IBN HALDUN UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

MASTER THESIS

BETWEEN ALLEGIANCE AND CRITIQUE: ḤASAN BĪG RŪMLŪ'S DEFENSE OF QIZILBĀSH IN *AḤSAN AL-TAVĀRĪKH*

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ISTANBUL, 2025

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A thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in History

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ÖZ

BAĞLILIK VE ELEŞTİRİ ARASINDA: ḤASAN BĪG RŪMLŪ'NUN *AḤSAN AL-TAVĀRĪKH*'TEKİ KIZILBAŞ SAVUNUSU

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Bu tez, Safevi Devleti'nin Shāh I. Ṭahmāsb dönemi bağlamında, Ḥasan-i Rūmlū'nun *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* adlı eserini inceleyerek, tarihsel metinlerin sosyopolitik dinamikleri yansıtma ve anlamlandırmadaki rolünü araştırmaktadır. Erken modern İslam dünyasında tarihyazımının yalnızca olay aktarımı değil, aynı zamanda kimlik ve iktidar tartışması aracı olarak işlev gördüğü göz önüne alındığında, bu çalışma, Rūmlū'nun metninin ideolojik boyutlarını ve Safevi toplumundaki güç dengelerini kavramada önemli bir boşluğu doldurmayı hedefler. Araştırmanın temel amacı, Rūmlū'nun *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*'i yazma motivasyonunu ortaya çıkarmaktır; tarihyazımını bir kronik olmanın ötesinde, Qizilbāshların devlet içindeki merkeziliğini savunan bir araç olarak mı kullandığı sorusuna yanıt aranmıştır. Nitel yöntemler benimsenmiş; metinsel analiz, söylem çözümlemesi ve tarihsel bağlamlandırma teknikleriyle, eserin içeriği ve Rūmlū'nun anlatı stratejileri derinlemesine incelenmiştir. Bulgular, Rūmlū'nun Qizilbāshları, Safevi hanedanını ve seyitleri stratejik olarak konumlandırdığını, seçici dil kullanımı ve kimlik tanımlama ile Qizilbāshların vazgeçilmez rolünü vurgulayan ideolojik bir mesaj sunduğunu göstermektedir. Metnin, iç içe geçmiş katmanlar olarak kavramsallaştırılan nitelikleri -tarihyazımı olması, kimlik oluşturucu vasfı, kişisel yorumları içermesi ve en temelde hatırlatma görevi gütmesi- Qizilbāsh meşruiyetini savunmak için birbiriyle bağlantılı şekilde kurgulanmıştır. Bu tez, beşerî bilimler alanında tarihyazımı ile iktidar arasındaki ilişkiyi anlamaya katkıda bulunur; tarihsel metinlerin politik yapıtlar olarak

işlevini ve henüz oluşmaya başlayan Safevi toplumunda kimlik muhafazasının karmaşıklığını ortaya koyar. Teorik olarak, tarihyazımının ideolojik bir araç olarak kullanımına örnek teşkil ederken, toplumsal olarak Safevi Devleti'nin güç dinamiklerini anlamada derin içgörüler sağlar. Sonuç olarak, Rūmlū'nun eseri, erken modern dönemde tarihsel anlatıların yalnızca geçmişi kaydetmekle kalmayıp, aynı zamanda aidiyet ve meşruiyet mücadelelerini şekillendirdiğini gözler önüne serer.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*, Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, Qizilbāsh, Shāh I. Ṭahmāsb.

ABSTRACT

BETWEEN ALLEGIANCE AND CRITIQUE: ḤASAN BĪG RŪMLŪ'S DEFENSE OF THE QIZILBĀSH IN *AḤSAN AL-TAVĀRĪKH*

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This thesis examines Ḥasan-i Rūmlū's *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* within the context of Shāh Ṭahmāsb I's reign in the Safavid state, investigating the role of historical texts in reflecting and interpreting sociopolitical dynamics. Considering that historiography in the early modern Islamic world functioned not only as a record of events but also as a tool for contesting identity and power, this study aims to address a significant gap by exploring the ideological dimensions of Rūmlū's text and the power dynamics within Safavid society. The primary objective of this research is to uncover Rūmlū's motivation for writing *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* -namely, whether he employed historiography not merely as a tool for chronicling events, but also as a means to advocate for the Qizilbāsh's centrality within the Safavid state. Qualitative methods were employed, utilizing textual analysis, discourse analysis, and historical contextualization to deeply examine the content of the work and Rūmlū's narrative strategies. The findings reveal that Rūmlū strategically positions the Qizilbāsh, the Safavid dynasty, and the sayyids, employing selective language and identity framing to deliver an ideological message that emphasizes the Qizilbāsh's indispensable role. The text's qualities -conceptualized as interconnected layers, including its historiographical function, its role in identity formation, its inclusion of personal interpretations, and, fundamentally, its function as a reminder- are intricately connected in advocating for Qizilbāsh legitimacy. This thesis contributes to the humanities by enhancing the understanding of the relationship between historiography

and power, highlighting the function of historical texts as political artifacts and the complexity of identity preservation in the nascent Safavid society. Theoretically, it exemplifies the use of historiography as an ideological tool, while socially, it provides deep insights into the power dynamics of the Safavid state. Ultimately, Rūmlū's work demonstrates that historical narratives in the early modern period not only recorded the past but also shaped struggles for belonging and legitimacy

Keywords: *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*, Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, Qizilbāsh, Shāh Ṭahmāsb I.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my grandfather, *Osman Vergili*, whose endless support accompanied me throughout my undergraduate and graduate studies, and to my dear brother, *Yiğit Vural Vergili*, whose companionship has been a source of strength in my most difficult moments.

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Muhammet Fatih VERGİLİ

İSTANBUL, 2025

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TRANSLITERATION METHOD

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

The abbreviations used in this study are as follows, and the transliteration system adopted is the Persian transliteration system of the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*.[1] To ensure integrity in the thesis, the names of people, places, and books in the primary source were written in transliterated form. The expressions that were

[1] "Journal Information," Cambridge Core, accessed April 20, 2025, https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/international-journal-of-middle-east-studies/information/author-resources/ijmes-translation-and-transliteration-guide.

not included in the book but were written in transliterated form were written in modern Persian.

In this study, Arabic-derived words found in the Persian text *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* are transliterated using the IJMES system established for Arabic. When transliterating Turkic-origin terms, the original Persian orthography has been retained. For instance, the term commonly known in Modern Turkish as *bey* -and alternatively transliterated in Ottoman Turkish as *beğ* or *beg*- is rendered here as *bīg*, in accordance with its Persian spelling (بیگ). Additionally, names of modern Persian authors have not been transliterated; instead, they appear in the form preferred by the authors themselves in academic literature and their published works.

LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AH	Anno Hegirae
CE	Common Era
EEC	Esad Efendi Collection
NC	Nuruosmaniye Collection
T.	Translation to English
[ ]	Notes of the author of the thesis are given in square brackets.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh, composed by Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, stands as one of the most significant historical sources for the Safavid period, particularly for understanding the sociopolitical landscape of Shāh Ṭahmāsb I's reign. Its uniqueness lies not only in its chronological narration of events but also in the identity of its author. Rūmlū was simultaneously a member of the Qizilbāsh tribal elite and a court-affiliated chronicler, occupying a position that was both peripheral and central within the Safavid political structure. This dual position provides a valuable vantage point from which to explore the shifting allegiances and internal rivalries of the time. The work includes detailed accounts of battles, diplomacy, and court dynamics.

For this study, however, its primary significance lies in the insights it offers into the tensions that arose when centralizing ambitions encountered the authority of tribal actors who had been instrumental in the state's foundation. Far from being a purely descriptive chronicle, *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* constitutes a layered historical text that reflects the author's perspective, one shaped by his affiliations, personal motivations, and the political context in which he wrote.

This thesis seeks to examine the intentions and context that informed Rūmlū's composition. Understanding why he wrote this text is essential not only for interpreting the chronicle itself but also for gaining a broader understanding of how and why he crafted particular portrayals of power groups. This inquiry involves situating the work within its historical and political context and closely analyzing the author's rhetorical and thematic choices. Through this lens, the study aims to show how Rūmlū's language and emphasis may collectively reveal an interpretive pattern that positions the Qizilbāsh as central to the Safavid state -thereby articulating his personal and political vision.

To establish a sound understanding of Rūmlū's potential motivation for writing *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* and its possible political implications, it is first necessary to examine the basic socio-political structures and influential group dynamics that shaped early Safavid society. The subsection titled "The Centralizing Periphery" (3.1.1) explores the tribal composition of the period, shedding light on how tribal affiliations influenced both individual and collective identities. This contextual background is essential for interpreting Rūmlū's emphasis on specific social groups, particularly the Qizilbāsh, and for appreciating how tribal logic was embedded within the broader imperial framework.

This study adopts a close textual analysis of approximately 130 manuscript leaves. -corresponding to about 260 pages- from the Süleymaniye manuscript of *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*, specifically focusing on the section covering the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsb I. The analysis centers on the author's choice of expression in depicting three key power groups. While the primary source material is the original manuscript, modern Persian and Azerbaijani editions were consulted throughout the reading process to support interpretation and clarify orthographic or linguistic ambiguities. Special attention is given to recurring rhetorical patterns, which are interpreted in light of broader historiographical debates and the sociopolitical transformations of the period.

Building on this foundation, the study proceeds to examine the institutional formation of the Safavid state, with a particular focus on the dynamic between the centralizing monarchy and the tribal military elite. This historical backdrop is crucial for understanding the author's portrayals, preferences, and political messaging throughout the text. By situating the tribal dimension within its historical context, the thesis seeks to uncover the deeper implications of Rūmlū's historical writing, particularly his attempt to preserve, redefine, or reassert tribal legitimacy amid a transforming political landscape.

Rūmlū's text reveals a clear emphasis on three key political groups: the Qizilbāsh, the Safavid royal family, and the Sayyids. His portrayals of these groups are not merely descriptive; they serve a deeper purpose. Through the careful selection of language and characterization, Rūmlū positions the Qizilbāsh as the indispensable pillar of the Safavid state. His textual portrayal seems to carry an implicit message -a reminder, or

even a warning- that the significance of the Qizilbāsh must not be forgotten, neither by his contemporaries nor by future generations/rulers. This underlying message points to the text's multi-layered nature. It can be conceptualized as a series of concentric spheres, with the innermost core being the reminder of Qizilbāsh centrality. Surrounding this core lies the layer of identity formation, followed by the author's personal interpretations/agenda, and finally the outermost layer, which presents the work in its surface form as a piece of historiography. These layers are not mutually exclusive; rather, they are intimately connected, each one shaping and supporting the others. This layered composition highlights the necessity of reading *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* not merely as an ordinary work narrating events chronologically, but also as an important historical source with political concerns. The multi-layered nature of the work -extending from a direct political message to broader historical narration- suggests that its composition was shaped by a conscious effort to speak both to Rūmlū's own time and future Safavid rulers.

Modern scholarship on the Qizilbāsh often approaches questions of identity with certain presumptions, which can lead to interpretations shaped more by contemporary assumptions than by historical realities. A retrospective approach may indeed offer significant insights, yet when guided by such presumptions or partial starting points, it risks producing distorted conclusions. For this reason, retrospective readings require caution and attentiveness to context. This thesis therefore seeks to return to the source, examining *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* within its own historical conditions in order to analyze how the work represents the Qizilbāsh, while also shedding light on its portrayals of Safavid and Sayyid identities.

In summary, this introduction positions *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* as a chronicle that goes beyond mere historiography and reflects its author's political dimensions. It has been argued that uncovering the purpose behind Rūmlū's writing is crucial for understanding the text's meaning and significance. This thesis begins by outlining the tribal composition and political dynamics of the period, and then analyzing how Rūmlū's portrayals of the Qizilbāsh, the Safavid family, and the Sayyids function to deliver a specific message. The remainder of the study proceeds to dissect these intertwined layers -reminder, identity formation, personal interpretation, and historiography- in order to demonstrate that *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* serves not only as a

chronicle of its time but as a text shaped by political concerns and intended as a lasting reminder.

CHAPTER II

THE SOURCE AND SCHOLARSHIP IN THE FIELD

2.1. The Author and His Work

2.1.1. Physical Characteristics of the Book and Its Manuscripts

Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh is an early Safavid chronicle of historical events in Iran, covering the period 807-985 AH/1404-1578 CE. Its author was Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, a Qizilbāsh Turkmān. Although the date of its writing is uncertain, the fact that the author states that he wrote it on behalf of Ismāʿīl Mīrzā and that it covers the early years of Muḥammad Khudābanda, who came to power after Ismāʿīl Mīrzā, suggests that it was written close to 985 AH/1578 CE, or more accurately, that it was completed by this time.[2]

Although there are copies of the work in different countries, this study is based on the two copies found in Türkiye.[3] Currently, two copies are preserved in Türkiye: one in

[2] Seddon places the date of the writing of the book at 980 AH/1572-73 CE but later notes that there were "additions" made in the subsequent five years, concluding that the composition was completed around 985 AH/1578 CE. This view is supported by the fact that Ḥasan-i Rūmlū names three Safavid rulers -Shāh Ismāʿīl, Shāh Ṭahmāsb I, and Shāh Ismāʿīl Mīrzā- at the beginning of the twelfth volume, while omitting the name of Muḥammad Khudābanda, although his reign is summarized at the very end of the same volume. See C.
S. Seddon, "Hasan-i-Rumlu's Ahsanu't-Tawárikh," Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, no. 2 (1927): 309.

[3] It should be noted that other copies of *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* in different countries are beyond the scope of this study and that all these copies deserve to be studied in a comparative manner. For copies outside of Türkiye, please see Seddon, 307-308. Seddon mentions here two different manuscripts in Saint-Petersburg and Paris. He also mentions the possibility of three different copies in Tehran, as well as copies in Bodleain and the British Museum. He also mentions that there is an individual copy belonging to A. G. Ellis. Thus, the number of copies reaches eight. However, it should be emphasized that he does not mention the two manuscripts in Türkiye mentioned above. Thus, with the Turkish copies, the number of copies rises to ten. However, it may still be misleading to make a definitive judgment about the number of copies. Since it was not possible to access physically/ digitally all the copies during the process of this thesis, a more detailed examination of the number and quality of the copies is still necessary.

the Esad Efendi Collection of the Süleymaniye Library (no. 2157, EEC)[4], and the other in the Nuruosmaniye Collection (no. 3317, NC)[5]. According to its dictation record, the EEC copy was dictated on 1 Ṣafar 1014 AH/June 18, 1605 CE, whereas the NC copy has no such record.

Among the copies in Türkiye, the NC copy constitutes the eleventh volume of *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*, and the copy used in this thesis is the EEC copy, which is the twelfth volume. In other words, each of these copies constitutes only one volume. Although we have the eleventh and twelfth volumes, unfortunately, we do not have access to the remaining first ten volumes.[6] It is worth noting that the NC and EEC copies are written in a remarkably legible style. The titles are written in red pencil, and there are catchwords and paratexts (but few).

Based on the currently available data, the total number of extant copies of the work appears to be around ten[7] -a figure that may increase with future research. Despite the author's ambitious claims within the text, it seems that the work was not extensively copied. This limited reproduction might be interpreted in connection with the broader political context: the author's emphasis on the Qizilbāsh element contrasts with the diminishing prominence of this group under the reigns of the current and subsequent Safavid rulers. In short, the fact that the work was not widely disseminated -or that only around ten copies have survived despite possible wider reproduction- may reflect the declining significance of the Qizilbāsh component within the empire.

2.1.2. A Noble Qizilbāsh: Ḥasan Bīg-i Rūmlū

Ḥasan Bīg was a qūrchi (Qizilbāsh officer) and a muvarrikh (historian) from a family of the Rūmlū tribe. The source of information about him is basically his book, *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*. In his work, he gives the year 937 AH/1530-31 CE as his date of birth and

[4] Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, "Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh" (985 AH/1578 CE), Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Esad Efendi Koleksiyonu Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı.
[5] Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, "Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh" (985 AH/1578 CE), Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi, Nuruosmaniye Koleksiyonu Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı.
[6] The existence of these volumes is a matter of debate in academia. This issue, which requires serious research, will not be discussed here in order not to change the focus of this thesis. For more detailed information, see Həsən Bəy Rumlu, *Əhsənüt-təvarix (Tarixlərin ən yaxşısı)*, trans. Oqtay Əfəndiyev and Namiq Musalı, 1st ed. (Kastamonu: Uzanlar, 2017), 25.
[7] See footnote 3.

Qum as his birthplace. Sometimes he refers to himself directly as Ḥasan-i Rūmlū or rhetorically as "the unworthy author of these lines," or "the grandson of Amīr Sulṭān."

Although Ḥasan Bīg does not provide detailed information about himself in his work, it is possible to catch some clues from the sentences he uses. For example, he states that his grandfather Amīr Sultān was the governor of Sāvujbolāgh and Qazvīn at the time of his death (946 AH/1539-40 CE). The author does not provide more detailed information about his grandfather, except for his military struggles, and does not even mention his father. It can be argued that Ḥasan Bīg, who lost his grandfather at the age of nine, received a civilian education as well as a military education. The fact that he read the Ḥāshiya-yi Shamsiya under Mavlānā Malik al-Qazvīnī, Sharḥ-i Tajrīd under Mavlānā Abū al-Ḥasan, and the sources he used while writing his book indicate that he was a “penman” as well as a military man. His family and his biographical history are limited to these data.

2.1.3. Features of the Book and “Sources of the Source”

The style of *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* is in line with the tradition and Rūmlū's political position. As Mohemmednejad points out, there were essentially two types of historiography during Ḥasan Bīg's time: the pro-state wing represented by the bureaucrats and amīrs, and the more civilian wing represented by the personalities related to religion. Mohemmednejad considers *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* in the first category, taking into account Ḥasan-i Rūmlū's political position.[8] Likewise, Mazzaoui highlights the Shi'i propaganda nature of the work, pointing out that *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* excludes 'opposing voices'.[9] It is obvious that the work advocates Shi'ism and uses a tone as close to the state as possible. However, it should be noted that this did not prevent Ḥasan-i Rūmlū from adopting a critical attitude with a hidden (or an apparent) tone when necessary. While narrating the events, he also wrote poems about the events he narrated and added them to various parts of his chapters.[10] Therefore, due to Ḥasan-i

[8] Abdüllatif Kazvinî, *Safevi Tarihi*, trans. Hamidreza Mohemmednejad (Ankara: Birleşik Dağıtım Kitabevi, 2011).
[9] Michel M. Mazzaoui, “The Safavid Phenomenon: An Introduction Essay,” in *Safavid Iran and Her Neighbors* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2003), 1–6.
[10] It may be a matter of debate whether these poems belong to him or whether they are anonymous.

Rūmlū's position close to the center in the center-periphery dichotomy[11], it can be stated that he adopted a style respectful of state authority, but that he used his quick wit to convey subtle messages.

The title *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*, meaning *The Best of Histories*, can be considered a deliberate and confident choice by the author. It not only reflects his confidence in the accuracy of his account, but also signals the central argument of his work. As explored more thoroughly in Chapter V, under the heading "Contextualizing *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*", this fundamental argument is to provide a permanent reminder to contemporary and future Safavid rulers.

Ḥasan-i Rūmlū also made use of the books of previous authors while writing his work, and the volume of this utilization is important in terms of showing the extent of his access to the works. It has been noted that Ḥasan-i Rūmlū drew upon works such as ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Samarqandī's *Matlaʿ-i Saʿdayn*, Qāżī Abu Bakr-i Tahrānī's *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriyya*, and *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* by Khāndmīr, also known as Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn, son of Humam al-Dīn. The first of these three works was utilized when describing events related to the Timurids (especially Shāhrukh), while the second work was utilized when discussing events related to the Qara Qūyūnlū and Āq Qūyūnlū states. *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* was used to describe the lives of Sultān Ḥusayn-i Bāyqarā and all scholars and artists.[12] In addition to these works, Seddon mentions two other works: the first is Idrīs-i Bidlīsī's *Hasht Bihisht*, and the second is an anonymous history book identified by Sir E. Denison Ross.[13] Seddon also notes the possibility that Ghāzī Aḥmad-i Ghaffārī's *Jihānārā* was also used by Ḥasan-i Rūmlū.[14] Ḥasan-i Rūmlū's interaction with these manuscripts suggests that he had access to them, which can be interpreted as an indication of his intellectual side.

[11] It does not mean that he had no relation with the periphery, since the center-periphery areas were not stable in the period in question. This will be discussed in the future. See Chapter III.
[12] Ḥasan Big-i Rūmlū, *Aḥsan Al-Tavārīkh*, trans. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Navāyī, 1st ed., vol. 1, 3 vols. (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Asātīr, 1384/2005).
[13] Seddon, "Hasan-i-Rumlu's Ahsanu't-Tawárikh," 309.
[14] Seddon, 311.

2.2. Scholarship in the Field

2.2.1. Translations of the Book

In 1858, when Boris Andreevich Dorn published some parts of the copy he had obtained, *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* became a work of scholarly study and was translated into Georgian, Russian, English, and other languages in full or in part.[15] For instance, the Georgian and Russian translations contain certain parts of the manuscripts but are not complete translations. However, the English translation covers both volumes of *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* (i.e., the eleventh and twelfth volumes of the book).[16] Regarding the Turkish translations, the most comprehensive work to date is Mürsel Öztürk's translation.[17] There are also other Turkish translations by Cevat Cevan, Hasan Asadi, and Şefaattin Deniz.[18] However, Mürsel Öztürk's translation is a translation of the Persian edition published by ʿAbd-al-Ḥusayn Navāʾī in 1970 and covers only the first volume. Other Turkish translations cover shorter periods; that is, their volumes are quite small. The revised edition of the work was made by Navāʾī in 1970 and 1978, using the NC copy and Paris copies, and these editions were re-published in 2005 in three volumes[19]. The most recent critical edition of *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* was prepared in Azerbaijani Turkish in 2017.[20] This edition was published by Oqtay Əfəndiyev and Namiq Musalı concerning C. N. Seddon's facsimile edition[21],the copies alleged to exist in Baku[22], and Navāʾī's critical edition.

