based solely on written chronicles.

It also includes first-hand eyewitness accounts. Lārī emphasizes the authenticity and immediacy of his historical narrative by stating that he personally visited the tomb of Ḥvāja Muḥammad Pārsā during his journey from Mughal India to perform the Hajj. This direct observation adds a unique, first-hand element to his narrative, enhancing its credibility and giving readers a vivid understanding of historical events and places. Lārī, as a historian with the ambition of presenting a comprehensive global history, strategically begins his account of the mystics and scholars of the Timurid era with the

⁷⁵⁸ İbrahim Hakkı Aydın, “Molla Fenārī,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara, 2020), 248.

⁷⁵⁹ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:821.

figure of Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband. The Sufi order of the Naqshbandīs emerges as a key factor in the history of the Timurid, exercising its influence not only within the confines of Sufism but also extending into the political sphere.⁷⁶⁰ The involvement of the Naqshbandī mystics in political activity adds a layer of complexity that makes the historical narrative of the Timurid incomplete without the inclusion of the Naqshbandīs.

Continuing his examination of Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband and his successors, Lārī introduces another figure within the Naqshbandī Sufi tradition, namely **Mawlānā Ya'qūb Cherhī** (d. 851/1447). In conjunction with Ḥvāja 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār and the wise Ḥvāja Muḥammad Pārsā, Cherhī, who is also credited with establishing the foundations of the new order, used the Master's name as a means of legitimising his endeavours.⁷⁶¹

Lārī reports that Ya'qūb Cherhī was born in Charkh and claims that Charkh lies among the villages of Ghaznain (modern-day Logar in Afghanistan). Regarding his scholarly training, Lārī notes that Ya'qūb Cherhī studied in Egypt under Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn Ḥawāfi (d. 838/1435) and Mawlānā Shihāb al-Dīn Seyrāmī. However, Arif Navshahi contradicts this account by claiming that Ya'qūb Cherhī studied under Mawlānā Shihāb al-Dīn Seyrāmī and Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn Ḥawāfi was at the same time a fellow student of Seyrāmī.⁷⁶² It is noteworthy that Zayn al-Dīn Ḥawāfi is considered to be the founder of the Zeyniyye sub-branch within the Suhrawardiyya Sufi Order.⁷⁶³ Following his academic success and his return to Bukhara, Ya'qūb Cherhī was authorised by the scholars of Bukhara to issue *fetwās* (legal rulings). He was thus recognised as a preacher within the Naqshbandī order.⁷⁶⁴

Lārī continues his narrative of the mystics associated with the preeminent Sufi group that emerged during the Timurid era by providing details about Cherhī. For example, Lārī does not give details of the way in which Ya'qūb Cherhī came to know Bahā' al-

⁷⁶⁰ Kazim Beki, Masumi, and Aramju, "Sheyukh Naqshbandi."

⁷⁶¹ Weismann, *The Naqshbandiyya*, 14.

⁷⁶² Arif Navshahi, "Ya'qub Charkhi," in *Dānishnāme-i Jahān-ī Islām* (Tehran, 2007), 811.

⁷⁶³ Reşat Öngören, "Zeynüddin El-Hāfi," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 2013), 375.

⁷⁶⁴ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:821.

Dīn Naqshband. Nor does he explain the way in which Ya'kūb Cherhī assumed the role of successor within the Sufi group. It is important to note, however, that the account provided lacks specific information and presents only a brief and general biography of Ya'kūb Cherhī.

Lārī then presents the account of Ḥvāja 'Alā' al-Dīn Ġajduwānī. Although brief, Lārī adds a short commentary. This commentary underlines the importance of 'Alā' al-Dīn Ġajduwānī as a mystic. He records that anecdotes ascribe to him a heightened state of alertness, telling us that even when a sparrow was holding water in its beak, it remained unwaveringly focused and maintained a constant state of alertness both in the waking state and in the sleeping state.⁷⁶⁵ Lārī highlights 'Alā' al-Dīn Ġajduwānī's consistent emphasis on the sharpness of his intellect and his unshakable faith. While Lārī's account of 'Alā' al-Dīn Ġajduwānī is relatively brief, the insights that 'Abdul Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 898/1492) offers in his work, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, sheds light on the close relationship between 'Alā' al-Dīn Ġajduwānī and Ḥvāja Muḥammad Pārsā. Jāmī details that 'Alā' al-Dīn Ġajduwānī was always in the company of Muḥammad Pārsā, serving as a constant companion and guide. This is a testament to the deep closeness and mutual affinity that existed between them.⁷⁶⁶

In a similar vein, Lārī states that 'Alā' al-Dīn Ġajduwān had reached the venerable age of ninety at the time of his death. In a related account, Jāmī in his work *Nafaḥāt al-uns* recounts an interaction between a respected individual from Samarkand and Ḥvāja Muḥammad Pārsā. The Samarkand native expressed doubts about the usefulness of associating with an aged and weak 'Alā' al-Dīn Ġajduwānī. In response, Ḥvāja Muḥammad Pārsā said that while they may not have had any actual dealings with 'Alā' al-Dīn, the mere presence of 'Alā' al-Dīn would serve as a powerful reminder of their loved ones.⁷⁶⁷

Lārī introduces another figure within the Naqshbandī Sufi tradition, **Shaykh Sirāj al-Dīn Bairāmī**, along with his four disciples. For a full analysis, however, the account provided lacks the necessary depth. It is mentioned that Mawlānā Sa'd al-Dīn Qashgārī

⁷⁶⁵ Ibid., 2:822.

⁷⁶⁶ 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt Al-Uns*, ed. Mehdi Tawhidpur (Tehran: Mahmudi, 1918), 399.

⁷⁶⁷ Ibid., 400.

(d. 860 /1456) described the method of dhikr (remembrance of God) practised by Shaykh Sirāj al-Dīn Bairāmī. He claimed that the term *Tawhīd* (Oneness of God) permeated his heart and soul.⁷⁶⁸ Lārī presents a lucid portrait of Bairāmī as a devoted Sufi. His adherence to the Sufi order won the approval and admiration of eminent Sufis, including Sa‘d al-Dīn Kaṣhgarī, who is recognized as a prominent Naqshbandī Sufi.⁷⁶⁹ Lārī goes on to say that Bairāmī had four disciples, each named Saif al-Dīn, divided into four different groups: (*maḥbūb*) beloved, (*maḥbūl*) accepted, (*maḥhūr*) oppressed and (*merdūd*) rejected. **Mawlānā Saif al-Dīn Manārī** is identified as being in the first group, *maḥbūb*. The second, **Mawlānā Saif al-Dīn Ḥūsh-ḥvān**, is recognised as *maḥbūl* disciple. **Mawlānā Saif al-Dīn Bālāḥāne**, the third disciple, is characterized as a *maḥhūr*. The fourth, **Mawlānā Saif al-Dīn Ḥvārizmī**, is referred to as *merdūd* disciples.⁷⁷⁰

Lārī doesn't write about how these four students came to be known as *maḥbūb*, *maḥbūl*, *maḥhūr* and *merdūd*; he only gives additional information about Mawlānā Saif al-Dīn Bālāḥāne, who is called the oppressed one. In the case of the oppressed disciple, Saif al-Dīn, Lārī writes that the reason why Saif al-Dīn was recognized as *maḥhūr* disciple by Shaykh Sirāj al-Dīn Bairāmī was that Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥallāj was one of the critics of Ḥvāja Muḥammad Pārsā. Ḥvāja Pārsā had followed the etiquette of courtesy by taking some steps towards reconciliation, but Saif al-Dīn took some more steps towards Ḥallāj. Ḥvāja Pārsā did not approve of Saif al-Dīn's actions and became angry with him. This is how he came to be known as *maḥhūr*. In his narrative, Lārī provides a concise account of Sirāj al-Dīn Bairāmī and a brief overview of his disciples.

However, the narrative lacks elaboration. Nevertheless, the structure fits seamlessly with Lārī's overall intention for this section to serve as biographical entries. The last person introduced in this section is none other than ‘**Abdul Ḥālīḳ al-Ġajduwānī** (d. 575/1179 or 617/1220). ‘Abdul Ḥālīḳ al-Ġajduwānī stands as the final luminary within the Naqshbandī Sufi order as introduced by Lārī. In his extensive genealogical account, Lārī traces ‘AbdulḤālīḳ's ancestry back to Imām Mālīk and documents his first residence in Malatya. After this period, historical records attest to his relocation to

⁷⁶⁸ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:822.

⁷⁶⁹ For more on Sa‘d al-Dīn Kaṣhgharī, Necdet Tosun, “Sa‘deddīn-i Kāṣgharī,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 2008).

⁷⁷⁰ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:822.

Bukhara in response to contemporary needs.⁷⁷¹ In Bukhara, ‘Abdul Ḥālīk pursued his academic endeavors under the tutelage of Yūsuf al-Hamadānī, a distinguished luminary who died in 535/1140. Lārī here takes a side note to talk about Yūsuf al-Hamadānī⁷⁷².

He writes that Yūsuf al-Hamadānī gained renown as a prominent exponent of Shāfi‘ī jurisprudence and served notably under the esteemed Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī (d. 476/1083)⁷⁷³. Lārī claims in his historical narrative that Yūsuf al-Hamadānī has been mislabelled as a Ḥanafī, a classification that Lārī considers inaccurate. In his scholarly legacy, Yūsuf al-Hamadānī appointed four successors to carry on his intellectual line. These successors, as documented by Lārī, were ‘AbdulḤālīk al-Ġajduwānī, Ḥvāja ‘Abdullāh Barkī, Ḥvāja Andākī, and Ḥvāja Aḥmed Yasawī. Regarding his main mystics Ġajduwānī, Specifically, Lārī states that ‘AbdulḤālīk immersed himself in the study of *tafsīr* in the district of Ġajduwān, in close proximity to Bukhara, under the erudite guidance of a distinguished Bukhara scholar.

Furthermore, Lārī asserts that ‘Abdul Ḥālīk received spiritual enlightenment from the revered cohort recognized as the 'People of God' (*ahli'llāh*). His spiritual tutelage included the mentorship of Ḥiḍr, who not only dispensed teachings in the realm of the spiritual heart, but also emphasized the imperative of maintaining a specific numerical count in the practice of dhikr, known as numerical mindfulness (*wukūf ‘Adadī*).⁷⁷⁴

At the beginning of this section, Lārī begins his biographical account of Timurid figures, a classification that he carefully divides into three different parts. It is noteworthy that Lārī's approach to the Timurids shows a distinct methodological coherence, whereas his treatment of the Safavid scholars lacked organisational coherence and chronological detail. In fact, Lārī divides the Timurid personalities into mystics and scholars, beginning with the presentation of the mystics of the Naqshbandī Sufī order. This separation, beginning with Bahā’ al-Dīn Naqshband and concluding

⁷⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷⁷² Necdet Tosun, “Yūsuf Hemedānī,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 2013).

⁷⁷³ Bilal Aybakan, “Ebū İshāk Şīrāzī,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 2010).

⁷⁷⁴ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:823.

with ‘AbdulḤālīq al-Ġajduwānī, is evident in his careful presentation. The prominent treatment of Naqshbandī mystics reflects their significance in Timurid history.

It is notable that the very exclusivity of Lārī’s account to this group underlines their prominence in his narrative, even though Lārī refrains from elaborating on the political engagements and broader activities of the Naqshbandī Sufi order and remains deliberately silent on their Sufi practices.

5.4.2. Mystics Beyond the Naqshbandī Sufi Tradition

Lārī then moves on to represent other mystics within the Timurid empire, outside the realm of the Naqshbandī Sufi order. Beginning with **Amīr Sayyid ‘Alī Hamadānī** (d. 786/1385), he introduces two more mystics into this line. Lārī states that Sayyid ‘Alī Hamadānī and Amīr Tīmūr had a meeting.⁷⁷⁵ He documents an encounter between Sayyid and Amīr Tīmūr in which Amīr Tīmūr showed a deep interest in the mystic, Sayyid ‘Alī Hamadānī. Amīr Tīmūr had been informed of the Sayyid’s deep mysticism, underscored by his steadfast commitment to consistent *Ḳibla* orientation and strict adherence to the consumption of *halal* food only. Eager to meet Sayyid, Amīr Tīmūr arranged a meeting and initiated the encounter by orchestrating the forcible confiscation of a sheep, after which it was sacrificially offered with the intention of presenting its meat to Sayyid. Throughout the meal, Amīr Tīmūr strategically positioned himself facing the *Ḳibla*, deliberately distracting Sayyid’s attention from the *Ḳibla* and thus preventing him from observing his customary practice.

At this opportune moment, Amīr Tīmūr seized the opportunity to delve into an examination of Hamadānī’s underlying principles and beliefs, while Hamadānī participated in the consumption of sheep meat. Puzzled by what appeared to be a departure from Hamadānī’s established routines, Amīr Tīmūr questioned him about the consumption of the sheep, which had been forcibly acquired by his soldiers. In response, Hamadānī clarified that he considered the sheep in question to be *halal*, not because it had been confiscated, but because it was a gift, he had brought specifically for Amīr Tīmūr. Hamadānī went on to explain that the sheep had originally belonged

⁷⁷⁵ Ibid.

to him, it had been seized by Amīr Tīmūr's soldiers, who had then prepared it for him. Fascinated by Hamadānī 's explanations, Amīr Tīmūr continued to inquire about Hamadānī 's perceived departure from the customary practice of facing the *Ḳibla*. In response, Hamadānī reiterated the steadfastness of his habitual practice, but explained that on this particular occasion he was facing Amīr Tīmūr rather than the *Ḳibla*.⁷⁷⁶

Lārī's narrative of Amīr Hamadānī 'Alī Hamadānī resonates with deep admiration, extending beyond the esteemed mystic, whom Lārī praises as the preeminent figure among mystics, to the heroic stature of Amīr Tīmūr. In depicting their encounter, Lārī underlines the mutual acumen and awareness of both individuals. Hamadānī emerges as discerning and quick-witted, demonstrating a spiritual maturity that Lārī calls *Kāmil*, as he skilfully grasps and responds to situations, drawing on an understanding of the *ḡayb* (invisible).⁷⁷⁷ At the same time, Amīr Tīmūr, who is portrayed as a wise leader, adopts a discerning approach, questioning and analyzing with precision. This testifies to his ability to distinguish between authentic and false mystics.

In particular, the moment when Hamadānī asserts that facing Amīr Tīmūr is akin to facing the *Ḳibla* serves as a powerful moment in which Hamadānī elevates Amīr Tīmūr above his own spiritual practices and beliefs, emphasizing the supreme stature of the esteemed leader. Unafraid of praise, Lārī repeatedly praises the greatness of his hero, affectionately referring to him as *Amīr-ī Buzurg*, (The Great Amīr) thereby confirming the remarkable qualities and importance attributed to Amīr Tīmūr in the narrative.

After Amīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī, Lārī briefly mentions the presence of another mystic, **Mawlānā Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr Tāybādi** (d.791/1389). Lārī writes that Zayn al-Dīn Tāybādi was a scholar of divine knowledge. He excelled in the external sciences to an extraordinary degree and possessed profound spiritual insights.⁷⁷⁸ The contrasting accounts of the two Timurid era mystics by Lārī shows a clear pattern. While both narratives are concise and lack elaborate details, the notable difference lies in the prominence of Amīr Tīmūr within the first account, which features Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī. The longer account in this case can be attributed to Lārī's perceived need

⁷⁷⁶ Ibid., 2:824.

⁷⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁸ Ibid.

to describe the encounter between the two individuals. In stark contrast, the account of Mawlānā Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr Tāybādi is characterized by conciseness.

Lārī concisely states Tāybādi's identity as a scholar with deep and broad knowledge. This difference in narrative length suggests that Lārī's tendency to elaborate is influenced by the presence and importance of Amīr Tīmūr in the context of the first mystic's account. Lārī seems to adopt a center-focused historical approach, as argued in previous chapters. Following the stylistic conventions of the Safavid and Timurid historical tradition, his narratives revolve around a central figure, often a shah or Sultan. Here, Amīr Tīmūr is used as a focus. Lārī constructs the biographies of the mystics based on their chronological arrangement with the timeline of Tīmūr. He judges their importance through the lens of Tīmūr's presence.

5.4.3. Eminent Scholars in the Era of Amīr Tīmūr

Lārī begins his biographical account of scholars with the distinguished intellectual **Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd b. 'Umar al-Taftāzānī** (d. 792/1390). The narrative about al-Taftāzānī is characterized by a great deal of detail. This includes a chronological presentation and a wealth of dates. Lārī endeavors to place each significant event in al-Taftāzānī's life within a chronological framework. Lārī expressly conveys that the whole account is a faithful transcription of al-Taftāzānī's self-revelations as found in his own written works. Lārī systematically records all the details articulated by al-Taftāzānī concerning his own life. He records that:

al-Taftāzānī stated in his written work that his birth occurred in the month of ṣafar in the year 722/1322. In addition, al-Taftāzānī testified to the completion of his education in the year 732/1331. In 741/1340, he travelled to Isfara. During Sha'bān of the same year, he stayed in Taftāzān. He reached Khwarazm in the month of Jumada al-Akhir in 742/1342. During Ramadan in 746/1346, al-Taftāzānī arrived in Herat, where he married. He then announced his intention to return to Khwarazm. During this journey, his possessions were plundered along the way.⁷⁷⁹

Lārī describes the significant role that Khwarazm played in shaping the course of al-Taftāzānī's career. He records that when al-Taftāzānī arrived in Khwarazm, the students of **Mawlānā Bahā' al-Dīn Ḥulwānī**⁷⁸⁰ took an active part in his classes. Daily,

⁷⁷⁹ Ibid.

al-Taftāzānī would ask about the scholarly activities of Mawlānā Sa‘d al-Dīn "Ḳashġarī" (d. 860/1456). who was initially deeply engaged in scholarly pursuits, took a remarkable transformative turn in his commitment to spiritual learning after meeting the Sufi Naḳshbandī.⁷⁸⁰ The disciples and students of Ḳashġarī were eager to pass on the information they received from him, and al-Taftāzānī meticulously documented these details.⁷⁸¹

In a similar vein, Lārī details al-Taftāzānī's movements by listing a series of places without any explanation of the underlying motivations or consequences. In 757/1356, al-Taftāzānī's itinerary took him to Gulistān, a city in Turkistan, where he extended his stay to over ten years. It is at this point that Lārī makes a special note of al-Taftāzānī's close association with the Amīrs and Sultans. According to Lārī, the period spent in Turkistan marked a phase in which al-Taftāzānī established his proximity to the royal courts and to individuals in positions of authority. Lārī goes on to explain that in 761/1360 there was a major epidemic. This resulted in a significant loss of life. He specifies the death of Mawlānā Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn during this epidemic. This marks a key moment from which adverse circumstances began to unfold for al-Taftāzānī. Lārī's account of al-Taftāzānī includes not only al-Taftāzānī's self-disclosures but also the narrative of his grandson, ‘Alāma Yaḥyā (Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Yaḥyā) who himself was a renowned scholar and intellectual of his time⁷⁸².

Lārī stresses that al-Taftāzānī began his literary activities precociously, around the age of 16. A chronological catalogue of al-Taftāzānī's written works is then given in detail by Lārī. It is noted that al-Taftāzānī devoted considerable effort to the compilation of *fetwās* (legal opinions) that had been referred to Imām Abū Ḥanīfa. At the same time, al-Taftāzānī was working on a commentary to the monumental work *Sharḥ Jāmī ‘i’l-kabīr*. However, al-Taftāzānī's aspirations to complete this work to his desired extent were shortened by his death. At the end of his story, Lārī relates an incident in which al-Taftāzānī expressed his intention to write a *Sharḥ* (commentary) on the *Jāmī ‘i’l-kabīr* by Shaykh Mas‘ūd. However, certain people in the circle of Shaykh Mas‘ūd advised him against giving his work to al-Taftāzānī. They objected because they felt

⁷⁸⁰ Jāmī, *Nafahāt Al-Uns*, 305.

⁷⁸¹ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:825.

⁷⁸² Şükrü Özen, "Teftāzānī," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 2011), 300.

that al-Taftāzānī's commentary would overshadow the original significance of the *Jāmī 'i'l-kabīr*.

Despite their concerns, Shaykh Mas'ūd confidently declared: "*The scale of his work is such that no subsequent commentary can reduce its essential importance.* Lārī adds his comments to this account, clearly stating that, contrary to the claims of Shaykh Mas'ūd, the result was exactly as they had feared.⁷⁸³ The commentary of Shaykh Mas'ūd, written by al-Taftāzānī, became more widely known than the original work. He further notes regarding this event that scholarly community in Khwarazm recognized the leadership of al-Taftāzānī after the death of Mawlānā Bahā' al-Dīn Ḥulwānī, the esteemed Imam of Khwarazm. However, the disciples of Shaykh Mas'ūd began an intense verbal attack against him, leaving him unable to respond verbally. In the end, a settlement was reached in which they agreed to remain silent, thus giving al-Taftāzānī the opportunity to articulate his thoughts. He then began teaching *al-Kashshāf* of al-Zamaḥsharī (d. 538/1144)⁷⁸⁴, interpreting the works of commentators and explaining the teachings of Mawlānā Bahā' al-Dīn. In the course of his discourse, al-Taftāzānī expressed himself with such eloquence that none of his detractors was able to offer a rebuttal after they had listened to him.⁷⁸⁵

Al-Taftāzānī's presentation of his ideas with remarkable fluency not only inspired the admiration of his students but also captured the attention of the ruler, Amīr Tīmūr, drawing Lārī's interest. He was praised as the most respected scholar of his time because of his extraordinary scholarship.

The people of Samarqand were very unwilling to accept the possibility of anyone else achieving a position similar to that of al-Taftāzānī. Lārī tells of a particular incident that illustrates this sentiment. **Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī Sharīf Al-Jurjānī** (d. 816/1413), recognized as *Sayyidu'l-Muḥaqqiqīn*, also arrived in Samarqand during this period.⁷⁸⁶ However, due to the deep loyalty of al-Taftāzānī's disciples, who at this time were firmly devoted to him, every new scholar who entered Samarqand was subjected to a

⁷⁸³ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:825.

⁷⁸⁴ Mustafa Öztürk and M. Suat Mertoğlu, "Zamaḥşerī," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 2013).

⁷⁸⁵ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:825.

⁷⁸⁶ Ibid.

thorough examination. Al-Jurjānī was no exception. He was examined and interrogated in order to assess his scholarly credentials. Specifically, he was asked to interpret a particular verse of the Qur'ān (5/2 *أولئك على هدى من ربهم*).⁷⁸⁷ Al-Jurjānī succeeded in winning the approval of the scholars of Samarkand by providing well-founded arguments and demonstrating a sound interpretation, thereby securing his esteemed position among them. This showed that he was indeed a respected scholar.⁷⁸⁸

Lārī's approach to the presentation of biographical information, particularly in the case of al-Taftāzānī, is a marked departure from his usual style. His method shows a remarkable variance in the level of detail provided. This reflects a discernible reliance on available sources and the perceived importance of individuals. In the case of al-Taftāzānī, the wealth of primary sources, including the scholar's own writings, allows Lārī to provide a comprehensive and chronological biography. This departure from a standard approach underlines Lārī's adaptability as a historian. The depth and particularity of the biography depends on the availability and nature of the historical records at his command.

Lārī seems to have adopted a flexible methodology, emphasizing key aspects and individuals based on the richness of the material at his disposal, rather than adhering to a strict model. Essentially, Lārī's historical narrative style emerges as an adaptive and situational exercise, guided by the available information and the historical significance of the subjects studied. As in his previous narrative, Lārī stresses the significance of al-Taftāzānī by pointing out the great admiration and praise given to his scholarly achievement, notably by Amīr Tīmūr.⁷⁸⁹

⁷⁸⁷ In the Qur'anic text, specifically in Surah Al-Baqarah (2:5), the verse "*أولئك على هدى من ربهم*" (Those who are guided by their Lord) provides a profound reassurance and impetus for action. This verse is addressed to the believers and reaffirms the divine promise of guidance given to them by their Lord. The phrase "*على هدى*", rendered as "upon guidance", signifies not just a temporary act of guidance, but a continuous trajectory. It denotes the faithful's unwavering commitment to traverse the path of guidance by steadfastly adhering to the teachings and commandments of their Lord. Moreover, the use of the preposition "*على*" carries connotations of adherence and competence. Believers are not passive recipients of guidance; rather, they actively adhere to and attain proficiency in the celestial path. Their devotion goes beyond mere acknowledgement; it reflects a deep understanding and determination to align their lives with the commandments set forth by their Lord. Consequently, the verse not only affirms the believers' divine guidance, but also calls them to action, encouraging them to embody the principles of faith and righteousness. It serves as a poignant reminder that guidance is not merely a benevolent bestowal, but also a solemn responsibility - one that requires unwavering dedication, resilience and mastery in adhering to the path set forth by their Lord.

⁷⁸⁸ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:826.

⁷⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 2:825.

In his account of the scholars of the Timurid era, Lārī expresses praise for many, especially al-Taftāzānī. However, he takes a critical view of the last scholar he mentions, **Mawlānā Nu‘mān Ḥvārizmī**.⁷⁹⁰ During the reign of Amīr Tīmūr, according to Lārī, Nu‘mān Ḥvārizmī became increasingly respected. In his narrative, Lārī criticizes Ḥvārizmī, highlighting his behavior, his unsubstantiated claims, and the apparent disparity between his professed scholarly standing and his actual merits. Lārī's criticism of Ḥvārizmī portrays him as someone who claims the infallibility of his interpretations of verses and insists on the supremacy of his opinions in the discussion of ḥadīṣ. Lārī goes on to describe some of Ḥvārizmī's idiosyncratic habits, such as using a special method to expel mice from his study, using a pen to trim his beard, and boldly criticizing scholars despite his own perceived shortcomings. Lārī relates attributed claims about Ḥvārizmī, including boasts about the number of baths in Khwarazm and alleged involvement in the burning of schools in a mosque.⁷⁹¹ Lārī rejects these allegations as exaggerated or untrue. Although Ḥvārizmī aspired to be considered one of the great scholars, Lārī implies that he failed to achieve this and became ridiculed.

Lārī takes a critical attitude to Ḥvārizmī, pointing out his particularity, his groundless claims, and the apparent difference between his professed status and his actual standing among scholars. In contrast to his generally praising approach to various mystics and scholars mentioned in this section, Lārī adopts a critical and questioning standpoint in his evaluation of the status of Ḥvārizmī. This critical approach reflects Lārī's awareness of the distinction between falsehood and truth, and is an indication of his scholarly and historical knowledge. It emphasizes Lārī's ability to distinguish between individuals who embody genuine scholarly merit and those who do not. Nu‘mān Ḥvārizmī is a typical example in this context.

Conversely, Lārī's account of Ḥvārizmī reflects his personal perspective and differs from accounts found in other Timurid sources such as Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī Yazdī. While detailed information about Ḥvārizmī is scarce, Yazdī refers to him as *Ḳāzī-ul-Ḳuḏāt* Mawlānā Nu‘mān Ḥvārizmī. He mentions Ḥvārizmī's son, Mawlānā ‘Abdul Jabbār Ḥvārizmī, as a scholar during the reign of Amīr Tīmūr, noting his role as a translator

⁷⁹⁰ Ibid., 2:826.

⁷⁹¹ Ibid., 2:827.

who accompanied Tīmūr on military expeditions.⁷⁹² However, there is little information available specifically about Nu‘mān Ḥvārizmī himself. Additional insights into Nu‘mān Ḥvārizmī can be gleaned from the work of Bābā Rūkn al-Dīn Shīrazī (d. 769/1367-8), particularly his *Nūsūs al-ḥusūs fī tarjimāt al-Fūsūs*, a commentary on Ibn ‘Arabī’s (d. 638/1240) *Fūsūsul Hikem*. In the introductory section of his book, Bābā Rūkn al-Dīn fervently praises the eminence of his revered mentor, Nu‘mān Ḥvārizmī. He recalls a significant encounter:

During this period, a favorable opportunity arose, and in the month of Sha‘bān, in the year 739/1338, I was privileged to be in the esteemed presence of the illustrious Nu‘mān Khwārizmī, within the serene court of Tīmūr. Here I diligently endeavored to delve into the complexities of 'Fūsūsul Hikem' in the pursuit of knowledge. Undoubtedly, my mentor's unmatched superiority in these endeavors was evident.⁷⁹³

It is plausible that Lārī’s portrayal of Ḥvārizmī is driven by a motive to diminish his scholarly standing. This motive may be rooted in personal factors, possibly influenced by Ḥvārizmī’s alignment with the teachings of Ibn ‘Arabī. Given the historical background, it’s worth noting that the Naqshbandī Sufī order, to which Lārī have belonged, had a long history of opposition to Ibn ‘Arabī and his teachings.⁷⁹⁴ Therefore, Lārī’s portrayal of Ḥvārizmī in a less than favorable light could be seen as a deliberate attempt to discredit his scholarly reputation, especially if Ḥvārizmī’s beliefs or affiliations were viewed unfavorably within the prevailing theological and Sufi contexts of the time.

In narrating the mystics and scholars of the Timurid period, Lārī adopts a three-part structure, dividing his narrative into three sections. First, he discusses the mystics associated with the Naqshbandī Sufī order. This is followed by a discussion of Sufis and mystics outside the Naqshbandī tradition. Finally, Lārī devotes a substantial part of his account to al-Taftāzānī. He even devotes an entire section to him. While Lārī does acknowledge and provide an account of other scholars and individuals, these mentions are not separate narratives in their own right. Rather, they are inserted into the broader narrative of al-Taftāzānī’s life. They either come before or after him. Lārī’s account centres on al-Taftāzānī, treating other figures as integral episodes in the life

⁷⁹² Yazdī, *Zafar-Nama*, 1–2:926.

⁷⁹³ Rukn al-Din Shirazi, *Nusus al-khusus fi tarjimat al-fusus* (McGill University Libraries and Tehran University, 1980), 5.

⁷⁹⁴ Rūya Kılıç, “Naqshibendi Geleneğinde İbnül-Arabî: Destek Mi Muhalefet Mi?,” no. 6 (2007).

of this central figure. With al-Taftāzānī at the centre, Lārī maintains his stylistic choice of focusing on a single individual. This approach emphasises the importance of al-Taftāzānī, particularly in relation to Lārī's idol, Amīr Tīmūr, to whom al-Taftāzānī was close and from whom he received great honor.

5.5. Conclusion

This chapter has examined Lārī's narrative on the Timurid Empire. Lārī's extensive historical work, *Mir'atu'l-Advār*, consists of ten chapters. It offers a comprehensive study of various empires, dynasties and kingdoms. The chapter devoted to the Timurid Empire stands out as the second largest of these, both in terms of the intricate detail it provides and the large number of pages it covers. The chronological development of the Timurid Empire from its beginning to its end is systematically traced in this chapter. As emphasized in the introduction to the chapter, Lārī's travels took him through the three Islamic empires, from his origins under the Safavids, through his upbringing under the Mughals, to his eventual presence in the Ottoman Empire, where he finally met his demise.

Lārī's first-hand observations provide fascinating insights into the Safavids and Ottomans. However, it is noteworthy that he did not directly encounter or reside in the Tīmūd Empire. Instead, he lived in the Mughal Empire. The Mughals were the successors to the Tīmūr Empire on the Indian subcontinent. To understand the depth and breadth of his historical narrative, it is important to emphasize Lārī's significant reliance on Timurid historical sources, including Mīrḥvānd, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, and Ḥvāndmīr, all eminent Timurid historians. There are three main lines of investigation in this chapter. First, Lārī's portrayal of Tīmūr was examined, including analysing both the characterization and leadership attributed to him as well as the detailed facets of his life elucidated by the narrative. The overall aim was to discern the composite image of Tīmūr that Lārī is trying to construct. The second facet of the study was concerned with Lārī's portrayal of the crucial Battle of Ankara in 804/1402, a major turning point in the history of the Ottoman Empire that ushered in the *Fetret Devri* (Ottoman Interregnum) from 1402 to 1413.

Finally, attention was drawn to Lārī's portrayal of fifteen Timurid scholars and mystics. The central thesis, however, is that Lārī as a historian exemplifies a person-centered approach in the context of these investigations. His narrative consistently revolves around a single individual, regardless of its temporal and geographical scope. This phenomenon is in keeping with Safavid and Timurid historiography. In the context of this chapter, Tīmūr emerges as the central figure who embodies this centralization. Importantly, it is argued that this preoccupation goes beyond a mere focus on Tīmūr as a historical figure; rather, he is elevated to the status of a hero within Lārī's narrative. In the course of the chapter, an inquiry develops that reveals how Lārī expresses and demonstrates his deep admiration and obsession with Tīmūr.

In the first part of this chapter, the representation of Tīmūr as a hero was examined by focusing on four key themes: lineage, leadership, piety and patronage. Within these thematic dimensions delineated by Lārī, an analysis was undertaken to understand how Tīmūr is portrayed as a heroic figure. First, by acknowledging and affirming Tīmūr's Mongol connections as an established fact, Lārī explicitly addresses the question of Tīmūr's legitimacy and lineage. In keeping with the conventions of Timurid historical narrative, Tīmūr's tribal membership is identified as Chinggis, with Lārī, like other historians of the Timurid period, marking the end of the Ilkhānates with Tīmūr's birth and the beginning of the Timurid kingdom. Notably, Lārī refrains from delving into the lineage of 'Ali and Noah, finding satisfaction in establishing the connection with Chingis as the ancestral link to Tīmūr.

Secondly, Lārī discusses the various facets of Tīmūr's leadership. He places particular emphasis on his military prowess, a quality that was universally acknowledged even by Tīmūr's opponents. It is clear that Lārī seeks to portray Tīmūr as a versatile and accomplished leader. Despite the fact that Lārī had no first-hand knowledge of Tīmūr as a result of his encounters with the Safavids and Ottomans, he devotes a substantial part of his historical work to a detailed description of Tīmūr's physical features. While praising Tīmūr's pious support for Sunnī Islam, Lārī introduces a layer of complexity by pointing out the contradictions in Tīmūr's attitude towards Islam and the Sharia. With regard to Tīmūr's piety, Lārī delves into the religious dimension of his life and character. He contends that despite Tīmūr's piety, his approach to governing tended to follow the *yasa* or *töre* of Chinggis. By emphasizing the enduring influence of the

Chinggisid line on Tīmūr's governing principles, Lārī suggests that while Tīmūr was indeed pious, his governing principles were rooted in adherence to the legal and administrative system established by Chinggis.

Finally, Lārī shows that Tīmūr had a deep respect for astrologers, physicians and scholars, and a keen interest in the histories and stories of other rulers, in terms of patronage and Tīmūr's relationship with the arts and scholars. This depiction of Tīmūr as an admirer of knowledge and scholars, and an admirer of the learned and wise, challenges the perception of Tīmūr as a harsh and strict ruler.