[15] Həsən Bəy Rumlu, *Əhsənüt-təvarix (Tarixlərin ən yaxşısı)*, 28-29.
[16] See C. S. Seddon, *A Chronicle of the Early Ṣafawīs: Being the Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh of Ḥasan-ı Rūmlū (Persian Text)*, vol. 1 (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1931).
[17] Hasan-ı Rumlu, *Ahsenü't-tevârih*, trans. Mürsel Öztürk, 2nd ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2020).
[18] Rumlu Hasan, *Şah İsmail Tarihi: Ahsenü't Tevârih*, trans. Cevat Cevan, 1st ed. (Ankara: Ardıç Yayınları, 2004); Hasan Rumlu, *Safevî Şahı II. İsmail: Kahkaha Kalesi'nin 20 Yıllık Mahpusu*, trans. Hasan Asadi and Şefaattin Deniz, 1st ed. (İstanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat, 2017).
[19] Ḥasan Big-i Rūmlū, *Aḥsan Al-Tavārīkh, 1384/2005*.
[20] Həsən Bəy Rumlu, *Əhsənüt-təvarix (Tarixlərin ən yaxşısı)*.
[21] Seddon published a facsimile edition of the volume he translated, See. Seddon, *A Chronicle of the Early Ṣafawīs: Being the Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh of Ḥasan-ı Rūmlū (Persian Text)*.
[22] Həsən Bəy Rumlu, *Əhsənüt-təvarix (Tarixlərin ən yaxşısı)*. If these Baku copies are different from the three copies Seddon mentions as possibly existing in Tehran, the number of manuscripts of the *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* exceeds ten.

2.2.2. Academic Studies Related to the Subject

Academic studies on *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* and its author Ḥasan-i Rūmlū are quite limited in both Turkish and English literature. It can be argued that in the Turkish literature on Safavid-Qizilbāsh history, there is no large-scale work that has subjected *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*, in whole or in part, to critical academic scrutiny. The Turkish studies are only translations of the book, and these translations are open to question.[23] Likewise, there is no substantial academic study directly on Ḥasan-i Rūmlū.[24] Studies in Turkish generally focus on the socio-political history of Alavī-Qizilbāsh groups (identities) in the Ottoman context. The works of Rıza Yıldırım, Ayfer Karakaya-Stump, Sadullah Gülten, and Tufan Gündüz are examples in this regard.[25] In addition, the issue of the establishment of the Safavid State has also attracted the attention of Turkish academia, albeit to a lesser extent, as evidenced by the works of Faruk Sümer and Yılmaz Karadeniz.[26]

When it comes to English studies focusing on this work and its author, it is observed that, despite being richer compared to the Turkish literature, the number of studies remains limited. Only a handful of encyclopedia entries or only a few articles in

[23] The reason for this is that these translations did not directly rely on the manuscript. Turkish translations have been mentioned above. However, the Azerbaijani Turkish edition should be considered separately. What is mentioned here are the translations made in Türkiye Turkish.

[24] Turkish literature directly dealing with *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* or Ḥasan-i Rūmlū is limited to only two encyclopedia articles. See Saleh Muhammedoğlu Aliev, "HASAN-ı RÛMLÛ," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1997), accessed April 22, 2025, https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/hasan-i-rumlu; Adnan Karaismailoğlu, "AHSENÜ't-TEVÂRÎH," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1989), accessed April 22, 2025, https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/ahsenut-tevarih.

[25] Rıza Yıldırım, *Aleviliğin Doğuşu: Kızılbaş Sufiliğinin Toplumsal ve Siyasal Temelleri 1300-1501*, ed. Tanıl Bora, trans. Barış Yıldırım, 2nd ed., Araştırma-İnceleme Dizisi 415 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2018); Rıza Yıldırım, "Turkomans Between Two Empires: The Origins of The Qizilbash Identity in Anatolia (1447-1514)" (Ankara, Bilkent University, 2008), Yükseköğretim Kurulu Başkanlığı Tez Merkezi (220464), https://tez.yok.gov.tr/UlusalTezMerkezi/tezDetay.jsp?id=IIznAQeQJX3Eec9CsaJi_Q&no=P2GIvslHTYnb1uptfKf-hQ; Ayfer Karakaya-Stump, *Vefâlik, Bektaşilik, Kızılbaşlık*, 2nd ed., İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 528. Tarih ; 57 (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi, 2016); Sadullah Gülten, *Osmanlı-Safevî Kıskacında Kızılbaşlar: Açılın Kapılar Şah'a Gidelim*, ed. Zeynep Berktaş, 1st ed. (İstanbul: Timaş, 2022).

[26] Faruk Sümer, *Safevî Devleti'nin Kuruluşu ve Gelişmesinde Anadolu Türklerinin Rolü: Şah İsmail ile Halefleri ve Anadolu Türkleri*, 3rd ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2018); Yılmaz Karadeniz, "Safevî Devleti'nin Kuruluş Temelleri," in *Safeviler: Kültür-Diplomasi-Toplum*, ed. Mehmet Dağlar (İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2021), 169–89.

English, including one published in JRAS, have directly focused on this work.[27] Apart from these authors, some historians chronologically analyze the Safavids and Qizilbāshs from a political or socio-cultural point of view. The works of H. R. Roemer, Sholeh A. Quinn, Andrew J. Newman, M. Mazzaoui, and Rudi Matthee are valuable academic studies in this regard.[28]

As a result, while both Turkish and English academic literature are interested in Safavid-Qizilbāsh history, studies that focus directly on *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* and its author Ḥasan-i Rūmlū remain scarce. Turkish scholarship tends to prioritize the socio-political context of Alevi-Qizilbāsh's identity within the Ottoman framework, leaving critical analysis of the work and its author largely unexplored. On the other hand, English studies, while comparatively richer, are similarly sparse, with only a few scholars directly examining the text or its author. The rest of the literature in both languages examines Safavid-Qizilbāsh's history from a general perspective. All these existing studies reveal a gap in understanding the significance of *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* (and thus Ḥasan-i Rūmlū) in Safavid history.

[27] See ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Navāʾī, "AḤSAN AL-TAWĀRĪḴ," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, accessed April 22, 2025, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ahsan-al-tawarik-history-of-iran-hasan-beg-rumlu; Roger Mervin Savory, "Safawids," in *Encylopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995); Seddon, "Hasan-i-Rumlu's Ahsanu't-Tawárikh."

[28] Hans Robert Roemer, "The Safavid Period," in *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 6 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 189–350; Sholeh A. Quinn, *Shah 'Abbas: The King Who Refashioned Iran*, Makers of the Muslim World (London: Oneworld Publications, 2015); Andrew J. Newman, *Safavid Iran: Rebirth of a Persian Empire*, 2nd ed. (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012); Mazzaoui, "The Safavid Phenomenon: An Introduction Essay"; Rudi Matthee, "Relations between the Center and the Periphery in Safavid Iran: The Western Borderlands v. the Eastern Frontier Zone," *The Historian* 77, no. 3 (2015): 431–63, https://doi.org/10.1111/hisn.12068.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH: CLOSE READING AND CONTEXTUALIZATION

The interpretive approach adopted in this study emerged gradually through close engagement with the language of *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*. Rather than relying on a predefined theoretical framework, attention was directed toward the author's word choices, tone, and recurring expressions, particularly in passages concerning Shāh Ṭahmāsb I. These elements were examined with the assumption that the language employed might carry implications beyond surface-level description. In reading the Süleymaniye manuscript alongside relevant critical editions and secondary literature, an attempt was made to observe how the text may reflect sensitivities, priorities, or intended messages shaped by its historical context.

This study is grounded in a close reading of the twelfth volume of *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*, preserved in the Süleymaniye Library's Esad Efendi Collection. While the critical editions in Persian and Azerbaijani -edited respectively by Navāʾī and Əfəndiyev-Musalı- do not incorporate this specific manuscript, their textual content does overlap significantly with the passages examined in the present research. Therefore, these editions served as useful comparative references in my reading process. The methodological backbone of the study consisted of a systematic engagement with the Süleymaniye manuscript's passages related to the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsb I. These readings were then cross-checked and reread with the aid of the aforementioned critical editions to ensure textual clarity and interpretive consistency. Rather than offering a critique of the editions themselves, this approach simply aimed to facilitate a more focused and reliable engagement with the selected content of the chronicle.

In engaging with the manuscript, visual and structural cues played a notable role in navigating the text. Titles were either written in red ink or marked with a red line drawn above the sentence, which allowed for a quicker identification of topical boundaries

within the manuscript. These typographical markers helped determine the approximate historical context or the focus of a given passage, without requiring a full preliminary reading. Furthermore, poetic sections were systematically distinguished from prose using three red dots, enabling a clear separation between verse and prose sections. These material aspects of the manuscript not only aided in orientation but also facilitated a gradual familiarity with the nastaliq script, making the recognition of individual letters -and eventually entire words- progressively easier.

Beyond the physical features of the manuscript, the core of the analysis focused on the language and tone employed by the author about three principal actor groups that recurrently emerged throughout his account: the Qizilbāsh, the Safavid dynasty itself, and the Sayyids. Rather than offering neutral or purely descriptive accounts, Ḥasan-i Rūmlū often adopted a language that ascribed specific qualities or tendencies to these groups. These descriptions appeared with regularity and coherence. The Qizilbāsh, for example, were consistently portrayed as courageous, loyal, and self-sacrificing ghāzīs, while the Sayyids were often framed in a critical light, particularly regarding their involvement in affairs of state. The royal family, on the other hand, was described with reverent language, though not without subtle hints of fallibility. These recurring depictions were mentally noted and later cross-referenced with broader questions concerning the Safavid period. While the text does not engage in explicit theorization, the frequency and consistency of such portrayals suggest that the author was assigning meaningful roles to each group, thereby using language as a way to communicate political positioning and social ideals.

The recurring emphasis placed on certain groups throughout the text invited comparison with existing discussions in modern scholarship concerning the socio-political landscape of the Safavid period. Debates regarding the diminishing influence of the Qizilbāsh, the increasing visibility of Persian bureaucratic elites, and the possibility that Shāh Ṭahmāsb I pursued a policy of restraining tribal authority have all shaped contemporary understandings of this historical context. When examined alongside such discussions, the author's consistent praise of the Qizilbāsh as loyal and sacrificial figures, his reverent yet occasionally critical depiction of the Shāh, and his open reproach of the Sayyids' interference in state affairs appear to resonate with these broader patterns. The language employed by the author does not remain at the level of

passive description but instead assigns roles, responsibilities, and qualities to each of these groups in a manner that appears deliberate. Though the text refrains from overt declarations, the selection and repetition of particular expressions suggest a heightened attentiveness to the political tensions of the time. This correlation between wording and context may reflect the author's effort to situate his account within the moral and political concerns of his era.

Taken together, these observations point to the possibility that the author's textual choices were guided by a deeper concern to convey a lasting message -one directed not only toward his contemporaries but also toward future generations of Safavid rulers. Rather than presenting his views in the form of a direct address or treatise, Ḥasan-i Rūmlū appears to have embedded them gradually and systematically within the language of his chronicle. The cumulative effect of his praise for the Qizilbāsh, his guarded criticism of the Shāh, and his explicit disapproval of the Sayyids suggests an effort to remind the ruling elite of the foundational role played by the Qizilbāsh in the making of the state. In this sense, the chronicle functions not merely as a record of events but also as a political reflection shaped by its author's position and concerns. That Rūmlū continued to work on the text into the later years of his life, rather than producing a short memorandum or letter, may indicate his desire to formulate a more enduring and comprehensive statement. The repeated emphasis on loyalty, sacrifice, and legitimacy within the text could thus be read as part of a broader attempt to preserve a vision of political order in which the Qizilbāsh remained central.

In light of this broader reading, the work may be understood as operating on four interrelated levels. At its surface, it appears as a work of historiography. Beneath this lies its function as a vehicle of identity formation, particularly in its construction of Qizilbāsh character and legitimacy. A deeper stratum reflects the author's personal interpretations and political sensibilities. And at its core, the text functions as a reminder -a reflective intervention directed at both present and future rulers. These four layers do not function independently, but rather intersect and reinforce each other, shaping the work's composite meaning.

In conclusion, the method was guided by a sensitivity to language and historical atmosphere rather than theoretical abstraction. The repeated use of specific descriptors

for key political and religious groups, when read in light of Safavid-era tensions, suggests that the text may serve not only as a chronicle but also as a reflection shaped by the author's position. While interpretive caution remains necessary, this approach enables a reading that is attentive to subtle yet deliberate choices. What emerges is a perspective that sees the text operating on multiple levels, grounded in its time yet suggestive of broader intentions.

CHAPTER IV

POSITIONING THE QIZILBĀSH AMONG THE COMPETING POLITICAL FORCES

4.1. From Ismāʿīl I to Ṭahmāsb: Centralization from the Periphery

The transition from Shāh Ismāʿīl I to Shāh Ṭahmāsb I marks a key phase in Safavid state-building, defined by the interplay between centralization and the Qizilbāsh Turkmāns' shifting roles. While the Safavid Order provided the initial mystical and leadership base under Ismāʿīl I, the transition towards a centralized polity involved uniting the peripheral Turkmān tribes, who formed the Qizilbāsh military backbone, around the new dynastic authority. However, this consolidation of state power paradoxically led to the later marginalization of these foundational tribal groups. After Ismāʿīl's death, Ṭahmāsb I faced tribal rivalries and turmoil, employing military campaigns, political marriages, religious acts, and cultural integration to stabilize the state. These strategies highlight the period's focus on balancing central authority with tribal dynamics, as the Qizilbāsh, once central to state formation, were gradually distanced from power, reflecting the evolving socio-political landscape of the Safavid realm during Ṭahmāsb I's reign.

4.1.1. The Centralizing Periphery

Ḥasan-i Rūmlū's depiction of Qizilbāsh Turkmān identity under Shāh Ṭahmāsb I in *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* can be interpreted as reflecting the complex tensions that arose between their foundational role in the state's creation and the shifting socio-political dynamics that increasingly marginalized them in the early Safavid era. Initially operating as disparate peripheral elements, certain Turkmān tribal groups began to coalesce around the nascent Safavid leadership, particularly under Ismāʿīl I. This mobilization, facilitated by their flexible tribal organization, was crucial for transforming the Safavid movement from a mystical order into a state-building force,

effectively moving these groups towards the center of the new political configuration. However, this centrality was relative and temporary. As the ruling Safavid dynasty itself consolidated power and sought to establish a more singular, centralized authority, it increasingly drew power away from these foundational tribal groups (now identifiable primarily as the Qizilbāsh). This process led to their gradual alienation and push back towards the margins of state power, despite their initial role in constituting that power. This complex cycle of initial peripheral status and subsequent exclusion by the consolidating state is key to understanding their political status as portrayed by Rūmlū in his account. Recognizing this dynamic transformation is essential for interpreting the Qizilbāsh's evolving role within the Safavid polity.

Before examining Qizilbāsh tribal behavior, the term "tribe" requires clarification. Anthropologists attribute three meanings to it: first, a "primitive society" of simple groups; second, hunter bands with a shared "sense of bloodline" progressing toward statehood; and third, communities with territorial boundaries and internal conflict-resolution mechanisms.[29] For this study, the term aligns with its usage in *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* (ṭāʿifa), where a tribe refers to a group perceived as sharing common ancestry and functioning as political entities of the period. This definition resonates with the second and third anthropological meanings but is not claimed to be identical. In the context of *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*, a tribe is thus a group with a collective consciousness, including perceived blood ties, that contributes to forming the state or central power, reflecting the socio-political dynamics of the Safavid era as narrated by Rūmlū.

Medieval Turkic communities had their sociopolitical classification. The sociopolitical classifications of the Xiongnu and Kök Türk Khaganate can also be applied to medieval pastoral Turkic communities. According to this structure, the smallest basic group is the "ogush." A higher group of this concept, which basically refers to households, is the "uruk," which can be defined as a union of households, i.e., a family or a lineage. Then comes the "boy." When the tribes come together, a "budun," that is, a people/nation, is formed.[30] The name of the political organization formed by this

[29] Richard Tapper, "Anthropologists, Historians, and Tribespeople on Tribe and State Formation in the Middle East," in *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East*, ed. Philip S. Khoury and Joseph Kostiner (California: University of California Press, 1990), 49–51.
[30] Ahmet Taşağıl, *Kök Tengri'nin Çocukları: Avrasya Bozkırlarında İslam Öncesi Türk Tarihi*, 5th ed. (İstanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat, 2015), 175.

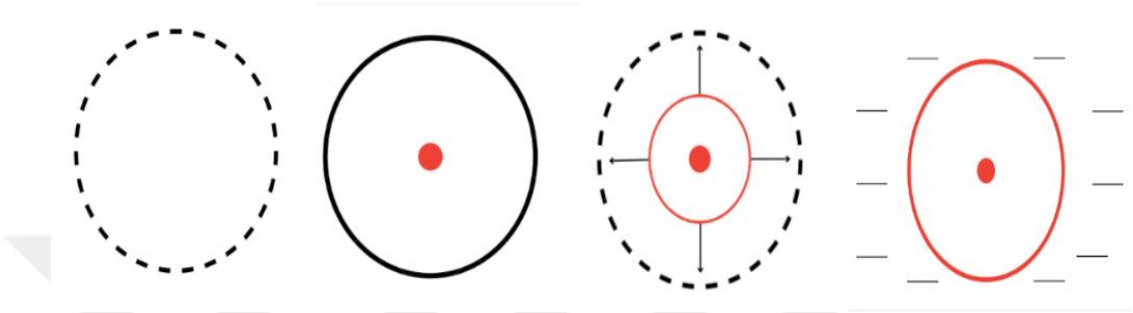
budun is “il.” It should also be noted that there was a distinction between “tribes” in terms of “nobility” and “commoner status.” Accordingly, some tribes were considered elite, while others were considered “low.”[31] Thus, until modern times, pastoral Turkic communities had an “elite-commoner” distinction. Overall, the way Turkic communities are organized (from small to large in terms of size) can be ordered as ogush, uruk, boy, budun, respectively.

At the end point of this social clustering, the “il” (i.e., the state) is considered the natural outcome. However, there is a point to be noted in this regard. Divitçioğlu, giving the example of the Seljuks, has shown that the state formation process of Turkic pastoral communities can also be interpreted as “boy-konat (band)-devlet (state).” That is, within a tribe (boy), a band (konat) belonging to an elite ogush comes to the fore and starts the journey of becoming an “il/devlet.” Therefore, it can be said that the process of statehood is not from the part to the whole, but from a part separated from the whole.[32] This structural analysis can also be applied to the dynasty of the Safavid State. However, this would require a serious investigation into the origins of the dynasty, which is beyond the scope of this paper. Ultimately, however, it can be argued that the prominence of the Safavid family (that is, ogush) was due to the organization around faith rather than the elite-commoner distinction derived from the pastoralist tradition.

Lapidus highlights warfare as central to the statehood process of Turkic tribes, viewing their state formation as a “conquest movement” driven by “warrior authority,” unlike Arab-Islamic clans that coalesced around religious consciousness.[33] Even though he places the Safavids within the Arab-Islamic conquest model[34], it can be argued that the Safavids align more with Turkic conquest movements, emphasizing hierarchical warrior authority. Barfield’s distinction between Arab and Turkic traditions supports this, noting that Arab-Islamic tribes favor an egalitarian model, whereas Turkic tribes

[31] Peter B. Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic People: Ethnogenesis and State-Formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992), 403.
[32] Sencer Divitçioğlu, *Oğuz’dan Selçuklu’ya: Boy, Konat ve Devlet*, 1st ed. (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2000), 100.
[33] Ira M. Lapidus, “Tribes and State Formation in Islamic History,” in *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East*, ed. Philip S. Khoury and Joseph Kostiner (United States of America: University of California Press, 1990), 29.
[34] Lapidus, 32.

prioritize hierarchy.[35] In the Safavid case, the dynasty derived legitimacy from faith but maintained political prestige among the Qizilbāsh by occupying the top of the Turkic hierarchical consciousness. Thus, the Safavid State reflects the emergence of authority in the classical Turkic tradition, where hierarchical structures, rather than egalitarian religious unity, shaped its formation and sustained its power among the Qizilbāsh tribes.



Note: The Turkmān tribes, symbolized by short lines, gathered around a different rising power after the collapse of their previous overarching state (The Āq Qūyūnlū Empire). This rising power is the Safavid Order, shown as a red dot in the second row from the left. At this stage, the short lines acquired a new name of belonging and became Qizilbāsh Turkmāns. Later, the red dot starts to create a state dynasty from the order lineage (third from the left). At this point, it starts to establish new power bases to protect its authority (the red ring in the third image from the left). These power groups (or this centralization effort of the order) force the outer ring to break. Therefore, the periphery, which once created the center by clustering around it.