The second part of this chapter examined the Battle of Ankara, a pivotal event that took place in 1402 between Tīmūr and Sultan Yıldırım Bāyezīd I, and is considered as having significant implications for Ottoman history. This battle marked the beginning of the Ottoman Interregnum, commonly known as the *Fetret Devri*, and is considered a major factor contributing to decentralizing and collapsing the centralized Ottoman Empire. After Sultan Yıldırım Bāyezīd died following the Battle of *Fetret Devri*, his sons took over, further emphasizing the decentralized nature of the Ottoman Empire. A certain naivety characterizes Lārī's account of the Battle of Ankara.

As a result, Lārī's assertions may be difficult for the reader to believe. The heart of the matter lies in Lārī's distinct subjectivity as a historian within this segment of world history. He presents a historical account that bears the unmistakable imprint of a court historian associated with the Timurid court, rather than emanating from an independent perspective or reflecting the viewpoint of a historian based in the Ottoman territories. Clearly, the way in which Lārī constructs his historical narrative reveals his inclination to please Tīmūr. An examination of the *Mir'atu'l-Advār*, a work dedicated to Selīm II and Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, introduces an additional layer of strand.

It is possible to argue that Lārī expressed confidence in the critical engagement of the Ottoman audience with his narrative. He expressed confidence in the Ottoman audience's willingness to interrogate and judge his narrative on the basis of their understanding of the Ottoman Empire. As noted above, Hoca Sādeddin criticizes Lārī for his treatment of the Ottomans in while praising other sections of his historical account. Hoca Sādeddin refrains from commenting on Lārī's portrayal of the Timurid

era or the Battle of Ankara, and does not question Lārī's portrayal of Tīmūr as a heroic figure. Consequently, Lārī portrays Tīmūr as a brave figure, superior to Bāyezīd, in the section dedicated to the Timurids, but adjusts his style and approach when dealing with Ottoman themes. This chapter thus serves as a challenging and demanding introduction to Lārī as a historian.

The final section of this chapter examined the scholars and mystics of the Timurid era introduced by Lārī. Lārī consistently devoted the concluding segments of his chapters to the introduction of significant figures from the contemporary intellectual landscape within the broader context of his universal history. These figures included scholars and mystics. Their respective works and influences were explained. Notably, the selection of these figures, the manner in which they were described, and the chronological order in which they were presented were all at Lārī's own judgement. However, He praised the scholars whom he admired with extensive accounts of their contributions, while he was briefer in his treatment of those less preferred by him. The length of Lārī's narrations reflected his admiration or familiarity with certain scholars. His treatment of those for whom he had less regard was noticeably shorter. This selective approach underlined Lārī's subjective perspective and the influence of his personal biases in shaping how he portrayed the intellectual figures of the Timurid era. Lārī pays special attention to the scholars and intellectuals who lived during Tīmūr's reign in the section on the intellectual life of the Timurid era. He divides his narrative into three distinct sections: First, he focuses on the mystics of the Naqshbandī Sufi order; second, he explores mystics outside the Naqshbandī Sufi order; and finally, he deals with the scholars of the era. Lārī begins this exploration with Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband and concludes with 'Abdul Ḥālīk al-Ġajduwānī.

The importance of the Naqshbandī mystics in the history of the Timurid is underlined by the strong emphasis on them. Their prominence in Lārī's narrative is underlined by his exclusive focus on this group. It is worth noting that Lārī made a deliberate decision to refrain from providing a detailed account of the political involvement and wider activities of the Sufi order of the Naqshbandī. The careful treatment of the Naqshbandī mystics in Lārī's account serves to underline their unique and central role in the intellectual and spiritual landscape of the Timurid era, despite the silence on their Sufi practices. Lārī mentions only two mystics outside the Naqshbandī Sufi order: Amr

Sayyid ‘Alī Hamadānī and Mawlānā Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr Tāybādī. In this section, however, it becomes clear that Lārī adopts a centre-focused historical approach. This has already been argued in previous chapters.

Lārī's narratives are structured around a central figure, often a shah or Sultan, in accordance with the stylistic conventions of the Safavid and Timurid historical traditions. Here, Amīr Tīmūr is the focus. Lārī constructs the biographies of the mystics according to the chronological order in which they lived. The significance of these mystics is evaluated through the lens of the overarching influence of Tīmūr. This centric approach reflects a conscious historical framework that links the lives of the mystics with the reign of Tīmūr. It highlights their importance in terms of the key figure of Amīr Tīmūr.

In the final section, which deals with the scholars of the Timurid era, specifically those of Tīmūr, Lārī devotes the entire section to discussing al-Taftāzānī. Although the section is titled "Eminent Scholars of the Era", it is al-Taftāzānī who is the main focus of the chapter. He devotes considerable attention to his life and contributions. Only towards the end of the chapter does Lārī introduce another scholar, Mawlānā Nu‘mān Ḥvārizmī. He briefly touches on his role in the intellectual landscape. Lārī's particular interest or admiration for al-Taftāzānī is underlined by the biased treatment in Lārī's account, where a considerable part of the section is devoted to a single scholar. This shows that within the Timurid era, there is a strong emphasis on certain intellectual figures. In particular, Lārī makes a deliberate choice to highlight the scholarly efforts of al-Taftāzānī. This is indicative of his particular perspectives and preferences within the broader intellectual context of the time. The special section devoted to al-Taftāzānī is an important aspect of Lārī's narrative. These mentions are not presented as separate narratives, although Lārī acknowledges and accounts for other scholars and individuals. Instead, they either precede or follow al-Taftāzānī's life and are integrated into his broader narrative.

Lārī's account revolves around al-Taftāzānī and treats other figures as integral episodes in the life of this central figure. By focusing on al-Taftāzānī, Lārī maintains his stylistic decision to focus on a single individual. This approach underscores al-Taftāzānī's paramount importance, especially in relation to Lārī's revered figure, Amīr Tīmūr. Al-

Taftāzānī's importance in Lārī's narrative is further emphasized by his close association with Amīr Tīmūr and the honour he received from him.

In sum, Lārī's meticulous examination of the Timurid era, focusing in particular on the depiction of Tīmūr, the Battle of Ankara, and the scholars and mystics of the time, reveals a distinctive stylistic approach characterized by a centered historical perspective. Throughout the chapter, Tīmūr becomes the central hero of Lārī's narrative, with the scholar adopting a person-centered approach typical of the Safavid and Timurid historical traditions. Lārī particularly emphasizes the heroism of Tīmūr. He portrays him as a figure of admiration and obsession. Moreover, Lārī's analysis of the Battle of Ankara shows a certain degree of naivety. He attempts to emphasize Tīmūr's character by offering an alternative interpretation. Although this approach emphasizes the importance of Tīmūr, it could lead to the credibility of Lārī's claims being called into question. The study of the scholars and mystics again reveals a centrist view. There is a particular emphasis on the Naḳshbandī mystics and a clear preference for al-Taftāzānī among the scholars. The integration of other figures into the broader narratives of Tīmūr and al-Taftāzānī and their positioning as integral episodes rather than stand-alone accounts is characteristic of Lārī's unique style. This stylistic choice is an indication of the paramount importance of these central figures in Lārī's historical narrative.

The question raised at the beginning of this chapter as to whether Lārī represents his own perspective or merely follows the tradition of the Timurid historians allows for a mixed answer: on the one hand, Lārī undoubtedly took considerable influence from Timurid sources and historians, which is evident in the adoption of their narrative frameworks and stylistic practices. Following closely the Timurid historiographical tradition, his historical accounts predominantly follow a hero-centered narrative style. A closer look, however, reveals another facet. While Lārī maintains a predominantly Timurid perspective throughout, his treatment of the Ottoman Empire is particularly noteworthy.

In this regard, his narrative differs markedly from the Timurid-centric approach seen elsewhere. This divergence underscores Lārī's deliberate historical approach, which indicates a conscious departure from the Timurid narrative. In particular, when

discussing the Ottomans, Lārī strategically omits mention of the Battle of Ankara so that it follows on seamlessly from the previous chapter on the Timurids. Throughout his work, Lārī shows a marked balance between fidelity to the Timurid sources and the addition of his own stylistic elements. Notable is his habit of incorporating personal insights and connections, which is particularly evident in his treatment of the scholars and mystics with whom he shares a personal relationship.

Overall, Lārī uses the Timurid sources as the basis for his historiography, but his efforts are characterized by a mixture of established traditions and his own narrative style, thus avoiding mere imitation. Lārī's work demonstrates the finely crafted interactions between personal perspectives, historical preferences and the shaping of narratives within the complex intellectual and political landscape of the Timurid era

CHAPTER VI

THE MIRROR'S FAULT LINES: AN IN-DEPTH ANALYSIS OF THE IMPERFECTIONS IN *MIR'ATU'L- ADVĀR'S* OTTOMAN NARRATIVE

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will examine Lārī's treatment of Ottoman history in his *'Mir'atu'l-Advār'*. It is worth noting that Lārī devoted the final part of *Mir'atu'l-Advār* to the history of the Ottoman Empire, honoring Selīm II when he ascended the Ottoman throne. *Mir'atu'l-Advār* is divided into ten chapters and the history of the Ottoman Empire has not been regarded as the final and most glorious period in the whole of history.

Dedicated historical works are often expected to emphasise the achievements and history of a particular sultan or empire. However, they may also include broader historical narratives or contextualise the dynasty within a larger historical or cultural framework. Numerous histories and chronicles produced under Ottoman rule exemplify this pattern, with historians often devoting considerable attention and detail to Ottoman history, although they also produced extensive narratives ranging from the creation of the world. An exemplary case in point is Muṣṭafā 'Ālī's (d.1008/1600) *Kūnhū'l-Aḥbār*, which spans over 1000 pages across four volumes. While the initial three volumes provide an extensive account of pre-Ottoman history, the final volume's exclusive focus on Ottoman history underscores that the work's primary objective was to contextualize and highlight the Ottoman dynasty within a broader historical narrative. Likewise, Ramazanzāde Meḥmed Çelebi's *Tārīh-i Nişancı* devotes a significant section to Ottoman history, presenting it as the most detailed and comprehensive chapter of the entire work.⁷⁹⁵ This is not the case with Lārī's work.

⁷⁹⁵ Abdülkadir Özcan, *Osmanlı'da tarih yazımı ve kaynak türleri*, 1. baskı (İstanbul: Kronik, 2020), 48.

The section on Ottoman history in the *Mir'atu'l-Advār* is not only relatively short, but also lacks detailed elaboration compared to other sections. The section on the Safavids, while similarly short, provides a more thorough examination of context and detail. Thus, one could argue that the treatment of Ottoman history in *'Mir'atu'l-Advār'* represents the weakest aspect of Lārī's historiographical effort. This view is shared by Hoca Sādeddin Efendi in the introduction to his work *'Tācū't-tevārīh'*, where he accuses Lārī of offering an inadequately detailed and concise summary of Ottoman history that neglects many important issues.⁷⁹⁶

The introductory pages of *Mir'atu'l-Advār* reveal Lārī's enduring ambition to compose a comprehensive history covering different periods and realms. He expressed his desire to document all of the knowledge that he had accumulated over the years, an endeavor that he saw as a pious endeavor that stemmed from his study of the Qur'an.⁷⁹⁷ It is noteworthy that Lārī's overarching goal was not limited to chronicling the history of the Ottoman Empire; rather, he sought to create a universal history that spanned from the genesis of creation to the present day. However, his residence in the Ottoman Empire necessitated the inclusion of a section devoted to Ottoman history in his work. The different levels of detail that can be observed in the different sections of his book can be attributed to the nature of Lārī's compilation process. While earlier sections are more detailed, the Ottoman section is comparatively sparse. This disparity is due to Lārī's reliance on accumulated notes and sources that did not cover Ottoman history extensively. As a result, the Ottoman section may appear incongruous and hastily assembled. It may have been added as an afterthought or for a specific occasion.

Lārī's list of sources is a striking indication of his limited knowledge of the Ottoman Empire. Lārī lists a number of sources used in the compilation of his history, including Islamic history, biographies, the lives of the prophets, universal histories, as well as accounts of various Persian and Turkish dynasties. However, none of the sources he mentions deals with Ottoman history. Anticipating potential criticism regarding the absence of Ottoman sources, Lārī attempts to mitigate this concern by concluding his

⁷⁹⁶ Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tacū't- Tevarih*, 1:265; For more on Hoca Sādeddin Efendi and his Historiography see, Mehmed Yıldırım, "Hoca Sa'deddin ve tārīḥçiliği" (Ph.D., Erciyes University, 1997).

⁷⁹⁷ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2012, 1:9.

list of sources by stating that he also used several Ottoman (*Rūmī*) sources.⁷⁹⁸ Although he makes no reference to an Ottoman source, I will show in the following pages that, according to my research, he made extensive use of Ottoman sources.

- In the first part of this chapter, I will examine Lārī's account of the establishment of the Ottoman dynasty, focusing on how he treats the rise to power of a small clan, culminating in the emergence of a pre-eminent Islamic Empire that ruled vast territories including Anatolia, the Balkans, the Black Sea, Iraq, Arabia, Egypt and most of North Africa. A recurring theme in each chapter of Lārī's work is his meticulous examination of the genealogy of particular dynasties, including their ancestors and the notion of their divine status. I will therefore analyze how he navigates questions of genealogy, heritage and sacred lineage in relation to the Ottomans. Since the *Mir'atu'l-Advār* is a Persian-centric universal history, I will examine how Lārī makes connections between the Ottomans and other Persian dynasties. To help compare, I will juxtapose Lārī's treatment with that found in Hoca Sādeddin Efendi's *Tacū't-Tevārīh*. While I will not assess what is missing in Lārī's account, and will acknowledge Hoca Sādeddin Efendi's observation that Lārī's treatment is terse and summary, I will instead examine Lārī's methodology as a historian and his underlying intentions. In addition, in order to determine the reliability of his historical account, I will examine possible inaccuracies in Lārī's narrative. This section highlights Lārī's emphasis on the Ottomans' military ascendancy rather than their spiritual lineage.
- I will next explore the question of genealogy and the legitimacy of rule in my examination of 'Osmān I (d. 724/1324). The Ottomans originated as a clan of 400 to 500 individuals. After migrating to Anatolia, they rose to power and eventually became a formidable empire. There are a number of different narratives in different sources as to the nature of their legitimacy. As the Safavids' claim of descent from the seventh Imām, Imām Mūsā el-Kāzīm, and the Timurids' and Mughals' claims of descent from Chinggis Ḥān, demonstrate, religious legitimacy is important for Islamic empires. The legitimacy of the Ottomans, however, is attributed to both a sacred and a Turkic descent, as presented in the sources. This section emphasizes Lārī's priority of martial prowess over spiritual authority in the legitimation of Ottoman rule.

⁷⁹⁸ Ibid., 1:10.

- The third section of this chapter is an examination of the fragmentation of the Ottoman Empire, with a particular focus on the aftermath of the decisive battle of Ankara. This battle, which marked a critical juncture that led to the division of the empire, is of great importance in Ottoman history. Its historical significance is further underlined by the loss of central administration during this period, known as the *Fetret Devri* (Ottoman Interregnum). While the Battle of Ankara was extensively analysed in Chapter IV of this dissertation, the focus here lies on the events and developments following this seminal encounter, particularly as seen by the Ottomans. It is imperative to examine the events that followed the Battle of Ankara, given its pivotal role in Ottoman history and its aftermath. An examination of these subsequent events from an Ottoman perspective is necessary because they are inextricably linked to the Ottoman domain. It is noteworthy that Tīmūr is often perceived as the main catalyst for the chaos that ensued within the Ottoman Empire. His actions after the battle have drawn considerable criticism from Ottoman historians. It is in this context that Lārī's treatment of these events becomes an object of study. I argue that Lārī, as a historian, relies predominantly on Ottoman sources for this part of his narrative. However, he selectively shapes them to suit his own purposes. In particular, he refrains from including any details that might cast doubt on the heroic portrayal of Tīmūr. I also argue that Lārī makes extensive use of Āşıkpaşazāde's "*‘Osmānoğulları'nın Tārīhi*" (History of the Ottomans) as a primary source. Although Lārī's account is condensed for brevity, a comparative analysis of the two narratives reveals striking similarities. In general, this section seeks to examine Lārī's approach to recounting the events following the Battle of Ankara, focusing on his selective use of sources and editorial decisions designed to shape a narrative favorable to his perspective. This section demonstrates Lārī's reliance on Ottoman sources while shaping them to maintain a glorified portrayal of Tīmūr
- I will examine the image of Meḥmed II and his conquest of Constantinople in the fourth part of this chapter. Meḥmed II is the only Ottoman Sultan for whom Lārī shows great admiration, among all the Ottoman Sultans studied in his work, from ‘Osmān I to Süleymān I. By "admire" I mean that he not only talks about Meḥmed II's military expeditions and his skills on the battlefield, but also about his character and morals. This is something he rarely does for other Ottoman Sultans. My main argument is that Lārī, within the framework of Meḥmed II's patronage, seeks to link Meḥmed II with specific Timurid scholars who either visited or were invited to the Ottoman court

Secondly, I will analyse his brief account of the conquest of Constantinople. I will try to answer the question of how he perpetuates the idea that the conquest of Constantinople was a sacred affair and how he tries to prove this in his details. This section examines the reign of Mehmed II and the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Although written in a concise narrative style, Lārī's account emphasizes Mehmed II's scholarly patronage and connections with Timurid intellectuals.

- In the fifth part I intend to explore the complexities of the Battle of *Çaldıran* (1514) between Sultan Selīm and the Safavid Shah Ismā'īl. While Lārī mentions this battle briefly in his chapter on the Safavids, he provides a fuller account in the following chapter on the Ottomans. It is clear that the battle offers contrasting perspectives: The Ottoman account celebrates a glorious triumph over the Safavids, while the Safavid account sees it as the failure of Sultan Selīm to conquer the whole of the Safavid Empire. There are several reasons, I would argue, why Lārī adopts the Ottoman view. Firstly, since Lārī lives in the Ottoman Empire and intends to dedicate his work to Sultan Selīm II, he naturally aligns himself with the Ottoman narrative. Second, he found the Battle of *Çaldıran* a suitable platform to express his disdain, and his inclination towards the Ottoman perspective stemmed from a deep-seated animosity and resentment towards the Safavids. Lārī deliberately chooses the Ottoman point of view, despite his knowledge of the Safavid chronicles recounting the battle. Numerous Ottoman chronicles repeat the same narrative. Lārī's argument revolves around the portrayal of the Safavids as recalcitrant entities who have strayed from the path of Islamic faith. This justifies Sultan Selīm's campaign against them as a paramount duty during his reign.
- In the final section of this chapter, I will examine Lārī's nuanced portrayal of Sultan Süleymān and how it goes beyond the conventional depiction of rulers as purely heroic figures. Lārī's narrative goes beyond celebrating Sultan Süleymān's military triumphs and instead portrays him as a saintly and chosen leader. While recognizing his bravery and prowess on the battlefield, Lārī gradually shifts the focus to Sultan Süleymān's saintly character and exemplary governance. Over the course of his 46-year reign, Süleymān's rule was characterized by numerous military victories and comprehensive governance. However, Lārī's main focus is on his just and divine rule. Sultan Süleymān appears not only as a hero on the battlefield, but also as an ideal ruler who is guided by divine providence in all his actions and decisions. Through Lārī's depiction, we see Sultan Süleymān as the embodiment of divine wisdom, whose heart is compared to a

pure mirror reflecting his impeccable character. Sultan Süleymān's saintly persona, free from any misconduct or error, positions him as the epitome of the ideal ruler. Lārī's portrayal of him as *al-Insān al-Kāmil*, the perfect man, emphasizes the belief that Sultan Süleymān embodied the divine revelations of Allah and elevates him to a truly exceptional and revered figure in history. Here, I will explore the various dimensions of Sultan Süleymān's leadership and delve into Lārī's account to reveal the depth of his character and his enduring legacy as a saintly ruler guided by divine wisdom. This section examines Lārī's portrayal of Sultan Süleymān as a paragon of divine wisdom, reflecting prevailing trends in Ottoman historiography.

6.2. Foundations of Power: Lārī's Examination of the Origins of the Ottoman Dynasty

Blessed be the most exalted work that the exalted Sultan, the eloquent speaker, has done in the form of the exemplary Sultan of humanity, who said: "Verily we have created man in the best of stature" (Qur'an 95:4). He elaborates and manifests it, presenting the purest jewel that, guided by holy grace, lays the foundation of the novel pillars of human perception, which is the convergence of rational and sensory wonders, in the path of eloquent expression, adorned with gratitude, the shining armor of every fortress, woven from the threads of the stars, to repel the onslaught of the terrible demons on the back of the trembling earth, and the silver lance of the dawn, adorned with the golden ornaments of the world-illuminating sun, to overcome the bluish army of Rūm and the day of defeat for the dark-hued army of Zang, to dispel the darkness of night on the mountain of ray lines, and the constellations of the citadel of treasures in the valleys of light with many ornaments of fixed and wandering stars, and the spear of the archer Ramah and the string of stars for the bloodthirsty Sa'd, the Sacrifice, to shed heat and sever the limbs of every soul and wound the belly. A grace that has adorned the clarity of thought with the purity of choice in every court, and on the differences of his noble offspring, the noble banner has been unfurled, "Verily I will make on the earth a succession of authorities" (Qur'an 2:30), and with the standard of prosperity, with the length and breadth, the Sultan, the shadow of God on earth, has resounded. And after reciting this discourse and illustrating these circumstances, the praise of the Sultan of the Messengers and the Guide of the Ways is fitting, which is more just than the share taken from the hidden treasure and more precious than the sea around which all things revolve. Sometimes it is glorified in the scrolls of confused writings, imitating the eloquent Arabic prefaces, and sometimes it is depicted in the luminous tablets on the palms of the light-bearing unbelievers, turning the holy sarcophagus into a blessed resting place, boasting of its position in the assembly of names, while the holy and venerable fingers point mockingly at the enemies. May blessings be upon all the family and companions who, under the guidance of the Cloud of Guidance, have followed his path and expressed their poetry by adhering to his symbols and observing his laws.⁷⁹⁹

Lārī's narrative of Ottoman history begins with the inclusion of a single *Huṭba* (here; preface), a departure from the conventional practice whereby a single *Huṭba* is sufficient to mark the beginning of a literary work. *Mir'atu'l-Advār*, deviates from this norm by including two *Huṭbas*. The first *Huṭba* serves as an inaugural address,

⁷⁹⁹ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:903–4.

launching the author's endeavor and laying the groundwork for his universal historical discourse.⁸⁰⁰ A second *Huṭba* then appears at the beginning of the chapter devoted to the Ottoman Empire. This unusual arrangement has led scholars such as Baki Tezcan to suggest that Lārī may have composed two separate manuscripts at different times and later merged them.⁸⁰¹ However, as noted above, it is argued that Lārī conceived of the entire *Mir'atu'l-Advār* as a cohesive work, with the chapter on the Ottomans being an addition rather than an autonomous composition.⁸⁰² Nevertheless, the presence of the second *Huṭba* raises questions about its purpose. Why would Lārī introduce another *Huṭba* before the end of his narrative? What prompted him to inscribe a separate *Huṭba* for the final chapter? I suggest that the inclusion of the second *Huṭba* represents a deliberate strategy on Lārī's part to address his perceived gaps in his understanding of the Ottomans. Thus, in a last-minute move to soften potential criticism, Lārī included a *Huṭba* at the beginning of the final chapter. Careful study of the *Huṭba* reveals its ornate and praising nature, in sharp opposition to the prose that follows. This contrast highlights Lārī's strategic placement of ornate prose at the beginning.

Lārī's composition of the *Huṭba* is a literary tribute that primarily honours God, Adam, and the Prophet Muḥammad, thereby underscoring their central role in the cosmic order. While the Sultan Selīm II is mentioned within this context, Lārī frames his authority not as the focal point of the tribute, but as part of the broader divine hierarchy. The *Huṭba* is lavishly illustrated and richly ornamented, beginning with an implicit appeal for divine blessings upon the Sultan, thereby highlighting his exalted status and oratory skills. The language is highly stylised and formal, drawing on classical Persian literary traditions, and sets the stage for a discourse that praises the ruler's virtues and deeds. Throughout his narrative, Lārī evinces a profound mastery of the verses of the Qur'ān, adroitly interweaving them to accentuate the divine significance of the Sultan's authority. His selection of potent Qur'ānic verses serves to confer religious legitimacy on the Sultan's actions, subtly elevating him to a quasi-divine realm. Nevertheless, Lārī's literary talents extend beyond the mere citation of scripture. He employs metaphorical imagery to portray the Sultan's influence and achievements, associating

⁸⁰⁰ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2012, 1:1.

⁸⁰¹ Tezcan, "Muşliḥiddin Lari," 622.

⁸⁰² Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2012, 1:138.

him with divine attributes such as strength, enlightenment, and cosmic power. These metaphors elevate the Sultan's role, portraying him as a powerful figure capable of overcoming both physical and metaphorical adversaries, ensuring the flourishing of the state and the continuity of dynastic succession. Through these allegorical representations, Lārī seeks to imbue the Sultan's rule with a transcendent aura, affirming both his divine mandate and his righteous governance of the Ottoman Empire. In the final section of the *Huṭba*, Lārī incorporates a concise yet substantial prayer. This prayer reflects Lārī's perspective on Ottoman history within the broader context of world history, invoking divine blessings for the Sultan's followers and encouraging their loyalty. This addition, though seemingly unassuming, fulfils two functions: firstly, it serves to underscore the central role of the Sultan as both a spiritual and temporal leader, whose commands are held in high esteem and followed with unwavering devotion; and secondly, it highlights the significance of loyalty to the Sultan, thereby emphasising the symbiotic relationship between ruler and subjects within the socio-political framework of the Ottoman state.

Through this prayer, Lārī subtly emphasises the Sultan's authority and the mutual obligations of his subjects, reinforcing the hierarchical structure and cohesion of Ottoman society. While Lārī portrays the Sultan as a respected and divinely sanctioned ruler with significant authority within the Islamic world, particularly in the Ottoman territories, his legitimacy is framed primarily within the context of his empire and broader Islamic authority, rather than as universal or confessional rule.

The *Huṭba* thus functions as a profound expression of respect for the divine order, with Sultan Selīm II's authority portrayed as an heir to God, Adam, and the Prophet Muḥammad. Through the utilisation of religious allusions, metaphorical imagery, and expressions of devotion, Lārī elevates the Sultan's status within this divine framework, thereby affirming his legitimacy and power. As previously mentioned, Lārī is aware of the limitations in his narrative, both in terms of depth and accuracy. In order to compensate for these limitations, Lārī employs an embellished writing style in the *Huṭba*. Additionally, Lārī implicitly acknowledges the paucity of exhaustive detail in his discussion of Ottoman history, though this is not stated explicitly.

Lārī notes that an exhaustive account of the achievements of each of the Ottoman Sultans was not possible.⁸⁰³, as was the case with predecessors such as İdrīs-i Bitlisī and contemporaries like Muṣṭafā 'Ālī. Lārī, however, did not feel able to take on this task. Especially in light of his extensive treatment of other dynasties compared to the Ottoman rulers, this aspect of Lārī's argument seems weak. This disparity suggests a possible rush to complete his work, possibly motivated by a desire to present it to Selīm II upon his accession. As a result, the final chapter, which culminates in a summary that lacks important details, may have suffered from this rushed approach. This criticism is in line with the views expressed by Hoca Sādeddin, who claims that Lārī's hasty writing resulted in a summary that was devoid of crucial details.⁸⁰⁴

Lārī's narrative of the origins of the Ottomans states that the Seljuqs migrated from Transoxiana to Greater Iran, accompanied on their journey by a Turkic tribe identified as Ḳayni Ḥān.⁸⁰⁵ He claims that the Ottoman lineage can be traced back to Ḳayni Ḥān, who first settled in MaḤān near Marv Shahijān.⁸⁰⁶ He further writes that after the conquests of Genghis Ḥān, the Ḳayni clan were forced to move to Ahlat and Arminiya. However, after the arrival of Genghis Ḥān in Arminiya, Ertuğrul bin Süleymān Shah and his pious brother Dīn-dār (Dündar Bey), accompanied by about 450 people, started a migration to Rūm (Anatolia).⁸⁰⁷

Lārī's narrative does not elaborate on the origins of the Ottoman dynasty. He ends his discussion of the subject before moving on to the account of Ertuğrul bin Süleymān (d. 680/1281-82 [?]). It coincides with the reports of other historians such as Oruç b. Ādil (died 908/1503), Āşıkpaşazāde (d. 889/1484) and Neşrī (d.926/1520 [?]). These Ottoman historians consistently identify the father of Ertuğrul as Süleymān. However, his father's name is attributed to Gündüz Alp by earlier historians such as Aḥmedī (d. 815/1412-13), Enverī (d. 917-918/1512) and Karamānī Meḥmed Pasha (d. 886/1481). This is supported by the inscription 'Oṣmān b. Ertuğrul b. Gündüz Alp' found on one

⁸⁰³ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:905.

⁸⁰⁴ Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tacü't- Tevarih*, 1:19.

⁸⁰⁵ In the manuscripts of *Mir'atü'l-advār*, Lārī has transcribed the name as 'Qayni', whereas the original form is 'Kayı'. In the copies found in Iran, the spelling is consistently 'Qayni', and this consistency extends to the copies in my possession in Istanbul and Vienna. It is thus clear that this deviation is not merely a transcription error, but rather reflects Lārī's deliberate choice to record the name of the clan as 'Qayni'.

⁸⁰⁶ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:906.

⁸⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 2:907.

of ‘Osmān Bey's coins.⁸⁰⁸ Notably, Hoca Sādeddin, who criticized Lārī for his lack of detail and information on Ottoman history, also identifies Ertuğrul's father as Süleymān.⁸⁰⁹ Neşrī and his historical work *Kitāb-ı Cihannümā* (The Book of Describing the World), to which Hoca Sādeddin refers, support this view. The narratives of the origins of the Ottomans presented by Lārī and Hoca Sādeddin in their respective histories are remarkably similar. While Hoca Sādeddin expands his account with additional lines, the core content remains unchanged. To demonstrate this similarity, I will juxtapose the two historians' accounts of the Ottoman origins.

Table 6.1. A Comparison of Mir’atu’l-Advār and Tacü’t-Tevārīh on Origins of Ottomans

<i>Mir’atu’l-Advār</i>	<i>Tacü’t-Tevārīh</i>
The Seljuqs migrated from Transoxiana to Greater Iran, accompanied on their journey by a Turkic clan known as Ḳayni Ḥān. The Ottoman lineage can be traced back to Ḳayni Ḥān, who first settled in Maḥān near Marv Shahijan. However, after the conquests of Genghis Ḥān, the Ḳayni clan were forced to move to Ahlat and Arminiya. However, after the arrival of Genghis Ḥān in Arminiya, Ertuğrul bin Süleymān Shah and his pious brother Dīn-dār (Dündar Bey), accompanied by about 450 people, started a migration to (Rūm) Byzantines. ⁸¹⁰	When the Seljuk Turks crossed over from Transoxiana to the lands of Iran, the noble ancestor of the Ottoman Turks, Kayı Ḥān, had settled among the Turkic clans in the city of Mahan, on the border of Merv-i Shahijan. As the turmoil caused by the Mongol uprising engulfed the states one by one, they were forced to migrate to Ahlat and to the border of Arminiya. However, when the Mongols finally reached this land, despite its vast expanse, it became confining for you, and then, according to the judgement that it would be more appropriate to turn away and flee than to submit to oppression and injury, it was understood by the wise that sitting down would lead to being crushed and injured. Therefore, it was deemed appropriate to return to exile. As a result, the leader of this noble clan, Suleyman Shah, son of Kaya Alp, emigrated with the whole clan to the land of the (Rūm) Byzantines. ⁸¹¹

⁸⁰⁸ Fahameddin Başar, “Ertuğrul Gazi,” in *TVD İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1995), 314.

⁸⁰⁹ Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tacü’t- Tevarih*, 1:25.

⁸¹⁰ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:906.

⁸¹¹ Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tacü’t- Tevarih*, 1:25.

However, according to Lārī, upon his arrival in the land of Rūm, Ertuğrul sent his son Saruyatı to seek the patronage of the Seljuq Sultan Alāeddin Keykūbad (d. 634/1237). Supported and patronized by Alāeddin Keykūbad I, the Qayni migrated to Qarajatak⁸¹² (Karaca-Dağ), located near Angora (Ankara). During their stay in Qarajatak, they engaged in activities such as extortion, looting and plundering of the lands of non-Muslims.⁸¹³

Table 6.2. A Comparison of Mir'atu'l-Advār and Tacü't-Tevārīh on the Emergence of the Ottomans

<i>Mir'atu'l-Advār</i>	<i>Tacü't-Tevārīh</i>
Ertuğrul instructed his son Saruyatı to seek the favour of the Seljuq Sultan Alāeddin Keykūbad. With the support and patronage of Alāeddin Keykūbad, the Qayni clan moved to Qarajatak (Karaca-Dağ), near Angora (Ankara). During their stay in Qarajatak, they actively participated in actions such as extortion, looting and plundering the territories of non-Muslims". ⁸¹⁴	Ertuğrul Gazi sent his eldest son, known as Savcı Bey, to Alāeddin Keykūbad, the son of the Seljuq Sultan Kaykhusraw, who ruled over the Byzantine territories, with the intention of waging war and jihād. He conveyed his wishes and asked for the designation of a territory where his clan could settle. Sultan Alāeddin Keykūbad, who saw this arrival as a means to true happiness and the strengthening of the state, designated Karaca-dağ near Angora for them. He also indicated the places for their summer and winter quarters. ⁸¹⁵

It is the tone of the narrative that distinguishes the two accounts. Reflecting a clear bias towards the Ottomans, Hoca Sādeddin's account exudes a tone of admiration and praise for every aspect discussed. In contrast, Lārī's style is more straightforward and matter-of-fact, and lacks the overtly positive sentiment that is present in Hoca Sādeddin's account. For example, while Hoca Sādeddin's narrative emphasises the significance of the arrival of the Kayı clan and the presence of Savcı Bey as a cause of great happiness for Sultan Alāeddin Keykūbad, Lārī's account provides a more detailed

⁸¹² It is worth noting that Lārī's lack of familiarity with the Ottoman language is evidenced by the numerous errors in the names of people and places in his account. There may also have been difficulties in transcription, as his spellings often reflect a more Persianized version. While Lārī may have been fluent in spoken Ottoman, these discrepancies show that he struggled to write. These errors cannot be attributed solely to the scribe's mistakes, but rather are an indication of Lārī's own understanding of the language. His limited grasp of the Ottoman language is thus convincingly demonstrated.

⁸¹³ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:906.

⁸¹⁴ Ibid.

⁸¹⁵ Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tacü't- Tevarih*, 1:26.

description of the activities of the ayni clan once they settled in Karaca-Dađ, including their involvement in plundering and extorting non-Muslims to support their settlement. While Lr adopts a more neutral and factual approach to the narrative, this difference in tone underlines Hoca Sdeddin's apparent intention to glorify the Ottomans.

Table 6.3. A Comparison of Mir'atu'l-Advr and Tac't-Tevrh on 'Osmn Bey

<i>Mir'atu'l-Advr</i>	<i>Tac't-Tevrh</i>
Ertuđrul had three sons: "Omn Bey Ghazi, Gndz Bey and Saruyat, also known as Savc Bey. After Ertuđrul's death at the age of over ninety, 'Omn Bey united the ayni clan and continued his father's practice of <i>jihad</i> , raiding non-Muslim territories and acquiring wealth." ⁸¹⁶	In 680, Ertuđrul Gazi, who had dedicated his life to the path of <i>gaz</i> (Holy War), urged obedience to Allah's call, despite being over ninety years old. With a clear understanding of the concept, he imparted wise counsel to his eminent successors before entrusting the duty of <i>beylik</i> (principality) to his son 'Omn Gazi. After that Ertuđrul Gazi migrated from the transient homeland to the land of eternal peace and stability." ⁸¹⁷

In Islamic law, "Gaza" Holy War against the infidels is an obligation on the Muslim community, and in their battles against Christian enemies, the Sultans could portray themselves as fulfilling God's Law.⁸¹⁸ In his account, Hoca Sdeddin mentions the word "Ghaza" several times, while Lr chooses words such as raid, looting and plunder. The idea of the Sultan as a Ghazi was particularly effective as a means of legitimation, as epic accounts of heroism against the infidels also formed a strand of popular Muslim culture, and "books of holy war" constituted a branch of popular literature.⁸¹⁹

⁸¹⁶ Lr, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:907.

⁸¹⁷ Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tac't- Tevarih*, 1:27.

⁸¹⁸ Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1650*, 120.

⁸¹⁹ Halil Inalcik, "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Dođuđu Meselesi," in *Sđt'ten İstanbl'a: Osmanlı Devleti'nin kuruluşu üzerine tartıřmalar*, ed. Oktay zel and Colin Imber, 2. bask, Dn bđn yarn (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2005), 232.

Lārī emphasizes ‘Oṣmān Bey's continuation of his father's tradition of jihād and raiding non-Muslim territories, yet he omits any mention of formal approval by a legitimate ruler, such as Sultan Alāeddin, which Hoca Sādeddin deems crucial for legitimizing these actions as 'gaza' rather than mere banditry. Unlike Hoca Sādeddin, Lārī places greater emphasis on the continuity of jihād within the family, suggesting that he does not regard the ruler's authorization as essential for legitimizing ‘Oṣmān Bey's conquests. However, Lārī writes about the concept of *jihād*⁸²⁰ and praises the Ottomans for it. Lārī's choice of words such as raid, plunder and booty may indicate a different perspective or interpretation of events, focusing more on the material gains of military campaigns rather than the religious or moral aspects. Despite this difference in terminology, both Hoca Sādeddin and Lārī acknowledge the importance of *jihād* and praise the Ottomans for their efforts in this regard, albeit in different ways. Unlike his treatment of figures such as Tīmūr or Shah Ismā‘īl I, Lārī does not provide a genealogical account of the Ottoman Sultans. In contrast, Hoca Sādeddin provides a meticulous genealogy of the Ottoman Sultans, tracing their lineage back to the Prophet Nūḥ.⁸²¹

The Ottoman lineage was traced back to Nūḥ's son Yāfiṣ, an ancestral claim not unique to the Ottomans. The genealogy of the Oghuz Turks, as documented in a number of texts that predate the Ottoman period, traces the lineage of the Turks back to Nūḥ. This connection to Nūḥ, a revered figure in both Islamic and Turkic traditions, imbued the Turks with a sense of sacredness and spiritual significance. It also strengthened their cultural and historical identity.⁸²²

It's worth noting that some chronicles trace ‘Oṣmān's lineage even further back to Adam. While Islamic belief holds that the lineage of every human being ultimately extends back to Adam, not all lineages can be precisely documented. However, a family tree filled with significant figures takes on special significance when it is seen as a basis for political legitimacy and authority.⁸²³ The concept of the Ottoman 'family tree' seems to have emerged during the early reign of Murād II (d. 855/1451). This

⁸²⁰ It's important to note that 'jihad' originally refers to the Islamic concept of struggle or striving, often specifically in the context of military warfare against non-Muslims.

⁸²¹ Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tacū't- Tevarih*, 1:27.

⁸²² Karateke, "Legitimizing the Ottoman Sultanate: A Framework for Historical Analysis," 24.

⁸²³ Ibid.

period coincided with a heightened need for the Ottomans to reaffirm their claim to rule. This need arose in the aftermath of the defeats suffered at the hands of Tīmūr and the ensuing civil war, which led the Ottomans to emphasize their lineage and historical legitimacy as a means of consolidating their authority.⁸²⁴

Lārī's narrative of the Ottoman lineage briefly acknowledges their tribal origins. However, it does not attach significant importance to their ancestry. In Islamic history, the association of a dynasty's lineage with prophets is of considerable importance, as it lends a sense of sacredness to the dynasty's origins and enhances its legitimacy. It is common in Ottoman sources to trace the lineage back to the Prophet Nūḥ, but Lārī omits this detail from his account. In both Christian and Muslim cultural contexts, the ideal and most legitimate basis of authority, whether temporal or sacred, was perceived to be divine.⁸²⁵ Instead, he mentions their descent from the Kayı tribe without elaborating on their background. Lārī's account of the Ottoman lineage seems simplistic and lacking in significance compared to his detailed treatment of other dynastic lineages. My suggestion is that Lārī may have regarded the genealogical details of the Ottoman sultans as less important than those of other dynasties. This may be due to his perception that their legitimacy was more a function of factors such as military prowess or political strategy rather than ancestral lineage.

6.3. Osmān I: Exploring the Question of Legitimacy

A key figure in Ottoman history is ‘Osmān I (d. 724/1324), the eponymous figure from whom the Ottoman dynasty takes its name. It was his reign that gave the dynasty the right to rule and to survive for the next six centuries. As a result, his legitimacy as a ruler continues to be an issue of paramount importance to historians of the Ottoman Empire. According to Neşri, whose work in *Tacü't-Tevārīḥ* serves as a source, Alāeddin Keykūbad officially appointed ‘Osmān as his successor. This act gave the Ottomans the status of legal successors to the Seljuks, thereby legitimizing their claim to Seljuk territory in Anatolia.

⁸²⁴ Inalcik, “Osmanlı Devleti'nin Doğuşu Meselesi.”

⁸²⁵ Fatma Sinem Eryılmaz, “From Adam to Süleymān: Visual Representations of Authority and Leadership in ‘Ārif's Şāhnāme-Yi Āl-i ‘Osmān,” in *Writing History at the Ottoman Court: Editing the Past, Fashioning the Future*, ed. H. Erdem Çıpa and Emine Fetvacı (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 122.

Lārī does, however, provide a brief account of the first Ottoman Sultan, ‘Oṣmān. He describes him as exceptionally brave and courageous. Lārī goes on to praise ‘Oṣmān for his benevolent nature and character, highlighting not only his military conquests in taking control of castles, but also his commitment to religious and social welfare. In addition to his military endeavors, ‘Oṣmān Bey is portrayed as a leader who prioritized the spiritual welfare of his people.⁸²⁶ He is credited with building a mosque and appointing a judge and imam to administer religious affairs, underlining his commitment to fostering a just and pious society.

Lārī notes that ‘Oṣmān encountered a Seljuk empire beset by numerous challenges when he assumed leadership of his clan after the death of his father, Ertuğrul. The Seljukids, under whose patronage the Kayı clan lived, faced great difficulties, including defeats at the hands of the Mongols and losing their lands to Mongol domination. Many principalities under the Seljuks broke away and fought for independence, refusing to submit to the Seljuks during this turbulent period. ‘Oṣmān remained loyal and obedient, allied to the Seljuks amidst the corruption and turmoil reigning under Alāeddin Keykūbad III. Lārī emphasizes that despite the turmoil, Alāeddin Keykūbad maintained a close relationship with ‘Oṣmān because he recognized his bravery and courage.⁸²⁷ ‘Oṣmān remained steadfast in his loyalty. He was successful in every mission that Alāeddin Keykūbad assigned to him. ‘Oṣmān's reputation for bravery and prowess was further enhanced by his victories in battles against non-Muslim enemies.

In order to further emphasize the character and bravery of ‘Oṣmān, Lārī recounts his early campaigns and in doing so shows his own knowledge and awareness. In particular, Lārī mentions the martyrdom of Gündüz Alp, ‘Oṣmān Bey's brother, while describing the battle for Karaca Castle in İnegöl. He gives detailed information on the burial place of Gündüz Alp, known as Kandillü-cam, where a pine tree now stands to light his grave. This is evidence of Lārī's familiarity with local geography and customs. In addition, Lārī makes a conscious effort to demonstrate his understanding of the Ottoman Turkish language and sources. For example, in order to highlight his linguistic skills, he includes Ottoman-Turkish words in the text and provides their

⁸²⁶ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:908.

⁸²⁷ *Ibid.*, 2:907.

Persian translations. Moreover, Lārī mentions a remark made by ‘Osmān Bey when he saw the body of the ruler of Karaca's brother during the same war. ‘Osmān Bey's comment, “*Bu it karını dişing*”, means “*Open the stomach of this dog*”, and the place where this event took place is now known as “*İt Taşı*” or “the dog's stone”.⁸²⁸ These instances are rare in Lārī's voluminous works and serve to demonstrate his deliberate command of the Turkish language and sources. As a historian, Lārī is keen to convey his familiarity with the culture and history of the Ottoman Turks, and thus to reinforce his credibility and expertise on the subject. Lārī reports that in 699 AH (1299 CE), Ġāzān Hān (d. 703/1304) arrived in Anatolia. This led to the capture and subjugation of Alāeddin Keykūbad. This momentous event signaled the decline and eventual demise of the Seljuk Sultanate, with the Mongol rulers taking control of the Anatolian provinces for a time.

In the midst of this political upheaval, many Anatolian nobles sought refuge and support from ‘Osmān Bey. They eventually allied themselves with his burgeoning state.⁸²⁹ According to Hoca Sādeddin, the information given by Lārī contradicts the news about the Seljuk state. In fact, in the Book of Seljuk History, Farāmarz, the son of Alāeddin Keykūbad, states that he was placed on the throne after Sultan Mas‘ūd, the son of Kaykā‘ūs, by the decree of Ġāzān Hān in 697 (1296/97). According to this explanation, there is now a period of time between the events and that year.⁸³⁰ This is a clear demonstration that Lārī is indeed in misgivings about this matter.

In Lārī's account of the origins of the Ottomans, the focus is primarily on the emergence of the principality rather than on its genealogy or the legitimacy of its rule. Lārī's narrative does not explore the lineage of the Ottoman dynasty or discuss the concept of legitimacy in its rule. Instead, the narrative focuses on the merits of ‘Osmān and his courageous leadership, highlighting his role in consolidating power and ultimately establishing an empire. ‘Osmān is portrayed as worldly, emphasizing his bravery and skill in battle rather than his lineage or legitimacy to rule. Lārī praises ‘Osmān for his bravery in winning battles and overcoming adversaries, often mentioning the concept of *jihād* and the struggle against non-Muslims in passing,

⁸²⁸ Ibid., 2:908.

⁸²⁹ Ibid., 2:909.

⁸³⁰ Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tacū't- Tevarih*, 1:32.

without going into detailed analysis. By comparison, when Lārī juxtaposes the character of ‘Oṣmān with that of Tīmūr, Tīmūr is portrayed as far superior. Tīmūr overshadows ‘Oṣmān in terms of bravery and importance, and is portrayed as the ultimate hero in history. In spite of ‘Oṣmān's achievements, Tīmūr remains the dominant figure in Lārī's narrative, which reflects the admiration and reverence accorded to Tīmūr in the historical accounts. Therefore, it can be argued that just as Tīmūr is the central figure in his own story, the Ottomans play a similarly heroic and central role in the story presented by Hoca Sādeddin. Hoca Sādeddin is very similar to Lārī in his account of the origins of the Ottomans. It is true that Hoca Sādeddin's account contains additional details, making it longer and more comprehensive than Lārī's. However, this does not mean that Lārī's version contains errors or mistakes. Indeed, when the two accounts are compared side by side, Lārī's narrative may seem more concise, more like a summary, than Hoca Sādeddin's extended version. But the core events and details mentioned in both accounts remain the same. Furthermore, as the following pages will show, Hoca Sādeddin corrects certain dates provided by Lārī that are inaccurate.

Therefore, despite the differences in length and level of detail, the main text of the events presented in both accounts is constant. In Lārī's account, there is no indication that the Ottomans, especially ‘Oṣmān I, inherited their authority from the Seljukids. Unlike other narratives, there is no mention of Alāeddin Keykūbad accepting ‘Oṣmān as his successor. Instead, Lārī portrays ‘Oṣmān as a brave and courageous leader who earned the admiration and respect of Alāeddin Keykūbad through his bravery and military successes. In particular, Lārī mentions that Alāeddin Keykūbad honored ‘Oṣmān with a specially made and designed robe after his triumphant campaigns, which further underlines the esteem in which ‘Oṣmān was held by the Seljuk Sultan.

While Lārī does not elaborate on the Ottoman genealogy back to the Adam or Nūḥ, he does mention the Kayı tribe. This reference suggests that the Ottomans from this clan were recognized as descendants of Oğuz Ḥān, a legendary figure credited with conquering the world and giving rise to the 24 Turkish tribes. The Ottomans responded by constructing a genealogical lineage that linked their dynasty to the ancient Turkish

Ḥāns of Central Asia. They also claimed descent from the legendary Oğuz Ḥān.⁸³¹ Lārī's inclusion of the genealogy through the Kayı tribe suggests his awareness of the prevailing concepts and debates among Ottoman intellectuals. By choosing to trace the lineage through the descent of Oğuz rather than through Adam and Nūḥ, Lārī aligns himself with the narrative that had gained prominence among Ottoman historians. This choice indicates Lārī's engagement with the evolving intellectual discourse of his time and his adherence to the narrative that had gained prominence within Ottoman historiography. Nevertheless, the question of legitimacy is left unresolved in Lārī's narrative. Strong legitimacy is conferred on the ruler by linking lineage to a prophet or religious figure. For example, as the first Imam to lead the Muslim community to salvation, Adam's divine endowment of sacred knowledge confirms his spiritual authority. At the same time, it reinforced his political authority.⁸³² This is why numerous dynasties claim to trace their line of descent all the way back to Adam. His account does not decisively address the issue of the sacred or political legitimacy of Ottoman rule, although it does provide insights into the Ottoman lineage. Since, according to Islamic tradition, all human beings are descended from Adam, the claim of various dynasties to trace their lineage back to Adam can be seen as a symbolic rather than a direct source of political legitimacy. This claim is less about the practical legitimacy derived from lineage than about the association with the primordial figure who represents the beginning of human civilization and divine knowledge.

By invoking the legacy of Adam, these dynasties seek to associate themselves with the sacred and cherished heritage of the first man and prophet. By doing so, they strengthen their spiritual authority and increase their prestige. However, the universal descent from Adam means that political legitimacy cannot be based on descent alone, since all human beings share this common ancestry. Instead, rather than simply claiming a direct link to the first man, political authority is often established by additional factors such as governance, justice and the ability to lead effectively.

⁸³¹ Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300-1600*, trans. Norman Itzkowitz and Colin Imber (London: Phoenix, 2013), 81.

⁸³² Eryılmaz, "From Adam to Süleymān," 108.

6.4. Tīmūr's Shadow: Lārī's Account of the Ottoman Interregnum

Lārī's historical account devotes its second largest chapter to the Timurid empire, with an emphasis on Tīmūr as the central figure, a sentiment repeated throughout the text. The remarkable confrontation between Tīmūr and Yıldırım Bāyezīd, (discussed in detail in CHAPTER IV of this dissertation), is of particular importance. However, the subsequent events of Yıldırım Bāyezīd after the Battle of Ankara are not the subject of this chapter, which is devoted to the Timurids. Lārī's narrative is significantly biased towards the Timurid perspective, leading him to overlook the Ottoman account in this particular chapter. Conversely, in CHAPTER X, which focuses on the Ottoman dynasty, Lārī examines the reign of Yıldırım Bāyezīd and the turmoil that followed his death during the period known as the *Fetret Devri* (Ottoman Interregnum), which was marked by internal discord following the Battle of Ankara. The central question here is whether Lārī retains the Timurid perspective in his treatment of the Ottomans in CHAPTER X, or whether he shifts to an Ottoman-centric viewpoint, thereby departing from his apparent affinity with Tīmūr.

Lārī's portrayal of Yıldırım Bāyezīd, like that of many other Ottoman Sultans covered in his narrative, is remarkably brief. It resembles a biographical summary. His portrayal of Yıldırım Bāyezīd begins with the ruler's accession to the throne, but fails to go into much depth. Lārī's emphasis on the absence of wrongdoing within the dynasty until the reign of Yıldırım Bāyezīd, attributed to the advice of religious scholars to rulers and government officials, is particularly significant in this narrative. Lārī points out that Yıldırım Bāyezīd's era was marked by numerous conquests. This led to a relaxation of religious observance, which in turn paved the way for the emergence of bribery and other corrupt practices.⁸³³ However, Lārī also acknowledges the introduction of a number of new institutions during the reign of Yıldırım Bāyezīd. Thus, Lārī's account serves to illuminate the prevalence of corruption and administrative challenges during Yıldırım Bāyezīd's rule. Hoca Sādeddin's account of Yıldırım Bāyezīd, however, differs from that of Lārī. Hoca Sādeddin meticulously describes Yıldırım Bāyezīd's campaigns and conquests. Where necessary, he goes into great detail. He also offers insights into the roles of Çandarlı 'Alī Pasha (d. 809/1406)

⁸³³ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:916.

and the Serbian consort of Yıldırım Bāyezīd. Hoca Sādeddin begins his account by asserting the influence of Bāyezīd's Serbian wife in enmeshing him in worldly affairs and encouraging his addiction to alcohol, and then moves on to a portrayal of Ali Pasha as a corrupt vizier.⁸³⁴

In his narrative of Yıldırım Bāyezīd, Lārī relates an anecdote in which the Sultan, in the midst of his relentless campaign of conquest, appointed *kādī-askers* (military judges) in the newly acquired territories. Many of these appointees turned out to be corrupt and lacking in religious devotion, as they were preoccupied with soliciting bribes. When Yıldırım Bāyezīd heard about this, he took decisive action. He ordered the janissaries to discipline and imprison the corrupt *kādī*. An Arab then proposed a solution to the problem of corrupt *kādī*, proposing to replace the imprisoned officials with 70 priests from Arab Istanbul. Yıldırım Bāyezīd hesitated, however, and considered appointing one of his slaves as a *kādī* instead of the proposed priests. The Arab insisted that a *kādī* should be a learned scholar who possessed wisdom and moral uprightness, and that this would disqualify a slave from holding such a position. Yıldırım Bāyezīd then asked why the current *kādī*, supposedly scholars of wisdom, behaved improperly. In response, his grand vizier (Çandarlı Ali Pasha) suggested that the *kādī-askers* might have been driven to corruption by economic hardship. He implied that a regular salary might have deterred such misconduct.⁸³⁵ Lārī's source for this narrative is Āşıkpaşazāde's (d. 889/1484) fifteenth-century “*‘Osmānoğulları'nın Tārīhi*” (History of the Ottomans). While Lārī narrates the story in his own voice with a lesser degree of detail, Āşıkpaşazāde's rendition provides a more comprehensive elaboration. It is particularly noteworthy that Āşıkpaşazāde links this story to Çandarlı Ali Pasha. This is done in order to underline ‘Alī Pasha's allegedly corrupt character. In Āşıkpaşazāde's account, the narrative serves as a means of highlighting the alleged misdeeds of ‘Alī Pasha.⁸³⁶

⁸³⁴ Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tacū't- Tevarih*, 1:214.

⁸³⁵ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:917.

⁸³⁶ Āşıkpaşazāde, *Osmānoğulları'nın tārīhi*, trans. Kamāl Yavuz and M. A. Yekta Saraç, K kitaplığı Anatolia, 28 3 (Beşiktaş, İstanbul: Koç Kültür Sanat Tanıtım, 2003), 133–34.

Table 6.4. A Comparison of *Mir'atu'l-Advār* and *Osmānoğulları'nın Tārīhi* on Alī Pasha

<i>Mir'atu'l-Advār</i>	<i>'Osmānoğulları'nın Tārīhi</i>
<p>During the reign of Sultan Yıldırım Bāyezīd, the Ottoman Empire expanded its territory by conquering many cities. As a result, a significant number of <i>kādīs</i> (judges), were appointed. Unfortunately, many of these appointees were found to be corrupt, lacking in religious piety and involved in bribery. When Sultan Yıldırım Bāyezīd learned of these transgressions, he took decisive action and had these corrupt <i>kādīs</i> imprisoned in Yeni Şehir. One day an Arab tried to amuse Sultan Yıldırım Beyezid by suggesting a solution to the problem of corrupt <i>kādīs</i>. He suggested importing 70 priests to Istanbul to replace the imprisoned <i>kādīs</i>. Sultan Yıldırım Bāyezīd hesitated, however, and suggested instead that one of his own people be appointed as a <i>kādī</i>. Undeterred, the Arab insisted that a <i>kādī</i> should possess scholarly qualities, including wisdom and virtue. Sultan Yıldırım Bāyezīd responded by asking why the current <i>kādīs</i>, who were supposed to be scholars, were involved in corruption. The vizier then speculated that the <i>kādīs</i> misconduct might have been driven by financial hardship.⁸³⁷</p>	<p>One of the Sultan's courtiers was called Arap. 'Alī Pasha proposed to him, "If you can intervene to save these <i>kādīs</i> from the Sultan's punishment, I will reward you greatly". The Arap then approached the Sultan and asked, "My Sultan, send me as an envoy to Istanbul. The Sultan asked, "What is your purpose in Istanbul?" Arap replied, "Allow me to go and ask the priests to become <i>kādīs</i>. Curious, the Sultan asked, "What do you want with the priests?" The Sultan replied, "Instead of appointing priests as <i>kādīs</i>, I prefer to appoint people from my own ranks." Arap insisted: "Your appointees lack education, while the priests are highly learned". Turning to 'Alī Pasha, the Sultan inquired, "Are all these <i>kādīs</i> truly educated?" 'Alī Pasha replied, "Yes, my Sultan, because only educated people can hold the position of <i>Kādī</i>." The Sultan then asked, "Then why did these educated people engage in unlawful behavior?" 'Alī Pasha replied, "My Sultan, their meagre income may have encouraged such misconduct."⁸³⁸</p>

Lārī immediately offers a significant breakthrough in answering the central question posed at the beginning of this section: whether his tendency towards the Timurid perspective continues in the subsequent chapter devoted to the Ottomans. It clearly does, as Lārī maintains a pro-Timurid stance. His treatment of Yıldırım Bāyezīd, though brief and lacking in detailed nuance, is in keeping with Lārī's thematic aims for this section. In particular, Lārī shifts the responsibility for decentralisation, previously

⁸³⁷ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:917.

⁸³⁸ Aşıkpaşazāde, *Osmānoğulları'nın tārīhi*, 134.

attributed to Tīmūr, to Yıldırım Bāyezīd. According to the Ottoman narrative, Tīmūr's post-Ankara campaign caused turmoil, divided the Ottoman principalities among different princes, and led to challenges in governance and administration, thereby promoting decentralisation throughout the empire. However, Lārī presents an anecdote suggesting that turmoil existed even before Tīmūr's invasion during the era of Yıldırım Bāyezīd.

However, Lārī was not the only one to place the blame on Yıldırım Bāyezīd. Āşıkpaşazāde also blamed Bāyezīd for the defeat, denouncing him as a corrupt person - an assessment shared by the Sultan's contemporaries. Āşıkpaşazāde also attributed Bāyezīd's addiction to alcohol to the influence of his Serbian wife and condemned Bāyezīd's vezir, Çandarlı, for associating with religious figures of dubious credentials.⁸³⁹ Āşıkpaşazāde explicitly states that 'Alī Pasha was the main source of the moral weaknesses and decay that could be observed in the Ottoman population. He claims that a major factor contributing to this problem was 'Alī Pasha's relationship with numerous Arab and Persian scholars who were skilled in fraud and cunning.⁸⁴⁰ Lārī uncritically adopts Āşıkpaşazāde's perspective, fully accepting the viewpoint of his source. Lārī's text has a consistent pattern of favouritism towards Timurid interests. For example, his portrayal of Tīmūr and other Timurids is remarkably sympathetic, highlighting their achievements and downplaying any negatives. In contrast, his treatment of Ottoman figures, particularly Yıldırım Bāyezīd, is critical and consistent with a narrative diminishing Ottoman authority and success. Moreover, Lārī's reliance on sources consistent with a pro-Timurid viewpoint supports this interpretation. While Āşıkpaşazāde does not overtly advocate Timurid interests in his work, Lārī's uncritical adoption of his perspective and thematic focus suggests a deliberate alignment with Timurid narratives.

Unlike Āşıkpaşazāde's account, Lārī's narrative does not mention 'Alī Pasha's role in corrupting the *kādīs*. Instead, Lārī's account suggests that judicial corruption resulted from Sultan Yıldırım Bāyezīd's perceived inability to govern the empire effectively. Lārī uses Āşıkpaşazāde's work as a source. He selectively incorporates elements that suit his narrative purposes. Much like modern editorial practice, Lārī selectively edits

⁸³⁹ Finkel, *Osmān's Dream*, 64.

⁸⁴⁰ Āşıkpaşazāde, *Osmānoğulları'nın tārīhi*, 135.

and shapes the source material to fit his desired narrative framework. On the other hand, in particular, Lārī refrains from delving into the intricacies of Yıldırım Bāyezīd's conquest campaigns, Bāyezīd's remarkable dedication and vigor in military campaigns earned him the nickname "Yıldırım", meaning "Thunderbolt".⁸⁴¹ Especially his efforts to capture Constantinople, as such accounts diverge from Lārī's focal interests. Instead, he recounts a brief narrative to underscore the pervasive corruption and turmoil within Yıldırım Bāyezīd's domain. This analysis suggests that Lārī ensures that Tīmūr emerges as a heroic figure once again, absolving him of any guilt. Thus, Lārī's role as Tīmūr's court historian continues. Lārī's account of Yıldırım Bāyezīd ends with the brief statement: "and the Sultan died after losing the battle with Tīmūr".⁸⁴² Although Ottoman chroniclers such as Āşıkpaşazāde attribute to Tīmūr the act of locking Bāyezīd in an iron cage during his triumphant campaign across Anatolia, historians dismiss this story as fiction. It is said that Tīmūr invited Bāyezīd to one of his meetings, where he asked Bāyezīd to drink wine, recalling the bitterness that Bāyezīd felt after losing the war.⁸⁴³

Instead, Bāyezīd died by his own hand, succumbing to the ignominy of his defeat, according to accounts by more recent Ottoman authors.⁸⁴⁴ It is noteworthy that Lārī refrains from providing the intricate details of Tīmūr's involvement in the events that followed the Battle of Ankara, as is customary in Ottoman chronicles. Halil İnalçık has noted that the struggle for the throne among the descendants of Bāyezīd I, which began after the Battle of Ankara, continued until the culmination of the conquest of Constantinople.⁸⁴⁵ For example, a quick examination of the reigns of Meḫmed I and Murād II reveals that many of the challenges they faced during their reigns can be traced back to the civil wars of 1402-1413.⁸⁴⁶

Hoca Sādeddin argues that when scholars delve into the historical texts and study the depictions of Tīmūr, they quickly realise that Tīmūr's main ambition and tireless efforts aimed at burning and destroying nations and bringing various sufferings to

⁸⁴¹ Finkel, *Osman's Dream*, 56.

⁸⁴² Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:917.

⁸⁴³ İsmail Çiftçioğlu, "Tamerlane's Place of Abode and Activities after Ankara War in Kütahya," *IDOSI Publication*, 2008, 124.

⁸⁴⁴ Finkel, *Osman's Dream*, 65.

⁸⁴⁵ Inalçık, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest," 106.

⁸⁴⁶ Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid*, 3.

societies. In fact, this tyrant did not spare the Ottoman territories. With ruthless efficiency, he subjugated and devastated them.⁸⁴⁷ By presenting the death of Yıldırım Bāyezīd as an unfortunate event after the battle, Lārī refrains from blaming or censuring his protagonist Tīmūr. However, no causal link between the battle and Yıldırım Bāyezīd's death is established in Lārī's narrative. Ottoman sources indicate that Tīmūr stayed in Ankara for about eight days. During this time, he sent military contingents to various places in Anatolia to plunder resources.⁸⁴⁸ Hoca Sādeddin reflects on the events that followed the Battle of Ankara, highlighting the disorder that was instigated by Tīmūr and his military forces. He recounts the forced relocation of scholars and sheikhs to Tīmūr's palace, attributing the city's subsequent looting and devastation to these actions. Hoca Sādeddin emphasizes the characteristic nature of such acts, saying that they illustrate how Tīmūr operated.⁸⁴⁹

Moreover, Lārī does not discuss Tīmūr's restoration of the principalities to their respective rulers or the division of Ottoman territories among Yıldırım Bāyezīd's descendants. While it is obvious that Lārī uses Āşıkpaşazāde as a source, he selectively includes only those excerpts and anecdotes that fit his overarching purpose. Āşıkpaşazāde in his history writes that Tīmūr assigned the provinces to their respective governors, reserving the Ottoman territories for the Tatars. After the death of Yıldırım Bāyezīd, Tīmūr hoped that one of Bāyezīd's sons would join him, but this did not happen.⁸⁵⁰ Lārī's intention is to rehabilitate the image of Tīmūr rather than to construct a comprehensive history of the Ottoman Empire. It is clear that Lārī's primary audience was the Ottoman court, as he dedicated his work to Selīm II. His pro-Timurid bias, even while writing for an Ottoman audience, reflects a complex interplay of cultural identity and historical narrative. His aim was probably to present a version of history that was both respectful of his Persian heritage and the Timurid legacy, and at the same time palatable to the Ottoman court. This balancing act served the dual purpose of satisfying his patrons and preserving his cultural loyalties by subtly promoting Timurid greatness.

⁸⁴⁷ Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tacü't- Tevarih*, 1:293.

⁸⁴⁸ Çiftçioğlu, "Tamerlane's Place," 123.

⁸⁴⁹ Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tacü't- Tevarih*, 1:295–96.

⁸⁵⁰ Āşıkpaşazāde, *Oşmānoğulları'nın tārīhi*, 146.

During the period known by contemporary Ottoman historians as the *Fetret Devri* (Ottoman Interregnum), numerous Ottoman princes claimed the throne amidst the prevailing chaos. Tīmūr restored the territories of the amīrs of *Karaman, Germiyan, Aydın, Saruhan and Menteşe*, thereby reaffirming their authority. In addition, through a protracted campaign of raids and pillaging that lasted for a year, he asserted his control over the remaining Bāyezīd lands in Anatolia.⁸⁵¹ There is no mention of Tīmūr in Lārī's narrative of this period, which focuses primarily on the internal conflicts among the descendants of Yıldırım Bāyezīd who were competing for the throne. Lārī has no comment on the factors that were the cause of this situation. After the death of Sultan Yıldırım Bāyezīd, Lārī describes the transition from his control to that of the Tatars in a subsequent section entitled **“Events after the death of Sultan Yıldırım Bāyezīd”**.⁸⁵² By 'Tatars', Lārī means the *Karaman, Germiyan, Aydın, Saruhan and Menteşe*, who allied with Tīmūr and withdrew support from the Ottoman faction. What Lārī does not explicitly state, however, is that it was Tīmūr who was responsible for the restoration of these principalities to their former rulers. Tīmūr himself orchestrated the transfer of power, rather than it occurring organically.

Tīmūr restored the ancestral lands confiscated by Bāyezīd to Karamanoğlu Nāsireddin Meḥmed Bey (d. 826-827/1423), wresting control of the empire from the hands of the Sultan's vassals. On hearing of Tīmūr's triumph, Germiyanoglu Ya'qub Bey (d. 741/1340) promptly pledged his allegiance. Tīmūr gave him protection and restored the province of Germiyanoglu to him. Tīmūr also returned the ancestral lands to the *Menteşe* people.⁸⁵³ As Hoca Sādeddin explains in his narrative, the *Germiyan, Aydın, Menteşe* and *Saruhan* rulers sought refuge with Tīmūr and actively participated in the conflict on his behalf. These principalities had already allied themselves with Tīmūr, taking refuge under his protection and joining forces with him against Yıldırım Bāyezīd. As previously mentioned, Tīmūr had initially promised them the restoration of their principalities, a promise he fulfilled at the culmination of the battle.⁸⁵⁴

Lārī's narrative of these changes revolves around Emīr Süleymān Çelebi (d. 813/1411), the second son of Yıldırım Bāyezīd. He is preceded by Ertuğrul Çelebi (d. 794/1392)

⁸⁵¹ Finkel, *Osmān's Dream*, 64.

⁸⁵² Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:917.

⁸⁵³ Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tacü't- Tevarih*, 1:297.

⁸⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 1:267.

and followed by Mūsā Celebi (d. 816/1413), another son of Yıldırım Bāyezīd. In the beginning, the narrative emphasizes Emīr Süleymān, but gradually the focus shifts to Mūsā Celebi. The main focus is on Mūsā Celebi's reign, which lasted two years and seven months.⁸⁵⁵ Lārī goes on to acknowledge Mūsā Çelebi's skillful leadership, emphasizing his ability to support his commanders and recognize their merits, thereby demonstrating his ability to govern well. Nevertheless, according to Lārī, Mūsā Çelebi faced challenges due to the lack of loyal and honest viziers. This made it difficult to maintain his administration.⁸⁵⁶

In his narrative Lārī provides a detailed account of Mūsā Çelebi's rivalry with his brother Emīr Süleymān for the throne, describing his rise to power and then losing it to another brother, Meḥmed I. Lārī tells us that in the midst of the turmoil at the court of Mūsā Çelebi, Sultan Meḥmed I launched a successful military campaign against his elder brother, Mūsā Çelebi. The result of this campaign was the defeat of Mūsā Çelebi by Meḥmed I. But when Mūsā Çelebi tried to escape after falling from his horse, he was arrested by one of Meḥmed I's slaves who brought him to Meḥmed I's presence. As a follow-up, Meḥmed I ordered him to be executed.

According to Lārī, after Emīr Süleymān captured Edirne, the capital from 1363 to 1453, Sultan Meḥmed I expressed his belief that his elder brother, Emīr Süleymān, was the legitimate successor to the throne. However, when his younger brother Mūsā Çelebi came to the throne, Sultan Meḥmed I took measures against him. Lārī's narrative of the *Fetret Devri*, as argued above, is primarily concerned with the internal strife among the descendants of Yıldırım Bāyezīd. In particular, it focuses on the rivalry between the brothers. In his narrative to illustrate the growing discord among the brothers at this time, Lārī relates a particular anecdote. He records that as Emīr Süleymān retreated, where he came across a village, where they recognized him. And he later died there. When Mūsā Çelebi learned of this, he became enraged and ordered the massacre of all the inhabitants of the village.

In another example, he says that Mūsā Çelebi advanced towards the capital city of Edirne and took control of Rumeli, the region that the Ottomans had designated as

⁸⁵⁵ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:919.