Figure 4.1. The Construction of the Safavid State around the Safavid Order through Qizilbāsh Turkmāns

The fifteenth-century Āq Qūyūnlū Empire offers a model for understanding the Qizilbāsh Turkmāns' role in forming the Safavid State. This empire evolved from a clan to a confederated empire, uniting around fifty Turkmān-Arab-Kurdish clans, with the Bāyandur tribe at its center, its authority both legitimized and challenged by surrounding chieftains.[36] Qarā ʿUs̱mān's military activities between 1429-32 transformed his band into a principality, later becoming the Āq Qūyūnlū Empire.[37] Tribes like Mūṣullū, Chapnī, Ẕū al-Qadar, Bayāt, and Afshār rallied around the Bāyandur tribe, and after the empire's collapse, some joined the Qizilbāsh, becoming

[35] Thomas J. Bartfield, "Tribe and State Relations: The Inner Asian Perspective," in *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East* (California: University of California Press, 1990), 160-170.
[36] John E. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire* (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 1999), 11.
[37] Woods, 44.

a key element of the Safavid State.[38] Thus, Turkmān tribes, not yet centralized, coalesced under a strong authority, such as the Bāyandur tribe or the Safavid Order, forming a state mechanism with potential for centralized power. This period (Qarāʿ Uʂmān's era) aligns with Ibrāhīm, a descendant of Shaykh Safī al-Dīn Ardabīlī, though the tariqa's statehood aspirations remained limited at that stage.

Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn Ishaq Ardabilī, namesake of the Safavid dynasty, founded a sect with wide influence, shaped by the social context of his era. Although his ethnic origin is not clearly known, being limited to vague hagiographic accounts, it is certain that Ṣafī's sermons influenced both the local and elite classes.[39] The Mongol rule's social effects on regional Muslims and the absence of a centralized caliphate fostered clustering around religious orders, with the Ardabīl group under Ṣafī as a prime example. Ṣafī preached in regions like Gilan, Urmia, and Shiraz, expanding the sect's reach. Even Mongol rulers, including Ghazan Khān, were influenced, with Ghazan addressing Ṣafī as "the ripe nightingale of the land of sugar."[40] However, Ṣafī's mystic community did not pursue statehood. In conclusion, under Ṣafī's leadership, the Safavid Order became a significant tariqa, grounding itself by influencing both local and elite groups, setting the stage for its later evolution into a political entity.

The Safavid Order, founded by Shaykh Ṣafī, evolved toward statehood by Shaykh Junayd's time, gaining significant military power. After Ṣafī, leaders Ṣadr al-Dīn, Khavāja ʿAlī, Ibrāhīm, Junayd, and Ḥaydar succeeded him. Karadeniz notes that under Ṣadr al-Dīn, politicization and Shi'ite beliefs grew within the order, unlike Ṣafī's era.[41] During Hodja Ali's leadership, the order's growing population began adopting a military identity, and under Ibrāhīm, it amassed wealth and influence, earning him the title "shaykhshāh," though Musalı cautions against assuming a political meaning.[42] The Junayd era marked a new phase, with the order gaining operational military capability and a clear statehood ambition, that the existing political power in the region

[38] Woods, 183-198.
[39] Rıza Yıldırım, *Aleviliğin Doğuşu: Kızılbaş Sufiliğinin Toplumsal ve Siyasal Temelleri 1300-1501*, ed. Tanıl Bora, trans. Barış Yıldırım, 2nd ed., Araştırma-İnceleme Dizisi 415 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2018), 147-151.
[40] Yılmaz Karadeniz, "Safevî Devleti'nin Kuruluş Temelleri," in *Safeviler: Kültür-Diplomasi-Toplum*, ed. Mehmet Dağlar (İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2021), 174.
[41] Yılmaz Karadeniz, 170-177.
[42] Namiq Musalı, "Şeyh İbrahim Safevî Döneminde Erdebil Tekkesi," *Türk Kültürü ve Hacı Bektaş Velî Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 80 (2016): 20-21.

(the Qara Qūyūnlū ruler Jihānshāh) even began to see them as a threat.[43] Junayd led raids in Trabzon, Eastern Anatolia, and the Caucasus.[44] Thus, while Ṣafī and his first three successors were more traditional shaykhs, Junayd's military actions equipped the Safavid Order with the infrastructure necessary for statehood.

Two main features of the Shaykh Junayd period, which was the period when the groundwork for the sect's statehood was being prepared, came to the fore. Although it is difficult to speak of a sharp Sunni-Shi'ite divide in the society of that period, the fact that the Safavid sect, which was initially certain to be non-Shi'ite, became a state by becoming Shi'ite over time is a unique case. During this transformation, Shaykh Junayd's adoption of the policy of ghazā and his adoption of "ghuluv", which means an extremist understanding of religion (an example of this is the belief in hulul, which means that divinity can be manifested in some people) are the most fundamental features of this period.[45] Considering that these two elements will be important pillars for Safavid rule in the future, it is possible to consider them as vital policies for Safavid sovereignty.

After Shaykh Junayd, his son Shaykh Ḥaydar took over the leadership of the order, and the order's acquisition of a specific character continued. After the death of his father, Junayd, Ḥaydar made the members of the tariqa wear a red hat, thus further differentiating the order from other religious groups. After this choice to wear the red color hat, they were called "the redhead" with a pejorative meaning by the Sunni groups around them.[46] It would not be wrong to consider this term as an identity-giving element for the members of the order and thus as an element to keep the followers together. Therefore, this decision is also a significant event in terms of giving identity, on the way to the tariqa's statehood.

Following Shāh Ḥaydar, the young Ismāʿīl became the Safavid order's leader, establishing a state by securing Turkmān support in Āẕarbāyjān, and to a lesser extent in Anatolia and Syria. The decline of Qara Qūyūnlū and Āq Qūyūnlū sovereignty,

[43] Roger Mervin Savory, "Safawids," in *Encylopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 766.
[44] Quinn, *Shah 'Abbas: The King Who Refashioned Iran*, 4.
[45] Quinn, 4-6.
[46] Abdülbâkî Gölpınarlı, "Kızıl-baş," in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1977).

alongside the Ottoman authority's limited reach in southern and southeastern Anatolia, allowed Turkmān groups to operate independently in the region. Ismāʿīl leveraged this environment through propaganda to consolidate power. Tribes like Rūmlū, Takalū, Ẕū al-Qadarlū, Ustājlū, Shāmlū, Vārsāk, Qājār, Qarāmānlū, and Chapnī joined the Safavid sphere during the Junayd-Ḥaydar-Ismāʿīl periods.[47] Thus, Ismāʿīl's forces primarily comprised Āẕarbāyjān-based Turkmāns[48], with secondary support from Anatolian-Syrian groups distant from centralized authority, enabling Ismāʿīl to establish the Safavid state mechanism through strategic alliances.

While discussing Ismāʿīl's rise to power, the claim that Turkmān tribes in Anatolia, discontent with the Ottoman centralization efforts, saw Ismāʿīl as an outlet and launched a mass migration movement is open to criticism. Turkmān tribes lived independently in the regions of Central and Southern Anatolia, where Ottoman rule was not fully established. As Gültekin points out, there was no reason for these tribes/ nomadic communities to have any inherent enmity with the Ottoman administration that wanted to centralize; on the contrary, there could have been a mutual/symbiotic relationship between the Ottoman administration and these communities.[49] Therefore, Sümer's argument that the Turks who "migrated" from Anatolia played the main constitutive role in the formation of the Safavid State[50] is also open to debate. Of course, it is possible that there were some Turkish migrants from Anatolia, but it is difficult to claim that these migrants were the mainstay of the formation of the Safavid state.

Leaving aside the debate concerning the geographic origins of the Safavid movement's support base -whether Anatolia or Āẕarbāyjān-Irān, the discourse through which Ismāʿīl attracted the Turkmāns is also important for understanding the Safavid movement. In this regard, Quinn notes that since Ismāʿīl was the leader of the Safavid tariqa, he also had a murshid-murid relationship with Turkmān followers, and that he

[47] Tufan Gündüz, *Kızılbaşlar Osmanlılar Safevîler*, ed. Nihal Metin, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2016), 61-70. It should be noted that this issue of entering the sphere of influence may not be inclusive of all representatives of a tribe in different cities/regions.
[48] Gündüz, *Kızılbaşlar Osmanlılar Safevîler,* 99-100.
[49] Sadullah Gülten, *Osmanlı-Safevî Kıskacında Kızılbaşlar: Açılın Kapılar Şah'a Gidelim*, ed. Zeynep Berktaş, 1st ed. (İstanbul: Timaş, 2022), 60-66.
[50] Faruk Sümer, *Safevî Devleti'nin Kuruluşu ve Gelişmesinde Anadolu Türklerinin Rolü: Şah İsmail ile Halefleri ve Anadolu Türkleri*, 3rd ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2018), 1.

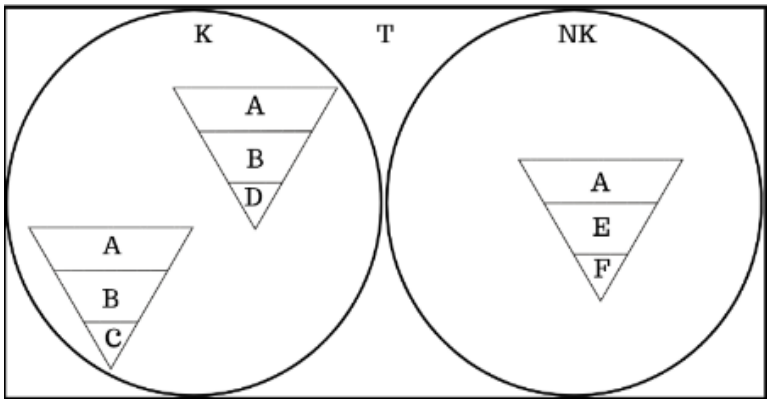
also possessed a divine quality by adopting the phrase "God's Shadow on Earth", which also bears traces of the Sassanid tradition.[51] In addition to these two qualities, he also states that Ismāʿīl -citing examples from his poems- claimed to be the representative of the lost twelfth imām (i.e., Mahdī).[52] These three qualities adopted by Ismāʿīl must have solidified his reputation in the eyes of Turkmāns.

Shāh Ismāʿīl, a charismatic figure among the Turkmāns, faced a major defeat against the Ottomans at Chāldirān in 1514, marking a turning point for the Safavid Shāhdom, which never regained its former glory. The period can be divided into pre-Chāldirān and post-Chāldirān phases. After Selim I's victory and brief occupation of Tabriz, Ismāʿīl avoided active military engagement, focusing on diplomatic efforts against the Ottomans, including unsuccessful correspondence with the Knights of St. John, the Portuguese, Hungary, and the Habsburgs. Meanwhile, he delegated eastern and northern border conflicts to Qizilbāsh chieftains, reflecting his reduced direct involvement.[53] This period also saw increased autonomy among Qizilbāsh leaders, with some displaying disloyalty, signaling a weakened Shāh's position and a growing Qizilbāsh influence within the state. Thus, Chāldirān was a pivotal moment, highlighting both Ismāʿīl's diminished authority and the rising power of the Qizilbāsh Turkmāns in the Safavid realm.

Before Shāh Ṭahmāsb I, Turkmāns adopting the "Qizilbāsh" identity functioned as political "parties" of their era. Gündüz notes that tribes were not politically monolithic, and that different groups belonging to the same tribe (these groups can be considered as ogush/families and uruks/lineages according to our categorization) might have adopted different political attitudes.[54] Matthee highlights that this elastic organization renders the Safavid state mechanism both "strong and weak," creating a "perennial tension" between the center, showing a tendency toward centralization, though not fully realized, and the periphery.[55] Consequently, the Qizilbāsh identity can be viewed as a faction, with Turkmān tribes as key parties within it, and their uruks as sub-parties.

[51] Quinn, *Shah 'Abbas: The King Who Refashioned Iran*, 12.
[52] Quinn, 12-13.
[53] Tufan Gündüz, *Son Kızılbaş Şah İsmail*, 11th ed. (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2023), 147-151, 152-154.
[54] Gündüz, *Kızılbaşlar Osmanlılar Safevîler*, 100-101.
[55] Matthee, "Relations between the Center and the Periphery in Safavid Iran: The Western Borderlands v. the Eastern Frontier Zone," 435.

This structure reflects the complex interplay between tribal dynamics and the evolving central authority in the Safavid realm during Ṭahmāsb I's reign.



Note: T: Turkmān Identity, K: Qizilbāsh Turkmān, NK: Non-Qizilbāsh Turkmān, A: Boy, B-E: Uruks (lineages/tribes), C-D-F: Ogushes (families). As the figure shows, one can speak of different Qizilbāsh structures coming from the same lineage. For example, Ḥasan-i Rūmlū and his grandfather can be considered in the same lineage, but they both have their own family (ogush). Lineages must also be considered separately from the superstructure to which they belong, namely their tribe. It must be remembered that there is no single, monolithic, rigid tribal structure. It is even known that there are lineages that belong to the same tribe but prefer not to be Qizilbāsh. So, the common denominator they all share is "Turkmānness."

Figure 4.2. Interrelations between Turkmān, Qizilbāsh, and Tribal Identity

To summarize, the cyclical journey of the Qizilbāsh Turkmāns as explored in Rūmlū's account highlights the complex dynamics of power and marginalization in the formative years of the Safavid state, and is also connected to the historical background behind the period. The transformation from a decentralized tribal organization to a centralized state under the Safavid family reveals a paradoxical trajectory: While Turkmān tribes initially formed the basis of this new centralizing authority, their marginalization became inevitable as the dynasty sought to consolidate power. The evolution of the Safavid Order from a religious-mystical movement to a state not only redefined the role of its constituent groups (the Qizilbāsh Turkmān tribes) but also revealed inherent tensions within its structure. By rallying around the figure of Shāh Ismā'īl I, the Qizilbāsh Turkmāns created a centralizing authority and established an affinity with this center, but this affinity also sowed the seeds of their eventual alienation. In interpreting Ḥasan-i Rūmlū's portrayal, it is important to keep in mind that this recurring pattern of centralization and peripheralization provides a critical lens through which to understand the Safavid state-building process. Ultimately, examining

this transformation will provide a nuanced view of the political and social realities that defined the Qizilbāsh Turkmān during the Safavid period.

4.1.2. Establishment of the New Center

Shāh Ismāʿīl I died, leaving the tribal elite around him 'without a guide,' and ushering in a period of internal turmoil. Ṭahmāsb I ascended the throne at a notably young age, largely due to the support of the Rūmlū tribe -one of the principal factions in the Safavid realm- and, as he matured, he undertook various initiatives to stabilize the political landscape. The binary distinction (military and soft) used by Matthee to describe centralizing strategies in the context of center-periphery dynamics[56] can also be applied to Ṭahmāsb I's reign. These included political marriages, capital relocation, religious reforms, cultural integration, and military interventions. Through such measures, the Shāh sought to avert a repetition of the authority crisis that followed his father's death.

After the death of Shāh Ismāʿīl I, a race for power emerged among the Qizilbāsh tribes, which led to a period of civil war that lasted for nearly a decade. After Ismāʿīl I's death, the rivalry between the tribes and between the Mīrzās (heirs to the Shāh) came to the fore. Historical sources indicate that the tribes of Takalū, Ẕū al-Qadar, and Rūmlū formed an alliance and rallied around Ṭahmāsb I at the center. Among them, Div Sulṭān Rūmlū, a leading figure from the Rūmlū tribe, was the founder of this alliance and Ṭahmāsb's atabeg.[57] It should be emphasized, however, that the alliances formed were not long-lasting and fragile, i.e., they tended to dissolve quickly. As Newman notes, for example, the Takalūs, who were members of this tripartite alliance, would break away from the alliance in 1527-31 CE, and would rule a "de facto regency."[58] After the Takalūs, the Shāmlū would dominate the country until 1533/4 CE, but their dominance would come to an end when Ṭahmāsb I executed the Shāmlū chief as a result of a plot hatched by some members of the Takalū and Ẕū al-Qadar clans against the Shāmlū chief. Thus, this period of civil war, which began with Ṭahmāsb I's

[56] Matthee, "Relations between the Center and the Periphery in Safavid Iran: The Western Borderlands v. the Eastern Frontier Zone," 443.
[57] Roger Mervin Savory, *Iran Under The Safavids* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 51.
[58] Newman, *Safavid Iran: Rebirth of a Persian Empire*, 26.

accession and the dominance of the Rūmlū tribe in the Qizilbāsh hierarchy, has been subject to scholarly debate in terms of its duration. While some accounts describe it as lasting ten years, others extend this period to twelve.[59]

While the power struggle between the tribes continued (although not as much as in the first twelve years), rivalry between the princes also emerged. Sām Mīrzā grew up under the influence of the lālās of the Shāmlū tribe and rebelled for the first time in 1544 CE.[60] In 1546 CE, Alqās Mīrzā also rebelled but later apologized to his brother Ṭahmāsb I and ended his rebellion.[61] However, he later rebelled against Ṭahmāsb I again and tried to gain Ottoman support. The first of these two rebellions is thought to have been instigated by Ghāzī Khān Takalū. In the second, it is known that the Ottomans assigned ʿUlamā Pasha Takalū to support Alqās. These two examples can be taken as a sign of the closeness between the Takalū tribe and Alqās Mīrzā.

One of the soft measures adopted by Shāh Ṭahmāsb I to consolidate his authority was to make or have made political marriages. As Amlashi and Sooreni's study shows, such marriages can be categorized into four categories: marriages with Qizilbāsh chieftains, marriages with local authorities, marriages with sayyids, and marriages within the Safavid family.[62] The purpose of all these marriages was to consolidate the power of the central administration in remote areas or to keep the political foci within the state mechanism at a manageable distance. According to Amlashi and Sooreni, this policy achieved its goal.[63]

The relocation of the Safavid capital was another significant soft measure to secure the Shāh's authority. After the Ottomans entered the Safavid territories in 1514, 1534, and 1548 CE[64], Shāh Ṭahmāsb I moved the capital to Qazvīn. Echraqi notes that this decision was driven by the Ottoman occupation of Tabriz and the need to counter

[59] For differing views on this, see for instance Newman, 27, 63.
[60] Benedikt Reinert, "SĀM MĪRZĀ," in *The Encylopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 1012.
[61] Cornell Fleischer, "ALQĀS MĪRZA," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, 1989, accessed April 22, 2025, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/alqas-alqasb-alqas-mirza-safawi.
[62] Nasrollah Poormohamadiamlashi and Boroomand Sooreni, "The Role of Political Marriages in Establishing the Safavid Rule During the Reign of Shah Tahmasb I," *History of Islam & Iran* 30, no. 48 (December 2020): 132, https://doi.org/10.22051/hii.2020.31395.2244.
[63] Poormohamadiamlashi and Sooreni, 146-147.
[64] The Battle of Chāldirān and the campaigns against the Safavids by the Ottoman Sultan Sulaymān I are mentioned. See Table B.2.

Uzbak military threats, with Qazvīn chosen for its central location, logistical convenience, city networks, and Ṭahmāsb's interest.[65] However, this relocation can also be seen as a strategic move to reduce potential Qizilbāsh threats. Roemer argues that this perspective may be misleading, stating that Tabriz had lost its importance and that this move to change the capital can be seen as in line with the Iranianization efforts, without having such an aim, in terms of the results it created.[66] However, when this step of Ṭahmāsb I is taken into consideration in his entire political life, it is inferred that this activity may have had more than one purpose, and one of these purposes was to restrain the Qizilbāsh threat. In conclusion, the choice of Qazvīn as the new capital was partly motivated by the need to safeguard the Shāh's authority against possible Turkmān challenges, reflecting a broader effort to consolidate power amid external and internal pressures.

Among Shāh Ṭahmāsb I's soft measures to control authority, the use of jurists' fatvās and edicts of repentance was prominent. The Safavid Shāhs' legitimacy stemmed from three elements: holding the murshid position of the Safavid order, having the title of "Shadow of God on Earth," and being the representative of the Twelfth Imām. Under Shāh Ismāʿīl I, these elements were fused with extremist Shia beliefs (ghuluv) for legitimacy, but his death created a power vacuum for Ṭahmāsb I. To overcome this problem, Ṭahmāsb I benefited from the fatvās of scholars such as al-Karakī. Al-Karakī, also known as Muʿallim-i Ṯānī, had stated that Friday prayers could be performed in the absence of the Imām (Muḥammad al-Mahdī)[67], which was one of the heated issues of his time, and that the ʿulāmā could be the Imām's deputy, and issued a fatvā stating that it was not a "sin" to support the head of state in collecting taxes. As Çelenk also points out, these fatvās of al-Karakī were useful tools to reinforce Ṭahmāsb I's authority.[68] Additionally, Ṭahmāsb I issued edicts of repentance and prohibition, enhancing his religious image.[69] This strengthened image likely bolstered his authority

[65] Ehsan Echraqi, "Le Dār al-Salṭana de Qazvin, deuxième capitale des Safavides," in *Safavid Persia: The History and Politics of an Islamic Society*, vol. 4, Pembroke Persian Papers (London: I. B. Tauris, 1996), 106-107.
[66] Roemer, "The Safavid Period," 243, 250.
[67] Rula Jurdi Abisaab, "KARAKI," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, 2010, accessed April 22, 2025, https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/karaki/.
[68] Mehmet Çelenk, "Safevî İlmi Geleneğinin İnşası ve İran'ın Şiîleşmesi," in *Safeviler: Kültür-Diplomasi-Toplum*, ed. Mehmet Dağlar (İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2021), 99-103.
[69] Newman, *Safavid Iran: Rebirth of a Persian Empire*, 31-32.

among the Qizilbāsh ghāzīs. Thus, fatvās and edicts significantly contributed to reinforcing the Shāh's legitimacy.