⁸⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 2:918.

including the Balkans. Mūsā Çelebi was suspicious of the rulers of the Rumeli peninsula. As they had earlier allied themselves with his brother Emīr Süleymān.⁸⁵⁷ Tīmūr's official chronicler, Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, documented his master's diplomatic exchanges with Emīr Süleymān, who acknowledged Tīmūr's suzerainty in exchange for autonomy in Rumeli.⁸⁵⁸ Curiously, this aspect is omitted from the Ottoman historical record, while Lārī, who largely adheres to Āşıkpaşazāde's narrative, does not go into this particular detail. In particular, the absence of this detail in Lārī's account obviously emphasizes Tīmūr's superiority. It is worth noting, however, that Lārī relies primarily on Āşıkpaşazāde's writings and does not explore Timurid sources on this matter. While Lārī's account remains factually accurate, it fails to explore several crucial aspects. In particular, he omits any mention of Tīmūr's role amidst the prevailing chaos and fails to explore the involvement of the aforementioned principalities in this struggle. Hoca Sādeddin contends that Tīmūr pursued a similar stratagem similar to Alexander's, who, advised by Aristotle, divided the territories of Iran among numerous lords, thereby sowing discord among them and preemptively thwarting their potential consolidation, empowerment, and subsequent quest for independence. Tīmūr's aim paralleled Alexander's approach. He sought to fragment the Ottoman Empire and delegate authority to various rulers with the intention of achieving comparable results.⁸⁵⁹

Lārī's account of the events following the Battle of Ankara revolves mainly around the turmoil and internal conflicts among Yıldırım Bāyezīd's descendants as they vied for the throne. Beginning with Emīr Süleymān, moving on to Mūsā Çelebi and culminating with Meḥmed I, his narrative succinctly summarizes Āşıkpaşazāde's account. As noted earlier in this subsection, Lārī appears to draw heavily on Āşıkpaşazāde's narrative, albeit condensing it and selectively omitting segments that do not align with his thematic focus. In particular, while Āşıkpaşazāde chronicles Tīmūr's destruction of cities, plundering, and mistreatment of the inhabitants, Lārī refrains from delving into such accounts. Lārī's narrative also refrains from consulting Timurid sources about this period and its events. As such, his account presents a

⁸⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁵⁸ Finkel, *Oṣmān's Dream*, 66.

⁸⁵⁹ Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tacü't- Tevarih*, 1:298.

distinct Ottoman perspective that is characteristic of Lārī's individual editorial approach.

6.5. Conquering the World: Meḥmed II

The reign of Meḥmed II (d. 886/1481) is often regarded as a pivotal moment in the transformation of the Ottoman Empire into a significant imperial power, particularly in light of his conquest of Constantinople, which significantly altered the trajectory of the empire. The following section of this chapter will examine Meḥmed II and his conquest of Constantinople through the lens of Lārī. Lārī underscores the profound historical implications of this event by presenting Meḥmed II's conquest of Constantinople as equivalent to the conquest of the entire world.⁸⁶⁰ Lārī begins his narrative of Meḥmed II by giving him the title "Naṣīr al Zamān", which translates as "Victor of the Age". In a similar way, Meḥmed II is referred to in Turkish scholarly circles as "Fātiḥ", or "Abu'l-Faḥ" which means 'Conqueror'. After his successful conquest of Constantinople in 1453, Meḥmed II adopted this epithet for himself.

Hoca Sādeddin notes that Meḥmed II endeared himself to prominent figures in different regions by inviting gatherings of scholars from different parts of the country to his state palace. He paid them various compliments. By generously distributing favors, Meḥmed II succeeded in establishing strong bonds with respected individuals worldwide.⁸⁶¹ Looking beyond the conquest of Constantinople, Lārī expresses his amazement at Meḥmed II's patronage of the learned. In Lārī's account, the Sultan's personality beyond the battlefield is highly praised. Lārī's portrayal of Meḥmed II's accession to the throne is one of unparalleled wisdom, knowledge, and numerous virtues, surpassing all his predecessors. In support of this claim, he refers to letters from 'AbdulRaḥmān Jāmī (d. 898/1492) to Meḥmed II. It was Ḳushjī who persuaded Meḥmed II to send Jāmī an invitation to honor Rūm with his presence. 'Alī Ḳushjī is reported to have said:

⁸⁶⁰ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:924.

⁸⁶¹ Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tācū't-Tevāriḥ*, ed. İsmey Parmaksızoğlu, vol. 2 (Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1979), 260.

*As long as Samarkand has stood, no one has ever crossed the Oxus to come here as gifted and astute as this young man (Jāmī).*⁸⁶²

Lārī suggests that the praise and gratitude expressed by a famous mystic and poet such as Jāmī indicates the greatness of Meḥmed II.⁸⁶³ Lārī goes on to observe Meḥmed II's wisdom as a ruler, noting his ability to distinguish between the deserving and the undeserving. This ability to judge is evident in Meḥmed II's invitation to Jāmī to join his court in Constantinople, which suggests that Meḥmed II's wise leadership extends to his careful choice of respected individuals for his inner court.⁸⁶⁴ It is possible that his source for this section is Idrīs-i Bidlīsī's *Hasht Behesht*. In this work, Bidlīsī provides a detailed discussion of the morals, character, and virtues of Sultan Meḥmed II.⁸⁶⁵

Lārī quotes two poems by Jāmī that were addressed to Meḥmed II and serve as illustrative examples to support his argument. The first poem that Lārī introduces is the following:

عطا هابی که شاه معدلت کیش
فرستد سوی درویشان دلریش
دلایل رافت و احسان شاه اند
بر اقبال و قبول او گواه اند
خصوصا آن گواهانی که پیداست
فروغ صدق ایشان بی کم و کاست
درخشان رویشان چون برق لامع
ز قران و صفشان صفرای فاقع⁸⁶⁶

*The gifts of the righteous Sultan,
He sends like a rose to the hearts of the humble.
His kindness and goodness are the proof,
Of his acceptance and favor, resolute.
Especially those witnesses, clear in sight,
Their truthfulness shines with undiminished light.
Their faces shine brightly, like radiant beams,
Their praises in the Qur'an, vivid as dreams*

⁸⁶² Hamid Algar, "Jāmī and the Ottomans," in *Jāmī in Regional Contexts: The Reception of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī's Works in the Islamic World, ca. 9th/15th-14th/20th Century*, ed. Thibaut d'Hubert and Alexandre Papas, Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section One, the Near and Middle East, volume 128 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2019), 67.

⁸⁶³ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:923.

⁸⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁶⁵ Muhammed İbrahim Yıldırım, "İdris-i Bidlīsī'nin Heşt Behişt'ine göre Fatih Sultan Mehmed ve Dönemi" (Ph.D., Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 2010).

⁸⁶⁶ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:923.

The phrase is from Surah al-Baqarah (2:69) in the Qur'ān. Here is a rephrased version of the verse: They said, "Call upon your Lord to specify for us its color." He replied, "Allah says, 'It should be a bright yellow cow—pleasant to see.' قالوا ادع لنا ربك بيبين لنا ما لونها قال انه يقول انها بقرة صفراء فاقع لونها تسر الناظرين

Lārī's reference to the verse from Surah al-Baqarah (2:69) concerns the story of Allah commanding the Israelites to sacrifice a cow. Despite the straightforward nature of the command, they repeatedly sought further details to complicate the task, demonstrating a reluctance to follow the divine instruction directly. For example, when they inquired about the color of the cow, Allah specified that it should be a 'bright yellow' cow that was 'pleasing to the eye', implying that it should be visually striking and easily identifiable.⁸⁶⁷ In this connection, Lārī uses this story to make a parallel with Mehmed II. By invoking the verse, Lārī implies that Mehmed II's rule and authority are clear and self-evident, requiring no additional proof or evidence. The reference suggests that Mehmed II's leadership is as clear and unambiguous as the cow described in the Qur'ān, and that there is no need for further verification or validation. In essence, Lārī is conveying that the authority of Mehmed II is as obvious as the bright and pleasing appearance of the cow, and should be accepted without question.

The poem mentioned by Lārī focuses on the generosity and benevolence of Mehmed II, especially towards the humble, as emphasized by Jāmī. He emphasizes that the generosity of Mehmed II lights up the faces of those who are the beneficiaries of his generosity. The gifts referred to in the poem, however, go beyond the material offerings to include acts of kindness and compassion. Lārī states that those who acknowledge and testify to the virtues and deeds of Mehmed II will undoubtedly be witnesses to his goodness. The poem conveys its message in a formal and contemplative manner befitting a composition extolling the virtues of a noble ruler, and is a remarkable example of Jāmī's skill. Qualities such as justice, kindness and generosity evoke admiration and respect. In addition, Jāmī's reference to the Qur'an implies that Mehmed II's behavior is in line with religious teachings and values. What is crucial is that the poem emphasizes the importance of bearing witness to these virtues and the impact that they can have on others.

The second poem that Lārī introduces is the following:

ای ترا ذروه علا مسند
 ملک میراث تو آبا عن جد
 اصل تو تا به آدم ار شمردند
 همه مسند نشین و تاجورند
 خاست ز آنها جهات فخر نخست

⁸⁶⁷ K.Farrin Raymond, "Surat al Baqarah A Structural Analysis" 100 (2010): 17–32.

لکن امروز فخر جمله به تست
مشکل حکمت از کلام تو حل
منطق تو بیان هر مجمل
راه مشایبان ز تو واضح
نور اشراقیان ز تو لایح
طبع پاک ترا که وقادست
ذوق حکمت طبیعی افتادست
بر دلت حکمت الهی یافت
گنج معنی و ملک شاهی یافت
فکر تو زد سوی ریاض پی
شد ریاض خلد از وی⁸⁶⁸

*O thou, the summit of excellence, enthroned,
Your sovereignty, inherited from the noble ancestors of the past.
Your essence, counted since the time of Adam,
All sit as nobles, adorned and exalted.
Pride once came from many sources, it is true,
But today all pride belongs to you alone.
The subtleties of wisdom are unraveled by your word,
Your logic illuminates every point, clearly heard.
The path of the seeker, clarified by you,
The light of enlightenment that comes from you.
Your pure essence, such a divine guide,
The taste of your wisdom, like the sweetest wine.
In your heart divine wisdom has shone,
Discovered treasures of meaning, a royal throne.
Your thoughts, they turn into heavenly gardens,
Transforming barren land into ever clear gardens*

In the opening lines of the poem, Jāmī addresses Meḥmed II directly. He praises his high status and noble lineage. Jāmī praises Meḥmed II's wisdom and skillful leadership, emphasizing his intellectual acumen and ability to lead others effectively. In addition, Jāmī portrays Meḥmed II as being of a pure essence and possessed of divine wisdom, suggesting that his leadership extends beyond the mundane to facilitate spiritual enlightenment. In this poem, Jāmī glorifies the wisdom, leadership, and benevolent authority of Meḥmed II, portraying them as a source of enlightenment and spiritual fulfilment for his subjects.

Lārī's perception of the Ottoman Sultan is shaped exclusively by Jāmī's verses, with no exploration of alternative sources deemed necessary, given that he relies on Jāmī's works. This reliance is justified in light of Jāmī's status as a Timurid scholar under Abū al-Ḳāsim Bābur (d. 861/1457), and especially as a Naḳshbandī Sufi akin to Lārī himself. The implicit trust that Lārī places in Jāmī is evident in his narrative. It is constructed largely on the basis of Jāmī's poetry. In fact, Lārī's narrative is not only based on Jāmī's works. There are also references to other Timurid scholars who

⁸⁶⁸ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:923.

migrated to Ottoman territories. Among them, Lārī mentions ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 887/1482) and ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī Ḳushjī (d. 879/1474). These scholars probably contributed to Lārī’s understanding of Meḥmed II and the broader context of the Ottoman Empire through their writings and their interactions in Ottoman intellectual circles.

Lārī writes that Ṭūsī arrived in Anatolia during the reign of Meḥmed II, following an invitation from the ruler, which he accepted and integrated into his court.⁸⁶⁹ However, it was Murād II (d. 855/1451) who appointed ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī as a *mudarrēs* in the madrasa founded by his father, Meḥmed I, in Bursa, with a daily salary of 50 *akçes*. When Meḥmed II conquered Istanbul, he assigned Ṭūsī to the madrasa near the Zeyrek Mosque, one of the eight madrasas he established, and increased his daily wage to 100 *akçes*. Meḥmed II and the vizier Mahmud Pasha (d. 878/1474) sat to the right and left of Ṭūsī and listened to his lectures.⁸⁷⁰ The wage of 100 *akçe*, is considerably high for Ottoman wages for scholars which indicates that ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī has been granted a significant privilege. Taşköprülüzāde, in his *eş-Şekā’iku’n-nu māniyye*, offers high praise for al-Ṭūsī.⁸⁷¹

However, Lārī notes that Ṭūsī’s time at the court was abruptly cut short. Meḥmed II, known for his interest in rational sciences and philosophy, commissioned ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī and Hocaẓāde Muşliḥ Al-Dīn Efendi, a distinguished scholar of the time, to write a work similar to Al-Ġazālī’s *Tehāfut al-Falāsifah* (The Incoherence of the Philosophers). Hocaẓāde managed to complete his work in a short span of four months, while Ṭūsī completed his manuscript in six months before submitting it to the Sultan. After examining both works, Meḥmed II rewarded each author with 10,000 *akçes* in recognition. However, he bestowed additional honors on Hocaẓāde, whose work was more admired, by presenting him with either a robe of honor or a horse. Disturbed by the perceived superiority of Hocaẓāde, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī left Ottoman territory and returned to his homeland.⁸⁷² However, according to Hoca Sādeddin, Ṭūsī’s preoccupation with the quest for spiritual ascent led him to abandon his official duties

⁸⁶⁹ Ibid., 2:924.

⁸⁷⁰ Mustafa Öz, “Alāüddīn Ṭūsī,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 2012), 433.

⁸⁷¹ Taşköprülüzāde, *Eş-şakā’iku’n-nu māniyye*, 170–76.

⁸⁷² Algar, “Jāmī and the Ottomans,” 71.

in order to purify his inner being. He then returned to his homeland for the purpose of his purification.⁸⁷³

However, according to Lārī the brief duration of Ṭūsī's stay to the envy and jealousy of certain individuals.⁸⁷⁴ It is indeed plausible to interpret Lārī's mention of envy and jealousy through the lens of his own perspective. There may be a degree of personal identification with Ṭūsī's situation, given Lārī's shared experience of migration to the Ottoman Empire. Lārī may have seen similarities between his own feelings of disgrace or discontent with his circumstances at the Ottoman court and Ṭūsī's decision to leave for his native land. However, unlike Ṭūsī, especially given the limited opportunities available elsewhere, such as the closed doors of the Safavid court and the difficulty of entering Mughal territories, Lārī may not have perceived leaving the Ottoman Empire as a viable option. Thus, Lārī's own circumstances may have constrained his choices differently, although his narrative may reflect elements of personal resonance with Ṭūsī's story.

According to Lārī, when Meḥmed II heard of 'Alī Ḳushjī 's knowledge and brilliance in the fields of science and wisdom, he extended an invitation to him to be a member of his court. On receiving the invitation, 'Alī Ḳushjī immediately set off on his way to the court of Meḥmed II. As a result, he was appointed as a *müderriş* at one of the eight madrasahs that Meḥmed II had established, the “*semāniye*” madrasah in particular. Meḥmed II granted him exceptional privileges, marking the beginning of a flourishing era in Ottoman mathematics. It was in Istanbul that Ḳushjī wrote his seminal works on arithmetic and astronomy, while mentoring prominent mathematicians such as Molla Lutfī (d. 900/1494) and Mirim Çelebi (d. 931/1525).⁸⁷⁵ Until his death in 1474, 'Alī Ḳushjī served in this capacity at the court of Meḥmed II. He was buried near the tomb of Abū Ayyūb al-Anşārī (died 49/669) in Istanbul.⁸⁷⁶

Lārī, seeking to underline the wisdom of Meḥmed II, highlights an incident in which Karamanoğlu İbrāhīm (ruled 1423-1464) rebelled against him. İbrahim, the ruler of

⁸⁷³ Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tācū 't-Tevārih*, 2:261.

⁸⁷⁴ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:924.

⁸⁷⁵ İnalçık, *The Ottoman Empire*, 282.

⁸⁷⁶ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:924.

Karaman, instigated rebellions in the regions of Menteşe, Aydın and Germiyan in western Anatolia, while he himself attacked Antalya on the southern coast. Initially unsuccessful, Meḥmed then defeated İbrahim and forced him to sue for peace.⁸⁷⁷ Lārī is of the opinion that İbrāhīm II's rebellion against Meḥmed II was the result of his lack of wisdom. In Lārī's view, a wise person would refrain from opposing a ruler of Meḥmed II's eminence.⁸⁷⁸

Lārī does not delve into the personalities or characters of other Ottoman Sultans with the same depth as Meḥmed II. It remains a notable case worthy of consideration, even if his account cannot match the complexity found in the Chronicles of Tīmūr. This is because Lārī sees Meḥmed II as a genuine patron of learning, and places particular emphasis on his treatment of scholars and intellectuals. Moreover, the three individuals within Meḥmed II's personal circle - 'Abd-Al-Raḥmān Nur-Al-Dīn Jāmī (d. 898/1492), 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 887/1482), and 'Alī Ḳushjī (d. 879/1474) - that he highlights are of particular significance. As already mentioned, Lārī's approach to his subject matter is always to present figures who have some connection with him. In a similar vein, he analyses the character and wisdom of Meḥmed II through the lens of his relationship with the famous Persian poet and mystic, Jāmī. In addition to Jāmī's Persian heritage and scholarly stature in the Timurid era, he was also a prominent mystic of the Naqshbandī Sufī order. Lārī himself belonged to this order. Lārī therefore attaches considerable weight and credibility to the sources he cites, including the letters and poems exchanged between Jāmī and Meḥmed II. It is through Jāmī that Lārī gains an insight into Meḥmed II, making these sources invaluable in shaping his understanding of the Sultan.

Finally, Lārī refers to the Timurid astronomer and mathematician, 'Alī Ḳushjī. A pattern emerges when we examine all three scholars he mentions: Jāmī was invited by Meḥmed II but couldn't join his court. Jāmī was probably never interested in joining Meḥmed II's court in Istanbul. He was afraid that once he had arrived in Istanbul, he would not be able to free himself from the imperial embrace of the Ottoman Sultan. It is said that when Meḥmed II's envoys arrived but could not find him as he had already

⁸⁷⁷ Kate Fleet, "The Ottomans, 1451-1603: A Political History Introduction," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, ed. Kate Fleet, Suraiya Faroqhi, and Reşat Kasaba (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 22.

⁸⁷⁸ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:924.

left for Aleppo, he said: "If, God forbid, I had been forced to meet with this party, they would certainly have insisted on their mistaken plan (*andīsha-yi nā-ṣavāb*). He said: "A decision to go to Rūm would have been extremely difficult and troublesome for a *faqīrān* (Poor/mystics) like me, since it would have been based solely on greed, something I always try to avoid. Remarkably, perhaps because of its inconclusive outcome, the whole episode is not mentioned at all in Ottoman sources.⁸⁷⁹

Lārī, however, does not delve into this side of the story. He only mentions what is useful to him and his narrative. Lārī repeatedly stresses the deep respect that Meḥmed II had for scholars and intellectuals, and particularly underlines the esteem with which he held Jāmī. Ṭūsī was invited and initially joined the court but eventually returned home due to misunderstandings, and ‘Alī Ḳushjī was invited and spent the rest of his life in the court of Meḥmed II. In addition to their invitations to Meḥmed II's court, it is their Timurid backgrounds that unite these scholars. Timurid capitals and cities were associated with all three scholars. In essence, to illustrate Meḥmed II's appreciation of scholarly wisdom, presents these individuals of Timurid heritage as examples. This means that an enlightened sultan such as Meḥmed II recognizes and appreciates the contributions of scholars in different fields of knowledge, such as Jāmī in literature and mysticism, Ṭūsī in philosophy, and Ḳushjī in mathematics and astronomy.

6.5.1. Conquering the World

The prelude to the siege and its aftermath is among the most familiar of historical narratives. For Western contemporaries, it was the 'fall' of Christian rule over Muslim rule in Constantinople. For the Ottomans, it was 'The Conquest'.⁸⁸⁰ In narrating Meḥmed II, Lārī divides his narrative into two distinct parts. In the first part he deals with the character and the wisdom of Meḥmed II, as discussed above. In the second part, Lārī tells the story of Meḥmed II's conquest of Constantinople, which he characterizes as the conquest of the world. Lārī claims that '*the conquest of Istanbul is similar to the conquest of the world*'.⁸⁸¹ According to Lārī, Meḥmed II is depicted as the true "Jahān-gushā" (Conqueror of the World), a title historically attributed to Tīmūr

⁸⁷⁹ Algar, "Jāmī and the Ottomans," 69.

⁸⁸⁰ Finkel, *Osmān's Dream*, 88.

⁸⁸¹ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:924.

by Timurid historians and to Chinggis Ḥān by ‘Aṭā Malek Juwaynī in his *Tārīḥ-i Jahāngushāy-i Juwaynī*.⁸⁸² Lārī suggests that the conquest of Constantinople is akin to the conquest of the entire world.

Despite the lack of significant detail in Lārī's account of the conquest of Constantinople, certain nuances are important for an understanding of him as a historian. In particular, this event marks the first time that Lārī uses the term 'gazā' (holy war) in relation to the Ottoman context. In the establishment and development of the Ottoman state, the concept of gazā, or holy war, played an important role. Within the border principalities, social norms adhered to a distinct cultural framework characterized by the pursuit of perpetual holy war and the continuous expansion of the *Dārūlislām*, which refers to the domains of Islam, with the ultimate goal of encompassing the entire world.⁸⁸³

While Lārī had previously mentioned the jihād, it is here that he elaborates on the concept of the gazā. In his discussion of ‘Osmān I and his campaigns in non-Muslim lands, Lārī mentioned the acquisition of territory, but did not explicitly state the underlying intention or goal. However, in the context of Meḥmed II's conquest of Constantinople, Lārī explicitly states: "*Meḥmed II wanted to conquer the city for the sake of Islam*".⁸⁸⁴ This distinction illuminates Lārī's perspective on the motives of Ottoman military campaigns and their broader significance in the context of Islamic expansionism.

He (Meḥmed II) wanted to illuminate the greatest darkness with the light of Islam and turn his face towards it, as in the ḥadīṣ of the Prophet, "النور في السواد", and to direct the attention of the participants to you, as in the ḥadīṣ of the Prophet, "فَعَلَيْكُمْ بِالسَّوَادِ الْأَعْظَمِ".⁸⁸⁵

Lārī clarifies his point with reference to the ḥadīṣ, emphasizing that Meḥmed II's conquest of Constantinople was driven by a desire to spread Islam. By conquering the city, Meḥmed II illuminated it with the light of Islam. This suggests that his aim was to bring enlightenment and to provide spiritual guidance to a world or a situation that

⁸⁸² See, ‘Aṭā Malek Joveynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushāy-i Juwaynī*, ed. Muhammad Qazwini (Tehran, Iran: Intisharat-i Negah, 2014).

⁸⁸³ İnalçık, *The Ottoman Empire*, 20.

⁸⁸⁴ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:924.

⁸⁸⁵ Ibid.

he perceived to be dark or in need of enlightenment. Hoca Sādeddin further records in his historical account that Meḥmed II articulated the need to incorporate the lands inhabited by believers in the unity of God into the city of Istanbul in order to fulfil the rituals associated with the raising of Islamic banners.⁸⁸⁶ The Venetian Giacomo de Languschi recorded Meḥmed II's statement and quoted him as follows "The world empire must be unified, with a single faith and overarching sovereignty. Constantinople is the most suitable place to establish this unity".⁸⁸⁷

In Lārī's narrative, the beginning of Meḥmed II's conquest of Constantinople was the advance of his formidable army in 857 (1453). The rulers and the people were terrified at the sight of this illustrious force besieging the city. Meḥmed II's primary objective was not plunder or material gain, but conquest in the name of Islam, despite offers of royal gifts and appeals from Constantinople's leader, Constantine (Constantine XI).⁸⁸⁸, who urged the army to take whatever they wanted but to spare the city. Lārī's emphasis on Meḥmed II's commitment to the principles of peace in Islam further underlines the sacredness of his campaign. Although he initially asked the city to surrender, when they refused, Meḥmed II resorted to bombarding the walls with cannon. Through these small details, Lārī emphasizes the holy nature of the campaign, suggesting that Meḥmed II was acting according to the laws and rules of Islam, and that his primary goal was to spread Islam. However, Lārī failed to mention Akṣemseddin (d.863/1459). According to Ottoman accounts, Akṣemseddin, the Sultan's spiritual guide and mystic Sheikh, played a key role in conquering Constantinople. It was his contribution that was considered to be the most important factor in the ultimate success of the campaign. Akṣemseddin's letters to Meḥmed II, in which he described divine signs prophesying victory, are said to have alleviated Meḥmed's despondency and boosted the morale of the besieging army.

Throughout the siege of Constantinople, Meḥmed II constantly sought spiritual advice from his sheikh, Aksemseddin. When the sheikh was unable to predict the date of the

⁸⁸⁶ Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tācū 't-Tevārih*, 2:275.

⁸⁸⁷ İnalçık, *The Ottoman Empire*, 82.

⁸⁸⁸ In Sagharvayan's edition, the ruler of Constantinople at the time of the conquest is mentioned as Kıryan. However, manuscripts found in the Süleymaniye Library indicate that the correct name is Karaman, referring to the ruler of the city of Karaman (Constantine XI). It was this ruler who begged Meḥmed II and his army to withdraw and spare Constantinople. It seems that Sagharvayan's edition contains a misinterpretation of the ruler's name.

city's conquest, he attributed it to the soldiers' lack of faith and advised the appointment of a strict and stern commander.⁸⁸⁹ Thus, according to the Ottoman historians, Akşemsettin was instrumental in helping to conquer Constantinople.⁸⁹⁰

The only detailed contemporary account of the siege in the Ottoman language is provided by the historian and administrator Tursun Bey (d. 896/1491), to which Lārī includes some details of the campaign in his brief account of the conquest of Constantinople. He notes that the Byzantine rulers, considered infidels, strategically placed a heavy chain across Üsküdar to prevent the passage of Ottoman ships. However, Meḥmed II showed his wisdom and ingenuity. He found a solution by moving his ships overland and launching attacks from there. In the end, Constantinople fell on the Saturday of the 20th of *Jumāzā al-Awwal* in the year 857 (29 May 1453).⁸⁹¹ The date given by Lārī for the conquest of Constantinople, the 20th of *Rabīʿ al-Awwal* in 857, corresponds to 31 March 1453. However, the conquest actually took place on 29 May 1453, according to various Ottoman sources.⁸⁹² It seems that Lārī may have made a mistake in his dating. Perhaps he meant to give the 20th of *Jumādā al-Awwal* instead of *Rabīʿ al-Awwal*. Hoca Sādeddin does not criticise Lārī directly. However, he states that the conquest began on *Rabīʿ al-Awwal* and ended on the 20th of *Jumādā al-Awwal*. He mentions that his source, Neşrī, provided the exact dates.⁸⁹³

Meḥmed II did not need to completely eradicate all traces of the city's former identity in order to transform Byzantine Constantinople into Ottoman Istanbul. Instead, by converting Byzantine structures, both religious and secular, to new uses, he sought to give new meaning to the past. Among these conversions, the Hagia Sophia stands out as one of the six churches that were converted into mosques in the aftermath of the conquest.⁸⁹⁴

According to Lārī, after the conquest of Constantinople, the magnificent and world-famous building of *Aya Sofya* (Haghia Sophia), once a temple, was transformed into a

⁸⁸⁹ İnalçık, *The Ottoman Empire*, 132.

⁸⁹⁰ Finkel, *Osmān's Dream*, 91.

⁸⁹¹ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:925.

⁸⁹² Finkel, *Osmān's Dream*, 90.

⁸⁹³ Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tâcü't-Tevârih*, 2:286.

⁸⁹⁴ Finkel, *Osman's Dream*, 93.

mosque. Marking a significant shift in the religious landscape of the region, the call to prayer rang out from within its walls.⁸⁹⁵ This transformation was a symbol of the aim of the conquest, which was the introduction of Islam into the former Byzantine lands. The significance of the conquest was perceived as divine, especially because of Akşemseddin's discovery of the tomb of Abū Ayyūb al-Anşārī.⁸⁹⁶ Lārī sees the discovery of the tomb of Abū Ayyūb al-Anşārī after the conquest of Constantinople by Meḥmed II as a significant indication of the sanctity of the conquest. Lārī narrates that Ayyūb al-Anşārī, also known as Ḥālīd b. Zayd, was the person who warmly welcomed the Prophet Muḥammad when he arrived in Medina and took him into his house.

Moreover, according to Lārī, when the Ottoman Ghazis entered the city, they participated in looting continuously for three days and nights. However, the looting was not noticed by those who entered the city later.⁸⁹⁷ According to Lārī, both the Sultan and the soldiers regarded the conquest as a religious duty, and the city did not suffer much from the looting. It is known that Meḥmed II called on the Byzantine statesman, Grand Duke Lucas Notaras, and asked why the emperor had not surrendered the city to him, thus potentially preventing the damage and destruction of its buildings.⁸⁹⁸ According to Lārī's account of the conquest of Constantinople, as news of the conquest spread to other nations, Muslims worldwide celebrated and prayed for the Mujahid Sultan, Meḥmed II. Lārī calls Meḥmed II the *Mujāhid* Sultan, which means who strives for faith. He also suggests that Meḥmed II's religious devotion played a crucial role in the conquest.⁸⁹⁹ In this way, Lārī's interpretation implies that the conquest of Constantinople could also be seen as a sacred event.

According to İnalçık after the conquest of Constantinople, Meḥmed II achieved the highest status among Muslim rulers. Within the Ottoman Empire, he was regarded as the most important Islamic ruler since the era of the first four caliphs, and throughout the Islamic world the concept of holy war gained prominence as a primary means of gaining power and influence. Meḥmed the Conqueror saw himself as waging war on

⁸⁹⁵ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:925.

⁸⁹⁶ Finkel, *Osmān's Dream*, 93.

⁸⁹⁷ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:926.

⁸⁹⁸ Finkel, *Osmān's Dream*, 92.

⁸⁹⁹ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:926.

behalf of all Muslims.⁹⁰⁰ Lārī also considers the conquest of Constantinople to be the most important of all conquests, as mentioned earlier.

In the field of historical studies, the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople is well documented. Ottoman scholars ranging from Tursun Beg (d. 896/1491), who devoted an entire volume to the history of Meḥmed II's conquest of Constantinople, to later historians such as Āşıkpaşazāde and Neşrī, as well as numerous other renowned Ottoman chroniclers, have extensively detailed the events surrounding this pivotal event. Moreover, the Ottoman administration sent *Fetihnāmes* (conquest proclamation) written in Arabic and Persian to neighboring rulers, celebrating the conquest of Constantinople.⁹⁰¹

Examining the portrayal of Meḥmed II from Lārī's perspective is the main argument here. Lārī acquired his knowledge of Meḥmed II from Ottoman sources, although he was not a direct witness to Meḥmed II's reign like Tursun Beg or Āşıkpaşazāde. Nevertheless, Lārī was greatly influenced by the reading of the writings, especially the letters, between the renowned Persian poet and Naqshbandī Sufi, 'AbdulRaḥmān Jāmī, and Meḥmed II. Jāmī's letters contain effusive praise for the Ottoman Sultan. They highlight his moral and ethical virtues and praise his role as a defender of Islam. Jāmī even went so far as to dedicate poetic works to Meḥmed II, emphasising how much he admired him. Lārī's perception and understanding of Meḥmed II was profoundly influenced by these writings. In view of Lārī's own adherence to the Naqshbandī Sufi order, he was undoubtedly aware of Jāmī's importance within the order and his admiration for Meḥmed II. Furthermore, it is crucial to note that, as argued in earlier sections of this chapter, Lārī's reliance on primarily Ottoman sources for writing Ottoman history is evident in how he treats figures such as Jāmī and his relationship with Meḥmed II. As discussed in this subchapter, Jāmī showed reluctance to visit Meḥmed II's court and kept writing and poetry to avoid travelling to Constantinople. However, due to Lārī's exclusive focus on Ottoman sources, he overlooks this detail as there is no mention of it in these particular sources.

⁹⁰⁰ İnalçık, *The Ottoman Empire*, 81.

⁹⁰¹ Ahmed Ateş, "İstanbul'un Fethine Dair Fatih Sultan Mehmed Tarafından Gönderilen Mektublar ve Bunlara Gelen Cevaplar," *Osman Yalçın Matbaası* 4, no. 7 (1952): 11–50.

In a nutshell, the study of Lārī's account of Meḥmed II in the context of his reliance on Ottoman sources reveals a distinct understanding of historical interpretation. It highlights the importance of considering the selective nature of historical accounts and the influence of sources in shaping perspectives,

I argue that Lārī's narrative is incomplete because it omits Jāmī's reluctance to enter the Ottoman Empire. This omission is not just an oversight, but a significant historiographical gap. Jāmī's reluctance and the reasons for it should be addressed in a comprehensive analysis. The neglect of these details undermines the credibility of Lārī's historical account and reveals a lack of historiographical depth. To provide a balanced and accurate account of historical events, a more thorough account would include and analyse all relevant details. Furthermore, Lārī's reliance on Jāmī's poetry to evaluate Meḥmed II as a ruler is problematic. Poetic and subjective accounts should not be the sole basis for historical evaluation, even if they can provide insight into contemporary perceptions. Historians are expected to support such accounts with a variety of sources and evidence. Relying solely on Jāmī's praise can lead to a distorted portrayal of Meḥmed II.

A more balanced approach would present a fuller, more objective account of his reign by drawing on a wide range of sources and evidence. To the point: Lārī's approach is problematic because it relies heavily on literary and poetic expressions rather than concrete observations and evidence. A sound historiographical argument would require a detailed analysis of a variety of sources, including primary documents, historical records, and other relevant data. Furthermore, the validity of Lārī's portrayal of Meḥmed II as a successful ruler is questionable, especially considering that Jāmī did not enter the Ottoman Empire and Ṭūsī returned after a short stay. This casts doubt on Meḥmed II's effectiveness and suggests that his achievements may have been overstated.

Lārī's reliance on Ottoman sources highlights the complexity of historical representation and the need for critical analysis when evaluating historical narratives. From this perspective, Lārī's account of Meḥmed II becomes a product of both Ottoman historiography and the broader social and cultural context in which it was set.

6.6. Disclosing Hostility: Lārī's Ottoman Perspective on the Battle of Çaldıran

The Battle of Çaldıran in 1514 is an important milestone in the history of the Ottoman Empire and marks a decisive victory. By this time, the Safavid Empire, led by Shah Ismā'īl, had established a Shī'a-centric empire and was spreading its ideology beyond its borders, including into Ottoman territories. Lārī provides a brief overview of the Safavids, including a brief account of the reign of Shah Ismā'īl, in chapter IX of his work. The culmination of Lārī's discussion is his reference to Ismā'īl's defeat in the decisive battle of Çaldıran in 1514.⁹⁰² However, Lārī reserves his discussion of Sultan Selīm's reign in the chapter devoted to the Ottomans for a more detailed account of this battle. Lārī's examination of the battle is limited to Ottoman sources, as noted earlier in this chapter.

A thorough analysis of Safavid chronicles reveals a different viewpoint on the Battle of Çaldıran in comparison to Ottoman sources.⁹⁰³ Ḥvāndmīr's (d. 942/1535-36) *Ḥabīb al-siyar fī aḥbār afrād al-bashar* (*Ḥabīb al-siyar*) is used as a source for comparative analysis with Lārī's narrative here. *Ḥabīb al-siyar* provides an important Safavid perspective on historical events, including the Battle of Çaldıran, offering insights into Safavid strategies, motivations and interpretations of key events such as military engagements. It is indeed remarkable that Lārī, although he must have been aware of Ḥvāndmīr and his *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, does not cite this work among his sources. Ḥvāndmīr, a prominent historian of the Safavids and Mughals, wrote the third version part of his history under the patronage of the Mughal emperor Ṣahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur (d. 937/1530) when he reached in.⁹⁰⁴ Although Lārī entered the Mughal Court shortly after Ḥvāndmīr's death, it is plausible that he was able to access his work but chose not to incorporate it into his own writings. One possible reason for this omission is Lārī's preference for Mīrḥvānd, Ḥvāndmīr's maternal grandfather, and his *Rawḏat aṣ-ṣafā*,

⁹⁰² Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:899.

⁹⁰³ Vural Genç, "Safevi Kroniklerinde Çaldıran Savaşı," *Ösmānlı Medeniyeti Araştırmaları Dergisi*, n.d., 43.

⁹⁰⁴ Philip Bockholt, *Ein Bestseller der islamischen Vormoderne: zur Verbreitung von Ḥvāndamīrs Ḥabīb as-siyar von Anatolien bis auf den indischen Subkontinent*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte, 919. Band (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2022), 77; For more on *Ḥabīb al-siyar* and its versions see, Shahzad Bashir, "A Perso-Islamic Universal Chronicle in Its Historical Context: Ghiyas al-Din Khwandamir's *Habib al-Siyar*," in *Historiography and Religion*, ed. Jörg Rüpke, Susanne Rau, and Bernd-Christian Otto (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), 207–23.

considered one of the greatest Persian general histories of the Islamic world. Furthermore, *Rawzat aṣ-ṣafā* was widely read in Mughal India.⁹⁰⁵

In addition, Ḥvāndmīr's work was originally written under the patronage of the Safavids, which suggests a possible bias towards their point of view. As a historian, Lārī may have been aware of this bias and made a conscious decision not to use *Ḥabīb al-siyar* in order to maintain the objectivity of his narrative. This decision underlines Lārī's awareness of the various influences and biases that are inherent in historical sources and his commitment to presenting a balanced account of events. Lārī was confident that the Ottoman intellectual elite would be primarily interested in the Ottoman section of his work, as discussed in Chapter IV. Lārī anticipated that his readership would primarily engage with and critique his account of Ottoman history, recognizing that they were less likely to scrutinize his knowledge of earlier Islamic empires, the Mongols or the Timurids. As a result, he did not feel the need to alter his account of the Battle of Ankara to conform more closely to an Ottoman perspective.

In the case of the Battle of *Çaldıran*, however, Lārī realized that he needed to present a comprehensive Ottoman viewpoint to meet the potential scrutiny and expectations of an Ottoman audience. The Amasya peace treaty with the Safavids was signed in 1555 and was in force until the 1560s. This agreement included the return of Prince Bāyezīd (d. 969/1562), the son of Süleyman, who had sought refuge at Shah Ṭahmāsp's court in 1559 after losing the struggle to succeed their father to his brother Selīm. Extensive correspondence, diplomacy and negotiations between the two sides resulted in the Shah surrendering Bāyezīd to an Ottoman delegation in 1562 for a substantial sum of gold. It was during this period that Selīm, who was still crown prince, had promised the Shah Ṭahmāsp that he would abide by the peace treaty.⁹⁰⁶ He honored this commitment and did not violate the agreement. Therefore, how Lārī presents his narrative may also be influenced by these political conditions.

This section of the chapter is an examination of Lārī's account of the battle of *Çaldıran*. I suggest that Lārī's account not only reflects an Ottoman perspective, but also

⁹⁰⁵ Muzaffar Alam, "The Culture and Politics of Persian in Precolonial Hindustan," in *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia*, ed. Sheldon I. Pollock (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 163.

⁹⁰⁶ Güngörürler, *The Ottoman Empire and Safavid Iran, 1639-1682*, 4.

embodies feelings of animosity and resentment towards the Safavids. It is my opinion that Lārī's account of the Battle of *Çaldıran* is similar to his account of the Battle of Ankara. Similar to his portrayal of Timur as a saintly hero in the Battle of Ankara, Lārī portrays Sultan Selīm as a heroic figure. In Ottoman historiography, Selīm I is portrayed through a wide variety of images that alternate between depictions of heroism and cruelty. The allegation that "40,000 Alevi were massacred by Sultan Selīm" has effectively become an unchallenged and widely accepted notion, often repeated as a dominant paradigm in contemporary social and political discourse.⁹⁰⁷ This lack of clarity is also reflected in the uncertain meanings associated with his epithet, which he received after his death. Nevertheless, Selīm's less than favorable memory as 'the Cruel' (*Yāvuz*) is due to his controversial ascension to the Ottoman throne and his authoritarian style of governance.⁹⁰⁸ However, the modern historiography of the Ottoman Empire portrays Selīm as the most important defender of the Sunnī faith from a religious point of view. Many chronicles praise his efforts during his reign against the Georgian infidels and the heretic Kızılbaş.⁹⁰⁹

In the context of the Battle of *Çaldıran*, however, Selīm is not praised out of genuine admiration. Rather, it is a manifestation of Lārī's antipathy towards Shah Ismā'īl and Safavid ideology. Lārī's narrative of the Battle of *Çaldıran* and other Safavid events is constructed solely from an Ottoman perspective. Lārī's account of the *Çaldıran* campaign is examined by means of one of his poems. In addition, a poem provided by Ḥvāndmīr in his *Ḥabīb al-siyar* will be examined. This will allow for a comparative analysis of the contrasting perspectives presented in the two narratives.

هوا شد ز دود تفنگ پر ز میغ
 درو برق روشن درخشنده تیغ
 و یا آسمان شد مثال سحاب
 فروریخت از چشن سیاره آب
 در آن دودناک ابر دریا ستیز
 تفک مهرها هر طرف ژاله ریز
 به یک لحظه توپ قیامت نشان
 برآورد دود از زمین و زمان
 چه توپ ازدهایی شده آشکار
 درون پر ز مهر و دهان پر ز نار⁹¹⁰

⁹⁰⁷ Feridun M. Emecen, *Yavuz Sultan Selim: zamanın İskenderi şarkın fatihi*, Yitik Hazine yayınları 42 (İstanbul: Yitik Hazine Yayınları, 2010), 95.

⁹⁰⁸ Çıpa, *The Making of Selīm*, 2.

⁹⁰⁹ Ibid., 10.

⁹¹⁰ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:940.

*The air was filled with the smoke of guns, full of sparks that shone like swords,
 Or the sky turned to clouds that resembled a veil,
 Planets fell from their orbits,
 In that smoky cloud, the sea fought a battle,
 Sunbeams scattered like arrows in every direction,
 For a moment the cannon became the sign of the end,
 Smoke rose from the earth and time,
 What cannons they became, like visible dragons?
 Filled with love within and mouths filled with fire*

The poem narrated by Lārī emphasizes conflict, chaos, and destruction during the war. It portrays a world in turmoil, where even the elements are swept up in the violence. According to Lārī's account, the war caused the Safavids to suffer a great defeat. Suggesting that the effects of conflict go beyond the physical, this poem illustrates the chaos and turmoil on the battlefield.

However, a contrasting account of the battle is presented by another poem when we examine Ḥvāndmīr's narrative.

به پیش عدو باز گرد و بگوی
 که ای ناگشته با سروران رزم جوی
 من اینک رسیم به میدان جنگ
 به نیروی شیر و بخشم پلنگ
 کشم به سر رومیان تیغ تیز
 بدیشان نمایم طریق ستیز
 ز خون دلیران مردم شکار
 همه دشت هامون کنم لاله زار
 بنوک سنان سعادت هجوم
 جهان را کنم پاک از خیل روم⁹¹¹

*Turn, face the enemy, and declare boldly,
 O matchless warrior in the fierce air of the field,
 Here I stand bold on this battlefield,
 With the strength of a lion and the grip of a leopard.
 I'll wield my sword sharply against the Rūm fight,
 And lead them through the way of conflict.
 From the blood of brave hearts, I'll seek my prey,
 Turning fields into tulips, so unique.
 With joy's edge I'll charge, fierce and free,
 To purge the world of Rūm's tyranny*

Ḥvāndmīr's poem, however, presents a very different perspective. Through the voice of Shah Ismā'īl, it exudes bravery and determination in the face of the Ottomans. As Shah Ismā'īl rallies his army to boldly face the enemy, the tone is one of courage and readiness for battle. According to the Safavid chronicles, the Ottomans and Sultan Selīm were aware of the emergence in Persia of a powerful Shah, Shah Ismā'īl, known for his conquests of various territories and with intentions of annexing Ottoman

⁹¹¹ Khvānd Mīr and Dabīr Siyāqī, *Ḥabīb al-siyar fī akhbār al-bashar*, 544.

lands.⁹¹² To emphasize their strength and prowess as warriors, the Safavids are described as lions and leopards. Despite acknowledging the dangers of battle, the poem emphasizes the readiness of the Safavid army under the leadership of Shah Ismā‘īl to engage in combat. The line “*From the blood of brave hearts I’ll seek my prey*” conveys a willingness to confront the enemy even in the midst of bloodshed, underlining the profound significance of the battle for the Safavids. The line ‘With joy’s edge I’ll charge, fierce and free’ is particularly striking, conveying a sense of jubilation and liberation, suggesting belief in their cause’s righteousness. In addition, the final line “*To purge the world of Rūm’s tyranny*” encapsulates the ultimate goal of the battle, which is the liberation of the world from Ottoman oppression. The Battle of Çaldıran is legitimized differently in Ottoman and Safavid sources. Ottoman sources justify it as the elimination of a religious threat, while Safavid sources view it as a struggle for sovereignty driven by political reasons. According to Safavid sources, the Ottoman Empire aimed to seize new territories and invade Iran, which they describe as having a desire to conquer and invade.⁹¹³

In *‘ālam ārā-yı Shah Ismā‘īl*, it is recorded that Sultan Selīm claimed that the province of Diyarbakir was his inheritance.⁹¹⁴ He demanded its return before the battle. Emecen notes that if these allegations, which have no corroboration in Ottoman sources, are true, it would mean that Selīm was trying to construct a political justification for a war that he had already made up his mind to wage.⁹¹⁵

In the early sixteenth century, the Ottoman subjects who sided with the Safavid faction included not only nomads, tribesmen and urban dwellers, but also disaffected tīmār holders, at a time when the influence of Shah Ismā‘īl’s politico-religious movement was spreading throughout Anatolia.⁹¹⁶ Shah Ismā‘īl was remarkably successful in crafting a sovereign image that portrayed him as an unbeatable warrior, effectively positioning himself as a contender for the illustrious legacy of ancient Iranian kings, whose imperial title of Shah he adopted.⁹¹⁷ In 1511, an uprising led by Şāhķulu (d.

⁹¹² Genç, “Safevi Kroniklerinde Çaldıran Savaşı,” 44.

⁹¹³ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁹¹⁴ “‘ālam Ārā-Yı Shah Ismā‘īl” (Tahran, n.d.), 305, KitabĤāne-i Majlis-i Shura.

⁹¹⁵ Emecen, *Yavuz Sultan Selim*, 94.

⁹¹⁶ Çıpa, *The Making of Selim*, 7.

⁹¹⁷ Kaya Şahin, *Peerless among Princes: The Life and Times of Sultan Süleymān* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2023), 40, doi:10.1093/oso/9780197531631.001.0001.

917/1511) took place in the territories of Karaman, Sivas, and Teke. This was followed by Nur-Ali Khalifa's insurgency in the regions of Tokat and Erzincan in 1512. The governor of Konya, Prince Şehinşāh, together with Prince Murād Çelebi, who supported Şāhḳulu, set fire to Tokat, which was to ally itself with Nūr-‘Alī Ḥalīfe, and Prince Aḥmed, his father, sought refuge with Shah Ismā‘īl.⁹¹⁸ This movement had caused considerable upheaval in Anatolia over the previous decade, resulting in widespread riots and rebellions that destabilised the order and governance of the region. In addition, many areas experienced significant population loss as some people, having abandoned their villages and lands, sought refuge with Shah Ismā‘īl. In this highly turbulent context, nomadic Turkmen tribes, driven in part by their religious inclinations, supported the movement.⁹¹⁹ These events were perceived as a direct challenge to the authority of the Ottoman Sultan by Shah Ismā‘īl.⁹²⁰ Feridun Emecen notes that when Selīm ascended the throne, the most pressing issue that demanded his attention was undoubtedly the question of Shah Ismā‘īl.⁹²¹

Beyond its geopolitical ramifications, however, the significance of the Battle of *Çaldıran* is profound. It has a deep significance in Ottoman relations, not only in military terms, but also in social and religious terms.⁹²² It took more than military might to consolidate Ottoman supremacy in the Islamic world. The political and ideological challenges posed by the Safavids and Mamluks also required Selīm to develop a unified theological response.⁹²³ According to Ottoman sources, for Sultan Selīm and the victorious governor Hadım Sinan Pasha (d. 922/1517), the imperative of eliminating the oppressive Safavid faction and eradicating the heretical, idolatrous influence outweighed the urgency of fighting external adversaries such as the Franks and the Tatars.⁹²⁴ Scholars argue that Selīm had been considering a shift towards engaging with Safavid Iran since his time as a prince,⁹²⁵ and he made the Safavid threat

⁹¹⁸ M.C. Şehabeddin Tekindağ, “Yeni Kaynak ve Vesikaların Işığında Yavuz Sultan Selīm’in İran Seferi,” *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Matbaası*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi, 17, no. 22 (1978): 52.

⁹¹⁹ Emecen, *Yavuz Sultan Selim*, 87.

⁹²⁰ Vural Genç, “Safevi Kroniklerinde Çaldıran Savaşı,” *Osmanlı Medeniyeti Araştırmaları Dergisi*, n.d., 45.

⁹²¹ Emecen, *Yavuz Sultan Selim*, 87.

⁹²² Genç, “Safevi Kroniklerinde Çaldıran Savaşı,” 43.

⁹²³ H. Erdem Çıpa, *The Making of Selīm: Succession, Legitimacy, and Memory in the Early Modern Ottoman World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017), 6.

⁹²⁴ Hicabi Kırılgaç, “İdris-i Bidlīsī Selīm Şāh-nāme” (Ph.D., Ankara Üniversitesi, 1995), 134.

⁹²⁵ Genç, “Safevi Kroniklerinde Çaldıran Savaşı,” 44.

a priority during his reign after ascending the throne. Before his father's death, Selīm tried to prevent the involvement of certain soldiers in Persia by launching the Georgian campaign and instigating a confrontation with the Shiites. His aim was to deal a decisive blow to the Anatolian Kızılbaş and to suppress the growing links between the Kızılbaş and the Safavids.⁹²⁶

Events after Selīm's accession on 24 April 1513 are further evidence of his intentions. In pursuit of this goal, Selīm sought the issuance of religious edicts in support of his cause. The importance of this issue for Sultan Selīm is highlighted by the numerous *fatwas* and treatises written by Sunnī scholars.⁹²⁷ With the approval of these decrees, Selīm orchestrated the methodical slaughter of Shah Ismā‘īl's Anatolian supporters before launching the *Çaldıran* campaign.⁹²⁸ While Selīm was determined to campaign against the Safavids, it is equally clear that he was not inclined to engage in direct conflict, despite Shah Ismā‘īl's antagonistic stance.⁹²⁹

The reason for this hostility towards the Safavids is also explained in the Safavid chronicles. According to available sources, Shah Ismā‘īl did not congratulate Sultan Selīm on his accession because of his father's violent seizure of the throne, and for this reason he did not send an envoy.⁹³⁰ H̄vāndmīr's narrative suggests that the taste of power often leads individuals to become insatiable in wanting more. According to him, Sultan Selīm became arrogant and harbored ambitions of becoming a world conqueror after ascending the throne. Sultan Selīm forced his army to march on Tabriz because of his newfound arrogance.⁹³¹ He states that

The conscience of the receptive hostile feast, adorned with the table of splendor and majesty, the goblet of world sovereignty, and the wine of the divine caliphate, has such a quality that when it reaches the taste of Selīm and the temperament of direct prosperity, it does not incite in such a way as to open the doors of joy and happiness on the face of the world for the intoxicated souls of the malevolent feast of heaven. After drinking the wine of power and the wealth of the arrogant army, Selīm became determined to conquer Tabriz.⁹³²

⁹²⁶ Tekindağ, “Yavuz Sultan Selīm’in İran Seferi,” 53.

⁹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁹²⁸ Çıpa, *The Making of Selīm*, 5.

⁹²⁹ Emecen, *Yavuz Sultan Selīm*, 87.

⁹³⁰ Genç, “Safevi Kroniklerinde Çaldıran Savaşı,” 48.

⁹³¹ Khvānd Mīr and Dabīr Siyāqī, *Ḥabīb al-siyar fī akhbār al-bashar*, 544.

⁹³² *Ibid.*

İdrīs-i Bidlīsī however argues that the Safavids initially rose to power by taking advantage of the existing conditions of poverty and social vulnerability of the earlier Persian monarchies including the Turkmens and the elite class. He observes, however, that their current strategy revolves around the expansion of their royal authority and the Sultanates in order to foment dissent and pursue self-serving ambitions, thereby disregarding religious obligations and encouraging rebellion and corruption.⁹³³ Sultan Selīm launched a campaign against Shah Ismā‘īl of the Safavid Empire in response to growing Shī‘a sympathies among his janissaries and other factions within the Ottoman Empire, and to curb their influence.⁹³⁴

Victory at *Çaldıran* served to validate Selīm, who had recently succeeded his father Bāyezīd II (d. 918/1512), as Sultan. Selīm's decisive leadership demonstrated his abilities as a skilled military commander, demonstrating his military prowess and tactical acumen to both his troops and his opponents. This victory cemented Selīm's reputation as a Sultan known for his willingness to undertake rapid and successful military campaigns, further cementing his position as a powerful leader within the Ottoman Empire. According to H̄vāndmīr, upon his accession to the throne, Sultan Selīm I broke with the established customs of his predecessors and assumed a new role of supreme authority, asserting himself as the dominant ruler of the empire. He chose the path of defiance and instigated the beginning of confrontation and conflict. During the twentieth and ninth months of his reign, he assembled an army from the neighboring provinces. Each soldier stood tall, like serpents' peaks emerging from desolate sands. They drove the arrowheads of fate into the earth's core, leaving an indelible mark of death and infamy on the battlefield.⁹³⁵ The Safavid chronicles state that the battle did not end as described, leading to preparations for another confrontation.⁹³⁶ On the other hand, some contemporary historians have argued that the Ottomans did not achieve a decisive victory in the battle. Instead, they faced difficult conditions and suffered significant casualties, an indication that the battle ended without a clear resolution.⁹³⁷

⁹³³ Kılancı, “Selīm Şāh-nāme,” 131.

⁹³⁴ Çıpa, *The Making of Selim*, 30.

⁹³⁵ Khvānd Mīr and Dabīr Siyāqī, *Habīb al-siyar fī akhbār al-bashar*, 544.

⁹³⁶ Genç, “Safevi Kroniklerinde Çaldıran Savaşı,” 46.

⁹³⁷ Emecen, *Yavuz Sultan Selim*, 143.

From an Ottoman perspective, Lārī discusses the battle of *Çaldıran* and the dissemination of news and discourse about the state of Shah Ismā‘īl and his administration. He highlights Persia, or the Safavid Empire, as a region where scholars, intellectuals, and artists settled. Lārī quotes a ḥadiṣ attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad in which he states, *"If faith had been in the Pleiades, there would have been a Persian man who would have been its eater"*⁹³⁸. This ḥadiṣ is a narration of a conversation among the Prophet's companions about people who would be outstanding in faith after them. The Prophet mentions Salmān al-Fārisī and his companions as having exemplified the Faith. The purpose of quoting this ḥadiṣ is to emphasize the sincerity and devotion of Salmān al-Fārisī and his companions. They were from Persia. The phrase conveys the idea that they would wholeheartedly embrace and uphold their faith regardless of the adversities they faced.⁹³⁹ Lārī notes that during the reign of Shah Ismā‘īl, there was a change in beliefs and attitudes. He reports: *"During the reign of Shah Ismā‘īl, the court of Sultan Selīm received reports of a deteriorating situation for the people of Persia."*⁹⁴⁰

Lārī suggests that under the political rule of Shah Ismā‘īl, the brilliance of scholars was diminishing. It is a poignant reflection, alluding to his own circumstances, that he mentions the decline of scholars. Lārī shares similar views to those expressed earlier about the Safavids, and in this section of the narrative he again highlights the challenges faced by scholars under their rule. Interestingly, in his previous chapter on the Safavids, Lārī did not mention any criticism of the reign of Shah Ismā‘īl, reserving such criticism for Shah Ṭahmāsp. Lārī had previously claimed that Shah Ismā‘īl was not as harsh as his son Shah Ṭahmāsp and not as vehemently anti-Sunnī as his successor.⁹⁴¹ But in this section Lārī attributes such deficiencies to Shah Ismā‘īl. The shift in Lārī's narrative suggests that he is strategically framing his own struggles as a scholar. In order to legitimize his migration and establish a firm foundation for his position, he portrays Shah Ismā‘īl in a negative light.

⁹³⁸ "لَوْ كَانَ الدِّينُ عِنْدَ الثَّرَيَا، لَذَهَبَ بِهِ رَجُلٌ مِّنْ فَارِسٍ"

⁹³⁹ Alawi Abdulgader Alsaggaf, "لموسوعة الحديثية," *Aldorar Alsaniyyah Islamic Website*, accessed February 29, 2024, <https://dorar.net/hadis/sharh/744>.

⁹⁴⁰ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:939.

⁹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 2:899.

This portrayal could potentially lead to becoming recognised and promoted within the Ottoman Court. Therefore, in order to serve his personal interests and aspirations, Lārī seems to have redirected his hostility from Ṭahmāsp to his father Ismā‘īl. Lārī criticizes Shah Ismā‘īl and his governmental policies, claiming that they deviate from the path followed by devout followers of Islam. According to Lārī, they do not uphold the ideals that were embodied by the Prophet's esteemed companion, Salmān al-Fārisī.

The atmosphere has been clouded with denial, reverence for prophetic traditions has been eroded, and esteemed predecessors referenced in the Qur'an as 'the truthful' have been equated only to spew nonsensical discourse incessantly, alongside unabashed mockery and curses.⁹⁴²

He claims that the Safavids and their successors may claim that they are the descendants of Salmān al-Fārisī and ask for forgiveness. However, Lārī believes that their hearts are corrupt and their minds are filled with disbelief, making them unworthy of forgiveness.⁹⁴³ Lārī is in favor of conflict with the Safavids and is of the opinion that they should not be absolved of their wrongdoings at all. He also believes that the Safavids can no longer be considered believers, as the essence of faith has left their hearts.

According to Lārī, the Safavids are not aware of the true reality of their situation. They consider themselves righteous and justified. They need a reality check to remind them of their actual deeds. Lārī suggests that Sultan Selīm and the Ottomans will be the ones to bring this reality to their attention on the battlefield. He claims that the Safavids have strayed too far from the right path and committed such terrible acts that they will seek forgiveness when they realize their mistakes. Lārī compares their situation to that of a person who looks into a mirror and is so disgusted by his own ugliness and misdeeds that he has the urge to spit at his own reflection.⁹⁴⁴ He emphasizes that the heart is reflected in the face, and therefore the sight of their own unsightly faces in the mirror will be a poignant reminder of their misdeeds and cause them to seek a change in their ways. Lārī's ideas about the Safavids deviating from the true path of faith and needing to be corrected or punished were not original. They were part of a wider Ottoman intellectual framework promoted by Ottoman scholars under the leadership

⁹⁴² Ibid., 2:939.

⁹⁴³ Ibid.

⁹⁴⁴ Ibid.

of Sultan Selīm himself. Lārī echoes the views of sixteenth-century Ottoman scholars who repeatedly described the Safavids as heretics. The campaign against the Safavids was supported by the *fatwā* of two religious' scholars, Mevlānā Nūreddīn Sarıgörez (d. 928/1522) and Kemāl Pashazāde. They claimed that Shah Ismā'īl and his followers were *kāfir ve mulhīd* (unbelievers and heretics) and it was the responsibility of the Sultan of Islam to eradicate them.⁹⁴⁵

After discussing the actions and misdeeds of the Safavids and the need to teach them a lesson, Lārī recounts that in (921)1515-16⁹⁴⁶ the Ottoman Sultan Selīm decided to eliminate them. Selīm led his army on a campaign towards Persia with the resolute determination to eradicate corruption. According to Lārī, the Safavids responded to the advancing Ottomans by dispersing chaotically. With little chance of escaping capture, each member of the group made a hasty escape. He notes that "*this vile group*" of Safavids was scattered upon the Ottomans' arrival. Lārī's use of the word 'vile' (مفاسد) is a strong condemnation of the Safavids, with an implication of moral corruption or wickedness.

In addition, Lārī's language conveys a clear sense of hostility and animosity towards the Safavids. Upon reaching Erzincan, the Ottoman army was informed by certain Kızılbaş individuals that their leader was located in *Çaldıran*. In response, Sultan Selīm mobilized his forces and proceeded towards *Çaldıran*, where the ensuing battle took place. H̄vāndmīr presents a different perspective from Lārī and other Ottoman sources. He gives the exact date of the battle, stating that it took place in the first third of the month of Rajab in the year 920 AH (23 August 1514 CE).⁹⁴⁷ According to H̄vāndmīr, Shah Ismā'īl was in Hamadan when he received the news of Sultan Selīm's

⁹⁴⁵ Çıpa, *The Making of Selim*, 6; For further discussion, see Abdurrahman Atçıl's article on these debates. Abdurrahman Atçıl, "II. Ottoman Religious Rulings Concerning The Safavids: Ebussuud Efendi's Fatwas," in *The Empires of the Near East and India*, ed. Hani Khafipour (Columbia University Press, 2018), 97–106, doi:10.7312/khaf17436-010; Abdurrahman Atçıl, "THE SAFAVID THREAT AND JURISTIC AUTHORITY IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE DURING THE 16TH CENTURY," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 49, no. 2 (May 2017): 295–314, doi:10.1017/S002074381700006X.

⁹⁴⁶ There is an error in Lārī's dating of the battle of Çaldıran. The battle took place on 23 August 1514. This corresponds to the 2nd of Rajab in the year 920 of the Islamic calendar. This error was not introduced by the editors, but rather by Lārī himself, as it is found in several manuscripts. Lārī's oversight may have been due to a lack of meticulousness, Hoca Sādeddīn suggests. Furthermore, rushing to complete the work without carefully checking the manuscript, as mentioned above, may have compounded the error.

⁹⁴⁷ Khvānd Mīr and Dabīr Siyāqī, *Ḥabīb al-siyar fī akhbār al-bashar*, 545.

imminent arrival. Ḥvāndmīr suggests that Shah Ismā‘īl interpreted the arrival of Sultan Selīm as being motivated by intentions of murder, conflict, and tyranny.⁹⁴⁸

According to Ḥvāndmīr, Shah Ismā‘īl, who was in Hamadan at the time, declared his willingness to fight his adversary when he heard of Sultan Selīm's arrival.⁹⁴⁹ Shah Ismā‘īl did not participate in the army assembly. Instead, he led a group of ten thousand mounted warriors who were accompanying the expeditionary forces towards the adversary.⁹⁵⁰ Shah Ismā‘īl formed an army of 80,000 cavalry archers, many of whom were recruited from tribes that Selīm wanted to subjugate, such as those of Dulkadir and Karaman.⁹⁵¹ In 1507, Shah Ismā‘īl invaded the Emirate of Dulkadir and recruited Turkomans into his army. These Turkomans were subjects of the Ottoman Empire and their lands were under Ottoman control.⁹⁵² According to Safavid sources, Shah Ismā‘īl's string of victories in earlier conflicts was evidence of his self-confidence and composure in the face of a formidable opponent. These victories may have been a source of pride for him, and he was openly proud of his achievements.⁹⁵³ Ḥvāndmīr on the size of the army of Selīm writes that the force from the Caspian Sea is beyond the comprehension of even the most diligent observer, and the sheer numbers of these misguided troops make containment impossible and defy rational estimation.⁹⁵⁴ During the battle of *Çaldıran*, Selīm used a force of five hundred field cannons and twelve thousand janissary musketeers, while Shah Ismā‘īl's army lacked both muskets and cannons.⁹⁵⁵ According to Emecen, the Ottoman army consisted of around 45,000 men, while the Safavid army numbered around 50,000 men.⁹⁵⁶ Lārī and Ottoman sources present Sultan Selīm's expedition to Persia as a mission to end tyranny, which contradicts Ḥvāndmīr's account. Lārī depicts the battle scene vividly, clearly and objectively, using his advanced knowledge of the Persian script. Lārī recounts that on the battlefield, Sultan Selīm rallied his troops, urging them to defeat the forces of Shah Ismā‘īl.⁹⁵⁷

⁹⁴⁸ Ibid., 544.

⁹⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁵⁰ Ibid., 545.

⁹⁵¹ Finkel, *‘Osmān’s Dream*, 155.

⁹⁵² Çıpa, *The Making of Selim*, 34.

⁹⁵³ Genç, “Safevi Kroniklerinde Çaldıran Savaşı,” 45.

⁹⁵⁴ Khvānd Mīr and Dabīr Siyāqī, *Ḥabīb al-siyar fī akhbār al-bashar*, 544.

⁹⁵⁵ Çıpa, *The Making of Selim*, 5.

⁹⁵⁶ Emecen, *Yavuz Sultan Selim*, 120.

⁹⁵⁷ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:939.

The gleaming of swords outshone the sun, while the fiery tumult of battle hurled thunderbolts into the sky. Amidst the tempest of conflict, the warriors clad in iron were swallowed whole by the whale of fate, with jaws agape.⁹⁵⁸

Ḥvāndmīr however writes that when Selīm's army saw the bravery of the Shah Ismā'īl's army, they lost control and as Ismā'īl's army attacked, they destroyed a lot of Selīm's army. But the rest of his army, weakened by the double reinforcement of the army, kept the area safe and their musketeers held them back and fought back.⁹⁵⁹ On the other hand, Haydar Çelebi reports in his *ruznāme* (daily chronicle/record) that the entire Safavid army launched a coordinated attack, inflicting casualties on the Ottoman forces. However, the Ottoman army was quick to retaliate.⁹⁶⁰

In his account, Lārī explicitly stated that, in his view, the Safavids were undeserving of forgiveness and had strayed from the path of faith, and therefore deserving of hellfire. He notes that after the Ottoman attack, Shah Ismā'īl's army began to disperse, although he himself managed to escape with a small retinue. The property and belongings of the Kızılbaş group were confiscated by the forces of Sultan Selīm. Lārī commemorates the triumph of Sultan Selīm at *Çaldıran* and the defeat of Shah Ismā'īl. The next day, Sultan Selīm left for Tabriz. A number of prisoners were escorted to the Ottoman court in Istanbul, including respected figures and scholars. The Ottoman forces also took control of the fortress of Kamakh (Kemaḥ), which had previously been held by the Kızılbaş. However, Shah Ismā'īl managed to evade capture.⁹⁶¹ Based on Ḥvāndmīr's account, while in Tabriz, Sultan Selīm received intelligence that Shah Ismā'īl had assembled a large army and was preparing to launch an attack on the Ottoman forces imminently.

According to Ḥvāndmīr upon learning this, Sultan Selīm became apprehensive and decided to leave Tabriz, returning to his own court. He notes that Sultan Selīm stayed in Tabriz for eight days but did not achieve any significant success during this time.⁹⁶² According to Safavid historians, Shah Ismā'īl would have fought Selīm and sought revenge if he had returned. However, Selīm was too afraid to return to Persia.⁹⁶³ It is

⁹⁵⁸ Ibid., 2:940.

⁹⁵⁹ Khvānd Mīr and Dabīr Siyāqī, *Ḥabīb al-siyar fī akhbār al-bashar*, 547.

⁹⁶⁰ Haydar Çelebi, *Haydar Çelebi Ruznamesi* (Istanbul: Tercüman 1001 Temel Eser, n.d.), 77.

⁹⁶¹ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:940.

⁹⁶² Khvānd Mīr and Dabīr Siyāqī, *Ḥabīb al-siyar fī akhbār al-bashar*, 548.

⁹⁶³ Genç, "Safevi Kroniklerinde Çaldıran Savaşı," 47.

said that Selīm refrained from advancing beyond Tabriz and experienced apprehension upon learning of the Shah's approach with his recently organized military forces. As a result, Selīm deemed it prudent for the protection of both himself and his troops to initiate a retreat. Emecen claims that Selīm was determined to advance further in order to isolate Shah Ismā'īl, whom he had almost captured at Çaldıran, and to consolidate the gains he had made there. Despite suffering considerable hardship and loss, Selīm's willingness to continue the campaign even after victory was secured demonstrates his resolute determination. It is likely that he considered advancing to Tabriz to deal a decisive blow to Shah Ismā'īl and was prepared for a subsequent field battle.⁹⁶⁴

According to Giovan Maria Angolello, a Venetian, Selīm spent three days in Tabriz before leaving due to a shortage of animals and food, as well as the fear of a potential Safavid attack.⁹⁶⁵ Meanwhile, Haydar Çelebi notes that Selīm I have decided to move his army towards Amasya in anticipation of winter and to avoid a shortage of food for his troops.⁹⁶⁶ It is known that after his defeat at *Çaldıran*, Shah Ismā'īl reportedly expected Sultan Selīm to return the following spring to continue his campaign, according to Ottoman sources. Although faced with Uzbek incursions in the east, Selīm rejected Ismā'īl's pleas for peace and arrested several Safavid envoys.⁹⁶⁷

Lārī highlights the defeat of the Safavids and calls for the punishment of their supporters, whom he considers to be supporters of infidels. He reports that after the battle, Sultan Selīm ordered his Governor-General, Hadım Sinan Pasha, to launch a surprise attack on Dulkadirid ruler 'Alā' al-Dawla Zu 'l-Ḳadr (d.921/1515), who had opposed against certain facets of of Sultan Selīm's campaign against Shah Ismā'īl. Under the leadership of Hadım Sinan Pasha, a force of 10,000 soldiers successfully launched a surprise attack that resulted in the capture of 'Alā' al-Dawla. His head was presented to the Mamlūk court, serving as a warning to anyone who aligns with the Safavids.⁹⁶⁸ This outcome suggests that they would face similar consequences under Ottoman rule, as suggested by Lārī. Safavid court historians often show respect when referring to powerful opponents, in contrast to the insulting language used by the

⁹⁶⁴ Emecen, *Yavuz Sultan Selim*, 145.