It can be argued that another method followed during the reign of Ṭahmāsb I was the inclusion of different cultures in the center. It has been noted that as a result of the Shāh's campaigns in 1553 CE, nearly thirty thousand (Caucasian) captives were brought to Iranian territory, who by the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās I became a "third" element of the Empire (in addition to the Qizilbāsh and Tajiks).[70] This third element began to enter the military as "ghulām" and established its presence alongside the presence of the Qizilbāsh in the military. The case of the Allāhvardī Khān family, originally of Georgian ghulām background, illustrates this emerging administrative emphasis. Historical records indicate that Allāhvardī was brought to Iran during Ṭahmāsb I's reign and rose to become the governor of Fars in 1595 CE.[71] His son Imām Qulī Khān also ruled over large territories after his father's death.[72] The fact that most of the captives brought to Iran during the reign of Ṭahmāsb I were children/women and the institutionalization of the ghulām system during the reign of ʿAbbās I makes it difficult to answer whether this "integration of the third culture" was a move by Ṭahmāsb I to curb Qizilbāshism, but the possibility that Ṭahmāsb I had such a hidden agenda is noteworthy.

In addition to the fact that the third element, the ghulāms, were now part of the state, it can be argued that the cultural presence of the second element, the Tajiks, was also appreciated and embraced by the court. The Tajik (Persian) element had been present from early on as one of the constituent elements of the Safavid umbrella, along with Qizilbāshism. The reign of Ṭahmāsb I appears to have sustained -perhaps even deliberately promoted- this cultural orientation. Tajik elements were prominently reflected in literary productions such as the *Shāhnāma* and *Khamsa*, as well as in the decorative features of palace architecture in the newly founded capital.[73] Consequently, the establishment and expansion of the ghulām's sphere of influence may have been a deliberate policy pioneered/adopted by Ṭahmāsb I, given the

[70] Savory, *Iran Under The Safavids*, 65-67.
[71] Matthee, "Relations between the Center and the Periphery in Safavid Iran: The Western Borderlands v. the Eastern Frontier Zone," 435.
[72] Matthee, 436.
[73] Newman, *Safavid Iran: Rebirth of a Persian Empire*, 33-35, for details.

veneration of Tajik culture and the Qizilbāsh unrest. Thus, the rise of the ghulāms and the favoring of Tajik culture can be seen as Ṭahmāsb I's creation and support of different focal points to rein in the Qizilbāsh element.

One of Shāh Ṭahmāsb I's most significant military moves to strengthen his authority was his campaigns in the Caucasus. Between 1540 and 1553 CE (when he was between the ages of twenty-six and thirty-nine), the Shāh made four expeditions to the Caucasus.[74] Armenian, Georgian, and Circassian prisoners were taken during these campaigns. The motivation behind these campaigns has been interpreted as a continuation of earlier dynastic strategies, emphasizing the acquisition of spoils and military experience as central objectives, much like those pursued during the eras of Junayd, Ḥaydar, and Ismāʿīl.[75] While this is a justifiable reasoning, it should be pointed out that these military operations were in fact "ghazā" activities. Considering that the Qizilbāsh referred to themselves as "'ghāzī", it can be argued that these military operations reinforced Shāh Ṭahmāsb I's legitimacy/respectability in the eyes of the Qizilbāsh Turkmāns. Therefore, these operations can be considered as a move by the Shāh to stabilize the country.

Sometimes, instead of taking a direct part in military interventions, the Shāh would also deploy rebel khāns (tribe leaders) whom he subjugated. For example, the Kurdish Khalil Khān Siyas Mansur, who had previously rebelled against the Shāh, was assigned to defend Khorasan against the rebellious Turkmān.[76]

In conclusion, Shāh Ṭahmāsb I undertook a series of strategic measures to stabilize the Safavid state in the wake of internal turmoil and tribal rivalries following the death of Shāh Ismāʿīl I. His policies encompassed both military and non-military approaches, reflecting a dual strategy of coercion and consolidation. Political marriages, the relocation of the capital, and religious legitimization through fatvās and edicts reinforced the central authority, while military campaigns and the calculated integration of new sociopolitical elements such as the ghulāms reconfigured the

[74] Savory, *Iran Under The Safavids*, 64.
[75] Savory, 65.
[76] Matthee, "Relations between the Center and the Periphery in Safavid Iran: The Western Borderlands v. the Eastern Frontier Zone," 441.

balance of power. The fluctuating alliances among Qizilbāsh factions and the continued challenges posed by rebellious princes and tribal chieftains necessitated an adaptable and multifaceted approach to governance. Ultimately, Ṭahmāsb I's reign laid the groundwork for a more centralized Safavid state, reducing the unrestrained dominance of Qizilbāsh tribes and fostering a more diversified administrative and military elite. While these policies did not entirely eliminate factional struggles, they marked a crucial shift towards a more enduring state structure that would later be further solidified under his successors.

4.2. Competitive Elements in Political Landscape

Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh offers a glimpse into the political mosaic of the period. When the part of the book dealing with the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsb I is analyzed, four elements come to the fore: Qizilbāsh, the Safavid dynasty, Sayyids, and other elements (ghulāms and intellectuals). Given that the author was a Qizilbāsh leader, it should be noted that the sociopolitical positions of these elements were filtered through a Qizilbāsh perception. The fact that the author was a Qizilbāsh also reveals how Qizilbāshness itself is self-positioned. This is what makes the *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* valuable.

Each of the elements that come to the fore in Ḥasan Bīg-i Rūmlū's depiction can be considered as stakeholders trying to gain a foothold around the newly centralized political power (the Safavid dynasty). Each element acts like a political party in a network of deep relationships with each other to consolidate its position. Ḥasan-i Rūmlū assigns different roles to each element and presents these roles to the reader by implication between the lines instead of directly expressing them.

4.2.1. The Qizilbāshs: *The Ghāzīs*

Ḥasan Bīg-i Rūmlū not only portrays the Qizilbāsh Turkmān as a military community but also depicts them as the fundamental pillars of the state, and as brotherly ghāzīs, with the concept of ghazā becoming almost inseparable from Qizilbāsh identity. Their warrior ethos and unwavering devotion to the Shāh are recurrent themes throughout the text. However, Rūmlū's occasional implicit criticisms of the Shāh suggest that this loyalty was neither absolute nor unconditional. This suggests that Rūmlū imagines the

Qizilbāsh not only within a depiction centered on allegiance, but also as a dynamic, critical, and self-consciously state-founding group.

Before analyzing how Ḥasan-i Rūmlū depicts the Qizilbāsh in *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*, it is useful to outline the conceptual distinctions among the terms "Safavid," "Qizilbāsh," and "Turkmān," which are often used interchangeably but refer to different historical realities. Initially, the Safavid order emerged as a sufi religious community, centered on spiritual authority and charismatic leadership, well before it evolved into a political dynasty. The Safavid dynasty later grew out of this order, but the order and the dynasty should not be treated as interchangeable. Likewise, the Qizilbāsh identity, although rooted in allegiance to the Safavid cause, developed into a separate religious-political formation characterized by its militant and devotional character. Meanwhile, the term "Turkmān," on the other hand, designates a range of tribal groups, particularly from Anatolia and Iran, many of whom contributed manpower to both the Safavid movement and the Qizilbāsh forces.[77] However, these categories must be seen as analytically distinct: not every Turkmān was part of the Safavid tariqa, and not all followers of the Safavid cause necessarily acquired Qizilbāsh identity.

While the Qizilbāsh movement drew substantial support from Turkmān tribal groups, it would be reductive to define it solely through ethnic affiliation. Some non-Turkmān groups, including certain Kurdish tribes, were also identified with the Qizilbāsh designation. Martin van Bruinessen, citing Faruk Sümer, mentions the Kurdish-origin Qizilbāsh tribes of Chamishgazaklū and Khinislū, and suggests the possibility of other similar groups.[78] Hans Robert Roemer also refers to a Kurdish-affiliated Qizilbāsh tribe known as the Chaganī.[79] While questions regarding the proportion of these tribes that identified as Qizilbāsh and the specific time periods during which this affiliation was prominent remain open, it should be noted that Ḥasan-i Rūmlū does not explicitly

[77] Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic People: Ethnogenesis and State-Formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East*.
[78] Martin van Bruinessen, "'Aslını Inkar Eden Haramzadedir!': The Debate on the Ethnic Identity of the Kurdish Alevis," in *Syncretistic Religious Communities in the Near East: Collected Papers of the International Symposium "Alevism in Turkey and Comparable Sycretistic Religious Communities in the Near East in the Past and Present": Berlin, 14-17 April 1995*, ed. Krisztina Kehl-Bodrogi, Kellner-Heinkele, and Anke Otter-Beaujean, vol. 76, Studies in the History of Religion (Leiden, New York: E. J. Brill, 1997).
[79] Hans Robert Roemer, "The Qizilbash Turcomans: Founders and Victims of the Safavid Theocracy," in *Intellectual Studies on Islam*, ed. Michel M. Mazzaoui and Vera B. Moreen (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990), 27–39.

mention tribes such as the Chaganī, Chamishgazaklū, or Khinislū in *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*. Their possible connection to Qizilbāsh identity is inferred solely from nisbas attributed to certain Qizilbāsh individuals within these tribal lineages.[80]

This broader pattern suggests that Qizilbāshness should be understood not merely as a tribal or ethnic label, but as a form of collective identity shaped by religious alignment, political loyalty, and participation in a shared ideological cause. In this regard, the Qizilbāsh movement can be seen as a dynamic and inclusive network that brought together various communities around a common framework of belief and militancy. While Turkmāns formed its primary base, the identity it represented was ultimately more complex than any single ethnic descriptor might imply.

The Safavid dynasty, which gradually assumed a political character after emerging from the Safavid sufi order and eventually transformed into a centralized state, derived much of its foundational power from the support of various Qizilbāsh Turkmān tribes. Considering the socio-political structure of the period, it can be argued that the establishment of the Safavid state was made possible largely through the military and organizational contribution of these tribal groups. Among the prominent Qizilbāsh tribes associated with the Safavid cause were the Shāmlū, Rūmlū, Ẕū al-Qadr, Ustājlū, Takalū, Vārsāq, Afshār, Qarājadāghlū, Tālish, Qājār, Qarāmānlū, Chapnī, Alpāghūt, and Bāybūrdlū.[81] This should not be taken to mean that all members of these tribes were necessarily Qizilbāsh or directly involved in the founding of the Safavid state. Rather, many of those who supported the Safavid cause and came to be identified as Qizilbāsh were affiliated with these tribal backgrounds.[82]

[80] The number of individuals bearing such nisbas that may be linked to Kurdish-origin Qizilbāsh tribes is extremely limited -likely no more than a handful- based on the current textual evidence available in *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*. The scarcity of individuals affiliated with these tribes in Ḥasan-i Rūmlū's narrative may reflect either a deliberate authorial choice or the demographic reality of the period. In either case, the predominance of Turkmān-affiliated tribes among the Qizilbāsh remains a well-established aspect of the historical context.

[81] Oqtay Əfəndiyev, *Azərbaycan Səfəvilər Dövləti*, ed. Əbdülkərim Əlizadə, trans. Kamil Muxtarov (Baku: Şərq-Qərb, 2007); Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic People: Ethnogenesis and State-Formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East*.

[82] Ḥasan-i Rūmlū frequently refers to individuals by using nisbas that indicate their tribal affiliation. These nisbas provide evidence regarding which tribes had members who supported the Safavid state - or more accurately, the ruling dynasty. However, as explained above, the presence of affiliated individuals does not necessarily imply that the entire tribe was aligned with the Safavid cause. All of the tribal names mentioned in the paragraph appear at various points throughout *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*, used as nisbas either once or multiple times.

In Ḥasan Bīg's portrayal of the Qizilbāsh, the religious emphasis is at the forefront, and the fact that the Qizilbāsh are "ghāzī" is mentioned at every opportunity. In any battle in which Qizilbāsh Turkmāns take part, the enemy is always characterized as infidels and the Qizilbāsh as ghāzī.[83] The enemy is "infidel," no matter who they are. Muslim Uzbaks and Christian Georgians are seen in the same light and characterized as "infidels." The only opponent who is not characterized as infidel despite being "enemy" is the Ottomans. It is noteworthy that the author avoids using the word "infidel" for the Ottomans and even uses praising expressions in some places.

In his work, the terminology Ḥasan-i Rūmlū employs when referring to the Qizilbāsh sheds light on how he perceived this group. Specifically, in this context, it becomes evident that the author frequently draws upon military expressions to characterize the Qizilbāsh (in addition to the ghāzī rhetoric elaborated above). His choice of words can be analytically divided into three distinct categories: firstly, terms that directly denote an army or soldiery are utilized; secondly, the Qizilbāsh are mentioned alongside references to martial instruments used in warfare; and thirdly, expressions that allude to the military attributes or qualities of the Qizilbāsh are adopted. This deliberate lexical selection underscores the militarized identity ascribed to the Qizilbāsh within the broader structure of Rūmlū's portrayal.

In the text, the author makes use of three basic words for the army. These are lashkar, junūd, and sapāh, and they are often used in the form of a phrase with qizilbāsh (78b, 88a-b). In addition, at some points, the Qizilbāsh are mentioned with expressions such as "saffāk" and "bībāk," emphasizing their military qualities. There are also places where they are mentioned together with the equipment they used in battle, which is evident in a poem that the author included in his text (whether the author was himself or someone else is unknown):

[83] Therefore, in a sense, the idea that the real struggle is between disbelief and Islam is emphasized.

Yakāyak chūn tabar-u-fūlād-muhra,
Bakhūnrīzī hama chūn tigh-i shuhra,
Hama chūn gurz-i dushman-kūb sarvar,
Hama chūn nīza-i zakhm-andāz-u-safdar,
Babāzī diqqat kūshash chūn kamān sakht,
Bagāh-i razm chūn kūpāl-i yaklakht,
Chū zubin sarbasar dar qaṣd-i khūnrīz,
Kamand āsā yakāyak gardan-āvīz
(…)[84]

Another characteristic feature that Ḥasan-i Rūmlū attributes to the Qizilbāsh identity is their role as state-builders and their unwavering loyalty to the Shāh. Throughout his account in *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*, Rūmlū consistently emphasizes the Qizilbāsh's dedication to the establishment and preservation of the Safavid state, portraying them as steadfast supporters of centralized authority. This is particularly evident in sections such as the account of Shāh Ṭahmāsb I's ascension to the throne, where Rūmlū employs expressions that underscore their allegiance to the Shāh and their commitment to the state's stability. This portrayal aligns with Rūmlū's broader tendency to highlight their martial and political contributions, framing them as both creators and sustainers of Safavid power. Such descriptions are not merely incidental but deliberately woven into the text to reinforce the notion of Qizilbāsh loyalty as a foundational element of their identity. Thus, in Rūmlū's portrayal, the Qizilbāsh are depicted as a foundational element of the Safavid state, with their loyalty to the Shāh consistently affirmed.

The accession of Ṭahmāsb I is described as follows:

> Vasāyir akābir va aṣāghir bar aṭrāf-i bārgāh-i sipihr-ishtibāh qarār girifta. Chashm-u-gūsh baishārat-i anḥażrat nahādand va manāẓim-i dīn-u-davlat va kār-i mulk-u-millat ravnaq tamām tamām girift. Miṣraʿ: Bāz az nuv padishāh padīd āmad sarī.[85]

[84] Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, "Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh," 985 AH/1578 CE, E. E. C., 88b.
T.: "Each was an axe with a face of steel,
A fabled sword, thirsting for blood.
Each was a mighty mace, striking the foe,
A spear that pierced and shattered the ranks.
Be wary -their biceps bend like bows in battle,
A single mace, unyielding in war.
Like spears, they all longed to spill blood,
Looping lassos 'round enemy throats, one by one."

[85] Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, EEC, 77b. T.: "And the other grandees and subordinates stood around the sultan's tent, resembling the sky. They gave their eyes and ears to that excellency's signal. The order of religion and state, the affairs of the nation and state, became entirely beautiful. Verse: The sovereign emerged anew."

Considering that Ṭahmāsb was only ten years old, the 'emergence of the sovereign' is more appropriately understood as his 'being brought forth' by others. Therefore, those who brought the sulṭān into existence were all the Qizilbāsh "grandees and subordinates gathered around the Shāh's tent." In other words, it was the Qizilbāsh themselves who established the state.

The fact that the Qizilbāsh ghāzīs are referred to as duvlatkhāh (lovers of the state) in several places in the text[86] helps us understand how they positioned themselves about state authority. As for their loyalty to the Shāh, the following two quotes from the text are insightful:

> (...) va mujāhidān-i dīn va ghāziyān-i ẓafar-āyīn kamar-i inqiyād bar miyān-i jān basta az Shāh yak ishārat az mā basar davīdan gūyān (...).[87]
> (...) va lashkar chunān khāhāhān-ū būdand ki muddat-i chahārdah sāl mavājib nadāda būd hīch ahidī shukūh namīkardand va dar khidmat bajid būdand.[88]

In the first example, the language emphasizes (and affirms) the loyalty of the Qizilbāsh soldiers to the Shāh, and in the second example, the loyalty of the Qizilbāsh to him is emphasized even though Ṭahmāsb I did not pay the salaries of the Qizilbāsh for a long period of fourteen years.

On page 147a of the account of Shāh Ṭahmāsb I's Georgian campaigns that began in 1551 CE, the subheading "Guftār dar lashkarkashīdanī-yi Shāh-i dīn-panāh nuvbat-i siyum ba Gurjistān va qalʿ u qamʿ-i mutamarridān-i bī-īmān"[89] appears. On page 159b, the phrase "Gurjiyān-i kāfir"[90] is used for the Georgian soldiers who were being fought against. On page 141a, the Uzbaks are referred to as "(...) Uzbakān-i bī-īmān (...)"[91] in the military struggle against the Uzbaks.

[86] Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, "Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh," EEC, 78a, 91b, 92b, 130a.
[87] Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, EEC, 114b-115a. T: "(…) and the mujahids of religion and the victorious ghāzīs tied the belt of loyalty around their waists and said, "A sign from the shāh, and we fight with all our hearts! (…)"
[88] Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, EEC, 203b. T.: "(...) and the army was so devoted to him that even though they had not received their salaries for fourteen years, no one complained and they served earnestly."
[89] T.: "Discourse on the third military campaign of the Shāh, the Protector of Religion, to Georgia and the destruction of the defiant faithless"
[90] T.: "infidel Georgians"
[91] T.: "faithless Ozbaks"

As it is seen, whether the opponent was Muslim or not did not change the classification of the opponent as infidel in the eyes of the Qizilbāsh ghāzīs; Christian Georgians or Sunni Uzbaks were also infidels. The Ottoman example, however, fell outside this categorization. In none of the chapters describing the military struggles of the Qizilbāsh against the Ottomans does Ḥasan-i Rūmlū refer to the Ottomans as infidels. In fact, he even uses positive language when necessary. For example, on page 184b, while describing the events of 1569/70 CE, he mentions that the "mushrik"[92] Venetian army harassed the Ottoman borders and characterizes the Ottoman soldiers as "mujāhidān-i dīn-i sayyid al-mursalīn".[93] Considering that he also characterizes the Qizilbāsh as ghāzī, it is noteworthy that Ottoman and Qizilbāsh soldiers can be mentioned in the same category. The use of an affirmative rather than a pejorative word about the Ottoman army has the potential to be the subject of further research.

As mentioned above, throughout the work, the Qizilbāsh are referred to as ghāzīs in the context of believers and infidels, almost identifying Qizilbāshism with being ghāzī. Ḥasan Rūmlū narrates the fifty-two-year period from the accession of Shāh Ṭahmāsb I to the throne until his death, in approximately fifty-eight leaves. He uses the term "ghāzī" more than a hundred times in all these leaves, referring only to the Qizilbāsh Turkmāns (i.e., not to a person/place name). This frequent use of the term is, of course, a conscious choice made by the author and shows the value he attached to the concept of Qizilbāsh. Therefore, it can be said that, for Ḥasan Rūmlū, the Qizilbāsh were a prestigious group actively engaging in ghazā for the sake of religion.

Another point that can be gleaned from Ḥasan-i Rūmlū's treatment of the Qizilbāsh in his work is the notion that Qizilbāsh were regarded as 'brothers to one another.' It is an indisputable fact that conjunctural rivalries existed among different Qizilbāsh Turkmān uruks, with the civil war during the early years of Shāh Ṭahmāsb I's reign serving as a clear example. However, in Ḥasan-i Rūmlū's account, this state of inter-uruk conflict does not appear to be perceived as an impediment to the concept of Qizilbāsh brotherhood. Thus, despite the occurrence of disputes among uruks, the Qizilbāsh, in a broader sense, retained the status of being a brother to another Qizilbāsh.

[92] T.: "idolater"
[93] T.: "The strivers of the religion of the Lord of the Messengers"

Ḥasan-i Rūmlū's expressions of regret over the conflict between the Qizilbāsh uruks at the beginning of the Civil War period are in support of this argument. In the section on the 932nd Hijri year (1525-26 CE), the author describes the military struggle of the alliance of Rūmlū, Takalū, and Ẕū al-Qadar against the Ustājlū and says the following:

> (...) va chūn ān dū sapāh-i kīna-khāh bāyin [bā in] tartīb bayak-dīgar rasīdand zamāna rā dil az ḥasrat khūn shud ki ba chunīn dū lashkar az yak jins bāyist ki bamuvāfaqat-i yak-dīgar aʿdā-yi duvlat rā mankūb va dushmanān-i mamlakat rā makhūr mīkardānīdand.[94]

To sum up, Ḥasan-i Rūmlū's *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* presents the Qizilbāsh Turkmāns as a multifaceted group whose identity is intricately tied to their role as ghāzīs, state-builders, and loyal adherents to the Safavid Shāh. Throughout the text, Rūmlū consistently frames them as a militarized community, employing a rich lexicon of martial terms and vivid imagery to underscore their warrior ethos, while simultaneously affirming their foundational contributions to the Safavid state, particularly evident during Shāh Ṭahmāsb I's ascension. Their portrayal as ghāzīs is reinforced by the persistent characterization of enemies -whether Muslim Uzbaks or Christian Georgians- as infidels, with the notable exception of the Ottomans, whom Rūmlū refrains from vilifying, even praising at times. All these attributions of meaning envisage the Qizilbāsh as a dynamic entity rather than a monolithic force. Furthermore, despite inter-uruk rivalries, such as those during the civil war, Rūmlū upholds their brotherhood, lamenting internal conflicts as a betrayal of their shared purpose. Ultimately, Rūmlū's portrayal elevates the Qizilbāsh to a prestigious status, intertwining their ghāzī identity with state-building and devotion, thus cementing their historical significance within the Safavid framework as both creators and defenders of a religio-political order.