⁹⁶⁵ Genç, "Safevi Kroniklerinde Çaldıran Savaşı," 48.

⁹⁶⁶ Haydar Çelebi, *Haydar Çelebi Ruznamesi*, 81.

⁹⁶⁷ Finkel, *'Osmān's Dream*, 157.

⁹⁶⁸ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:940.

Ottomans to describe Shah Ismā‘īl and his followers.⁹⁶⁹ This observation indicates that Lārī followed the Ottoman approach rather than the Safavid tradition and style of writing. His tone is severe and hostile towards the Safavids.

Lārī's account of the Battle of *Çaldıran* is written in a grand and dignified style. However, it also contains a strong condemnation of Safavid rule in Persia. Lārī portrays the Safavids and their followers as unworthy of life and doomed to damnation because of their perceived lack of faith and moral degradation. He depicts the oppression and cruelty of Safavid rule, with a particular focus on intellectuals and artists, and the text highlights Persia's historical significance as a land of intellectual and artistic brilliance, which was obscured under Safavid rule. The depiction of the battlefield emphasizes the scale and importance of the confrontation. Sultan Selīm emerges victorious. Lārī's portrayal of the triumph presents it as a victory for Sultan Selīm. This is in keeping with his desire to see the Safavids overthrown. The text also conveys a strong sense of hostility towards the Safavids and pride in the Ottomans' victory over the enemy. As noted above, Lārī's account is short and does not provide much detailed information. However, Ottoman chronicles indicate that when Sultan Selīm I entered Tabriz, the people of the city followed Persian custom and laid out carpets to welcome him. The Sunnī population of Iran is said to have been delighted that Selīm had freed them from the tyranny of Shah Ismā‘īl.⁹⁷⁰ In contrast, Lārī's account does not address this reception or the public reaction after the battle.

Both Selīm and Lārī had a mutual enmity towards the Shah Ismā‘īl. Before his death, Selīm sought the renewal of legal opinions authorizing conflict against the Safavids, indicating that he specifically targeted Shah Ismā‘īl as his primary adversary.⁹⁷¹ Adding to that Hoca Sādeddin draws a parallel between the historical conflict between the caliph of Islam, Abū Bakr al-Şiddīk, and Musaylima al-Kazāb (The Liar), who falsely claimed prophethood, and the confrontation between Sultan Selīm and Shah Ismā‘īl. He suggests that Selīm's campaign against the Safavids was justified on the grounds of their alleged deviation from the Islamic faith and propagation of deceit, just

⁹⁶⁹ Genç, "Safevi Kroniklerinde Çaldıran Savaşı," 48.

⁹⁷⁰ For daily accounts of the battle, see the daily chronicle by Haydar Çelebi, Haydar Çelebi, *Haydar Çelebi Ruznamesi*.

⁹⁷¹ Çıpa, *The Making of Selīm*, 6.

as Abū Bakr had taken decisive action against Musaylima for spreading falsehood and corruption. Hoca Sādeddin goes on to compare the Ottomans, and Sultan Selīm in particular, to the just legacy of Abū Bakr al- Ṣiddīq, implying that they were destined by God and deserving of victory, similar to the revered status of the early Islamic caliph.⁹⁷²

The Battle of *Çaldıran* is described consistently across early Safavid sources, with only minor discrepancies. Unlike Ottoman perspectives, Safavid accounts do not portray this event as a defeat. Instead, Safavid narratives often present it as a strategic withdrawal, providing various justifications for this interpretation.⁹⁷³ However by drawing exclusively from Ottoman sources and ignoring alternative viewpoints, Lārī's narrative adopts an Ottoman-centric perspective. This choice reflects Lārī's loyalty to the Ottoman position and his disregard for the Safavid narrative. Furthermore, Lārī's ability to thoroughly review and correct his work was limited, and the errors in the dating towards the end of the *Mir'atu'l-Advār* suggest that Lārī's writing process was rushed. In other words, while Safavid sources may interpret the battle of *Çaldıran* differently, Ottoman historians, including Lārī, clearly perceive it as a decisive victory for the Ottomans and a symbol of the triumph of enlightenment over darkness.

6.7. Sultan Süleymān: A Holy Sovereign in Lārī's Narrative

که پیوسته این خسرو دین پناه
که عالم ندیده چو او پادشاه⁹⁷⁴

*Witness this sovereign, steadfast in his sanctuary
Whose reign, unparalleled, the world has never seen*

Lārī had originally intended to devote his Universal History to Sultan Süleymān I (the Magnificent) of the Ottoman Empire. However, the untimely death of Sultan Süleymān during his last campaign in 1566 led Lārī to change his plans and to dedicate his work instead to the new Ottoman Sultan, Selim II (r. 1566-1574). As a result of this change, Lārī had to rush the completion of his history in order to have it ready for publication. As a result, he did not have the opportunity to go back to his work to make

⁹⁷² Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tacü't-Tevarih*, vol. IV (Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1979), 172–73.

⁹⁷³ Genç, “Safevi Kroniklerinde Çaldıran Savaşı,” 44.

⁹⁷⁴ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:963.

revisions or improvements. Nevertheless, when one reads Lārī's History, it becomes clear that it was originally intended to serve Sultan Süleymān rather than to his successor. Here I will attempt to construct a portrait of Sultan Süleymān's character and achievements through Lārī's writings.

Distinguished by his greatness and adorned with various virtues, the Sultan excelled in the realm of bravery and heroism, displaying unparalleled valour and courage. The effects of his triumphs in battles against infidels and evildoers were so profound that even the mightiest warriors were humbled by the sparks of his fiery sword, prompting Rustam, the renowned hero of battles, to seek his protection and acknowledge his invincibility with deference and tribute.⁹⁷⁵

Lārī presents Sultan Süleymān as a courageous hero and praises his bravery, heroism, and respected leadership. For Lārī, Sultan Süleymān is the pinnacle of greatness, with a wide range of virtues and qualities, from bravery to wisdom, from earthly prowess to divine attributes. Lārī emphasizes the importance of Sultan Süleymān's extensive 46-year reign, numerous campaigns and conquests up to the end of his life. He asserts that what truly distinguished him from other leaders was his unparalleled bravery and heroism on the battlefield. In his opinion, Sultan Süleymān's bravery was unsurpassed and exceptional, especially in his actions during battles against unbelievers and injustice. Lārī points out that his courage and impressive victories on the battlefield were so significant that even the most powerful warriors were defeated by the glow of his flaming sword, thus underscoring his dominance and ability to strike fear into his enemies.

Lārī points out that even famous warriors like Rustam⁹⁷⁶ would seek refuge from Sultan Süleymān on the battlefield. Compared to the mightiest heroes of the world, this proves Süleymān's superior bravery and skill. By comparing Sultan Süleymān to a legendary warrior such as Rustam, Lārī not only underlines the depth of his valour, but also emphasizes the fact that the Ottoman Sultan was widely acknowledged and highly respected as a mighty warrior. This acknowledgement signifies the widespread awareness of his great warrior potential and extends to both his admirers and his opponents.

⁹⁷⁵ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:944.

⁹⁷⁶ Rustam, a legendary figure in Persian mythology and literature, is particularly portrayed as a formidable hero in the epic poem *Shāh-nāma* 'The Book of Kings', written by the famous Persian poet Abu'l-Qāsem Firdawsī (d. 411/1020). Renowned for his immense strength, courage and unwavering loyalty, Rustam is the epitome of bravery in the Persian literary tradition.

*His army surpasses all in strength and number
Yet each one shines brighter than the rays of the sun*

It is interesting to note that in this couplet, Lārī goes on to describe the army of Sultan Süleymān, emphasizing the extraordinary qualities of each individual soldier and comparing them to the radiant rays of the sun. His implication is the power of individual excellence over collective power. It is the brilliance of each soldier that makes Sultan Süleymān's army invincible, even though the army as a whole possesses formidable strength and numbers.

Lārī goes on to describe his reign and palace, emphasizing that:

The pillars of the palace stand firm, reflecting the splendor of his majesty, enveloped in wisdom, (حکمت) integrity (عفت), valour (شجاعت) and justice (عدالت), virtues that reflect the highest human ideals, in harmony with the radiance of the caliphate's illumination.⁹⁷⁸

The court, according to Lārī, serves as a manifestation of the magnificence of Sultan Süleymān's reign, demonstrating his strength and stability as a ruler. In fact, Lārī conveys that the power and influence of Sultan Süleymān extends to every corner and every structure of his realm. Lārī portrays Sultan Süleymān as the embodiment of wisdom, honesty, bravery and justice, virtues that he describes as reflecting the peak of human ideals and in line with the glory of the caliphate's enlightenment.⁹⁷⁹

بسی قرن بگذشت و دارد چنان
صدا طبل عدل انوشیروان
چراغ حیاتش گر افروختی
کنون رسم عدل از وی آموختی⁹⁸⁰

*Centuries have passed, but it still stands,
Echoes of justice from Anushirvans reign.
From his flame draws the lamp you've lit,
His legacy claims the learning of justice*

The name of Anūshirwān⁹⁸¹, the Sasanian king, is of great importance in the realm of justice in the Muslim world. Lārī invokes the renowned reputation of Anūshirwān in

⁹⁷⁷ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:963.

⁹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 2:942.

⁹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 2:961.

⁹⁸¹ Khosrow I, better known as Anushirvan, was an influential ruler of the Sassanid Empire. The Sassanid Empire was the last Iranian-Persian empire before the rise of Islam. His reign lasted from 531 to 579 AD. Anushirvan is often regarded as one of the greatest rulers of the Sassanid dynasty. During his reign, Anushirvan introduced several administrative reforms, including reorganising the empire's

drawing parallels to highlight the justice of Sultan Süleymān. Anūshirwān is not only revered for his commitment to justice. He is also celebrated for his wisdom as a ruler. For Lārī, Anūshirwān serves as a suitable role model. He can be compared to Sultan Süleymān. Lārī claims that Sultan Süleymān has an unwavering commitment to justice that is beyond reproach, having imbibed and received justice from Anūshirwān himself. This suggests that Sultan Süleymān embodied the essence of justice during his reign, having learnt from the example of Anūshirwān. Sultan Süleymān wanted justice to prevail and for everyone in society to receive what was due to them. Süleymān's image, both during his lifetime and later, relied heavily on the argument that he ruled efficiently and justly through law.⁹⁸²

These virtues not only encompassed a quarter of the inhabited world, but illuminated the entire cosmos, building a shining edifice from the depths of his humble servitude ”⁹⁸³

As a scholar with knowledge of the science of astronomy, Lārī is also interested in the cosmos. He claims that the virtues attributed to Sultan Süleymān not only cover a considerable part of the earth, but also extend to the entire universe. Lārī gives the rule of the Ottoman Sultan a grand and universal significance by presenting the Sultan's virtues in such a universal context. Lārī goes on to emphasize the strong government of Sultan Süleymān. He claims that he suppressed all opposition from all sides and that they were left in the shadows under the close control of his rule.⁹⁸⁴ Lārī implies a strong authoritarian stand, where opposition is dealt with quickly in order to ensure order and stability under the rule of Sultan Süleymān. Sultan Süleymān's extensive 46-year reign was marked by generosity and prosperity, according to Lārī. His goodwill extended far and wide, reaching every corner of the world under his rule.

bureaucracy and tax system. He also focused on improving infrastructure, such as building roads and bridges, and promoting trade within the empire. Anushirvan is also known for his campaigns to expand the territory of the Sassanids. Anushirvan's reign is considered one of the most prosperous and stable periods of the Sassanid Empire. He was known for his wisdom and justice, which earned him the nickname 'Anushirvan', which means 'Immortal Soul' or 'The Just' in Persian. For additional insight into Khusraw Anushirvan's reign and Sasanian history, you may find valuable information in Michael Richard Jackson Bonner, "Three Neglected Sources of Sasanian History in the Reign of Khusraw Anushirvan," *Studia Iranica* 46 (Association pour l'avancement des études iraniennes, 2011).

⁹⁸² Şahin, *Peerless among Princes*, 34.

⁹⁸³ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:942.

⁹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 2:943.

What Lārī emphasizes in this narrative is not only the kindness and generosity of Sultan Süleymān as a ruler, but also how he insisted on teaching individuals to curb their greed. According to Lārī, the Ottoman Sultan was not only generous in his actions, but also in his principles Lārī describes the reign of Sultan Süleymān as being full of grace and as a high point in the history of the Ottoman Empire. He compares the reign of Sultan Süleymān to paradise, claiming that it was not only an earthly paradise but also similar to the heavenly paradise.⁹⁸⁵ Lārī claims that Sultan Süleymān's compassion and benevolence reached such heights that they surpassed the grandeur of galaxies and stars. There is hardly a leaf on the tree that is not a testimony to the Sultan's benevolence. He claims that the magnanimity of the Sultan as a ruler was unparalleled in the history of the world.⁹⁸⁶ However, Lārī's portrayal of Sultan Süleymān seems to be more of a poetic tribute. He uses the conventional motifs of Persian poetry to construct a clichéd and stereotypical compliment. The praise is highly poetic and appears to be largely fictional, and does not reflect his true thoughts or genuine opinions, but rather the expected and conventional praise that he was required to deliver. He rarely provides direct anecdotes or examples to praise the character of Sultan Süleyman, relying instead on poetic language that offers little substance. Direct examples are few and far between, and much of his narrative is characterized by a poetic tone.

From the garden of delights, with the lavish bestowal of His abundant grace, which in its vastness and expanse resembled the heavenly and earthly garden, no less than any plant, and from the boundless bounty of His mercy, surpassing even the heights of galaxies and clusters of stars.⁹⁸⁷

As an illustration of Sultan Süleymān's kindness and strategic acumen, it is said that after the battle of *Çaldıran*, Sultan Selīm decreed that no merchants from Ottoman lands would trade with Persia, thereby halting all trade with the Safavids in order to protect the empire's resources. In spite of these measures, some merchants attempted to infiltrate the region of Iraq controlled by the Safavids. Lārī notes that this transgression took place due to negligence on the part of those who were entrusted with the guarding of the borders.

⁹⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁸⁷ Ibid.

In the face of adversity, however, this group of merchants soon came to realize the consequences of their misguided actions. Lamenting the shattering of their hopes, they sought to rectify their mistakes and expressed their deep regret for their losses. When they met with Sultan Süleymān, they showed moderation and tried to regain what they had lost, aiming to overcome their past failures. In spite of their initial greed, they had a sense of comfort and compassion in the Sultan's domain. Sultan Süleymān gave them a sum of money as compensation for their shortcomings and as a way of purifying them from their base desires. Through this example, Lārī also highlights the leadership, commitment, and atonement of Sultan Süleymān. As a ruler, Sultan Süleymān knew how to inspire loyalty in those he ruled and knew how to uplift the oppressed. At the same time, he exercised wisdom and insight to prevent his subjects from deceiving him.

Lārī articulates that because of Sultan Süleymān's unique combination of knowledge and faith, his wisdom becomes a guiding light for others, illuminating their understanding and their beliefs.⁹⁸⁸ Sultan Süleymān knew that the amount of money requested was more than the merchants' actual losses. However, out of his kindness and generosity, he granted their request. This lends further support to Lārī's earlier assertion that the reign of Sultan Süleymān and his empire was one of wealth and power, implying that his treasury was full and that he was able to distribute lavishly at his will. In this way, the reign of Sultan Süleymān is portrayed as a period of prosperity and wealth. This issue has been discussed extensively in numerous Ottoman histories detailing the reign of Sultan Süleyman. It has often been interpreted as a sign of the sultan's commitment to justice.⁹⁸⁹ I suggest, therefore, that Lārī's treatment of this issue is neither unique nor original. Rather, it reflects his adherence to established Ottoman tradition.

From the 1540s onwards, the image of the messianic conqueror began to give way to that of a more mature and established monarch whose reign was associated with ensuring peace and justice.⁹⁹⁰

⁹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 2:962.

⁹⁸⁹ For more on Sultan Süleymān and the topic of justice, Mehmed Şakir Yılmaz, "Crime and Punishment in the Imperial Historiography of Süleyman the Magnificent: An Evaluation of Nişancı Celalzade's Works" 1–2, no. 36 (2008): 97–116.

⁹⁹⁰ Şahin, *Peerless among Princes*, 279.

A drop of boundless mercy reached the arenas of their hopes and brought them the jewel of their desires, and a sum of ninety thousand silver coins from the boundless treasury was allocated without hesitation to that group to compensate for their deficiencies and to purify them from the influence of strong animal desire, The purification from the influence of the strong animalistic, lustful, bodily desires which prevail in the majority of human natures, was a station for His Highness, similar to those states which, except in the manifestations of the Lights of the Messages, did not manifest in the depths of time, neither from the age of youthful passion nor from the springs; and the purification from the influence of the strong animalistic, lustful, bodily desires which prevail in the majority of human natures, was a station for His Highness.⁹⁹¹

Lārī implies a profound spiritual dimension to Sultan Süleymān 's leadership by claiming that he purified the souls of his subjects in his narrative. This suggests that, in addition to his military and political skills, the Ottoman Emperor had the wisdom and power to influence others on the spiritual level. Thus, according to Lārī, the Ottoman ruler Sultan Süleymān displayed all the virtues characteristic of an ideal human being, *Insān al-Kāmil* (Perfect Man) which are in keeping with the divine dimension of the Caliphate's enlightenment, indicating a divine side to his rule. Similarly, the argument put forward by 'Ārif Çelebi, coupled with the vocabulary he uses, strongly implies that Sultan Süleymān, following the Prophet Muḥammad, embodied the concept of the *Insān al-Kāmil*.⁹⁹²

خیالش خرد راست مشکل گشای
دل اوست مرآت غیبی نمای⁹⁹³

*His thoughts pave the way, unravelling the mysteries of life
His heart reveals the hidden, a mirror to unseen destinies*

What is fascinating about this poem is the subtle allusion it makes to the intellectual and spiritual acumen of the Sultan Süleymān. Lārī portrays him as a mirror, symbolizing his purity and wisdom. It is as if his heart is a mirror that reflects hidden truths. In this depiction, Sultan Süleymān is portrayed as having a deep understanding of the mysteries of life, which gives him an aura of holiness. Sultan Süleymān is thus portrayed not only as a military or political leader, but also as a spiritual leader. He is able to lead his subjects to spiritual enlightenment and moral uplift. Lārī claims that Sultan Süleymān was endowed with divine qualities and suggests that adherence to divine guidance is the key to a harmonious society.

⁹⁹¹ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:943.

⁹⁹² Fatma Sinem Eryılmaz, "The Shehnamecis Of Sultan Süleyman: 'Arif And Eflatun And Their Dynastic Project" (Ph.D., University of Chicago, 2010), 170.

⁹⁹³ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:962.

In addition, Celālzāde Muṣṭafā Çelebi (d. 975/1567), in his work *Tabaḳātü'l-Memālik*, reinforces the idea of the sultan as a sacred figure. He emphasises the divine attributes of the sultan. Celālzāde depicts the Sultan as the "shadow of God on earth", implying that the Sultan's character and wisdom are manifestations of divine inspiration (*zill'u-llāhi fi'l-arż, āyine-i zamīr-i munīr-i ḥusrevānī ki medār-i ilhāmāt-i Rabbānīdir*). By linking his rule with a divine mandate, this depiction reinforces the sacred nature of the Sultan's persona.⁹⁹⁴ However, Sultan Süleymān's saintly image and alleged ability to understand the world's mysteries were not his own creation. It was this image that prevailed in the last part of his life. On the contrary, the royal image of Sultan Süleymān especially during the last phase of his reign - as portrayed in contemporary historiography, is characterized by sternness, strict adherence to orthodox Sunnī ideology and harshness.⁹⁹⁵

نیاید خطا در دل بی غلش
خدا کرده محفوظ لوح دلش
بر اولاد آدم بود شهریار
در آفاق عالم خداونگار

*In a heart untouched by shadows, error has no home
God's grace keeps the soul's tablet, a holy place
The Sovereign rules the descendants of Adam,
Under God's display in the vastness of creation*

Through his couplet, Lārī emphasizes the purity and holiness of the heart of Sultan Süleymān. When he describes it as being "*untouched by shadows*", he means that Sultan Süleymān's heart is unblemished and untainted, like a mirror that reflects the pure intentions and actions of its owner. This means that Sultan Süleymān never did anything improper; he did not commit any errors or sins. Lārī attributes the preservation of Sultan Süleymān's heart and soul from misdeeds to divine intervention. The idea of Sultan Süleymān as a chosen one, guided and protected by God, is suggested by this powerful line. With God as his guide, Sultan Süleymān is believed to be incapable of wrongdoing. Everything he does is seen as under divine command. In this way, Sultan Süleymān is portrayed as having a divine guardianship over his actions and decisions.

⁹⁹⁴ Mehmet Şakir Yılmaz, "*Koca Nişancı*" of *Kanuni: Celālzāde Mustafa Çelebi, Bureaucracy and "Kanun" in the Reign of Suleyman the Magnificent (1520-1566)* (İstanbul: Akademik Kitaplar, 2022), 85.

⁹⁹⁵ Fatma Sinem Eryılmaz, "The Shehnamecis Of Sultan Süleymān: 'Arif And Eflatun And Their Dynastic Project'" (Ph.D., University of Chicago, 2010), 168.

In his view, the ruler was God's choice and was imbued with divine qualities. Therefore, if the subjects were to follow him, they would always tread the right path and avoid adversity in their lives. This concept seems to have been a prevailing intellectual belief of the time, rather than having been invented by Lārī himself. The idea that Sultan Süleymān was divinely chosen and received support and guidance from God was held by scholars at the Ottoman court in the second half of the 16th century. As a result, it was believed that he possessed wisdom and knowledge given to him directly by God. He was not just a ruler; he was a holy ruler.

Celālzāde penned several works on Sultan Süleyman's military campaigns, including *Mohaçnāme*, *Fetihnāme-i Rodos*, and *Fetihnāme-i Karaboğdan*. In his *Fetihnāme*, Celālzāde stresses the Sultan's zeal for the Gaza (holy war), his 'holy' persona, and his divine support, believed to be granted by God and the Prophet. Religious motives, such as the conversion of churches into mosques and the call to prayer, are also emphasized in the text. *Mohaçnāme* (On Battle of Mohács, 1526) begins with a declaration that the sultan's initiation of the campaign was in reliance on the grace of God and the miracles of the Prophet.⁹⁹⁶

In Fethullah 'Ārif Çelebi's (d. 969/1561-62 [?]) *Süleymānnāme*⁹⁹⁷, the connection established between Sultan Süleymān and God goes beyond a mere acknowledgement of God as the Creator; rather, it emphasizes God's status as the most perfect and divine source of light and knowledge. This underlines the claim that Sultan Süleymān's political sovereignty was not only sanctioned by God, but that he was actually destined to rule as the universal emperor of his time.⁹⁹⁸ Fatma Eryılmaz writes that however, the fact that 'Ārif Çelebi's *Süleymānnāme* was directly commissioned and supervised by Sultan Süleymān himself suggests that the Sultan sought to cultivate a saintly image of himself. This act proves that Sultan Süleymān supported the saintly and messianic image of himself as articulated in the *Süleymānnāme*, both textual and pictorial.

⁹⁹⁶ Yılmaz, "*Koca Nişancı*" of *Kanuni*, 234.

⁹⁹⁷ The compositions written to chronicle the military campaigns and other significant events of Sultan Süleymān's long reign, which began in 1520, are commonly known as "Süleyman-name". These works are distinguished by their embellished historical accounts and poetic style of writing.

⁹⁹⁸ Eryılmaz, "The Shehnamecis Of Sultan Süleymān," 170.

I suggest, however, that although Ārif Çelebi's *Süleymānnāme* was commissioned and supervised by Sultan Süleymān himself, the primary responsibility for shaping and conveying the sultan's saintly and messianic image - both in text and image - rests largely with Celālzāde Muştafā Çelebi. As Sultan Süleyman's *nişancı* (head of the civil administration), Celālzāde played a pivotal role in directing this process. He ensured that the sultan's saintly persona was meticulously crafted and communicated.⁹⁹⁹ Lārī obviously recognized Sultan's inclinations and tailored his narrative to suit the Sultan's preferences, thus making his portrayal of Sultan Süleymān.

Furthermore, Celālzāde provided a description of the young Sultan Süleymān in the preamble to the Code of Laws of Egypt. According to his account, this esteemed statesman, who served as Süleymān's chancellor from 1534 to 1555, regarded the Sultan not only as a holy universal emperor, but also as someone endowed by God with the moral virtues of a prophet and holy authority, although he was not a prophet himself.¹⁰⁰⁰ Celālzāde emphasizes the imperative nature of the Sultan's legislative responsibilities, the people's reliance on laws and the praise of the Ottoman dynasty by drawing parallels between the Sultan and prophets and saints.¹⁰⁰¹ According to Lārī, it is essential to follow his divine guidance in order to live a meaningful and virtuous life. Lārī emphasizes that people of faith should remain vigilant against the pervasive influence of malevolent forces, and articulates the world as an ongoing struggle between good and evil. He emphasizes the inherent limitations of human beings and the fact that these limitations are often an obstacle to their progress. This implies a disciplined approach to life, in which the individual remains aware of what he wants to achieve and of the obstacles imposed by his circumstances. Furthermore, Lārī emphasizes the importance of righteous leadership, as embodied by Sultan Süleymān, in providing the necessary guidance to navigate life's challenges.

In the year 926/1520, the seat of splendor and authority was graced by the presence of the eminent figure, adorned with the essence of precious gems, the epitome of worldly adornment, the highest among them, His Eminence, the Guardian of the Qur'an, the Caliph of the Merciful, the Sultan of Sultans, the epitome of the age, Abu 'l Zafar Sultan Süleymān, may his soul rest in the highest heavens, adorned with the diadem of nobility and divine favor, embracing the path to happiness. The coronet of rejoicing, grandeur and sovereignty, stretching from east to

⁹⁹⁹ Eryılmaz, "The Shehnamecis Of Sultan Süleymān," 173.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Eryılmaz, "From Adam to Süleymān," 120.

¹⁰⁰¹ Mehmet Şakir Yılmaz, "'Koca Nişancı' Of Kanuni: Celalzade Mustafa Çelebi, Bureaucracy And 'Kanun' In the Reign Of Suleyman The Magnificent (1520–1566)" (Ph.D., Bilkent University, 2006), 205.

west, followed in the footsteps of that blessed manifestation of divine mercy with the utmost splendor of unity.¹⁰⁰²

Looking at the provided text about which Lārī wrote in order to dispose of Sultan Süleymān, the linguistic style that Lārī uses in this passage is significantly different from that used in earlier sections of his historical account. In comparison, an aura of officialdom and ceremony is evoked by the language used here, which is particularly ornate and formal. Moreover, the profound importance and magnificence attributed to the Ottoman Sultan is evident in the choice of words and phrases used by Lārī to describe Sultan Süleymān. He refers to Sultan Süleymān as "*The Lord of the Auspicious Conjunction (Şāhib Kīrān)*", "*the caliph of the Compassionate*" (*khalife-i raḥmān*), and "*the Sultan of Sultans*" in order to emphasize his importance and prestige, not only within the empire and the state, but also in a wider context. In addition, Lārī describes him as "*the essence of the jewels of world dominion*" (كان جواهر زواهر جهانبانی), "*fortune favored by destiny*" (بخت فیروز کام), "*a generous heart*" (دل باذل), "*the crown of majestic joy*" (تاج با ابتهاج عظمت), and "*the throne of prosperous grandeur*" (تخت عظمت کامرانی) to convey the idea of his power, wealth, and royal trappings, thus underlining his high status and magnificence.

In addition, Lārī highlights the vastness and grandeur of the empire under Sultan Suleiman, noting that his sovereignty and influence extended from east to west. This underlines the extensive reach of his authority and his ability to unite different regions. Lārī's reference to the Ottoman Sultan as "*the lord of the inhabited quarter*" (ربع مسکون) and "*the radiance of light of Caliphate*" (اشراقات نور خلافت) is particularly significant in this context, emphasizing the global scope of his rule and the enlightenment of his reign.

Lārī's belief was that Sultan Süleymān was the chosen one on earth to assume the role of caliph of the Muslim world. According to Lārī, the Ottoman Sultan is religiously significant and divinely appointed. Lārī's narrative of the history of the Ottomans, as well as his comprehensive universal history *Mir'atu'l-Advār*, concludes with a section devoted to the reign of Sultan Süleymān. Within this account, which spans eight folios, Lārī devotes four folios to praising the Ottoman Sultan, while the remaining folios are

¹⁰⁰² Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2018, 2:942.

devoted to recounting the events of his 46-year reign. As I mentioned earlier, the language and the vocabulary that Lārī uses in this section of his story are different from those used in the earlier passages. I believe that this change reflects an influence from the Ottoman chronicles. The phrases and terms that Lārī uses to describe the Ottoman Empire, and Sultan Süleymān in particular, are some of the most common ones found in the Ottoman chronicles. This suggests that Lārī was probably influenced by his exposure to Ottoman chronicles and scribes. In his depiction of Sultan Süleymān, Lārī once again demonstrated his profound linguistic and poetic skills. It is clear that his aim was to capture the attention of the Ottoman Sultan and his audience at the court. It is noteworthy that the final section of his book mirrors the linguistic finesse and stylistic approach found at the beginning of his chapter on the Ottomans.

ز حسنش ثنا هر چه فایق بود
نظر با کمالش نه لایق بود¹⁰⁰³

*All praise, in awe of the grace of his beauty,
Yet no eye can fully grasp the trace of his perfection*

Furthermore, as *Mir'atu'l-Advār* was presented to Sultan Selīm II and Sokollu Meḥmed Pasha, it contains a poem extolling the virtues of the Ottoman Grand Vizier.

وزیری کزو دیده عالم نظام
سمی محمد علیه السلام
فرشته سرشتی به شکل بشر
که از وی محالست میلی به شر
همه خلق و خلقش ز نقصان بری
بود کارش از خلق نقصان بری
کند رای غرای او کار مهر
به روزش چه حاجت به مهر سپهر¹⁰⁰⁴

*The Vizier from whom the world gains its order,
Namesake of Muḥammad, peace be upon him.
An angel in essence, in human form,
From whom no deviation to evil is possible.
His whole being and nature free from defect,
His deeds untouched by the faults of creation.
His pure wisdom, deeds of love accomplished,
What need has his day for the sun above?*

This couplet is a profound praise of Sokollu Meḥmed Pasha, in which Lārī portrays him as a supreme example of perfection, wisdom and generosity. Through the use of

¹⁰⁰³ Ibid., 2:963.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Lārī, *Mirat Al-Adwar*, 2012, 1:8.

poetic expression and sublime comparisons, Lārī conveys the image of the ideal vizier, whose virtue and wisdom enlighten the world and make even the sun redundant.

In a nutshell Lārī's portrayal of Sultan Süleymān transcends the conventional ruler as merely heroic, presenting him instead as a saintly and chosen leader. Lārī's narrative begins by praising Sultan Süleymān for his bravery and prowess on the battlefield. However, the narrative gradually shifts to emphasise his just and divine character. Although Sultan Süleymān's reign was marked by numerous military triumphs and extensive rule over 46 years, Lārī's focus is on his just and divine governance. Lārī emphasizes his exemplary leadership by comparing Sultan Süleymān's bravery to the legendary Persian warrior Rostam and his justice to the revered Sassanid king Anūshirwān. What distinguishes Sultan Süleymān, however, is not his bravery or heroism, but his just and divine character.

Lārī describes him as a ruler who possessed divine wisdom. He attributes this to his unwavering faith and vast knowledge. By comparing Sultan Süleymān's heart to a pure mirror, Lārī suggests his impeccable character, free from wrongdoing or error. Sultan Süleymān emerges as the epitome of the ideal ruler, guided in his actions and decisions by divine providence. Lārī's portrayal of Sultan Süleymān as *al-Insān al-Kāmil*, the perfect man, underscores his belief that Sultan Süleymān is the embodiment of Allah's divine revelations on all levels. In the context of the argument of my dissertation, a comparison of Lārī's portrayal of Sultan Süleymān with his portrayal of Tīmūr reveals that the portrayal of Sultan Süleymān is distinctly ceremonial. It is characterized by an abundance of poetry, Qur'ānic verses, and ornate language, all aimed at pleasing and captivating the audience.

These elements suggest that Lārī was using his highest skills in order to impress and to exceed expectations. My contention is that Lārī's portrayal of Tīmūr seems more natural. Sultan Süleymān's portrayal seems forced in its linguistic presentation. The degree of exaggeration used to portray Sultan Süleymān exceeds that used to portray Tīmūr. While some might argue that Lārī sees Sultan Süleymān as a guided leader with wisdom and divine character, while Tīmūr is seen solely as an exceptional military leader, I would counter by highlighting references to Tīmūr having dreams before making decisions, which suggests divine guidance. I argue that Tīmūr appears as the

central hero in *Mir'atu'l-Advār* and its narrative universe, whereas Sultan Süleymān appears as a ruler whom Lārī sought to impress and gain favor with. As a result, Lārī's praise for Sultan Süleymān seems to be driven more by self-interest than genuine admiration. Moreover, Lārī's portrayal of Sultan Süleymān reflects the prevailing trend during the sultan's lifetime. According to Süleymān's wishes, he was often portrayed as a hero, a warrior, a righteous man or even a saint. This was typical of the way historians and chroniclers of the time portrayed him.

I admit that Lārī's reliance on Persian sources for the history of Tīmūr allowed for more detailed accounts. His use of Turkish sources for the period of Sultan Süleymān may have limited the depth of his portrayal. The linguistic challenge probably contributed to a less comprehensive account of Sultan Süleymān. In other words, while Lārī's linguistic limitations and his source material certainly played a role in shaping his narratives, the broader context of his writing — including the expectations of the Ottoman court and his own position within it — cannot be overlooked. Although his portrayal of Sultan Süleymān is less detailed, it still seems to be driven by a desire to conform to the heroic image expected by the Sultan and his contemporaries, which supports the validity of my argument regarding Lārī's motivations in portraying Sultan Süleymān.

Nevertheless, I argue that despite the less detailed nature of the narrative, Lārī's depiction of Sultan Süleymān as a hero, warrior or saint is in keeping with the general trend of the period, which was strongly influenced by the Sultan's own desires and the expectations of the Ottoman court. The fact that Lārī nevertheless chose to present Sultan Süleymān in this idealized way, albeit with less detail, suggests that he was aware of the need to adapt to contemporary political and cultural narratives, possibly in order to gain patronage. In contrast, his more detailed treatment of Tīmūr Lārī, supported by Persian sources, allowed him to develop a central heroic figure with more nuance, which may have reflected his personal preference or interest.