4.2.2. The Safavid Dynasty

In *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*, another prominent element that emerges is the Safavid dynasty itself, specifically the family of the Shāh, which occupies a central and exalted position within the text. The text meticulously delineates the boundaries of the dynasty,

[94] Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, "Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh," EEC, 985 AH/1578 CE, 81a. T.: "And when the two hostile armies took up this formation and faced each other, the heart of the age bled with sorrow. Being of the same kin, the two armies could have forged an alliance, together bringing ruin upon the enemies of the state and crushing the foes of the realm."

distinguishing it sharply from other entities such as the Qizilbāsh, and other socio-political factors, thereby situating it at a transcendent and almost sacrosanct level. The Safavid family is portrayed through the use of distinct and honorific terminology, which not only underscores its elevated status but also ties its lineage directly to the prophet Muḥammad, reinforcing its religious legitimacy and genealogical prestige. Furthermore, the Shāhs themselves are addressed with specific appellations that highlight their exceptional qualities, emphasizing their unique characters. Collectively, these rhetorical and conceptual strategies serve to underscore the dynasty's singular prominence, setting it apart unequivocally from other political factions within the realm. This deliberate demarcation illustrates the Safavid household's perceived supremacy, positioning it as a unifying and authoritative force within the broader context of the state's governance and identity.

The special words the author uses to refer to the Shāh and his lineage indicate that the Shāh and his lineage occupy a lofty position among other groups, at least outwardly. The text uses indirect expressions such as dargāh-i ʿālam-panāh[95] to indicate the Shāh's exalted position, or khānadān-i Ṣafaviya[96] to refer directly to the Safavid lineage. The Shāh (Ṭahmāsb I) is referred to as Ṭahmāsb Shāh-i ʿādil[97], Shāh-i dīn-panāh[98], pādishāh-i ʿālī-tabār[99], āfitāb-i marḥamat[100], Shāhriyār-i barr-u-baḥr[101]. These adjectives indicate his justice, the greatness of his lineage, the strength of his reign, and the fact that he is merciful and pious. Moreover, the author further elevates the status of the Safavid dynasty by linking the lineage of the Shāh to that of the Prophet Muḥammad.[102] All these exalting appeals indicate that the Shāh and his lineage stand in a different position among other political power groups.

In conclusion, *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* presents the Safavid dynasty as an ostensibly cornerstone of authority, meticulously crafted to stand apart from competing forces within the realm. The deliberate distinction of the Shāh's family from entities such as

[95] Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, "Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh," EEC, 985 AH/1578 CE, 115a. T: "the sanctuary of the realm"
[96] Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, EEC, 78a. T.: "the Safavid dynasty"
[97] Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, EEC, 125a. T.: "the just shāh Ṭahmāsb"
[98] Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, EEC, 77b. T.: "the shāh, the refuge of religion"
[99] Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, EEC, 115b. T.: "the high-born padishāh"
[100] Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, EEC, 115b. T.: "the sun of mercy"
[101] Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, EEC, 192a. T.: "the ruler of land and sea"
[102] See Appendix A, Image A.1.

the Qizilbāsh and other socio-political elements reinforces its portrayal as an almost divine institution, elevated beyond the mundane struggles of power. By employing honorific language and tracing the dynasty's lineage to the prophet Muḥammad, the text not only legitimizes its rule through sacred genealogy but also imbues it with an aura of unassailable prestige. The specific appellations reserved for the Shāhs further amplify their exceptional character, casting them as figures of unparalleled significance in the governance of the state. This rhetorical elevation, coupled with the dynasty's conceptual separation from other factions, underscores its role as a unifying force, binding the diverse threads of the realm into a cohesive identity. Ultimately, the Shāh's family emerges as a supreme being in the author's portrayal and is clearly separated from the Qizilbāsh and other groups.

4.2.3. The Sayyids

In Ḥasan-i Rūmlū's *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*, the sayyids emerge as a group subject to both direct and subtle critique, primarily due to their perceived overreach into the political sphere beyond their expected standard religious roles. Throughout the text, Rūmlū portrays them as figures who, at times, wielded undue influence over state affairs, often positioning themselves closer to Shāh Ṭahmāsb I than even the Qizilbāsh, a proximity that he views with evident disapproval. Critical stance of the author is also reflected in his accounts of specific incidents involving sayyids, where their actions -ranging from interference in governance to rebellious ambitions and questionable conduct- draw either explicit condemnation or implicit skepticism.

In the book, the sayyids are mainly criticized for their tendency to go beyond their sphere of religious affairs and get involved in worldly politics and interfere in state affairs. It has been claimed that *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* offers limited insight into individual character portrayal.[103] However, this assessment may be overly reductive. The

[103] In addition to the claim regarding the lack of character portrayal, *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* has also been criticized for its supposed deficiency in literary ornamentation. See, Tilmann Trausch, *Anpassung Und Abbildung: Das Türkenbild in Safawidischen Chroniken Des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 1st ed., Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 27 (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2008), 13-15. However, while the text does place considerable emphasis on military events, this does not imply that it is entirely devoid of stylistic embellishment. On the contrary, Hasan-i Rūmlū often uses an elevated register and inserts bayits/shʿirs and uses ornate expressions, especially when referring to rulers and dignitaries or when narrating important events. A more comprehensive stylistic/narrative analysis, however, falls outside the scope of this thesis.

chronicle includes elements that, although not always explicit, enable the reader to infer certain personal traits and group characteristics. This is particularly relevant in the case of the sayyids, whose actions and roles in political-religious contexts are depicted in ways that suggest the author's critical stance. Drawing on such narrative cues, one may discern subtle but meaningful evaluations embedded in Ḥasan-i Rūmlū's account. For example, while describing Ṭahmāsb I's expedition to Dizfūl to suppress the rebellion, mentions the sayyids who had achieved positions close to the Shāh and even writes critically that the sayyids were 'even closer to the Shāh than the Qizilbāsh'. Ḥasan Bīg states that the Shāh opened the 'doors of abundant blessings' to this group and that the sincerity of people outside this group was ignored. Finally, we learn that the Shāh, through the statesmen who warned him, realized this negative situation and banned some of them from coming to the 'dargāh' (i.e., from interfering in state affairs). In conclusion, it can be said that Ḥasan-i Rūmlū criticizes the clique of sayyids mainly because they tend to interfere in state affairs, which can be indirectly considered as a criticism against the Shāh.[104]

Ḥasan-i Rūmlū's attitude towards the sayyids can be read in an indirect way when he describes some events in which the sayyids were involved. The author's criticism of the sayyids is sometimes direct and sometimes indirect. Rūmlū's critical point of view is felt when describing Amīr Niʿmat Allāh's opposition to ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAlī, Amīr Qivām al-Dīn's rebellion with the 'desire' to become a Shāh, and the expression of rumors circulating about Qāżī Jihān Qazvīnī. It is known that ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAlī was on good terms with the Qizilbāsh and issued the fatvā legitimizing the Shāh's authority. Ḥasan-i Rūmlū implies that Niʿmat Allāh was involved in the operation to discredit ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAlī by writing a forged letter and states that the Shāh exiled Niʿmat Allāh to Bagdad after the forged letter.[105] As for Amīr Qivām al-Dīn, he states that he attempted to rebel by taking off his "dervish attire" and that his claim of being a sayyid was unfounded after his trial, and that he was sentenced to exile in the castle of Alincaq.[106] Thirdly, it is observed that rumors were circulating about Qāżī Qazvīnī's transfer of vaqif properties into his possession, and after these rumors reached Ṭahmāsb I's ears, Qāżī Qazvīnī's properties were taken back. While narrating this

[104] Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, "Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh," 985 AH/1578 CE, EEC, 125b-126b.
[105] Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, 106a-107a.
[106] Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, 116b-117b.

event, Ḥasan-i Rūmlū does not use any negative expression for these news (such as "gossip", "lie", "slander") and does not use a positive expression for the Qāżī (such as "May God have mercy on him") in the part where he describes the death of the Qāżī immediately after the events.[107] This style can be interpreted as a result of Ḥasan-i Rūmlū's critical view of Qāżī Jihān.[108] In summary, it can be said that Ḥasan-i Rūmlū's attitude towards the sayyids can be identified from the way he narrates some of the negative incidents related to them.

To conclude, Ḥasan-i Rūmlū's *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* offers a portrayal of the sayyids, marked by a persistent critique of their encroachment into political domains traditionally beyond their religious role. Throughout the account, Rūmlū underscores their undue proximity to Shāh Ṭahmāsb I, often surpassing even the Qizilbāsh in influence, a dynamic he views with disapproval, as evidenced by his account in the related pages prompted the Shāh's eventual intervention. The manifestation of criticism can be observed as direct condemnation or subtler expressions of skepticism. Rūmlū's deliberate omission of sympathetic language in these accounts further betrays his critical stance, suggesting an implicit reproach of the Shāh's initial favoritism toward this group.

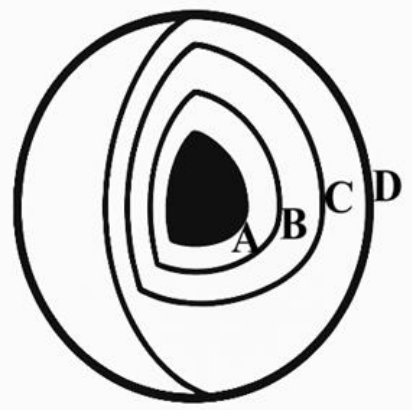
[107] Ḥasan-i Rūmlū., 156b-157b.

[108] Qāżī Jahān is first introduced with great praise, but it should be noted that this "praiseworthy introduction" is a rhetorical style of expression. Critical statements are generally found in the sections after the praise. The same is true in the case of Niʿmat Allāh

CHAPTER V

CONTEXTUALIZING *AḤSAN AL-TAVĀRĪKH*

Ḥasan Bīg-i Rūmlū's *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* emerges as a text of remarkable complexity, embodying a multifaceted identity that unfolds across distinct yet interconnected layers, akin to a sphere harboring concentric realms of meaning. At its outermost stratum, the work presents itself as a work of historiography, aligning with early modern Islamic chronicle traditions through its linear yet cyclically nuanced recounting of wars, diplomatic exchanges, and political successions, all framed within a theological lens of divine providence. Beneath this visible surface, it functions as a personal interpretation, where Rūmlū's subjective voice infuses the text with his convictions, evident in his contrasting portrayals of ghāzīhood and unbelief among the Qizilbāsh, Ottomans, and Uzbaks. Deeper still lies its role as an instrument of identity formation, subtly crafting roles for the Qizilbāsh, the Safavid dynasty, and the sayyids to articulate Rūmlū's vision of an ideal polity centered on Qizilbāsh legitimacy. At its innermost core, the text reveals itself as a reminder, a purposeful testament designed to underscore the Qizilbāsh's foundational significance to the Safavid state, directed at Shāh Ṭahmāsb I and future rulers. This layered identity -from the apparent facade (being a classical historiography) to the innermost essence (being a reminder)- reflects Rūmlū's intent to weave an account that is both historical and prescriptive. This chapter explores these dimensions and examines the multiple characters of Rūmlū's chronicle, trying to grasp how it goes beyond mere documentation and on what feature it is most fundamentally built. By conceptualizing the text as a sphere of overlapping yet distinct strata, this analysis seeks to illuminate the intricate interplay of form, identity, subjectivity, and purpose that defines *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*.



A: The quality of serving as a reminder of the significance of the Qizilbāshness. B: The character of being an instrument of identity formation. C: The character of being a reflection of personal interpretations. D: The character of being a work of historiography.[109]

Figure 5.1. The Multilayered Nature of *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*

5.1. *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* as a Work of Historiography

At first glance, *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* appears to align with the conventional structure of early modern Islamic historiography. Like its contemporary counterparts, the work adheres to a linear chronology, which also incorporates a sense of cyclicality within itself, recounting events such as wars, diplomatic correspondence, successions, and political rivalries. These descriptions are underpinned by a theological worldview grounded in divine providence, suggesting that historical developments unfold according to a sacred order. This layer of the text -its formal historiographical appearance- constitutes the outermost stratum of Ḥasan-i Rūmlū's multifaceted authorial identity. In this respect, the chronicle participates in a broader historiographical tradition that frames political and military history as part of a divinely ordained continuum. While the chronicle's outward style may seem conventional, Rūmlū's deliberate linguistic choices in portraying key figures and groups have the potential to reveal his perspectives and convey subtle critiques. As such, *Aḥsan al-*

[109] In his discussion of Ottoman chronicles, Rudi Lindner employs the metaphor of an "onion," suggesting that such texts were often composed around a single thematic core, see Rudi Paul Lindner, *Nomads and Ottoman in Medieval Anatolia* (Indiana University, 1983). Cemal Kafadar, however, argues that "garlic" may serve as a more fitting metaphor, given the more dispersed and pungent nature of historical narratives, see Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1996). Unlike these general assessments of multiple chronicles, the diagram presented here attempts to illustrate the multi-layered structure of a single work -Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh- rather than a collective textual tradition.

Tavārīkh cannot be read merely as an objective register of events; rather, it functions simultaneously as a formalized history, and a textual vehicle for the author's embedded political concerns. Recognizing this first and most visible layer is essential for understanding the subsequent dimensions of the text, which move beyond mere documentation and toward identity construction, personal interpretation, and reminding the core. Thus, this historiographical form is not only a structural framework but also a conscious textual approach that gives legitimacy and coherence to the deeper intentions of the author.

5.2. *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* as a Personal Interpretation

Beyond its surface as a chronological account, *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* functions as a reflective space in which Ḥasan-i Rūmlū embeds his own personal worldview and political sensibilities. This interpretive layer permeates the text, shaping the way events are narrated, and groups are described. Unlike a purely objective chronicle, the work reveals itself as a medium for the author's subjectivity, closer in tone at times to a personal journal than to an impartial historical record. Rūmlū's commentary on the Qizilbāsh, the Safavid family, and the Sayyids offers insight into how he envisions their ideal relationship within the state. His portrayal of external groups, such as the Ottomans and Uzbaks, further illuminates his broader political outlook. While the Ottomans and the Qizilbāsh are embedded within a shared discourse of ghāzīhood, the Uzbaks are consistently labeled as unbelievers, revealing Rūmlū's understanding of religious legitimacy and righteous warfare. These evaluations are not incidental; they serve as interpretive signposts that guide the reader's moral and political judgment. As such, Rūmlū's work must be seen not only as historiography but also as a personal political statement, wherein historical narration becomes a mirror reflecting the author's beliefs, biases, and political agenda.

5.3. *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* as an Instrument of Identity Formation

At a deeper and more intimate level, *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* operates as a potent instrument for shaping identities, both individual and collective, within the Safavid imperial structure. Ḥasan-i Rūmlū meticulously constructs and assigns roles to the groups, implicitly delineating their positions within his idealized vision of the state-society

configuration. The Qizilbāsh are portrayed as a cohesive brotherhood of warrior ghāzīs, bound not only by blood ties but also by a shared ideal of martial valor and loyalty, positioning them as the moral and military backbone of the Safavid polity. In contrast, the sayyids are depicted as a group overstepping their religious boundaries, meddling in state affairs, and causing disruptions, a characterization that subtly challenges their legitimacy and authority. The Safavid family, on the other hand, is elevated to a supreme, almost sacred status, their identity crafted as the pinnacle of political and spiritual leadership. Through these carefully crafted portrayals, Rūmlū's voice intervenes in the debates of his time, indicating the political behavior he sees as truth. This process of role-assignment reflects his vision of an ideal Safavid state center where the Qizilbāsh's centrality is paramount, while the sayyids' overreach is critically framed.

Ḥasan-i Rūmlū's account in *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* further extends its identity-forming function by revealing the author's perception of religious and martial identities, particularly through his portrayal of external groups such as the Ottomans, the Qizilbāsh, and the Uzbaks. The text offers a window into how Rūmlū conceptualizes the dichotomy of qāfir (unbeliever) and ghāzī/mujāhid (warrior for the faith) within his mind. Both the Ottomans and the Qizilbāsh are embedded within a shared discourse of ghāzīhood, united by a common ethos of righteous warfare and religious legitimacy, which aligns them as defenders of a broader Islamic cause despite their political -and even military- rivalry. In stark contrast, the Uzbaks are consistently positioned as qāfirs, alienated and delegitimized within Rūmlū's descriptive framing as enemies of the true faith, regardless of their Muslim identity. Thus, *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* becomes a powerful text of identity construction, articulating a vision of the Safavid polity that is deeply rooted in the Qizilbāsh's centrality while navigating the complex interplay of faith and enmity in the broader regional context.

5.4. *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* as a Reminder

Among the most salient features of *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* is its function as a strategic reminder. Through carefully selected expressions, emphasis on loyalty, and recurring portrayals of the Qizilbāsh as self-sacrificing ghāzīs and steadfast actors, Ḥasan-i Rūmlū crafts a text that implicitly calls attention to their indispensable role in the

formation and preservation of the Safavid state. His positioning of the Qizilbāsh in contrast to the overreaching Sayyids and the occasionally fallible Shāh Ṭahmāsb I suggests a desire to correct the shifting balance of power. While avoiding overt criticism, the author's language reveals a clear hierarchy of political legitimacy -one that places the Qizilbāsh at the core of Safavid strength. This reminder is not framed as a manifesto, but it emerges as the underlying thread running throughout the work, offering a vision of the state in which the contributions of the Qizilbāsh must not be overlooked.

The reminder function of *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* appears to operate not only concerning the present political moment but also across temporal layers. The title of the work, "The Best of Histories," conveys an ambition to produce what the author regarded as the most accurate and authoritative historical account among the chronicles written up to his own time. While this title primarily asserts a claim about the past and the present, it can also be viewed as claiming the future. Although the introductory pages state that the work will address the reigns of Shāh Ismāʿīl I, Shāh Ṭahmāsb I, and Ismāʿīl Mīrzā, the narrative continues into the period of Muḥammad Khudābanda. This extension beyond the announced framework indicates that Rūmlū was not solely concerned with narrating completed reigns but rather sought to formulate a message that could extend into the future. In this light, the reminder function of the text may be understood not simply as a reflection for contemporaries but as a lasting address intended for future Safavid rulers.

To sum up, Ḥasan Bīg-i Rūmlū's *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* reveals itself as a text of profound depth, its identity unfolding through a series of concentric layers that mirror a spherical structure, each stratum distinct yet in constant dialogue with the others. At its outermost level, as a work of historiography, it adheres to the conventions of its time, chronicling the events of Shāh Ṭahmāsb I's reign within a divinely ordained framework, offering a visible legitimacy to its historical expression. Beneath this lies its function as an instrument of identity formation, where Rūmlū shapes the roles of the Qizilbāsh, the Safavid dynasty, and the sayyids, subtly reinforcing Qizilbāsh centrality while challenging competing authorities. Further inward, as a personal interpretation, the text becomes a canvas for Rūmlū, reflecting his biases and political sensibilities through nuanced portrayals of power and legitimacy. At its innermost

core, it stands as a reminder, a deliberate effort to assert the Qizilbāsh's enduring role as the state's backbone, a message subtly critical of the Shāh's missteps and sayyid overreach, intended to resonate with Ṭahmāsb I and beyond. This multi-layered identity -from the external historiographical shell to the innermost call for reminding the significant position of the Qizilbāshes- underscores Rūmlū's textual portrayal as a dynamic interplay of documentation and advocacy. By conceptualizing *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* as a sphere of interconnected dimensions, this analysis highlights its capacity to simultaneously record history, construct identity, express personal conviction, and remind its audience of foundational truths. In conclusion, Rūmlū's work emerges not merely as a chronicle but as a testament to the complexities of the Safavid era, its layered essence offering a rich lens into the era's socio-political fabric.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

This thesis has argued that Ḥasan-i Rūmlū's *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* is not simply a chronicle of Shāh Ṭahmāsb I's reign, but rather a layered historical composition shaped by the author's dual position as both a member of the Qizilbāsh tribal elite and a court-affiliated chronicler. Rūmlū's unique placement between the tribal periphery and the Safavid center allowed him to observe, interpret, and document the political tensions of the era, especially the frictions between centralizing tendencies and tribal foundations. His writing, while rich in historical narrative, simultaneously reflects a perspective informed by personal affiliation and political investment.

At the heart of the thesis lies the proposition that *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* serves as a deliberate political reminder. By foregrounding the Qizilbāsh and emphasizing their role in the foundation and survival of the Safavid state, Rūmlū constructs a rhetorical framework that subtly yet consistently advocates for their continued recognition. His depictions of the Qizilbāsh, the Safavid royal family, and the Sayyids are not merely descriptive; they are strategic portrayals aimed at preserving a particular memory of legitimacy and service. This reminder, though embedded in historical narration, reveals an implicit call not just to his contemporaries but also to future rulers.

To ground this reading, the thesis examined a substantial portion of the Süleymaniye manuscript covering the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsb I. Through a close textual analysis of Rūmlū's language and emphasis, supported by comparative reference to modern editions, the study identified patterns in how power groups were framed. In doing so, it highlighted how tribal affiliations, particularly among the Qizilbāsh, were interwoven with the state's evolving political structure. The broader tribal backdrop - reflected in Turkic precedents- further clarified how notions of loyalty, identity, and political priority were shaped and represented.

Rūmlū's emphasis on three key power groups -the Qizilbāsh, the Safavid dynasty, and the Sayyids- forms the central structural logic of the text. These groups are presented in relational contrast: the Qizilbāsh as courageous and loyal, the dynasty as sacred yet fallible, and the Sayyids as increasingly intrusive in political affairs. This triadic configuration underpins the text's multi-layered structure, which may be conceptualized as concentric spheres: a core reminder of Qizilbāsh centrality, surrounded by a layer of identity formation, then the author's personal agenda, and finally the outermost layer of historiography. The composition thus serves not only as a chronicle but as a carefully crafted text intended to shape how authority and loyalty were remembered and transmitted.

This study has also highlighted the need for caution when approaching questions of identity in early Safavid history. Modern interpretations are often shaped by contemporary presumptions, which can obscure the historical realities of the sixteenth century. By returning to the source itself, this thesis has sought to show how Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, in *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*, represented the Qizilbāsh above all, while also shedding light on his portrayals of Safavid and Sayyid identities within their own historical context.

Although the precise timeline of the text's composition remains uncertain, internal evidence suggests that Rūmlū continued to write until the later years of his life. While the opening announces coverage of Shāh Ismāʿīl I, Shāh Ṭahmāsb I, and Ismāʿīl Mīrzā, the narrative extends into the reign of Muḥammad Khudābanda. This evolution suggests that *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh* was not conceived merely as a report of its moment, but as a message projected toward the future. Ultimately, the chronicle functions not just as a historical record, but as a medium of political memory -one that seeks to reaffirm the Qizilbāsh's foundational role within the Safavid order and to remind those in power of the debt owed to the state's earliest defenders.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

FROM THE MANUSCRIPT

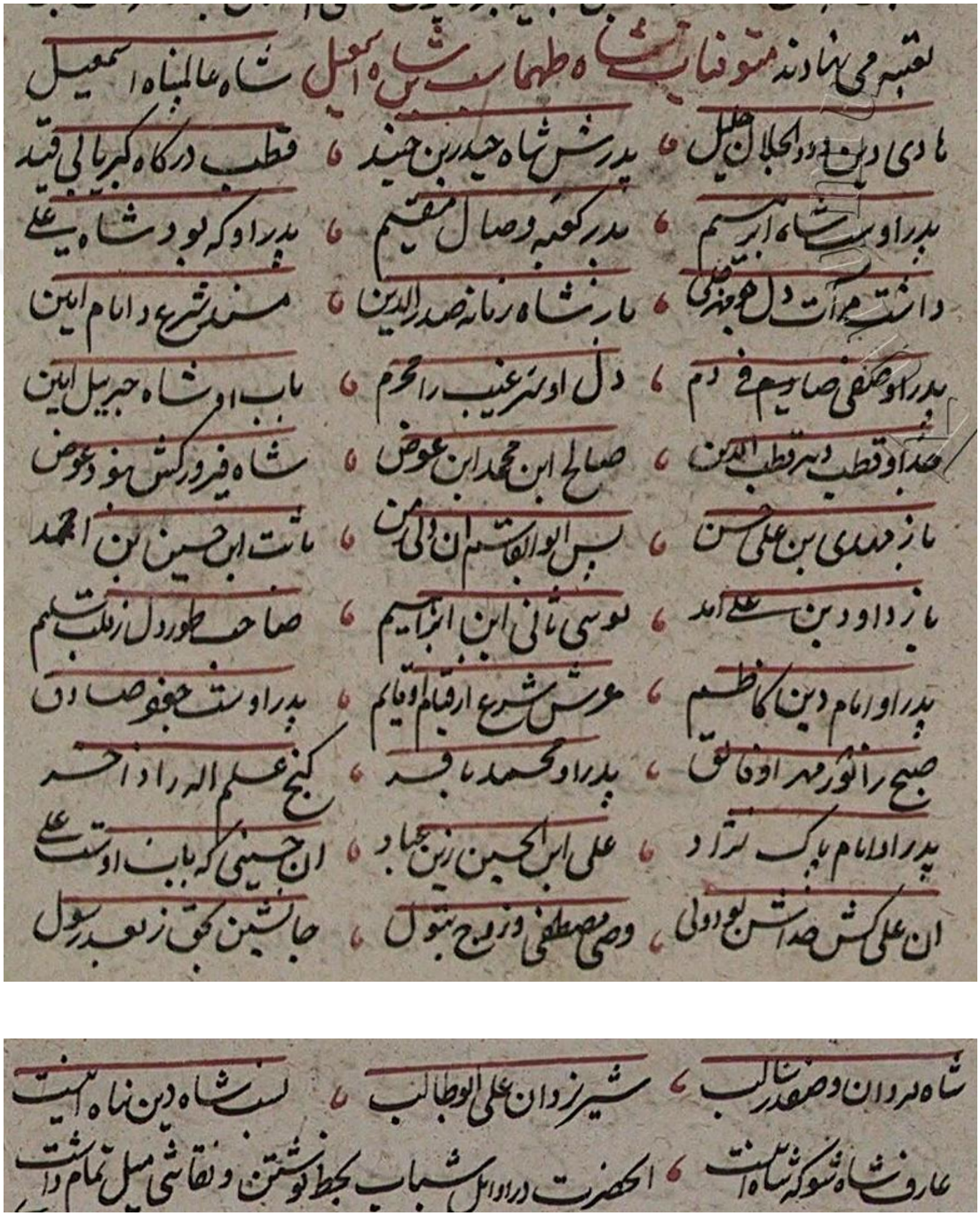


Image A.1. The Genealogy of Shāh Ṭahmāsb I

Transliteration of Image A.1.:

“Shāh Ṭahmāsb bin Ismaʿīl,
Shāh-i ʿālam-panāh Ismaʿīl,
Hādī-i dīn va ẕu'l-jalāl jalīl,
Padarash Shāh-i Ḥaydar bin Junayd,
Qutb-i dargāh-i kibriyā bī-qayd,
Padar-i ūst Shāh Ibrāhīm,
Badar-i kaʿba-i viṣāl muqīm,
Padar-i ū ki būd Shāh ʿAlī,
Dāsht mirāt-i dil chū mihr-i jalī,
Bāz Shāh-i zamāna Ṣadr al-Dīn,
Masnad-i sharʿ va imām-i amīn,
Padar-i ū Ṣafī-i ṣāfī dam,
Dil-i ū sir-i ghayb rā maḥram,
Bāb-i ū Shāh Jabrāyīl-i Amīn,
Jadd-i ū qutb-i dahr Qutb al-Dīn,
Ṣālih ibn-i Muḥammad ibn ʿAvaż,
Shāh Fīrūz kash nabūd ʿavaż,
Bāz Mahdī bin ʿAlī Ḥasan,
Pas Abū al-Qāsim ān valī-i zaman,
Ṣabit ibn Ḥusayn bin Aḥmad,
Bāz Dāvud bin ʿAlī āmad,
Mūsā-i ṣānī ibn-i Ibrāhīm,
Ṣāhib-i ṭūr-i dil zi qalb-i salīm,
Padar-i ū imām-i dīn Kāẓim,
ʿArsh-i sharʿ az qiyām-i ū qāyim,
Padar-i ūst Caghfar-i sādiq,
Subh rā nūr-i mihr-i ū fāyiq,
Padar-i ū Muḥammad Bāqir,
Ganj-i ʿilm-i ilāh rā ẓāhir,
Padar-i ū imām-i pāk-nazhād,
ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn zayn-i ʿibād,
An Husaynī ki bāb-i ūst ʿAlī,
An ʿAlī kash khudāsh būd valī,

Vaṣī-i Muṣṭafā va zavj-i batūl,
Jānashīn baḥaq zi baʿd Rasūl,
Shāh-i mardān va safdar-i sālib,
Shīr-i Yazdān ʿAlī-i abū Ṭālib,
Nasab-i Shāh-i dīn-panāh īnast,
ʿĀrif-i Shāh shū ki Shāh īnast."[110]

Translation of Image A.1.:
Shāh Ṭahmāsb, son of Ismāʿīl,
Shāh Ismāʿīl, the refuge of the world,
The guide of religion, the great and majestic,
His father is Shāh Ḥaydar, son of Junayd,
Undoubtedly, he is the pole of the grand lodge,
His father is Shāh Ibrāhīm,
Residing at the gate of reunion,
His father was Shāh ʿAlī,
Who possessed a heart-mirror bright as the moon,
Then came the Shāh of his time, Ṣadr al-Dīn,
The pillar of Sharia and the trustworthy guardian,
His father was Ṣafī of pure blood,
His heart was a keeper of the hidden secret,
His father was the trusted Jabrāyīl,
And his father, the world's pole, Qutb al-Dīn,
Ṣālih, son of Muḥammad, son of ʿAvaż,
And Shāh Fīrūz, who had no voice,
Then Mahdi, son of ʿAlī Ḥasan,
After him, the saint of his age, Abū al-Qāsim,
Ṣābit, son of Ḥusayn, son of Aḥmad,
Then came Dāvud, son of ʿAlī,
The second Mūsā, son of Ibrāhīm,
Pure-hearted, possessor of the mountain of the soul,
His father was Kāẓim, the Imām of religion,

[110] Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, "Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh," 985 AH/1578 CE, EEC, 203a-203b.

The throne of Sharia stood by his rising,
His father was Ja‘far the trusty,
The morning rose by the light of his moon,
His father was Muḥammad Bāqir,
In him, the treasure of divine knowledge was manifest,
His father was the pure-born Imām,
ʿAlī, son of Ḥusayn, the adornment of servants,
The Husayn whose father was ʿAlī,
The ʿAlī whom God made a saint,
The successor of Muṣṭafā and the husband of the pure,
The rightful heir after the Prophet,
The king of men and the victorious hero,
The lion of God, Ṭālib's father's ʿAlī [ʿAlī, son of Ṭālib's father],
This is the lineage of the Shāh, the refuge of faith,
Know the Shāh, for he is the true Shāh!

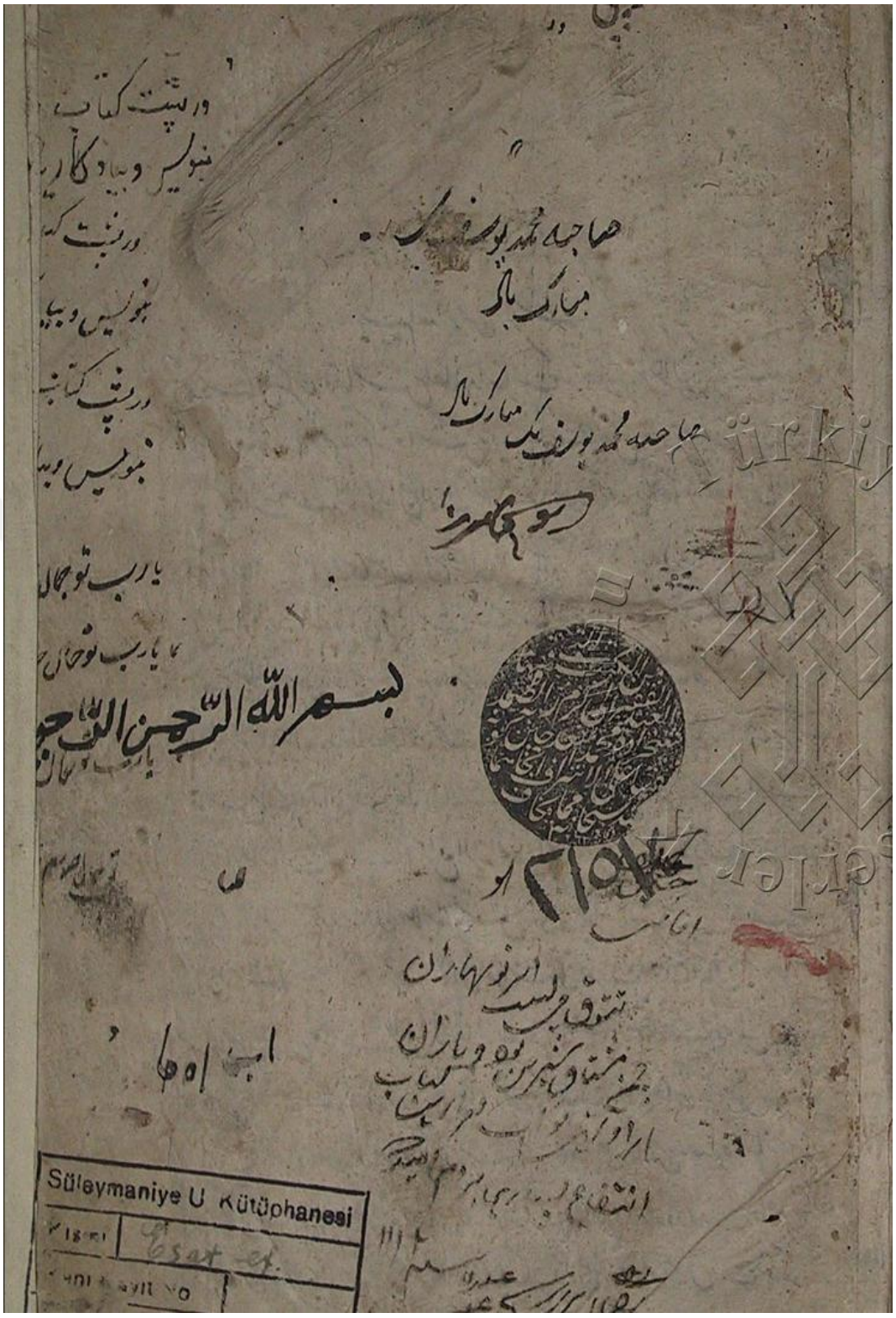
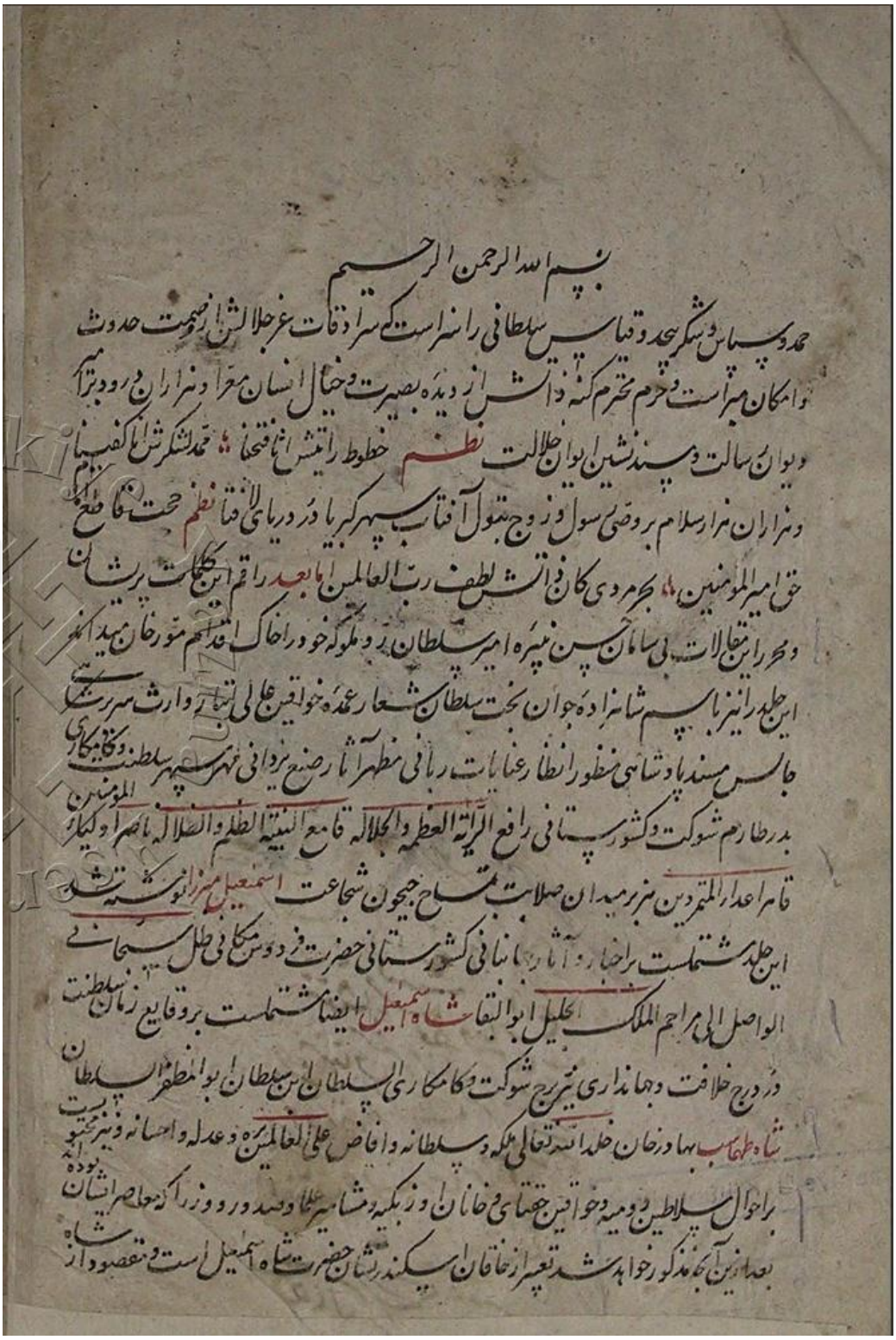


Image A.2. Ẓahriya Page of the Copy



بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

حمد و سپاس و شکر بیحد و قیاس سلطانی را سزاست که سزاوار ذات عزجلالش از ضمیمت حدوث و امکان مبراست و حرم محترم کبریائش از دیده بصیرت و خیال انسان مبرا و هزاران درود برآن دیوان رسالت و مسند نشین ایوان جلالت نظم خطوط رائقش انا فتحنا ؛ محمد لشکرش انا کفیناهم و هزاران سلام بر وصی رسول و زوج بتول آفتاب سپهر کبریا دُر دریای لافتا نظم حجت قاطع اهل حق امیرالمومنین ؛ بحر مردی کان ذاتش لطف رب العالمین اما بعد راقم این کلمات پریشان و محرر این مقالات بی سامان چنین بپیره امیر سلطان ز دولوکه خود را خاک اقدام مورخان میداند این جلد را نیز باسم شاهزاده جوان بخت سلطان شعار عمدهٔ خواقین عالی تبار وارث سریر سلطنت جالس مسند پادشاهی منظور انظار عنایات ربانی مظهر آثار صنع یزدانی مهر سپهر سلطنت و کامکاری بدرطارم شوکت و کشورستانی رافع الرایة العظمة والجلالة قامع البیضة الظلم والضلالة ناصر اولیاء المومنین قاهر اعداء المتمردین نبرد میدان صلابت مصاح هیجون شجاعت اسمعیل میرزا نوشته شد این جلد مشتملست بر اخبار و آثار و بنائی کشورستانی حضرت فردوس مکانی ظل سبحانی الواصل الی مراحم الملک الجلیل ابوالبقاء شاه اسمعیل ایضا مشتملست بر وقایع زمان سلطنت و ذروج خلافت و جهانداری پیرایه شوکت و کامکاری ابن سلطان ابن سلطان ابوالمظفر السلطان شاه طهماسب بهادرخان خلد الله تعالی ملکه و سلطانه و افاض علی العالمین برّه و عدله و احسانه و نیز مجتوی بر احوال سلاطین دودمیه و خواقین جغتای و خانان اوزبکیه و مشاهیر علما و صدور و وزرا که معاصر ایشان بوده اند بعد ازین آنچه مذکور خواهد شد تعبیر از خاقان اسکندرشان حضرت شاه اسمعیل است و مقصود از شاه

Image A.3. First Page of the Text

Transliteration of Image A.3. (from the middle of the sixth line):

"Amma bʿad rāqim-i īn kalamāt-i parīshān va muḥarrir-i īn maqālāt-i bīsāmān Ḥasan-i nabīra-i Amīr Sulṭān Rūmlū ki khud rā khāk-i aqdām-i muvarrikhān mīdānad īn jild rā nīz baism-i Shāhzāda-i jivān-bakht sulṭān-shiʿār umda-i khavāqīn ʿālī-tabār vāriṯ-i sarīr-i Shāhī jālis-i masnad-i pādishāhī manẓūr-i inẓār-i ʿināyāt-i rabbānī maẓhar-i āṯār-i sunʿ-i Yazdānī mihr-i sapahr-i salṭanat va kāmkārī badr-i ṭārum-i shavkat va kashvaristānī rāfiʿ al-rāyih al-ʿaẓimih va'l-jalālih qāmiʿ-i abniyih al-ẓulm va al-żalālih nāṣir-i avliyāʾ qāhir-i aʿdāʾ al-mutamarridīn hujabr-i maydān-i ṣalābat timsāḥ-i Jayḥūn Ismaʿīl Mīrzā navashta shud īn jild mushtamilast bar akhbār va āṯār-i jihānbānī kashvaristānī-i ḥażrat-i firdavs-makānī ẓill-i Subḥānī al-vāṣil ilā marāḥim al-Malik al-Jalīl abū al-baqā Shāh Ismaʿīl ayżan mushtamilast bar vaqāyīʿ-i zamān-i salṭanat-i darr-i darj-i khilāfat va jihāndārī nayyir-i burj-i shavkat va kāmkārī al-sulṭān ibn-i sulṭān abū al-muẓaffar al-sulṭān Shāh Ṭahmāsb-i bahādur khān khalad Allāhu taʿālā mulkuhu va sulṭānuhu va afāż ʿalī al-ʿālamīna bar hu va ʿadlahu va aḥsānahu va nīz muḥtavīst bar ahvāl-i salāṭīn-i Rūmiya va khavāqīn-i Jaghatāy va khānān-i Ozbakiya va mashāhīr-i ʿulamā va ṣudūr va vuzarā ki muʿāṣir-i īshān būdaand bʿad azīn ā n cha maẕkūr khāhad shud taʿbīr az khāqān-i Iskandar-shān ḥażrat-i Shāh ʿIsmaʿīl ast va maqsūd az Shāh[111]"

Translation of Image A.3.:

"The writer of these wretched words and the author of these disorderly articles is Ḥasan, the grandson of Amīr Sulṭān Rūmlū, who knows himself as the soil of the feet of the chroniclers. This volume is written in the name of Ismāʿīl Mīrzā, who is a fortunate prince, who has the qualities of a sulṭān, who is the refuge of the khāns, who is of high nobility, who is the heir to the throne of the Shāhdom, who sits in the seat of the sulṭān, who is immersed in divine grace and benevolence, and who is honored with the works [blessings] created by God, who is the moon of the sky of sulṭānate and state, who is the full moon of the sky of greatness and conquest, who waves the flag of greatness and anger, who demolishes the buildings of oppression and misguidance, who is the helper of the saints, who crushes the stubborn enemy, who is the lion of the field of endurance, who is the crocodile of the Jeyhun [River]. This volume also covers the events of the conquerorship of world and countries of Shāh Ismāʿīl, whose place in the afterlife is heaven, the shadow of Allāh, the recipient of Allāh's mercy, the father

[111] The sentence continues in the next line as follows: (shāh)-i dīn-panāh shāh Ṭahmāsb va murād az shāhzāda-i ʿālamiyān Ismaʿīl Mīrzā. See Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, EEC, 1b.