6.8. Conclusion

To conclude, this dissertation has undertaken a comprehensive examination of the Ottoman Empire as Lārī portrayed it in the *Mir'atu'l-Advār*, beginning with the

creation of the world and ending with the accession of Sultan Selīm II in 1566. The section on the Ottomans remains relatively brief, occupying only 29 folios within the extensive ten-chapter composition, despite its dedication to the new Ottoman Sultan. In opting for a more concise approach, Lārī himself acknowledges the inherent challenge of providing a detailed account of Ottoman history. This chapter examines different periods of Ottoman history, from its beginnings to its height, and is divided into six sub-chapters. The first subchapter, **"Foundations of Power: Lārī's Examination of the Origins of the Ottoman Dynasty,"** highlights Lārī's emphasis on the Ottomans' military ascendancy rather than their spiritual lineage. Similarly, **"Osmān I: Exploring the Question of Legitimacy"** emphasizes Lārī's priority of martial prowess over spiritual authority in the legitimation of Ottoman rule. Focusing on the aftermath of the Battle of Ankara, the subchapter **"Tīmūr's Shadow: Lārī's Account of the Ottoman Interregnum"** demonstrates Lārī's reliance on Ottoman sources while shaping them to maintain a glorified portrayal of Tīmūr. The chapter is also an exploration of the apogee of Ottoman power in the **"Conquering the World: Meḥmed II"** which examines the reign of Meḥmed II and the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Although written in a concise narrative style, Lārī's account emphasizes Meḥmed II's scholarly patronage and connections with Timurid intellectuals. Following this, **"Disclosing Hostility: Lārī's Ottoman perspective on the Battle of Çaldıran"** contrasts Lārī's Ottoman-centred viewpoint with the Safavid narratives and highlights his loyalty to Ottoman interests. And finally, **"Sultan Süleymān: A Holy Sovereign in Lārī's Narrative"** examines Lārī's portrayal of Sultan Süleymān as a paragon of divine wisdom, reflecting prevailing trends in Ottoman historiography.

In summary, the chapter on the Ottomans, in spite of its brevity, responds to several of the key questions raised at the beginning of this dissertation. First, it answers Hoca Sādeddin's scepticism about Lārī's ability to do justice to the glories of the Ottoman dynasty in *Mir'atu'l-Advār*. Lārī's explicit statement at the beginning of the chapter makes it clear that he intends to provide a summary of Ottoman history up to 1566 rather than a comprehensive account, thereby addressing Sādeddin's concerns. Second, although Lārī does not explicitly cite Ottoman sources, the chapter sheds light on Lārī's use of them. Lārī's reliance on Ottoman materials is underlined by his apparent references to Āşıkpaşazāde's "*Osmānoğulları'nın Tārīhi*" and his occasional use of Turkish anecdotes attributed to Ottoman Sultans. Moreover, Lārī's awareness of

the Ottoman intellectual milieu and his conscious decision to align himself with Ottoman perspective are reflected in his adoption of an Ottoman perspective throughout the chapter.

Furthermore, the chapter highlights Lārī's nuanced approach to historical narrative, characterized by his allegiance to Tīmūr in his discussion of Ottoman turmoil after the Battle of Ankara, and his adoption of a fervently Ottoman perspective in the narrative of the Battle of *Çaldıran*. This selective orientation highlights Lārī's strategic navigation of historical narratives to suit the preferences of his audience, particularly the Ottoman Sultan. In spite of these insights, what stands out in this chapter is the absence of a dedicated section on the Ottoman scholars. While Lārī does acknowledge notable figures such as 'Abdul Raḥmān Jāmī, 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, and 'Alī Ḳushjī, his omission of other contemporary scholars suggests strategic considerations rather than oversight. I suggest that Lārī might have chosen to acknowledge only those figures who matched his intellectual and cultural preferences, or whose recognition would be most beneficial in terms of reputation or patronage. By focusing on prominent Persian scholars such as 'Abdul Raḥmān Jāmī, 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, and 'Alī Ḳushjī, Lārī may have reinforced his association with a particular intellectual tradition, possibly to highlight his own scholarly lineage and credibility. On the other hand, the omission of Turkish scholars from Lārī's list could be indicative of a cultural or linguistic bias.

As a result of his background and intellectual training, he may have preferred Persian scholars over Turkish scholars, which was common in some scholarly circles at the time. This may have reflected an implicit preference for the culture of the Persian Empire, which was very influential in the intellectual and literary spheres. Alternatively, Lārī may simply have had limited access to, or familiarity with, the works or reputations of contemporary Turkish scholars. Geographical, linguistic or social factors affecting the dissemination of knowledge may have contributed to this. This may reflect his efforts to conform to the dominant intellectual traditions and scholarly norms of the Ottoman court or the wider Islamic world, where Persian scholars were highly respected. Lārī may have sought to maintain a neutral stance in a complex intellectual environment by concentrating on universally respected scholars.

Finally, the Ottoman chapter, though brief, serves as a poignant illustration of Lārī's role as historian and scholar, demonstrating his skill at strategic decision-making and navigating intellectual landscapes. The recurring theme of intellectuals' quest for recognition, evident from Firdawsī to Lārī, highlights the ongoing challenges that Persian intellectuals have faced throughout history.



CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

7.1. Muşliḥ Al-Dīn Lārī 's Intellectual Journey Through Historiography

Early Persian chronicles are known for their stylistic features, including ornate language and extensive use of poetry. Notable examples of this tradition are the works of Vaṣṣāf and Juwaynī. Lārī's historical writings exemplify this literary approach, as he explicitly states his intention to compile and summarise pre-existing histories. Despite this focus on summarisation, Lārī, following the Safavid-Persian historiographical style, prioritises linguistic elegance and stylistic refinement. In contrast, Mīrḥānd's historiography, which serves as a model for Lārī, follows the Timurid tradition and presents a more straightforward account of history, prioritising content over form. Lārī's "*Mir'atu'l-Advār wa Mirḳātu'l-Aḥbār*" is an example of an elaborate literary work encapsulating earlier histories. As its title suggests, it aims to reflect on the past, serving as both an account and a mirror of historical events.

Lārī's work, *Mir'atu'l-Advār*, is probably the last example of a universal history written in Persian within the Ottoman Empire. To my understanding there were no further examples in Persian after this, although the tradition of writing universal histories from the creation of the world to the present day continued in the centuries that followed. The influence of the *Mir'atu'l-Advār* and its author, Lārī, is largely responsible for the decline of Persian as a language of historical chronicles. This view is supported by Ottoman scholars such as Hoca Sādeddin, who, as Sultan Murād III's tutor, criticized in his historical works the elaborate and confused style of historians such as Muşliḥ al-dīn Lārī and Idrīs Bidlīsī. Hoca Sādeddin claimed that the writings of these authors are laden with complex syntax and ornamentation, often to the detriment of substantial historical content. Furthermore, he argued that their scholarly value was further diminished by the tendency towards exaggeration and verbosity in Persian-language compositions. This criticism extended beyond individual historians.

It implied that Persian, as a language, was inherently conducive to linguistic elaboration and exaggeration. Consequently, these perceived linguistic complexities and tendencies towards exaggeration can be linked to the absence of subsequent universal histories in Persian. Two key observations emerge from this analysis: first, the inherent complexity of the Persian language requires a higher level of linguistic skill to make it appealing, leading scribes to use elaborate vocabulary and syntactical constructions in order to impress their patrons. Second, Persian's linguistic flexibility may have contributed to the decline in the credibility and scholarly utility of Persian historical works by facilitating the embellishment of narratives, allowing scholars to produce compelling yet exaggerated accounts. It is worth noting that early modern scholars received extensive training in both Arabic and Persian from an early age, which undoubtedly influenced the complexity and sophistication of the writings they produced in these languages.

Throughout my dissertation, I have highlighted the dearth of documented information on Lārī's life. Despite his prolific literary output, which is notably lacking in autobiographical material, I have endeavored to construct a portrait of Lārī through a meticulous examination of his historical compositions. My aim has been to trace the contours of his intellectual development and the trajectory of his scholarly journey. Thus, I have attempted to offer insights into the intellectual personality of Lārī, as gleaned from his historical writings, within the confines of this study. Baki Tezcan and other scholars have suggested that Lārī was dissatisfied with the compensation he received while in the service of the Ottoman court under Sultan Süleymān. He cites this dissatisfaction as a reason for moving to Diyarbakır with İskender Pasha. However, I find this assertion somewhat dubious after a thorough examination of Lārī's character and life as portrayed in his works. There is no evidence of ambition or grandiosity in Lārī's behavior and literary work. In particular, he refrains from any overt self-referential commentary throughout his writings. This tendency is inconsistent with a personality driven by a desire for greater recognition or reward. Lārī conspicuously avoids inserting himself into the narrative, although he acknowledges his mentors, associates and family connections. This reticence suggests a contented rather than an ambitious disposition. It is plausible to surmise that Lārī's affiliation with the Naqshbandī Sufi order had an influence on his outlook, leading him to prioritize spiritual fulfilment over worldly acclaim. Evidence to support this view

includes Lārī's modest behavior upon arriving at the Ottoman court and his subsequent settlement in Diyarbakır, where he engaged in scholarly pursuits without actively seeking to advance or return to the capital. Lārī's modest approach, in which he refrained from attaching his name or affiliation to his works, is also reflected in the absence of overt personal attribution in his writings. Although dedicated to Sultan Selim II, Lārī's universal history appears to have been written as an intellectual highpoint rather than a calculated bid for patronage or recognition. Lārī's treatment of Ottoman history in the work lacks the power and meticulousness expected of a courtier seeking favor, despite its nominal dedication to the new Sultan. Given these observations, it appears that Lārī prioritized intellectual pursuits and a modest lifestyle, reflecting a dedication to his Sufi principles over ambition or material gain.

Although Lārī is best known for his contributions to philosophy and theology, as evidenced by the list of his works provided at the commencement of this research, his historical writings, though less renowned, offer valuable insight into his intellectual legacy. Lārī's philosophical works garnered him recognition among his contemporaries, particularly within the Ottoman domains. However, the present study contends that his historical writing, while not his primary intellectual pursuit, was a deliberate effort to leave a lasting legacy. Lārī's universal history was not intended to be a comprehensive historical account in the conventional sense, but rather a means for him to compile and transmit the vast knowledge he had acquired throughout his life. By writing history, he sought to preserve his intellectual contributions for future generations, blending philosophy, theology, and history into a cohesive narrative that reflected his broader worldview. This study, therefore, places emphasis on Lārī's historical work to explore how it fits within his wider intellectual goals and his desire to leave a legacy, rather than focusing solely on history as a discipline.

Another important insight that emerges from this dissertation is the perception of Lārī as a historian who was in tune with the intellectual currents and preferences that prevailed in his milieu. In the midst of his diverse scholarly endeavors, Lārī made a deliberate choice to present his universal history to the Ottoman Sultan. It encompassed the narrative from the dawn of the world to the era of the reigning Ottoman sovereign. In particular, Sultan Süleyman's patronage of various *Shahnāma* works and the establishment of a specialized position for the composition of such

narratives demonstrated his preference for universal histories from the creation of the world to his own time. In keeping with Süleymān's aesthetic preferences, these *Shahnāma* were typically written in elaborate Persian verse. In keeping with this tradition, Lārī set out to create a universal history. It was tailored to the taste of the Ottoman Sultan. The work was originally intended for Sultan Süleyman, but its completion was delayed. As a result, it was dedicated to Sultan Selīm II. Lārī's stylistic nuances are particularly evident in the chapter dedicated to the Ottomans, which features language and tone tailored to Sultan Süleyman. This is evidenced by the inclusion of poems and prefaces addressed to the Sultan. This indicates Lārī's strategic alignment with Süleymān's preferences. Moreover, reflecting Lārī's astute awareness of the monarch's literary and cultural preferences, the chapter on the Ottomans is crafted to appeal to Sultan Süleymān's sensibilities.

The distinctive approach to the different chapters of his work is another facet that reveals Lārī's intellectual insight and character. Of particular note is Lārī's heightened focus, both in terms of language and style, within the Ottoman chapter, which surpasses the attention given to other sections. This differentiation is evident in his composition of a separate preface and his longest poem within this chapter, in addition to the use of a more elevated linguistic mode. Several factors may account for this deliberate focus. First, Lārī's concern with the interests of the Ottoman court, especially the Sultan, is evident. On the other hand, Lārī was aware of the critical examination to which his account of the Ottomans would be subjected and tried to bring his prose to its peak in this section. It is likely that Lārī recognized the comparative lack of content within the Ottoman chapter. This may have led him to make up for it by using his linguistic and poetic skills. This strategic use of language and style underscores Lārī's keen awareness of his audience's expectations and perceptions, as well as his skill in navigating the complexities of courtly patronage and scholarly presentation.

Lārī was a scholar versed in many fields, and he skillfully adapted his knowledge to suit the interests of those he served. Lārī composed and dedicated poems to Shah Ḥusain Argūn, who had a passion for poetry. While the exact number of poems he wrote remains uncertain, it is known that Lārī actively participated in the Shah's poetry gatherings. This reflects Shah Ḥusain Argūn's appreciation for poetry. Later, Lārī

shifted his focus to astronomy, a field in which the Mughal emperor was deeply interested, when he entered the Mughal court of Humāyūn in India. Recognising the emperor's fascination with both astronomy and astrology, he composed a work on astronomy and dedicated it to Humāyūn. In the Ottoman Empire, Lārī continued to adapt his work to the intellectual climate of the time. He wrote several commentaries on philosophical works - his own personal interest and a popular subject in Ottoman scholarly circles. Finally, he wrote a universal history to Sultan Süleyman and later dedicated to his son, Sultan Selīm II, *Mir'atu'l-Advār*. Writing a universal history in Persian was very fashionable in the 1560s, reflecting the tastes of the Ottoman court at the time. Lārī was very aware of the preferences of his patrons. This shows his ability to present different aspects of his scholarship.

Another example of Lārī's intellectual approach is found in his treatment of the Timurids, particularly in his account of the Battle of Ankara. Here, despite the fact that his work was dedicated to an Ottoman Sultan, Lārī unmistakably presents a Timurid perspective. Despite these considerations, Lārī's inclusion of a Timurid perspective in his narrative is a remarkable display of boldness as a historian. This boldness can be interpreted as reflecting Lārī's commitment to scholarly integrity, as well as his awareness of the potential criticism his work would face, particularly in the chapter devoted to the Ottomans. In his steadfast presentation of the Timurid perspective, Lārī demonstrates a willingness to stand by his convictions and present what he perceives to be the truth, regardless of potential consequences. It is important, though, that Lārī's account of the Battle of Ankara, within the broader context of the Timurid period, may not be consistent with contemporary historical accuracy. Rather, it reflects Lārī's desire to offer a richly textured account that goes beyond simplistic narratives of triumph or defeat, and is more akin to an account one might expect from a court historian within the Timurid court. Lārī's treatment of the Timurids is thus an example of both his scholarly courage and his commitment to the presentation of a historical narrative, albeit one that may deviate from conventional expectations.

One explanation could be that Lārī's promotion of this perspective may have been necessary for the strengthening of relations between the Ottoman heirs and the Timurids. The potential benefit for the promotion of Ottoman interests may also have been recognized by Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, who commissioned Hoca Sādeddin to

translate *Mir'atu'l-Advār*. An alliance between the Ottomans, Uzbeks and Mughals against the Safavids would have served the common interests of all three powers. For this to have been possible, the negative perceptions that had their roots in the Timurid-Ottoman conflict and historical tensions would have had to be redefined.

In another instance, Lārī's narration of the battle of *Çaldıran* between Shah Ismā'īl and Sultan Selīm has a distinctly Ottoman perspective. In particular, his narrative predominantly reflects the Ottoman perspective, which differs sharply from that adopted by him in describing the Battle of Ankara. There are two main reasons for this shift in perspective. Firstly, Lārī's reliance on Ottoman sources for this part of his narrative results in reproducing Ottoman-centered viewpoints without any significant acknowledgement of the Safavid perspective. In doing so, he closely mirrors the Ottoman narrative, thereby aligning himself with how the Ottomans viewed the conflict. Second, Lārī's deliberate omission of the Safavid perspective may have been influenced by his negative portrayal of the Safavids and his perceived hostility towards them. In contrast to his admiration for the Timurids, Lārī's animosity towards the Safavids probably motivated his suppression of any elements that could be construed as sympathetic to their cause. In addition, this episode highlights Lārī's adeptness as a scholar, as he strategically aligns his narrative with the prevailing Ottoman discourses and ideologies of the time. Lārī demonstrates an awareness of the intellectual and ideological currents that shaped historical interpretations in the Ottoman milieu by echoing the arguments of Ottoman scholars, such as branding the Safavids as heretics and questioning their adherence to the true faith. This deliberate shift in perspective across events highlights Lārī's adaptability as a historian, skillfully navigating different sources and employing different approaches to suit each historical narrative.

In the course of his story, Lārī skillfully interweaves the biographical sketches of various individuals with subtle reflections on his own journey through life. Through the biographies he presents, it becomes clear that Lārī is attempting to portray different facets of his own experience. Each biography serves as a prism through which Lārī makes a subtle connection with his own personal journey. Although Lārī does not explicitly make these connections, discernible patterns emerge in his narrative, suggesting underlying parallels between the lives of his subjects and his own trajectory. It is notable that, suggesting a deliberate process of selection on his part,

the individuals introduced in Lārī's story often bear some relationship to him. Conspicuously absent are introductions to Ottoman scholars unrelated to Lārī. This may indicate a lack of personal connections with such figures. It is plausible that Lārī's decision to exclude other Ottoman scholars reflects his inability to establish meaningful connections with them, which led him to refrain from introducing them at all. This deliberate omission underscores Lārī's strategic approach to biography within his historical narrative. He navigates the presentation of individuals in a way that subtly reflects his own experiences and affiliations.

When discussing the Safavids, Lārī's narrative takes on a decidedly personal tone. He ventures beyond a mere historical account to express his personal beliefs and experiences in a concise section of only five folios covering both the Safavids and the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu. There is a palpable hostility, rooted in his own lived experience and deeply held beliefs, to his portrayal of the Safavids. Lārī's portrayal of the Safavids is imbued with his own subjective perspective, reflecting his personal animosity towards the Safavid rulers, especially Shah Ṭahmāsp, unlike other sections where he relies on external sources. It is noteworthy that Lārī's resentment of the Safavids seems to stem from his residence in Shiraz during the reign of Shah Ṭahmāsp, a period that is likely to have had a profound effect on him. This section of his story serves as a platform for Lārī to air his grievances and denounce the Safavids. This underlines the deeply personal nature of his antipathy towards them. Lārī takes every opportunity to express his personal animosity towards the Safavids throughout this section.

Lārī's attitude as a peaceful Muslim is another important aspect to highlight. His account shows that he was neither anti-Shī'a nor explicitly pro-Sunnī. In his section on Safavid scholars, for example, there are references to both Shī'a and Sunnī figures. Further demonstrating his inclusive approach, his teachers included scholars from both sects. It was the political actions of the Safavids, rather than their Shī'a identity, that caused Lārī's hostility towards them. When he criticizes the Shī'as or the Ḳızılbaş, his focus is on the political behavior of the Safavids rather than on Shī'a doctrine or its adherents more broadly.

One question that remains unanswered in this study concerns Lārī's omission of the Mughals from his historical narrative, despite having spent considerable time at the

Mughal Court under the patronage of Emperor Humāyūn. Lārī is conspicuously silent on the Mughals, although he deals extensively with several other dynasties and kingdoms. One plausible explanation for this is that Lārī was pressed for time to deal with the Mughals. Since Lārī was under pressure to speed up the completion of his history in order to present it to the Ottoman Sultan upon his succession, he may have given priority to the summary of the Ottoman dynasty in the final sections, and had insufficient time to devote to the Mughals. Conceivably, had Lārī had more time, his treatment of the Mughals would have been both comprehensive and fascinating, given his alleged closeness to Emperor Humāyūn. A puzzling aspect that warrants further investigation, however, is the absence of any mention of Lārī in the Mughal chronicles. While there is widespread speculation that Lārī had a close relationship with Humāyūn, the lack of concrete evidence in Mughal sources calls for caution in drawing definitive conclusions. Future research may shed further light on Lārī's connections with the Mughal court and help explain why he chose to omit the Mughals from his historical narrative.

Lārī clearly intended to speed up the completion of his Universal History, *Mir'atu'l-Advār wa Mirkātu'l-Aḥbār*, with the aim of presenting it to the Ottoman emperor Selīm II in 1566 when he succeeded to the throne. Lārī deliberately chose to culminate his intellectual career with a work of this magnitude, despite his prolific output in various fields of study. There was an obvious demand for universal histories in Persian, especially those that extended up to the reign of the contemporary Sultan. This reflected Sultan Süleymān's penchant for such narratives in his later years. Lārī's life journey reflects his diverse intellectual pursuits: he was born and raised in the Safavid Empire, later migrated to the Mughal court, and ultimately passed away in the Ottoman Empire. *Mir'atu'l-Advār* serves as a reflection of Lārī's intellectual journey—though not his greatest work, it represents the legacy he intended to leave behind. As Lārī himself states in the opening pages, *Mir'atu'l-Advār* embodies the synthesis of his lifelong learning, study, and beliefs, underscoring his dedication to his intellectual and spiritual pursuits.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A¹⁰⁰⁵

A LETTER WRITTEN BY MUŞLIḤ AL-DĪN LĀRĪ TO SULTAN ḤUSSAIN OF MOSUL

هذا صورت مكتوب قدوه الفضلا و زبده العلهما المرحوم مولانا مصلح الدين الارى عليه
رحمه البارى المرسل المرحوم المغفور له سلاله الامرا سلطان حسين حاكم المعاديه
بموصل

دعايى از شين انتقاص مصون و به زين عين اخلاص محلى و ثنائى به سمات خلوص
مقرون و از جهات ربا مبرا تحفه مجلس معلى و محفل والا حضرت مكرمت منقبت
شوكت حشمت سمت وصمت نصف عدالت مبانى بسالت نشانى-مد الله تعالى ايام دولته
و حشمته- گردانیده خلاصه ليالى و ايام به دعای دولت و احتشام اشتغال مى ورزد و
مترقب آن معنی مى باشد که گاهی به دولت خطور بر خاطر خطیر و ضمیر فیض پذیر
فایز مى شده باشد و در جریده منشیان فراموشان خدام سعادت نشان مندرج نباشد. بعد
هذا چون کامل الفضائل مرضیه الشامیل مولانا احمد-ادام الله فضایله- که به انتساب و
اختصاص عتبه سعادت مدار سمت افتخار و اشتهار دارد و مزیت وی بر اقران در
صنوف کمالات و فضایل و تفوق در انواع شرایف و خصایل و شمایل متعین و متباین
است این مقیم مقام عجز و افتقار را از توجه بعضی به آن ساحت حشمت و وقار آگاه
ساخت تجدید عرض دعا و ثنا لازم دانست و چون مشار الیه بنا بر وفور فضایل و
خصایل شایستگی به مزید التفات آن فرخنده صفات را دارد و شیمه کریمه نیز مقتضی
تربیت این طایفه است خصوصا که به شرف انتساب و اختصاص به عتبه دین مناص
منتسب باشد بی شبهه به ظهور خواهد رسید. و مع هذا مترقب است که بعضی وکلا که
با فضلا مناسبت ندارند به حسن سلوک نسبت با متعلقان مشار الیه مامور باشند. موجبات
دولت ابدی و اسباب سعادتى سرمدى متواصل باد.

الفقير الحقير الداعى

مصلح الدين اللارى

¹⁰⁰⁵This letter can be found at the end of the copy in the British Museum, with the catalogue number Add.7650. Sagharvayan includes this letter at the end of his edition. It does not appear in other copies. A translation of this letter can be found on page 119 of Chapter II of the dissertation.

LETTER FROM TĪMŪR TO BĀYEZĪD

لله الحمد و المنه که امروز به طالع مسعود، زمام احکام ملک و ملت در قبضه اختیار و
 انامل اقتدار ملازمان بارگاه و بندگان درگاه ما است، و عرصه ربع مسکون و بسیط
 هامون به عنایت بی‌چون و اداره **قادر کُن فَيَكُون** در تحت تصرف خدمتکاران شایسته
 و جان‌سپاران بایسته ما است. ملوک و سلاطین توران و ایران حلقه عبودیت ما در
 گوش و غاشیه اطاعت ما بر دوش دارند، و سرداران اطراف و گردن‌کشان آفاق از
 مقتضای فرمان جهان مطاع و یرلیغ واجب الاتباع سرمویی در نمی‌گذرند
 در این مدت استماع می‌رفت که اکثر اوقات وی به جنگ فرنگ مصروف است و
 همگی همت به استیصال نصارا، ای بی‌نام و ننگ مقصور
 تا غایت تحریک عنان توجه به آن صوب از مکمن قوت به فعل نیامد. خاطر خطیر
 نمی‌خواست که از عبور عساکر گردن مآثر اندوه و ملامت شامل حال مسلمانان گردد و
 مشادی و شماتت نصیب بی‌دینان شود. اکنون وصیت آن است که از طریق آبا و اجداد
 خود اعراض و ابا ننایید و حدیث **اتْرُكُوا التَّرْكَ مَا تَرَكُوْكُمْ** نصب العین ضمیر سازید و
 ابواب فتنه و بلا بر خود نگشایید
 والسلام علیکم

¹⁰⁰⁶ Muslih al-Din Lārī, “Mir’at al-advar wa Mirqat al-ahbar” (Baghdad, March 28, 1587), 436b–37a, 34 Nk 3156, Nuru’ Osmāniye Manuscript Library.,

A translation of this letter can be found on page 237 of Chapter IV of the dissertation.

THE TEHMĪD AT THE BEGINNING OF THE OTTOMAN CHAPTER

ز احصا فزون حمد و منت بسی
 خدای جهانراست به هر کسی
 که خورشید عالم چو شد در حجاب
 مه بدر آمد به صد آب و تاب
 چه بدری جهانتاب عالم فروز
 شب مظلم ظلم ازو گشته روز
 فروزان در درج شاهنشاهی
 درخشان مه برج فرماندهی
 قدر اقتدار و قضا انتقام
 سکندر مکان و سلیمان مقام
 زهی خان بی خان و شاه عظیم
 کریم علیم حلیم سلیم
 ازو روضه معدلت تازه شد
 وزو کوس شاهی پر آوازه شد
 بسی قرن بگذشت و دارد چنان
 صدا طبل عدل انوشیروان
 چراغ حیاتش گر افروختی
 کنون رسم عدل از وی آموختی
 به دوران دادش چنان شد زمان
 که میش است با گرگ بازی کنان
 جهان دارد از بامن تیغش قرار
 خوش آبی در آورد بر روی کار
 به شمشیر انصاف سد سدید
 کشیده به یاجوج ظلم از حدید
 ز پاسش که آباد ازو شد زمین
 حریم هدی راست حصنی حصین
 مشام گل از خلق او مشک سا
 غبار درش سر مه توتیا
 سمند بلندش بود مثل طور
 جمالش بر آن از تجلیست نور
 خیالش خرد راست مشکل گشای
 دل اوست مرآت غیبی نمای
 ز دریای قهرش اجل رشحه ای

¹⁰⁰⁷ Ibid., 6b–7a-b., This poem has been used to examine Lārī's analyses of Sultan Süleymān. In subchapter 5.7 of chapter V of this dissertation, selected parts have been translated and interpreted.

حیات از گل خلق او نفخه ای
دمی یابد از فیض عامش قنور
قیام قیامت نماید ظهور
بر آورده کف چون گدایان ملک
برش بحر با کاسه چوبین فلک
سحاب از کفش در خوی خجلتست
حیا هر که دارد بر او رحمتست
به عالم ازو تازه شد داد و دین
که معیار آنست معیار این
بود مدعا دولتش را دوام
گوازش بود عدل و عوای تمام
ز ذره فزون لشکرش در حساب
فزون تر ولی هر یک از آفتاب
به خود دلیران جیشش توان
که تا شد علم از اطلس آسمان
نهالیست رمحش به باغ ظفر
که سرهای اعداست او را ثمر
گراز صور قهرش برآید صدا
صور را کند از هیولی جدا
چو ببند به سوی زمان از غضب
ز هم بسگلد رشته روز و شب
گر آهن شود جسم خصم نمیم
چو پرگار گردد ز تیغش دونیم
بود خصم جاهش نگوئسار و خوار
سر افراز می گرد اما ز دار
چو طوفان فتنه زند موج قهر
وقارش شود لنگر فلک دهر
فلک داشت لافی ز قدر و شرف
سراپرده اش دید و شد بر طرف
سریرش عیان دید ضحاک دهر
چو گل خنده بر تخت جم زد به جهر
اگر ساربانش بخواهد به طبع
شود یک قطارش سماوات سبع
خطا نیست بر تیر تدبیر او
خطا بینی از قوس تسخیر او
زمانی که بر دست گیرد کمند
به وقتی که از جا درآرد سمند
به پستی کشد شیر افلاک را
به گردون برد مرکز خاک را
نیاید خطا در دل بی غلش

خدا کرده محفوظ لوح دلش
ز تحریر مدحش فلک راست کام
ز انجم ورق کرده افشان مدام
نشاید برو بزور زبان آوری
به خاقان عالم ثناگستری
ز حسنش ثنا هرچه فایق بود
نظر به کمالش نه لایق بود
همان که به از روی عجز و نیاز
بگوئیم نالان به دانای راز
که یا رب به اسمای حسنای تو
به ذات بلامثل یکتای تو
که پیوسته این خسرو دین پناه
که عالم ندیده چون او پادشاه
بر اولاد آدم بود شهریار
در آفاق عالم خداوندگار
عیون زمان باد پر نور ازو
خراب جهان باد معمور ازو



APPENDIX D

A CATALOGUE OF LĀRĪ'S WORKS

- ***Aṣbātu'l-mi'ād el-Jismānī (Risālah fī'l-ḥashr ve'l-Mi'ād)***: This work, which deals with the resurrection and the hereafter in poetic form, has survived in four copies. These copies can be found in the Mehmet Asım Bey Collection of the Köprülü Library (catalogue number 534236), the Atıf Efendi Collection of the Atıf Efendi Library (catalogue number 374420), the Damat İbrahim Pasha Collection of the Süleymaniye Library (catalogue number 232537) and the Yazma Bağışlar Collection (catalogue number 351783).
- ***Bahşun fī'l-k-ḳudrat we'l-irāda***: The manuscript deals with philosophical concepts of power and will in the context of Islamic worship. It is preserved in the Kastamonu Yazma Eser Library, specifically in the KHK collection (catalogue number 459400).
- ***Tahḳīku'l-mi'ādi ve'l-mebde'ī***: This philosophical treatise examines the concepts of resurrection and the afterlife. The manuscript is preserved in the Kastamonu Yazma Eser Library and is part of the KHK Collection (catalogue number 455147).
- ***Risālahh fī bayan-i ḳudrat ul-lāh***: This manuscript deals with the science of kalām (Islamic theology). It is preserved in the Beyazıt Library and is part of the Veliyyüddin Efendi Collection (catalogue number 547964).
- ***et-Ta'līk Anwār al-Tanzīl wa-Asrar al-Ta'wīl***: This manuscript consists of marginal notes to Bayzāwī's *Anwar al-Tanzīl wa-Asrar al-Ta'wīl*. It is preserved in the Manisa Library, specifically in the Manisa İl Halk Kütüphanesi Collection (catalogue number 94307).
- ***Ta'līk 'ala'l-Mawāḳıf***: This manuscript contains marginal notes on 'Adud ad-Dīn al-İdschī's *al-Mawāḳıf*. It exists in two copies, both of which are preserved in the Süleymaniye Library. The copies are in the Murād Molla Collection (catalogue number 312080) and the Hacı Beşir Ağa Collection (catalogue number 249875).
- ***Hāşhiya 'alā Sharḥi Tazhībī'l-manṭıḳ ve'l-kalām***. This manuscript contains marginalia to Dawānī's commentary on Taftazānī's *Tazhībī'l-manṭıḳ ve'l-kalām*. It

is preserved in Süleymaniye Library, where it is housed in the Şehid Ali Pasha Collection (catalogue number 330074).