[owner] of eternity. It also covers the events of the reign of Ṭahmāsb Khān, the gate of the chest of the caliphate and world conqueror, the bright person of the tower of greatness and good fortune, the sulṭān son of the sulṭān, the victorious sulṭān, the valiant Shāh. May Allāh make his state and reign eternal and fill the worlds with his justice and goodness. And it also includes the status of the Anatolian sulṭāns, Chagatai hakans, Uzbak han, and the famous scholars, statesmen and viziers who lived in their times. Whatever will be written from now on, "Alexander-like" means Shāh Ismāʿīl, "the refuge of religion" means Shāh Ṭahmāsb, and "the prince of the inhabitants of the realms" means Ismāʿīl Mīrzā."

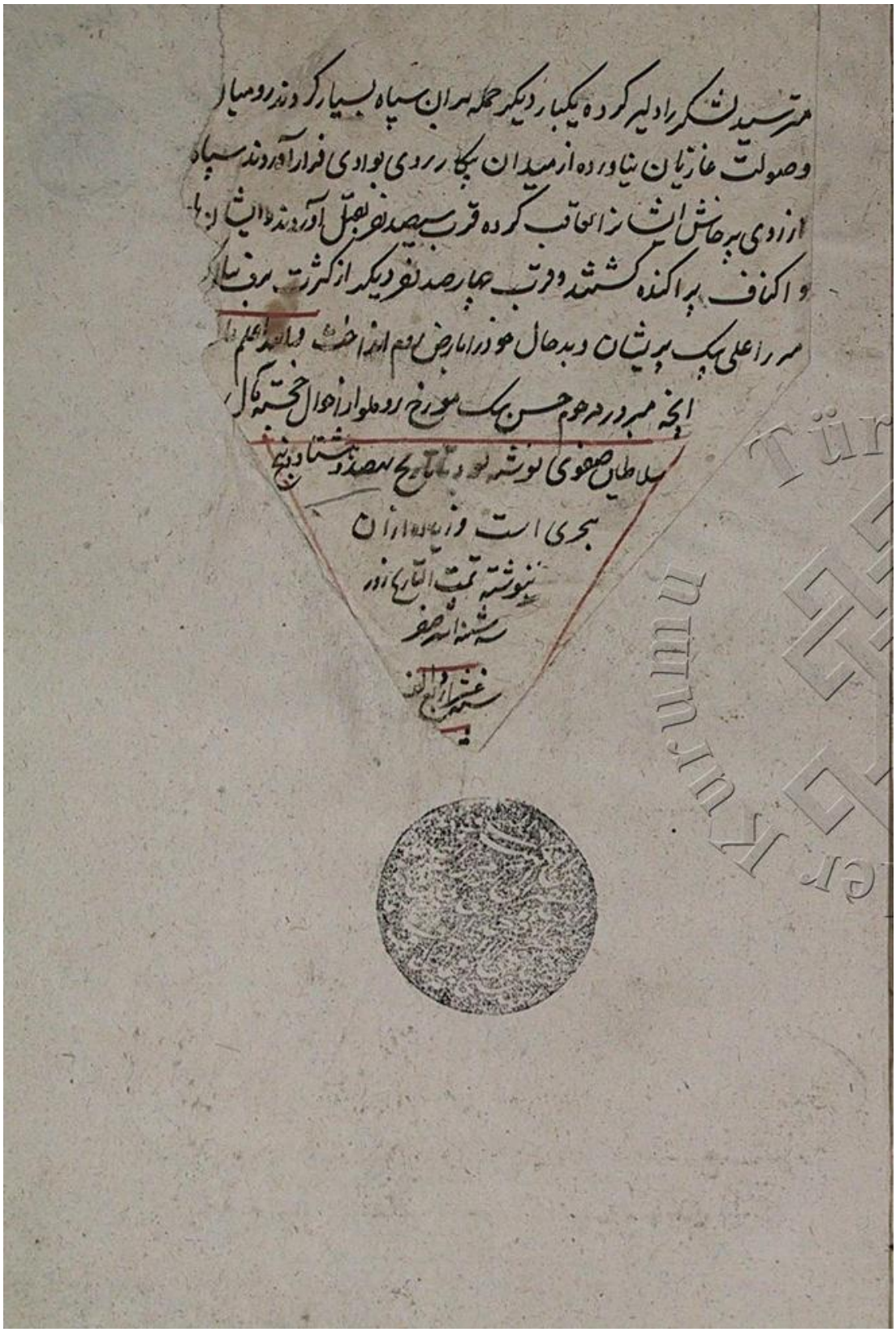


Image A.4. Last Page of the EEC Text

Transliteration of Image A.4.:

“matarsīd lashkar rā dalīr karda yakbār dīgar ḥamla bar ān sipāh bisyār kardand Rūmiyān ... [This part is damaged.] va ṣuvlat ghāziyān niyā varda az maydān-i pīkār bavādī-i firār āvardand sipāh az rūy-i parkhāsh īshānrā taʿāqub karda qurb-i sīṣad nafar baqatl āvardand va īshān ... [This part is damaged.] va aknāf parākanda gushtand va qurb-i chahār ṣad nafar-i dīgar az kaṯrat-i barf halāk ... [This part is damaged.] Mīrzā ʿAlī Bīk parīshān va badḥāl-i khudrā baArżrūm andākht va Allāhu aʿlam [This part is damagaed.] āncha mabrūr marḥūm Ḥasan Bīk-i muvarrikh-i Rūmlū az ahvāl-i khujasta-fāl-i salāṭīn-i Ṣafavī navashta būd tā tārīkh-i nuhṣad-u-hashtād-u-panj-i hijrī ast va ziyāda az ān navashta tammat al-tārīkh rūz-i sa shanba 1 Shāhr-i ṣafar sanatu ʿashr arbaʿ va ʾalf. Min al-kutubillatī vaqafaha'l-faqīr ilā karami rabbihi's-Ṣamad Shaykhīzāda Maḥmad ʾAsʿad ḥīna kavnihi naqīban ʿala'l-ʾashrāf ʾanjāhumā Subḥānahu mimmā yukhāf 262”[112]

Translation of Image A.4.:

“do not be afraid. [By saying this] He encouraged the army. They attacked that crowded army once more. The Anatolians, because of the Ghāzīs' ... [This part is damaged.] and attack, fled from the battlefield to the valley of escape. The soldiers followed them bravely. They slaughtered nearly three hundred men. And they ... [This part is damaged] scattered around. And another group of nearly four hundred perished because of the density of the snow ... [This part is damaged. They probably "perished.”]. Mīrzā ʿAlī Bīg threw himself into Arż-i Rūm in a miserable and bad condition. And Allāh knows ... [This part is damaged.] So much so that the Rum historian Ḥasan Bīg wrote about the auspicious situations of the Safavid sulṭāns up to 985 [AH]. He wrote much more. It was completed on Tuesday, 1 Ṣafar, 1014.

[This book] is among the bookss endowed by Shaykhīzāda Maḥmad ʾAsʿad -who is in need of the grace of his God, who is in need of nothing- while he was a naqīb al-ashrāf. May God deliver them both from that which is feared. It is one of the books that Shaykhīzāda Maḥmad ʾAsʿad, who is in need of nothing but the generosity of his god, donated while he was a naqib al-ashraf. [Allāh] who is free from all deficiencies, may save him from what he fears. 1262.”

[112] Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, EEC 211a.

APPENDIX B

INDEX AND CHRONOLOGY

Table B.1. Index of Nuruosmaniye Copy Text of *Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh*

Topics (Transcription/English Translation)	**Leaf No.**
Guftār dar julūs-i Shāh-i dīn-panāh bar taḫt-i salṭanat (On the ascension of the Shāh, the refuge of religion, to the throne of sovereignty)	**77b**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i aḥidī va s̱alās̱īn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 931 AH/1524-25 CE)	**79a**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿih (Various events)	**79b**
Mutavaffiyāt (Deaths)	**79b**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i ʾas̱nā va s̱alās̱īn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ shuda (On the events that took place in the year 932 AH/1525-26 CE)	**80b**
Muḥāraba numūdan-i Shāh-i dīn-panāh baumārā-yi Ustājlū (On the Shāh, the refuge of religion, engaging in battle with the Ustājlū amīrs)	**80b**
Guftār dar muḥāraba numūdan-i Bābur pādishāh bā Afghān va mustavlī shudan bar bilād-i Hind (On the padiShāh Bābur's engagement in battle with the Afghans and the subjugation of the land of Hind)	**81b**
Guftār dar giriftan-i ʿʿUbayd Khān Shāhr-i Ṭūs rā (On ʿUbayd Khān's capture of the city of Tus)	**82a**
Giriftan-i Kaskin Qarā Sulṭān Uzbak Balkh rā (On Kaskin Qarā Sulṭān Ozbak's capture of Balkh)	**82b**
Jang-i Zayn al-Dīn Sulṭān bā Jaghatāy Bahādur (On Zayn al-Din Sulṭān's battle with Jaghatāy Bahādur)	**82b**

Table B.1. (cont.)

Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**83a**
Kushta shudan-i Khāja Ḥabīb Allāh (On Khāja Habīb Allāh's being killed)	**83a**
Guftār dar qażāyā [va] muḥāraba numūdan-i Dīv Sulṭān va Chūha Sulṭān va Umarā-yi Ustājlū (On the events and Div Sulṭān, Chūha Sulṭān, and the Ustājlū amīrs' engagement in battle)	**83b**
Muḥāraba numūdan-i ʿʿUbayd Khān ba Akhī Sulṭān va Dahrī Sulṭān va kushta shudan-i ishān (On ʿUbayd Khān's engagement in battle with Akhī Sulṭān and Dahrī Sulṭān and their being killed)	**84a**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar bilād Rūm vakiʿ shuda va muḥāraba numūdan-i Sulṭān Sulaymān bā kuffār-i Farang va shikast-i ishān (On the events that took place in the land of Rum, and Sulṭān Sulaymān's engagement in battle with the European infidels and their defeat)	**85a**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**86a**
Guftār dar muḥāraba numūdan-i ʿʿUbayd Khān dār al-salṭanat Harāt (On ʿUbayd Khān's engagement in battle in the capital Harāt)	**86a**
Guftār dar andar-i muḥāraba numūdan-i Zīnash Uzbak bā Zaynal Khān va Chakirga Sulṭān (On Zīnash Uzbak's engagement in battle with Zaynal Khān and Chakirga Sulṭān)	**87a**
Guftār dar kushta shudan-e Ibrāhim Khān va mustavlī shudan-i Ẕū al-Fiqār Turkmān ba Baghdād (On Ibrahim Khān's being killed, and Ẕū al-Fiqār Turkmān's domination of Baghdād)	**87b**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i khams va s̱alās̱īn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ shoda (On the events that took place in the year 935 AH/1528-29 CE)	**88a**

Table B.1. (cont.)

Muḥāraba numūdan-i Shāh-i dīn-panāh bā khānān-i Uzbak dar muvkiʿ-i Jām (On the Shāh, the refuge of religion, engaging in battle with the Uzbak khāns at the Jām location)	**88a**
Guftār dar giriftan-i ʿʿUbayd Khān Mashad-i muqaddas-i Raẓiya-i Raẓviya (On ʿUbayd Khān's capture of Imām Riżā's holy city of Mashhad)	**92b**
Guftār dar giriftan-i ʿʿUbayd Khān Shāhr-i Harāt rā (On ʿUbayd Khān's capture of the city of Harāt)	**93b**
Guftār dar lashkar kashīdan-i Shāh-i dīn-panāh bacānib-i Baghdād va kushta shudan-i Ẕu'l-fiqār (On the Shāh, the refuge of religion, sending troops near Baghdād and Ẕū al-Fiqār's death)	**93b**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**94a**
Mutavaffiyāt	**94b**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i sitta va s̱alās̱īn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ shoda (On the events that took place in the year 936 AH/1529-30 CE)	**94b**
Raftan-i Shāh dīn-panāh bacānib-i Khurāsān (On the Shāh, the refuge of religion, traveling near Khorasan)	**94b**
Savād-i kitābat inast (The correspondence text is that.)	**95a**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**98a**
Mutavaffiyāt	**98a**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i sabʿa va s̱alās̱īn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 937 AH/1530-31 CE)	**98b**
Guftār dar raftan-i ʿUlamā Takalū ba…[?] Rūm (On ʿUlamā Takalū's journey to …[?] Rum)	**99b**
Guftār dar raftan-i umarā-yi Uzbak batākht-i Khurāsān (On the Uzbak amīrs' raid into Khurāsān)	**100a**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**100a**

Table B.1. (cont.)

Mutavaffiyāt	**100a**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i s̲amān va s̲alās̲īn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ shuda (On the events that took place in the year 938 AH/1531-32 CE)	**100b**
Guftār dar muḥāṣara numūdan-i ʿʿUbayd Khān Uzbak Bahrām Mīrzā rā dar dār al-salṭanat Shāhr-i Herāt (On ʿUbayd Khān Uzbak's siege of Bahrām Mīrzā in the capital Harāt)	**100b**
Muḥāraba-yi Ghāzīyān bā Uzbakān (On the Ghāzīs' battle with the Uzbak)	**102a**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**102a**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i tisʿa va s̲alās̲īn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ shuda (On the events that took place in the year 939 AH/1532-33 CE)	**102a**
Guftār dar lashkar kashīdan-i Shāh-i dīn-panāh nuvbat-i siyum baKhurāsān va firār kardan-i ʿʿUbayd Khān (On the Shāh, the refuge of religion, sending troops to Khorasan for the third time and ʿUbayd Khān's escape)	**102b**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**103a**
Mutavaffiyāt	**103a**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i arbaʿīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ shoda (On the events that took place in the year 940 AH/1533-34 CE)	**103a**
Lashkar kashīdan-i sulṭān Sulaymān bār-i avval baĀz̲arbāyjān (On Sulṭān Sulaymān's first dispatch of troops to Āz̲arbāyjān)	**103a**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**105b**
Mutavaffiyāt	**105b**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i aḥidī va arbaʿīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ shuda (On the events that took place in the year 941 AH/ 1534-35 CE)	**107a**
Āmadan-i Sulṭān Sulaymān nuvbat-i s̲ānī baĀz̲arbāyjān (On Sulṭān Sulaymān's second arrival in Āz̲arbāyjān)	**107a**

Table B.1. (cont.)

Guftār-i dar bāghī [or "yāghī"] shudan-i Sām Mīrzā va Āghzivār va raftan-i īshān baQandahār va shikast yāftan-i īshān az Mīrzā Kāmurān (On Sām Mīrzā and Aǧzivar's rebellion [or "enmity"], their journey to Qandahār, and their defeat by Mīrzā Kamuran)	**108b**
Guftār dar muḥāraba numūdan-i Ṣūfīyān Khalīfa Rūmlū bā umarā-yi ʿUbayd Khān (On Sufiyan Halife Rūmlū's battle with ʿUbayd Khān's amīrs)	**110a**
Guftār dar āmadan-i Mīrzā Ūghlan batākht-i vilāyat-i Khurāsān va muḥāraba numūdan-i bā Khalīfa Sulṭān Shāmlū va shikast yāftan-i ghāziyān (On Mīrzā Ughlan's raid into the Khorasan province, his battle with Halife Sulṭān Shāmlū, and the defeat of the Ghāzīs)	**110a**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**110b**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i aṯnā va arbaʿīna va tisʿamia vāqiʿ shuda (On the events that took place in the year 942 AH/1535-36 CE)	**110b**
Raftan-i Ṣūfīyān Khalīfa Rūmlū baḥukūmat-i Harāt (On Sufiyan Halife Rūmlū's journey toward the administration of Harāt)	**110b**
Guftār dar muḥāraba numūdan-i Ṣūfīyān Khalīfa Rūmlū bā ʿʿUbayd Khān Uzbak shikast yāftan-i ghāziyān-i ʿālishān (On Sufiyan Halife Rūmlū's battle with ʿUbayd Khān Uzbak and the defeat of the highly glorious Ghāzīs)	**111a**
Guftār dar giriftan-i ʿʿUbayd Khān Harāt rā az Khiżir Chalabī (On ʿUbayd Khān's capture of Harāt from Khizir Chalabi)	**112a**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**114a**
Mutavaffiyāt	**114a**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i ṯulaṯ va arbaʿīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ shuda (On the events that took place in the year 943 AH/1536-3 CE)	**114b**
Lashkar kashīdan-i Shāh-i dīn-panāh nuvbat-i chahārum baKhurāsān (On the Shāh, the refuge of religion, sending troops to Khorasan for the fourth time)	**114b**

Table B.1. (cont.)

Āmadan-i Shāh-i dīn-panāh baKhurāsān va farār numūdan-i ʿUbayd Khān (On the Shāh, the refuge of religion, arriving in Khorasan and ʿUbayd Khān's escape)	**115a**
Lashkar kashīdan-i Shāh-i dīn-panāh baZamīndāvar va Qandahār va musakhkhar shudan-i ānjā (On the Shāh, the refuge of religion, sending troops to Zamindavar and Qandahār and their surrender)	**115b**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i arbaʿ va arbaʿīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ shuda (On the events that took place in the year 944 AH/ 1537-38 CE)	**116b**
Murācaʿat numūdan-i Shāh-i dīn-panāh az Khurāsān (On the Shāh, the refuge of religion, returning from Khorasan)	**116b**
Raftan-i umarā bar qalʿa-i Ustā va fatḥ shudan-i ān ḥudūd va giriftār shudan-i Khāja Galān-i mardūd (On the amīrs' advance toward Usta Fortress, their conquest of those borders, and the capture of the treacherous Khāja Galan)	**117b**
Qażāyā-yi ki dar Shirvān vāqiʿ shuda ("On the events that took place in Shirvan)	**118a**
Guftār dar mukhālafat kardan-i Khāja Muḥammad Ṣālah Bitikjī dar Astarābād va giriftār shudan badast-i mulāzimān-i Ṣadr al-Dīn Khān (On Khāja Muḥammad Ṣālah Bitikjī 's opposition in Astarābād and his arrest by the retainers of Ṣadr al-Dīn Khān)	**118b**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i khams va arbaʿīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 945 AH/1538*39 CE)	**119b**
Ẕikr-i lashkar farastādan-i Shāh-i dīn-panāh bajānib-i Shirvān va giriftār(ī) [added by mistake] shudan-i Shāhrukh-i shaqāvat-farjām (On the Shāh, the refuge of religion, sending troops near Shirvan and the capture of the ill-natured Shāhrukh)	**119b**

Table B.1. (cont.)

Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar bilād-i Khārazm vāqiʿ shuda va muḥāraba numūdan-i Dīn Muḥammad Uzbak bā umarā-yi ʿʿUbayd Khān (On the events in the Khwarezm region and Din Muḥammad Uzbak's battle with ʿUbayd Khān's amīrs)	**121b**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i sitta va arbaʿīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 946 AH/ 1539-40 CE)	**122b**
Ẕikr-i farastādan-i Shāh-i dīn-panāh Shāh Qulī Khalīfa Muhurdār rā bajānib-i Astārā (On the Shāh, the refuge of religion, sending Shāhkulu Halife Mühürdar near Astārā)	**122b**
Ẕikr-i farastādan-i Shāh-i dīn-panāh Bahrām Mirzā rā batākht-i Kurdistān (On the Shāh, the refuge of religion, sending Bahrām Mīrzā to raid Kurdistān)	**122b**
Ẕikr-i fuvt shodan-i ʿʿUbayd Khān Uzbak (On ʿUbayd Khān Uzbak's death)	**123a**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i sabʿa va arbaʿīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 947 AH/1540-41 CE)	**123b**
Guftār dar lashkar kashīdan-i Shāh-i dīn-panāh bajānib-i Gurjistān va qalʿ-u-qamʿ-i mutamarridān (On the Shāh, the refuge of religion, sending troops to Georgia and the destruction of the stubborns)	**124a**
Ẕikr-i raftan-i umarā batākht-i Rustamdār (On the amīrs' raid on Rustamdār)	**124b**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**125a**
Mutavaffiyāt	**125a**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i s̱amān va arbaʿīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 948 AH/ 1541-42 CE)	**125a**

Table B.1. (cont.)

Ẕikr-i raftan-i Shāh-i dīn-panāh bajānib-i Dizfūl (On the Shāh, the refuge of religion, traveling to the regions of Dizfūl)	**125a**
Mutavaffiyāt	**126b**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i khamsīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 950 AH/1543-44 CE)	**127a**
Raftan-i Shāh-i dīn-panāh ba yaylāq-i Saraband va āmadan-i Dīn Muḥammad Uzbak baAstarābād (On the Shāh, the refuge of religion, going to the Saraband Plateau and Dīn Muḥammad Uzbak's arrival in Astarābād)	**127a**
Guftār dar jang-i Rūmiyān bā Gurjiyān (On the Anatolians' battle with the Georgians)	**127b**
Guftār dar muḥāraba numūdan bā Gurjiyān-i bī-dīn (On the battle with the irreligious Georgians)	**128a**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i aḥidī va khamsīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 951 AH/1544-45 CE)	**128a**
Ẕikr-i āmadan-i Humāyūn Pādishāh badargāh-i Shāh-i dīn-panāh (On the coming of Humāyūn Pādishāh to the presence of the Shāh, the shelter of the world)	**128a**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i aṯnā va khamsīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 952 AH/ 1545-46 CE)	**130b**
Raftan-i Shāh-i dīn-panāh bajānib-i Damghān (The Shāh, the shelter of the world, proceeding to Damghān)	**130b**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**130b**
Mutavaffiyāt	**130b**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i ṯulaṯ va khamsīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 953 AH/1546-47 CE)	**131a/b**
Ẕikr-i mukhālafat-i Alqās-i nā-ḥaq-shināsi (On the unrighteous Alqās's opposition)	**131b**

Table B.1. (cont.)

Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**133a**
Mutavaffiyāt	**133a**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i arbaʿ va khamsīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 954 AH/1547-48 CE)	**133a/b**
Ẕikr-i raftan-i Alqās bajānib-i Jarkas va murājaʿat-i ū az ān diyār va shikast yāftan-i ū az umarā va raftan-i bajānib-i Rūm (On Alqās's journey to the regions of Jarkas, his return from that land, his defeat by the amīrs, and his travel to Anatolia)	**133b**
Guftār dar fatḥ-i qalʿa-i Gulistān (On the conquest of Gulistān Fortress)	**134a**
Guftār dar fatḥ-i qalʿa-i Darband batavfīq-i ḥażrat-i Khudāvand (On the conquest of Darband Fortress by the grace of God)	**134b**
Jang kardan-i Ghāyitmish Sulṭān bā Darẕī Dāvud (On Ghāyitmish Sulṭān's battle with Darẕī Dāvud)	**135a**
Ẕikr-i muḥāraba numūdan-i Valī Sulṭān Ẕu al-Qadr bā umarā-yi Kurdistān (On Valī Sulṭān Ẕu al-Qadr 's battle with the Kurdistān amīrs)	**135a**
Ẕikr-i jang kardan-i Humāyūn Pādishāh bā Mirzā Sulaymān-i ḥākim-i Badakhshān (On Humāyūn Pādishāh's battle with Mīrzā Sulaymān, the ruler of Badakhshān)	**135a**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**136a**
Mutavaffiyāt	**136a**
Guftār dar jang kardan-i Shāhzāda-i ʿālamiyān mirzā bā Burhān va shikast dādan-i ū rā (On the prince of the realm's inhabitants, Mīrzā, battling Burhān and defeating him)	**136a**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i khams va khamsīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 955 AH/1548-49 CE)	**136b**

Table B.1. (cont.)

Āmadan-i Sulṭān Sulaymān pādishāh-i Rūm bā Alqās-i ḥaq-nā-shinās bajānib-i dār al-salṭanat Tabrīz (On Sulṭān Sulaymān, the Sulṭān of Anatolia, arriving near the capital Tabrīz alongside the unrighteous Alqās)	**136b**
Guftār dar muḥāraba numūdan-i Shāh ʿAlī Sulṭān Uzbak va shikast yāftan-i īshān (On Shāh ʿAlī Sulṭān Uzbak's battle and their defeat)	**141a**
Ẕikr-i raftan-i Muḥammad Khān Sharaf al-Dīnūghli bavilāyat-i Gharjistān va muḥāraba numūdan-i ū [missed (ba)] Bāyrāmūghlan va shikast dādan (On Muḥammad Khān Sharaf al-Dīnūghli's journey to the Gharjistān province, his battle with Bāyrāmūghlan, and his defeat of him)	**141a**
Guftār dar muḥāraba numūdan-i Qazāq va Vays Sulṭān bā Ḥaqnaẓarūghlan va shikast dādan-i Uzbakān rā (On Qazāq and Vays Sulṭān's battle with Ḥaqnaẓarūghlan and their defeat of the Uzbaks)	**141b**
Guftār dar āmadan-i Iskandar pāshā baKhūy va kūshta shudan-i Ḥājī Bīk Dunbulī (On Iskandar Pāshā's arrival in Khūy and the killing of Ḥājī Bīk Dunbulī)	**142a**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**142a**
Mutavaffiyāt	**142a**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i sitta va khamsīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 956 AH/ 1549-50 CE)	**142a**
Guftār dar farastādan-i Shāh-i dīn-panāh ʿAbd Allāh Khānrā baḥukūmat-i Shirvān (On the Shāh, the refuge of religion, sending ʿAbd Allāh Khān to the administration of Shirvān)	**142b**

Table B.1. (cont.)

Guftār dar āmadan-i Iskandar pāshā baĪravān va gurikhtan-i Ḥusaynjān Sulṭān (On Iskandar Pāshā's arrival in Īravān [Yerevan] and Ḥusaynjān Sulṭān's escape)	**143a**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**143a**
Mutavaffiyāt	**143b**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i sabʿa va khamsīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ shuda (On the events that took place in the year 957 AH/1550-51 CE)	**143b**
Ẕikr-i āmadan-i khānān-i Uzbak baHarāt va kushtā shudan-i Shāh Muḥammad Sulṭān (On the Uzbak khāns' arrival in Harāt and the killing of Shāh Muḥammad Sulṭān)	**143b**
Guftār dar farastādan-i Shāh-i dīn-panāh Savindīk Qūrjībāshī va Ḥasan Bīk Yūzbāshī rā baKurdistān (On the Shāh, the refuge of religion, sending Savindīk Qurjibashi and Ḥasan Bīk Yūzbāshī to Kurdistān)	**144b**
Guftār dar bāghī [or yāghī] shudan-i Turkmānān-i Yaqa va kushta shudan-i Shāhvardī Bīg Kajal (On the Yaqa Turkmāns' rebellion [or enmity] and the killing of Shāhverdi Bīg-i Kajal)	**145a**
Guftār dar kushta shudan-i Bayramūghlan va fatḥ-i Garjistān About the killing of Bayramūghlan and the conquest of Garjistān)	**145b**
Mutavaffiyāt	**145b**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i s̱amān va khamsīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ shuda (On the events that took place in the year 958 AH/1551 CE)	**145b**
Tavajjuh-i sḫah-i dīn-panāh bajānib-i Shakī va kushta shudan-i Darvīsh Muḥammad Khān (On the Shāh, the refuge of religion, arriving in the regions of Shakī and the killing of Darvīsh Muḥammad Khān)	**145b**

Table B.1. (cont.)

Guftār dar lashkar kashīdan-i Shāh-i dīn-panāh nuvbat-i siyum baQurjistān va qalʿ-u-qamʿ-i mutamarridān (On the Shāh, the refuge of religion, sending troops to Georgia for the third time and the destruction of the stubborns)	**147a**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i tisʿa va khamsīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 959 AH/1551-52 CE)	**149a**
Raftan-i Shāh-i dīn-panāh badiyār-i [probably "Rūm" was missed] va kharāb shudan-i ān (On the Shāh, the refuge of religion, traveling to the land of [Anatolia] and devastating it)	**149a**
Guftār dar farastādan-i Shāh-i dīn-panāh Shāhzāda-i ʿālamiyān Ismaʿīl Mīrzā rā baArż-i Rūm va shikast yāftan-i Iskandar Pāshā dar ān marz-u būm (On the Shāh, the refuge of religion, sending Ismāʿīl Mīrzā, the prince of the realm's inhabitants, to Arż-i Rūm and Iskandar Pāshā's defeat in that land)	**151b**
Ẕikr-i muḥāṣara numūdan-i Shāh-i dīn-panāh qalʿa-i Arjīsh rā (On the Shāh, the refuge of religion, beginning the siege of Erciş Fortress)	**154a**
Guftār dar farastādam-i Shāh-i dīn-panāh Baktāshūghli rā bā fovjī az qūrjiyān bajānib-i Aḥlāṭ (On the Shāh, the refuge of religion, sending Bektaşoğlu with a group of qūrjis to the regions of Ahlat)	**154b**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i sittīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīd (On the events that took place in the year 960 AH/1552-53 CE)	**155a**
Giriftan-i Shāh-i dīn-panāh qalʿa-i Arjīsh rā (On the Shāh, the refuge of religion, capturing Erciş Fortress)	**155a**
Fatḥ-i qalʿa-i Bargīrī (On the conquest of Bargiri Fortress)	**155a**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**156a**

Table B.1. (cont.)

Mutavaffiyāt	**156a**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i aḥidī va sittīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda va mustavlī shudan-i Rūmiyān bar Shāhr-i Zūr (On the events of the year 961 AH/1553-54 CE and the Anatolians' domination of Shāhr-i Zūr)	**157b**
Guftār dar lashkar kashīdan-i sulṭān Sulaymān nuvbat-i chahārum baĀzarbāyjān (On Sulṭān Sulaymān's third dispatch of troops to Āzarbāyjān)	**157b**
Guftār dar raftan-i Shāh-i dīn-panāh nuvbat-i chahārum baGurjistām (On the Shāh, the refuge of religion, traveling to Georgia for the fourth time)	**158b**
Muḥāraba numūdan-i ʿAbd Allāh Khān Ustājlū bā Qāsim Bīg Shirvānī (On ʿAbd Allāh Khān Ustājlū's battle with Qāsim Bīg Shirvānī)	**160a**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**160b**
Mutavaffiyāt	**160b**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i aṯnā va sittīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 962 AH/1554-55 CE)	**161a**
Ẕikr-i farastādan-i Shāh-i dīn-panāh bar sar-i Abā-yi Turkmān baAstarābād (On the Shāh, the refuge of religion, sending the leader of the Aba Turkmāns to Astarābād)	**161a**
Guftār dar muḥāraba numūdan-i Humāyūn Pādishāh bā Sulṭān Iskandar (On Humayun Padişah's battle with Sulṭān Iskandar)	**161b**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**162a**
Mutavaffiyāt	**163a**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i ṯulaṯ va sittīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 963 AH/1555-56 CE)	**163b**
Ẕikr-i jang kardan-i Shāhvardī Sulṭān Ziyādughlī bā Lavāsān-i Gurjī (On Shāhverdi Sulṭān Ziyadoğlu's battle with the Gurjī Lavasan)	**163b**

Table B.1. (cont.)

Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar bilād-i Hind vāqiʿ shuda va muḥāraba numūdan-i Jalāl al-Dīn Akbar baHaymū-yi Hind va muẓaffar shudan (On the events in the land of Hind and Jalāl al-Dīn Akbar's battle with Hind Haymūand his victory)	**164a**
Guftār dar muḥāṣara kardan-i umarā-yi ʿālishān Qandahār rā (On the highly glorious amīrs' siege of Qandahār)	**164b**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**165a**
Mutavaffiyāt	**165a**
Guftār-i dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i arbaʿ va sittīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 964 AH/ 1556-57 CE)	**166a**
Ẕikr-i raftan-i Shāh-i dīn-panāh ba Tabrīz va giriftār shudan-i Qāżī Muḥammad va Ḥaydar Bīg Amīn (On the Shāh, the refuge of religion, going to Tabrīz and the arrest of Qāżī Muḥammad and Ḥaydar Bīg Amīn)	**166a**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar Māvarāʾ al-Nahr vāqiʿ shuda va jang-i Uzbakān bā yak-dīgar (On the events in Transoxiana and the Uzbaks' battles among themselves)	**166b**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**167a**
Mutavaffiyāt	**167a**
Guftār-i dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i khams va sittīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda va muḥāraba numūdan-i jamāʿat-i ghāziyān ba Ābāy Rūspāh Turkmān (On the events of the year 965 AH/1557-58 CE and the ghāzīs' community's battle with Ābāy Rūspāh Turkmān)	**167a**
Guftār dar fatḥ-i qalʿa-i Qandahār badast-i umarā-yi nāmdār va Shāhzāda-i ʿālī-tabār (On the conquest of Qandahār Fortress through the efforts of renowned amīrs and the high-born prince)	**168b**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**168b**

Table B.1. (cont.)

Guftār dar qatl-i Ābāy Turkmān (On the slaughter of Abay Turkmān)	**168b**
Mutavaffiyāt	**169a**
Guftār-i dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i sitta va sittīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardida (On the events that took place in the year 966 AH/1558-59 CE)	**169a**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**170b**
Mutavaffiyāt	**170b**
Guftār-i dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i sabʿa va sittīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 967 AH/1559-60 CE)	**171a**
Guftār-i dar jang kardan-i Būdāq Sulṭān Qājār va Uzbakān va shikast yāftan-i īshān (On Būdāq Sulṭān Qājār's battle with the Uzbaks and their defeat)	**171b**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**172a**
Guftār-i dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i s̱amān va sittīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 968 AH/1560-61 CE)	**172a**
Jang kardan-i Shāhvardī Sulṭān Ziyādughli ba ḥukkām-i Gurjistān va shikast shudan-i Gurgīn-i bad-nīshān (On Shāhvardī Sulṭān Ziyādughli's battle with the rulers of Georgia and the capture of the bad-natured Gurgīn)	**172a**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**172b**
Mutavaffiyāt	**173a**
Guftār-i dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i tisʿa va sittīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 969 AH/1561-62 CE)	**173b**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**173b**
Guftār-i dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i sabʿīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 970 AH/1562-63 CE)	**173b**

Table B.1. (cont.)

Guftār dar giriftār shudan-i ʿĪsā Khān valad-i Lavand Gurjī (On the capture of ʿĪsā Khān, the son of the Gurjī [Georgian] Lavand)	**174a**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**174a**
Mutavaffiyāt	**174b**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i aḥidī va sabʿīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 971 AH/1563-64 CE)	**175a**
Ẕikr-i āmadan-i Pīr Muḥammad Khān bin Jānī Bīg Sulṭān bajānib-i Khurāsān (On Jānī Bīg Sulṭān's son Pīr Muḥammad Khān's arrival in the regions of Khurāsān)	**175a**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**175a**
Mutavaffiyāt	**175b**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i aṯnā va sabʿīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 972 AH/1564-65 CE)	**175b**
Ẕikr-i giriftār shudan-i Qazāq (On the capture of Qazāq)	**175b**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar Dakan vāqiʿ shuda (On the events that took place in Dakan)	**177a**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**177b**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i ṯulaṯ va sabʿīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 973 AH/1565-66 CE)	**178a**
Guftār dar muḥāṣara kardan-i umarā qalʿa-i Abīvard rā (On the amīrs' siege of Abīvard castle)	**178a**
Mutavaffiyāt	**178b**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i arbaʿ va sabʿīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 974 AH/1566-67 CE)	**178b**

Table B.1. (cont.)

Ẕikr-i farastādan-i Shāh-i dīn-panāh sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā rā baḥukūmat-i Herāt (On the Shāh, the refuge of religion, appointing Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā to the governorship of Harāt)	**178b**
Guftār dar lashkar kashīdan-i sulṭān Sulaymān-i pādishāh-i Rūm baFirangistān (On Sulṭān Sulaymān, the Emperor of Anatolia, conducting a military campaign against Europe)	**179a**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i khams va sabʿīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 975 AH/1567-68 CE)	**180a**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**180b**
Guftār dar fatḥ-i Gīlān badast-i umarā-yi ʿiẓām va ghāziyān-i ẓafar-farjām (On the conquest of Gīlān by the victorious ghāzīs and great amīrs)	**180b**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**183a**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i sitta va sabʿīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 976 AH/1568-69 CE)	**183a**
Ẕikr-i lashkar farastādan-i Shāh-i dīn-panāh baGur [incorrectly repeated] baGurjistān va giriftār shudan-i Simāyūn (On the Shāh, the refuge of religion, sending troops to Georgia and the capture of Simāyūn [Simon])	**183a**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**184a**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i sabʿa va sabʿīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 977 AH/1569-70 CE)	**184a**
Ẕikr-i lashkar farastādan-i Shāh-i dīn-panāh garmsīrāt-i Jarūn (On the Shāh, the refuge of religion, sending troops to the Jarūn Desert)	**184a**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**184b**

Table B.1. (cont.)

Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i s̱amān va sabʿīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 978 AH/1570-71 CE)	**185a**
Ẕikr-i lashkar farastādan-i Sulṭān Salīm bajazīra-i Qibris (On Sulṭān Salīm's dispatch of troops to the island of Qibris)	**185a**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**186a**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i tisʿa va sabʿīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 979 AH/1571-72 CE)	**186a**
Ẕikr-i muḥāraba numūdan-i qūrjiyān-i Ghāriblū va Ustājlū bā Gīlakān (On the Ghāriblū and Ustājlū qūrjis' engagement in battle with the Gīlakīs)	**186b**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i s̱amānīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 980 AH/1572-73 CE)	**187b**
Ẕikr-i muḥāraba numūdan-i ʿAskarī Khān bā kināz Ivān (On ʿAskarī Khān's engagement in battle with prince Ivan)	**188b**
Guftār dar qażayā-yi ki dar mayān-i Uzbakān vaqiʿ shuda (On the events among the Uzbaks)	**188b**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**189a**
Mutavaffiyāt	**189a**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i aḥidī va s̱amānīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 981 AH/1573-74 CE)	**189a**
Ẕikr-i qatl-i ajlāf-i Tabrīz (On the killing of the shameless ones of Tabrīz)	**189a**
Guftār dar giriftan-i Jalāl al-Dīn Akbar Pādishāh-i Hind-i Gujarāt rā (On Jalāl al-Dīn Akbar Pādishāh's conquest of Gujarāt in India)	**190a**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**190b**
Mutavaffiyāt	**190b**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i aṣnā va s̱amānīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 982 AH/1574-75 CE)	**190b**

Table B.1. (cont.)

Mutavaffiyāt	**191a**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i s̱ulas̱ va s̱amānīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 983 AH/1575-76 CE)	**192a**
Vaqāyīʿ-i Mutanavviʿa	**192b**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i arbaʿ va s̱amānīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 984 AH/1576-77 CE)	**192b**
Ẕikr-i intiqāl-i Shāh-i dīn-panāh az ʿālam-i fānī bajihān-i jāvidānī (On the Shāh, the refuge of religion, transitioning from the mortal realm to the eternal realm)	**192b**
Guftār dar julūs-i Shāh-i ʿālam-panāh bar sarīr-i salṭanat-i jihān-bānī-yi Iṣmāʿīl-i s̱ānī (On Shāh Ismāʿīl II, the refuge of the world, ascending to the world-protecting throne of sovereignty)	**198a**
Mutavaffiyāt	**203a**
Guftār dar qażāyā-yi ki dar sana-i khams va s̱amānīn va tisʿamia vāqiʿ kardīda (On the events that took place in the year 985 AH/1577-78 CE)	**204a**
Guftār dar fatḥ-i qalʿa-i Palangān (On the conquest of Palangān Castle)	**204b**
Ẕikr-i aḥvāl-i Shāh-i ʿālam-u-ʿālamiyān sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda pādishāh va vaqāyiʿ-i ehem-i davlat-i ū (On the conditions of sulṭān padishāh Muḥammad Khudābanda, the Shāh of the realms and their inhabitants, and the events of his state)	**206b**

Table B.2. Chronology of the Era

Year (AH/CE)	Event
919, 26 Ẕū al-Hijja (1514, 22 February)	***The Birth of Ṭahmāsb I***
920 (1514)	Battle of Chāldirān
930, 19 Rajab (1524, 23 May)	The Death of Shāh Ismāʿīl I
930, 19 Rajab (1524, 23 May)	The Enthronement of Ṭahmāsb I
937 (1530/31)	The Birth of Ḥasan Bīg Rūmlū
939 (1532/33)	Shāh Ṭahmāsb I's Repentance of His Sins and the Enforcement of Restrictions on Musical Instruments
940 (1533/34)	Sulṭān Sulaymān I's First Campaign to Āẕarbāyjān
941 (1534/35)	The Rebellion of Sām Mīrzā
941 (1535)	The Suppression of Sām Mīrzā's Rebellion
941 (1534/35)	Sulṭān Sulaymān I's Second Campaign to Āẕarbāyjān
946 (1539/41)	Ḥasan Bīg Rūmlū's Appointment as the Shāh's Special Guard [Qūrji]
953 (1546/47)	The First Rebellion of Alqās Mīrzā
955 (1548/49)	Sulṭān Sulaymān I's Third Campaign to Āẕarbāyjān
955 (1548/49)	The Second Rebellion of Alqās Mīrzā
956 (1549/50)	The Suppression of Alqās Mīrzā's Rebellion
961 (1553/54)	Sulṭān Sulaymān I's Fourth Campaign to Āẕarbāyjān
963 (1555/56)	Shāh Ṭahmāsb I's Enforcement of Repentance upon the Amīrs
984 (1576/77)	***The Death of Shāh Ṭahmāsb I***
984 (1576/77)	Ismāʿīl Mīrzā's Accession as Shāh
985, 13 Ramażan (1577, 24 November)	The Death of Shāh Ismāʿīl II
985 (1577/78)	Mīrzā Muḥammad Khudābanda's Accession as Shāh

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