- ***Nihāyetü'l-Mes'ül fī tahkiki sālibeti'l-Mahmūl***: This manuscript deals with philosophical psychology. It is preserved in the Süleymaniye Library, where it is part of the Damat İbrahim Pasha Collection (catalogue number 232539).
- ***Hāshiya 'ale'l Sharhi'-Ākāidī'n-Nesefīyye***: This manuscript contains marginal notes on Taftāzānī's *Ākāidī'n-Nesefīyye*. It is preserved in the Hacı Selim Ağa Kütüphanesi Library and is part of the Hacı Selim Ağa Collection (catalogue number 364313).
- ***Risālah fī hālli Muğleṭāti Ejtemā'i'n-Nakīzīn***: This manuscript, which focuses on logic, is preserved in the Süleymaniye Library. It is part of the Damat İbrahim Pasha Collection (catalogue number 232540).
- ***Risālah fī Mes'ele'l-Eb'ād***: This manuscript, which deals with arithmetic, exists in two copies. It is preserved in the Süleymaniye Library, where it is housed in the Damat İbrahim Pasha Collection (catalogue number 232538) and the Carullah Collection (catalogue number 226871).
- ***Risālah fī'l-Kalām***: This manuscript, which is related to the science of Kalām, is preserved in the Süleymaniye Library. It is part of the Hacı Beşir Ağa Collection (catalogue number 249847).
- ***Risālah fī'l-ulūmi'l-muhtelife***: This manuscript, which deals with various aspects of mathematics, is preserved in the Süleymaniye Library. It is part of the Damat İbrahim Pasha collection (catalogue number 232536).
- ***Hāshiya 'alā Sharhi'l-Kādī Mīr Maybūdī 'alā Hidāyeti'l-ḥikme***: Marginalia on Kādī Mīr Maybūdī's commentary on al-Abharī's *Hidāyeti'l-ḥikme*. The manuscript is preserved in 103 copies across a diverse array of libraries and collections. In the **Süleymaniye Library**, it is found in several notable collections: the İyd Meḥmed Efendi Collection (catalogue number 280473), the Yazma Bağışlar Collection (catalogue numbers 342405, 351439, 343199, 345261, 349543, 345169, 342878, 351408, 352405, and 00961), and the Reisulküttab Collection (catalogue numbers 322841 and 324110). Additional copies are located in the Hacı Mahmud Efendi Collection (catalogue number 259755), the Esad Efendi Collection (catalogue numbers 186041 and 186045), and the Halet Efendi Collection (catalogue number 264015). Other noteworthy collections within the

Süleymaniye Library include the Ayasofya Collection (catalogue numbers 202510 and 200090), the Giresun Yazmalar Collection (catalogue number 247950), the Hacı Ali Saib Efendi Collection (catalogue number 248859), the İzmirli Muşafâ Efendi Collection (catalogue numbers 289763 and 289768), the Kadızade Burhaneddin Collection (catalogue number 289937), and the Kasidecizade Collection (catalogue numbers 292043 and 292042). The manuscript is also present in the Yozgat Collection (catalogue numbers 357471, 357741, 358126, 357855, and 358145), the Bağdatlı Vehbi Collection (catalogue number 208724), the Mehmed Nuri Efendi Collection (catalogue number 305858), the Mihrisah Sultan Collection (catalogue number 308357), the M Arif M Murâd Collection (catalogue number 304626), the Hasan Hüsni Pasha Collection (catalogue number 271585), the Pertevniyal Collection (catalogue number 320655), and the Serez Collection (catalogue numbers 380350, 380358, 382911, and 380359). Additional holdings include the Fatih Collection (catalogue numbers 241266, 241270, and 241264), the Denizli Collection (catalogue number 234324), the Damat İbrahim Pasha Collection (catalogue number 232559), the İzmir Collection (catalogue number 282194), the İbrahim Efendi Collection (catalogue number 279153), and the Şehid Ali Pasha Collection (catalogue number 329967). The manuscript is also kept in the Carullah Collection (catalogue numbers 227942, 226859, and 226968), the Çorlulu Ali Pasha Collection (catalogue number 231328), the Celal Ökten Collection (catalogue number 229551), the Laleli Collection (catalogue numbers 300456, 301088, 301043, 301092, 301050, 301093, and 301052), and the Tirnovalı Collection (catalogue numbers 338571, 338558, 338562, 338561, 338559, and 338560). Lastly, it is part of the Tercüman Collection (catalogue number 336781), the Yeni Cami Collection (catalogue number 355755), and the Antalya Tekelioğlu Collection (catalogue numbers 401917, 401960, 401642, and 401639). Further collections within the Süleymaniye Library include the Yahya Tevfik Collection (catalogue number 341092), the Hamidiye Collection (catalogue numbers 266386, 266377, and 266379), the Darulmaşnawî Collection (catalogue number 233535), the Muğla Hoca Muşafâ Efendi Collection (catalogue number 309593), and the Amcazade Hüseyin Collection (catalogue number 196925). In the **Ragıp Pasha Library**, the manuscript is located in the Ragıp Pasha Collection (catalogue numbers 991, 2649, and 844) and the Yeni Medrese Collection (catalogue number 356748). The **Balıkesir Library** holds copies in the Balıkesir

İl Halk Kütüphanesi Collection (catalogue number 416365) and the Balıkesir Dursunbey İlçe Halk Kütüphanesi Collection (catalogue number 417591). At the **Hacı Selim Ağa Library**, the manuscript is preserved in the Kemankeş Collection (catalogue number 368997) and the Hacı Selim Ağa Collection (catalogue numbers 364442 and 364436). In the **Manisa Library**, it is found in the Manisa İl Halk Kütüphanesi Collection (catalogue number 450071) and the Manisa Akhisar Zeynelzade Collection (catalogue numbers 100504, 100513, 94476, and 99992). The **Konya Yusuf Ağa Library** includes the manuscript in the Yusuf Ağa Kütüphanesi Collection (catalogue numbers 112248, 110658, 111135, 120293, 120464, 120276, 120407, 120953, 121735, 121167, 121112, and 112719). The **Beyazıt Library** features it in the Beyazıt Collection (catalogue numbers 581299, 572484, 568003, 567962, 568008, 567983, and 567987). At the **Kütahya Vahid Pasha Library**, the manuscript is part of the Vahid Pasha Collection (catalogue numbers 522312, 521138, 521164, 521166, 521165, 521144, 519742, 519755, 519758, and 521174). The **Çorum Hasan Pasha Library** houses the manuscript in the Hasan Pasha Matbu Collection (catalogue numbers 131214, 134450, and 130037) and the Hasan Pasha Yazma Collection (catalogue numbers 126806, 126803, 126802, 126804, and 126801). The **Millet Library** holds copies in the Sami Benli Collection (catalogue number 408592) and the A.E. Arabi Collection (catalogue numbers 154579, 154581, 148330, 148331, 148329, 148320, 148304, 148322, 148325, 148332, 148327, 148334, 148333, and 148328). At the **Edirne Selimiye Library**, it is preserved in the Selimiye Yazmalar Collection (catalogue numbers 434085 and 268392) and the Selimiye Basmalar Collection (catalogue numbers 464265, 464028, and 464917). The **Sivas Ziya Bey Library** has copies in the Sivas Yazma Collection (catalogue numbers 145522, 145473, and 145478). In the **Nuru‘‘Osmaniye Library**, the manuscript is kept in the Nuru‘‘Osmaniye Collection (catalogue numbers 175811, 175809, 175814, 176678, 176380, 175879, 175859, and 175820). The **Atıf Efendi Library** includes it in the Atıf Efendi Collection (catalogue numbers 374922, 374918, 374925, 374948, 374936, 01162, 01910, and 374924) and the Atıf Efendi Eki Collection (catalogue number 371347). The **Erzurum Library** holds the manuscript in the Erzurum Yazmalar Collection (catalogue numbers 442566 and 442095). The **Samsun Library** Samsun İl Halk Kütüphanesi Collection includes it with catalogue numbers 623122, 622848, 623634, and 622799. In the **Nevşehir Library**, Nevşehir

Gülşehir Karavezir İlçe Halk Kütüphanesi Collection, it is cataloged under catalogue number 621900. The **Eskişehir Library**, Eskişehir İl Halk Kütüphanesi Collection holds it with catalogue numbers 625025 and 625023. The **Amasya Beyazıt Library** features it in the Beyazıt Collection (catalogue numbers 387289, 387845, 389723, and 387729). At the **Kastamonu Yazma Eser Library**, it is found in the KHK Collection (catalogue numbers 456110, 456388, 456365, 455146, 455346, 459965, 461614, 459899, and 455580). The **Diyarbakır Library** preserves it in the Diyarbakır İl Halk Kütüphanesi Collection (catalogue numbers 422601 and 422128). Finally, the **National Library** has multiple copies across its collections: the Ankara Adnan Ötüken İl Halk Kütüphanesi Collection (catalogue numbers 586799, 590350, 588191, 584549, 584298, and 588581), the Samsun İl Halk Kütüphanesi Collection (catalogue numbers 623122, 622848, 623634, and 622799), the Nevşehir Gülşehir Karavezir İlçe Halk Kütüphanesi Collection (catalogue number 621900), and the Eskişehir İl Halk Kütüphanesi Collection (catalogue numbers 625025 and 625023).

- ***Ta'līq 'ala'l -Lārī ala'l- Kādī Mīr Maybūdī***: This manuscript, which deals with the study of mathematics, is preserved in the Kütahya Vahid Pasha Library. It is part of the Vahid Pasha Collection (catalogue number 519758).
- ***Hāshiyā 'alā Māṭāli 'i'l-Anzār***: This manuscript contains marginal notes on Mahmūd al-Aṣḫānī's *Māṭāli 'i'l-Anzār*. It is preserved in the Konya Yazma Eserler Bölge Müdürlüğü Library, where it is housed in the Bölge Yazma Eserler Collection (catalogue number 73984).
- ***Hāshiyā 'ale'l-Fawāidi'd-Diyāiyye***: This manuscript, which contains marginal notes to Molla Jāmī's commentary on Ibnu'l-Hājib's al-Ḳāfiye, survives in seven copies. It is kept in the Süleymaniye Library in the Hacı Mahmud Efendi Collection (catalogue number 260303), the İzmir Collection (catalogue number 283198), the Celal Ökten Collection (catalogue number 229711) and the Şehid Ali Pasha Collection (catalogue number 331000). It can also be found in the Konya Yusuf Ağa Library in the Yusuf Ağa Kütüphanesi Collection (catalogue number 109035), the Millet Library in the A.E. Müteferrik Collection (catalogue number 398094) and the Milli Library in the Nevşehir Ürgüp Tahsin Ağa İlçe Halk Kütüphanesi Collection (catalogue number 592561).

- ***Hāshiya ‘ale’l-Muṭawal:*** This manuscript, which contains marginal notes to Taftazānī’s *Muṭawal*, survives in nine copies. The copies are kept in different libraries: Beyazıt Library within the Veliyyüddin Efendi Collection (catalogue numbers 546766 and 546765) and the Beyazıt Collection (catalogue number 563843); Hacı Selim Ağa Kütüphanesi Library within the Hacı Selim Ağa Collection (catalogue number 364919); and Süleymaniye Library within the Şehid Ali Pasha Collection (catalogue number 330712) and the Murād Molla Collection (catalogue number 312465). It is also preserved in the Amasya Beyazıt Library in the Gümüshacı Köyü Collection (catalogue number 390055), the Edirne Selimiye Library in the Selimiye Yazmalar Collection (catalogue number 431851), the Konya Yazma Eserler Bölge Müdürlüğü Library within the Bölge Yazma Eserler Collection (catalogue number 81943), and the Konya Yusuf Ağa Library within the Yusuf Ağa Kütüphanesi Collection (catalogue number 117549).
- ***Sharḥu’r-Risālah-i Kubrā (Risālah fī’l-mantuk):*** This manuscript is a Persian commentary on the *Risālah-i Kubrā* by Jurjānī. A total of two copies survive. These copies are kept in the Süleymaniye Library in the Hacı Beşir Ağa Collection (catalogue number 249079) and the Şehid Ali Pasha Collection (catalogue number 330073).
- ***Sharḥu’l-arba ‘in:*** This manuscript is a commentary on Imām Nawāwī’s *Arba ‘in*. A total of six copies have survived. These copies are kept at Süleymaniye Library in the H Şemsi F Güneren Collection (catalogue number 248303), the Giresun Yazmalar Collection (catalogue number 247351), the Reisulküttab Collection (catalogue number 322310) and the Amcazade Hüseyin Collection (catalogue number 196665). The manuscript is also kept in the Konya Yazma Eserler Bölge Library in the Bölge Yazma Eserler Collection (catalogue number 88695) and in the Bursa İnebey Library in the H. Çelebi Collection (catalogue number 31232).
- ***Tafsīru şūrati’l-En ‘ām:*** This manuscript is a commentary on Surah Al-En ‘ām. It is preserved in the Süleymaniye Library, where it is housed in the Esad Efendi Collection (catalogue number 182271).
- ***Sharḥu’ş-Shamāil’t-Tirmizī:*** This manuscript, a commentary on Tirmizī’s *Shamāil*, was originally written in Persian and later translated into Arabic. A total of nine copies survive in several important libraries. In the Topkapı Sarayı Library, it is in the Aḥmed III collection (catalogue number 550846). The Süleymaniye

Library has it in the Hacı Beşir Ağa Collection (catalogue number 249480), and the Şehid Ali Pasha Collection has two copies (catalogue numbers 327525 and 327526). The Yeni Cami Collection also has one copy (catalogue number 355166). In addition, the Köprülü Library has it in the Fazıl Aḥmed Pasha Collection (catalogue number 359864) and the Ragıp Pasha Library has it in the Ragıp Pasha Collection (catalogue number 309). Finally, the Millet Library has a copy in the Feyzullah Efendi Collection (catalogue number 158461).

- ***Sharḥ-i Risālah-i Fārsiyye-li'l- Jurjānī***: This manuscript is a commentary on Jurjānī's Persian treatise on *Kalām*. It is preserved in the Beyazıt Library, where it is housed in the Beyazıt Collection (catalogue number 568434).
- ***Sharḥ-i Risālah-i'l-Fatḥiyye***: This manuscript, which deals with astronomy, exists in three copies preserved in different libraries. The Ragıp Pasha Library holds one copy in the Ragıp Pasha Collection (catalogue number 1080). Another copy is kept in the Kastamonu Yazma Eser Library within the KHK collection (catalogue number 460997). The third copy is kept in the National Library, specifically in the Ankara Adnan Ötüken İl Halk Kütüphanesi Collection (catalogue number 588372).
- ***Sharḥ-i Risālah-i'l-Farīda***: This manuscript, which focuses on the Arabic language, is kept in the Bursa İnebey Library. It is part of the National Collection (catalogue number 522573).
- ***Sharḥ-i'l-Erşād fī furū 'ş-Shāfi'īye***: This manuscript is a commentary on al-Ershād by Sharaf al-Dīn al-Yemenī, focusing on Shāfi'ī jurisprudence. It is preserved in the Süleymaniye Library, where it is housed in the Şehid Ali Pasha Collection (catalogue number 328166).
- ***Unmudhaj al-'ulūm***: This manuscript provides concise information on various scientific fields. Two copies have survived. One copy is preserved in the Süleymaniye Library in the Murād Molla Collection (catalogue number 312351) and the other in the Millet Library in the Feyzullah Efendi Collection (catalogue number 161074).
- ***et-Tazkira fī 'ilmi'l-ḥay'at***: This manuscript, a commentary on a Persian treatise by 'Alī Qushjī, survives in a total of 23 copies in various libraries. It is in the Süleymaniye Library in the Esad Efendi Collection (catalogue number 186276), the Halet Efendi Collection (catalogue number 264017), the Yusuf Ağa Collection

(catalogue number 358522), the Serez Collection (catalogue numbers 380317 and 380316), Fatih Collection (catalogue number 241608), Hamidiye Collection (catalogue number 266509), Yazma Bağışlar Collection (catalogue number 350764) and Carullah Collection (catalogue numbers 226948 and 227392). It is also kept in the Hacı Selim Ağa Library in the Hacı Selim Ağa Collection (catalogue number 364553) and in the Köprülü Library in the Fazıl Ahmed Pasha Collection (catalogue numbers 360770 and 361811). The manuscript can also be found in the Edirne Selimiye Library within the Selimiye Yazmalar Collection (catalogue number 431744) and in the Konya Yazma Eserler Bölge Müdürlüğü Library within the Bölge Yazma Eserler Collection (catalogue number 73518). It is also in the Manisa Library within the Manisa İl Halk Kütüphanesi Collection (catalogue numbers 98353, 98359, 101640, 96832, 96867, 95944 and 90227), the Rodos Fethi Pasha Vakfı Hafız Ahmed Ağa Library within the Rodos Hafız Ahmed Ağa Kütüphanesi Collection (catalogue numbers 662172 and 662104), the Kütahya Vahid Pasha Library within the Vahid Pasha Collection (catalogue numbers 521829 and 519773), and the Diyarbakır Library within the Diyarbakır İl Halk Kütüphanesi Collection (catalogue number 421685). Finally, it is kept in the National Library, specifically in the Ankara Adnan Ötüken İl Halk Kütüphanesi Collection (catalogue number 588352) and the Nevşehir Gülşehir Karavezir İlçe Halk Kütüphanesi Collection (catalogue number 621636).

- **29. *Tafsīru şūreti'l-ḳadr***: This manuscript, which provides an exegesis of *Sūreti'l-ḳadr*.¹⁰⁰⁸ This manuscript exists in three copies in different libraries. It is preserved in the Beyazıt Library in the Veliyyüddin Efendi Collection (catalogue number 547343), in the Atıf Efendi Library in the Atıf Efendi Collection (catalogue number 374489), and in the Süleymaniye Library in the Carullah Collection (catalogue number 226868).
- ***Risālah fī't- Tafsīr***: This manuscript, which deals with the science of tafsīr (Islamic interpretation), is preserved in the Süleymaniye Library. It is part of the Hacı Beşir Ağa Collection (catalogue number 249848).
- ***al-Hayāt fī Shurūti's-ṣalāt***: This manuscript, which deals with the conditions of prayer, is preserved in the Bursa İnebey Library. It is part of the General Collection (catalogue number 28677). The manuscript is written in Ottoman

¹⁰⁰⁸ Ali Akay, "Muslihuddin El-Lari'nin Tefsiru Sureti'l-Kadr Isimli Risalesi" IX, no. I (2007).

Turkish and the author is identified only as "Muşliḥ al-Dīn". Therefore, it remains uncertain whether the author is indeed Lārī.

- ***Risālah fī tahkīkī ḥaṭṭi'l-fajr wa'sh-Shafaḥ***: The treatise contains the Lārī's answer to a question posed during his stay in Mecca regarding the distinction between dawn (fajr) and dusk (shafaḥ). The manuscript is preserved in the Millet Library, where it is part of the Laleli Collection (catalogue number 301433).
- ***Bahṣu tamāmi'l-mushterek***: This philosophical work deals with the idea of common terms. The manuscript is kept at Süleymaniye Library, where it is part of the Hacı Beşir Ağa Collection (catalogue number 249845).
- ***Bahṣu fī'l-Hareke*** This manuscript, which deals with the science of physics, is preserved in a total of seventeen copies in different libraries and collections. In Süleymaniye Library, it is found in the Aşir Efendi Collection (catalogue numbers 197982 and 197983), the Kılıç Ali Pasha Collection (catalogue numbers 295523, 301043, 301092, 301050, 301093 and 301052), the Laleli Collection (catalogue number 301144), the Hamidiye Collection (catalogue number 266378), the Nafiz Pasha Collection (catalogue number 314684), the Murād Molla Collection (catalogue number 311229) and the Hacı Beşir Ağa Collection (catalogue number 249846). Outside the Süleymaniye Library, the manuscript is kept in the Beyazıt Library in the Veliyyüddin Efendi Collection (catalogue number 547965) and in the Atıf Efendi Library in the Atıf Efendi Collection (catalogue number 374384). It can also be found in the Manisa Library within the Manisa İl Halk Kütüphanesi Collection (catalogue number 98994) and in the Nuru'ı Osmāniye Library within the Nuru'ı Osmāniye Collection (catalogue number 179197).
- ***Risālah fī't Burḥanu Temānī***: This treatise is based on verse 22 of Surah al-Anbiya: "*If there were gods besides Allah, then indeed both the heavens and the earth would have been in disorder. Exalted is Allah, the Lord of the Throne, above what they ascribe to Him.*" Lārī interprets the "disorder" of the heavens and the earth not as nonexistence but as a state of disarray.¹⁰⁰⁹ A total of eight copies of this manuscript are preserved across various libraries. In the Beyazıt Library, it is part of the Veliyyüddin Efendi Collection (catalogue number

¹⁰⁰⁹ Ali Akay, "MUSLİHUDDİN EL-LARİ'NİN 'Burhanu't Temanu' İle İlgili Bir Risalesi," D.Ü İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi, 7, no. 13 (2005): 147–71.

547965). The Süleymaniye Library has several copies distributed among five collections: the Aşir Efendi Collection (catalogue number 197983), the Hüsrev Pasha Collection (catalogue number 277171), the Meḥmed Nuri Efendi Collection (catalogue number 305755), the Esad Efendi Collection (catalogue numbers 192185 and 192186) and the Carullah Collection (catalogue number 226870). The manuscript is also kept in the Atıf Efendi Library within the Atıf Efendi Collection (catalogue number 374384).

- ***Mir'ātü'l-edvār ve mirkātü'l-ahbār***: This dissertation focuses on the manuscript *Mir'ātü'l-edvār ve mirkātü'l-ahbār*. Information on the locations of its copies has been given above.

Hidāyat-al-Ārifīn by Ismail Pasha Baghdadi (1839-1920) provides a comprehensive list of works attributed to Lārī.¹⁰¹⁰ In addition, Lārī himself lists several of his works in *Murshidu'l-ginā Sharḥu Amsileti'l-binā*.¹⁰¹¹ The editor of this text has compiled a list based on these references. The list presented below is a synthesis of these sources; however, I have not been able to identify these works during the course of my research.

- ***Risālah fī't-Tawḥīd***: Discusses concepts of monotheism.
- ***Su'āl wa Javāb-i Falakī***: On Astronomy
- ***Murshidu'l-ginā Sharḥu Amsileti'l-binā***: A work on the science of morphology.
- ***er-Raf'u ve't-takmīl fī'l-Jarhi we't-ta'dīl***: Deals with the criticism and evaluation of ḥadīṣ narrators.
- ***Risālah fī't-taṣawūf***: A treatise on Sufism written in Ottoman Turkish.
- ***el-Mabāhḥisu's-sitte***: A summary of *al-Fuṣūlu's-sab'a*, discussing the *Bi-smi llāh*, *al-Ḥamdu lillāh*, and *Ṣalawāt*.
- ***Sharḥu'l-Farāizi's-Serājiye***: Commentary on *al-Farāizi's-Serājiye* by Sirāj al Dīn es-Sajāvandī.

¹⁰¹⁰ Ismail Pasha Baghdadi, *Hidayat 'ul-Arifin*, vol. 2, 2 vols. (Beirut, Lebanon: Dar'ul-Haya, 1955).

¹⁰¹¹ ريس، علي عبد الله علي، مرشد الغناء: شرح أمثلة البناء، الطبعة، ومصلى الدين اللاري، محمد بن صلاح، دتقزي، عبد الله الأولى (دبي: دائرة الشؤون الإسلامية والعمل الخيري، 2012).

APPENDIX E

A CHRONOLOGY OF LĀRĪ'S LIFE

- **917/1512: Born in Lārīstan.** Lārīstan had been under the rule of the native Mīlādī dynasty until their overthrow by a Safavid invasion in 1600. Thus, at the time of Lārī's birth in 1512, the region was under the rule of Shah Ismā'īl (r. 1501-1524) within the Safavid Empire, notwithstanding its local governance under the Mīlādī dynasty. Throughout this long period, the rulers of Lārīstan exercised independent governance, met their fiscal obligations, and maintained strong economic ties with the Safavid rulers. By 1601, Lārīstan had consolidated its autonomous status.
- **931/1525 to 941/1535: Studied at the *Manṣūriyya Madrasa* in Shiraz.** One of the key moments in Lārī's life was certainly his time as an academic at the *Manṣūriyya madrasa* in Shiraz. It was here that his multifaceted knowledge of various disciplines began, under the tutelage of eminent scholars of the time. From astronomy to mathematics, logic and Islamic jurisprudence, it was within this institution that his scholarly pursuits blossomed. His development in the years to come was profoundly influenced by the formative years he spent within the precincts of this madrasa. During his time here, he was profoundly influenced by the literary works of Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Dawwānī (d. 908/1502), a luminary scholar of his time. The *madrasa* was originally built in 884/1479-80 by Ṣadr al-Dīn Dashtakī (d. 903/1498) and named "*Manṣūriyya*" in honor of his son, Manṣūr Dashtakī.
- **941/1535-40: Returned to his native Lārīstan in Safavid Persia.** On his return to his homeland, Lārī found himself in the midst of the reign of Shah Ṭahmāsp (r. 1524-1576) after completing his education at the *Manṣūriyya Madrasa* in Shiraz. Although Lārīstan remained under the domestic rule of the Mīlādī dynasty, the pervasive influence of Shah Ṭahmāsp's political directives permeated the entire Safavid Empire. The harsh political atmosphere was particularly noticeable and affected scholars of certain sectarian orientations, especially those belonging to the Sunnī denomination. During the reign of Shah Ṭahmāsp, such scholars encountered a hostile political climate and were treated harshly.

- **946/1540 to 962/1555: Lived in the Argūn Kingdom in Sindh.** Lārī decided to move to the Argūn kingdom in Sindh in the midst of Shah Ṭahmāsp's rule and unfavorable treatment of Sunnī scholars. In the late 15th and early 16th centuries, the Argūn dynasty, composed of individuals of Mongol, Turkic, or Turkic-Mongol descent, ruled the region from southern Afghanistan to Sindh. The area was ruled by the Argūns, who claimed lineage and nomenclature from the IlḤānid Mongol figure of Argūn Ḥān. Lārī therefore spent much of his life under the patronage of Shah Ḥusain Argūn (d. 962/1555). Known for his penchant for poetry, Shah Ḥusain's court became a focal point for Lārī's integration, facilitated by his poetic contributions, thereby earning the Shah's favor and admiration.
- **962-63/1555-56: Stayed in Mughal India.** When the Mughal Shah Nāṣir al-Dīn Humāyūn (d. 963/1556) ascended the throne for a second time (r. 1555-1556), Lārī moved with the monarch from Thattā in Sindh to the Mughal capital of Delhi. Lārī's tenure at the Mughal court coincided with Humāyūn's short reign from 22 June 1555 to 27 January 1556, which was marked by the ruler's untimely demise. Humāyūn's earlier expulsion in 1540 by Shīr Shah Ṣūrī (d. 952/1545) led him to seek military assistance from Shah Ḥusain Argūn of the Argūn dynasty in Sindh to counter Shīr Shah Ṣūrī's forces. However, Shah Ḥusain refused his request, which led to the subsequent retreat of Humāyūn to Kandahar. It is my belief that at the court of Shah Ḥusain, Humāyūn and Lārī crossed paths during this period. Lārī chose to accompany the Shah to the Mughal court in Delhi after the death of Shah Ḥusain in 1555 and the restoration of Humāyūn to the Mughal throne.
- **963/1556: Undertook pilgrimage to Mecca.** His son, Shah Akbar (d. 1014/1605), succeeded to the throne on the death of Shah Humāyūn. Lārī remained in the service of Akbar for a short period of time. During Akbar's long reign from 1556 to 1605, the importance and influence of the Persian nobility gradually declined, marking a decisive shift in the political landscape. It is likely that the main catalyst for Lārī's decision to leave the Mughal court was this perceived decline in the influence and importance of the Persian nobility. Lārī left Akbar's court and travelled to Mecca on the pretext of performing the Hajj pilgrimage.

- **963/1556-57: Traveled to Aleppo.** Aleppo was annexed to the Ottoman Empire in 1516 following the extensive conquests made during the reign of Selim I. Consequently, when Lārī moved to Aleppo in 1556, the city was already integrated into Ottoman governance. After completing the Hajj pilgrimage, Lārī settled in Aleppo, a decision that indicated his strategic intention to transition to life under Ottoman rule.
- **965/1558: Arrived in Istanbul.** Sultan Süleymān was in the middle of his 38th year of reign when Lārī arrived in Istanbul in 1558. During this period, the Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha (d. 968/1561) was in charge of the Ottoman administration. While the exact circumstances of Lārī's introduction to the Ottoman Sultan and Grand Vizier remain largely undocumented, historical records indicate that he became involved in scholarly dialogues upon arriving in Istanbul. In particular, Lārī was recognized and rewarded by the Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha, who awarded him a scholarship of 40 dirhams or 40 *akçe*, for his demonstrated mastery of various fields of knowledge.
- **968/ 1561: Moved to Diyarbakır.** In 1561, Lārī accepted an invitation from İskender Pasha (d. 979/1571), who was *Beylerbeyi*, or provincial governor, of Diyarbakır from 1552 to 1566. His move to Diyarbakır has often been interpreted as a symbolic gesture of his separation from the Ottoman court. Lārī's decision to relocate to Diyarbakır stood in stark contrast to the imperial center of Istanbul, as he chose to settle in a relatively peripheral region of the empire. While in Diyarbakır, Lārī remained close to İskender Pasha and began to tutor the governor's sons. In addition, İskender Pasha granted Lārī significant favors, including the allocation of three *mulāzim* posts and an appointment as a professor. The result was an improvement in Lārī's position within the Ottoman academic hierarchy. At the same time, İskender Pasha appointed Lārī to the prestigious position of *Mufti* of Diyarbakır, giving him the authority to issue fatwas. Diyarbakır continued to play a pivotal role in Lārī's life, serving as his permanent residence until he died.
- **973/1566: Moved to Baghdad (Wrote *Mir'atu'l-advār ve Mirkātu'l-Ahbār*)** In 1566, İskender Pasha came to Baghdad to become *Beylerbeyi* and invited Lārī to come and live with him. It was during this period that Lārī began the composition of his remarkable work, *Mir'atu'l-advār ve Mirkātu'l-Ahbār*. During his stay in Baghdad, Lārī began to work on a universal history. This

was to be presented to Sultan Süleymān. However, Sultan Süleyman's untimely death during a military campaign that same year disrupted Lārī's plans. Lārī then accelerated the completion of his manuscript with the aim of presenting it to Sultan Selīm II (d. 982/1574) upon his accession to the throne. In Lārī's view, this was an opportune moment for the dedication of his universal history and the securing of its enduring significance.

- **979/1572: Died in Diyarbakır.** İskender Pasha left Baghdad for Istanbul, hoping to be reappointed, while Lārī decided to return to Diyarbakır. Lārī eventually died in Diyarbakır in 1572 and was buried there. Similarly, İskender Pasha succumbed to his fate while waiting for a new assignment in Istanbul and was also buried in Diyarbakır.



APPENDIX F

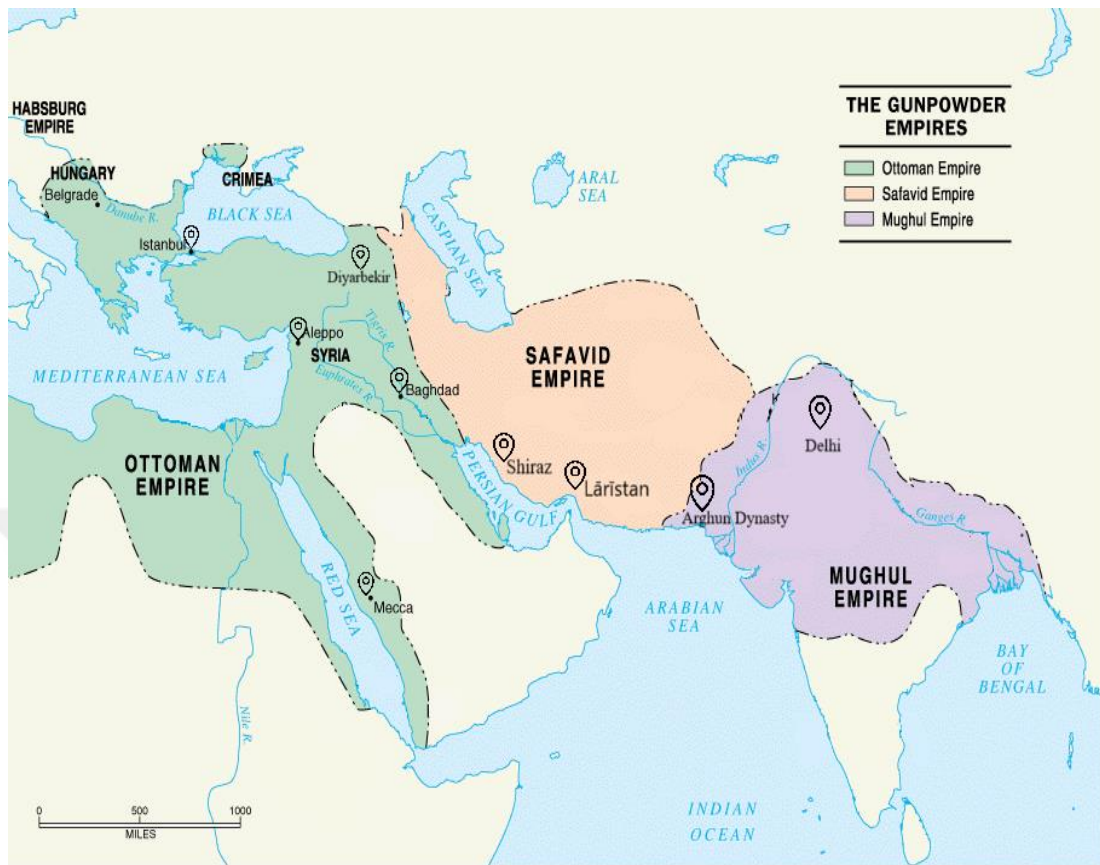


Figure F.1. A Map Showing Lārī's Journey

This map illustrates the trajectory of Lārī's journey, starting from where he grew up in Lārīstan. He then went to Shiraz for his studies, which was followed by a move to the Sindh province. Before embarking on a pilgrimage to Mecca, he ventured to Delhi, where he stayed at the Mughal court. He then travelled to Aleppo, the Ottoman capital of Istanbul, and later accompanied İskender Pasha to Diyarbakır. Together with İskender Pasha, Lārī travelled to Baghdad. He ended his journey in Diyarbakır, where he was laid to rest.

APPENDIX G

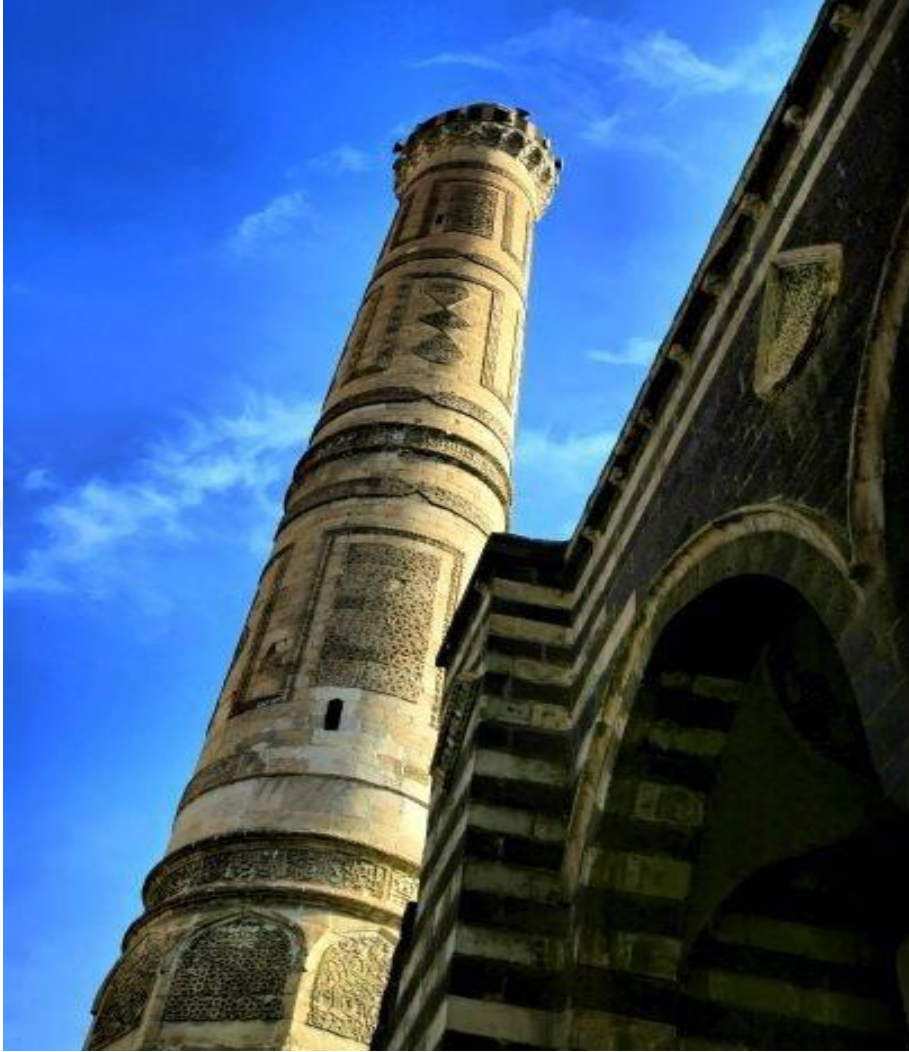


Figure G.1. Safa Parlı Mosque

The Diyarbakır Safa (Parlı) Mosque was built in the 15th century during the Akkoyunlu period. The tomb of Lārī is located within this mosque; however, a picture of the tomb was not accessible. Courtesy of Songül Aslan.

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