

Chronicling a Dynasty on the Make: New Light on the Early Ṣafavids in Ḥayātī Tabrīzī's *Tārīkh* (961/1554)

KIOUMARS GHEREGHLOU
NEW YORK, NY

This article studies Qāsim Beg Ḥayātī Tabrīzī's unpublished account of Ṣafavid history, which has long been considered lost. Ḥayātī's account—dedicated, in 961/1554, to Shah Ṭahmāsp's sister, Princess Mihīn Begum (d. 969/1562)—spans the period between the formative years of the Ṣafaviyya Sufi order under Ṣafī al-Dīn Ishāq Ardabīlī (d. 735/1334) and the early years of the reign of Shah Ismā'īl (907–30/1501–24). Emphasis is given to the way in which it fills in the gaps of our knowledge insofar as the pre-dynastic and early dynastic phases of Ṣafavid history as well as the administrative history of the Ṣafavid shrine in Ardabīl are concerned.

INTRODUCTION

This article examines the historiographical value and narrative relevance of a Persian source from the middle of the sixteenth century that chronicles the pre-dynastic and early dynastic phases of Ṣafavid history. Authored by Qāsim Beg Ḥayātī Tabrīzī (fl. 961/1554), a minor poet and bureaucrat from the very heart of the Ṣafavid establishment in Tabrīz and Ardabīl, the account spans the period between the formative years of the Ṣafaviyya Sufi order (*tarīqa*) under Ṣafī al-Dīn Ishāq Ardabīlī (d. 735/1334) and the opening years of the reign of Shah Ismā'īl (907–30/1501–24). When dealing with the administrative history of the Ṣafavid shrine in Ardabīl, Ḥayātī's narrative also contains scattered references to the reign of Shah Ṭahmāsp. Ḥayātī's history has long been thought lost, but a potentially unique manuscript of the chronicle in question, bound with large portions of volume three of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Khvāndamīr's (d. 942/1536) *Tārīkh-i ḥabīb al-siyar fī akhbār-i afrād-i bashar*, is in the National Library of Iran in Tehran. It has been catalogued erroneously as *Tārīkh-i Shāh Ismā'īl*, an anonymous seventeenth-century history of Shah Ismā'īl, with no mention of Khvāndamīr's chronicle that makes up two-thirds of the volume in its current binding.¹

Ḥayātī Tabrīzī's narrative, which he called simply *Tārīkh*,² adds new details to our present knowledge of the early history of the Ṣafavids, which is essentially based on *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā*, a late fourteenth-century hagiographical account of the life and spiritual feats (*manāqib*) of Ṣafī al-Dīn Ishāq Ardabīlī by Rukn al-Dīn Tavakkulī b. Ismā'īl Ardabīlī (fl. 787/1385), also known as Ibn al-Bazzāz, as well as on the universal and dynastic histories of four sixteenth-century Persian chroniclers. The works of two of these, Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Amīnī Haravī

I am grateful to the two *JAOS* reviewers for their comments, and I would like to thank Muhammad K. Rahmati for his feedback on this article as well as on my forthcoming edition of Ḥayātī's *Tārīkh*. All remaining mistakes and infelicities are my own.

1. Ms. National Library of Iran, 15776; M. Darāyatī, *Fihristvāra-yi dastmivishtaḥā-yi Īrān*, 12 vols. (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis, 1389sh/2010), 2: 717.

2. Qāsim Beg Ḥayātī Tabrīzī, *Tārīkh*, 12v, 16r.

(d. 941/1535) and Khvāndamīr, have been assessed critically in modern scholarship, and it is concluded with regard to them that self-censure on the one hand and a parochial focus on Herat on the other have left us with a blurred picture of the trends and events that shaped the political construction of the Ṣafaviyya in Azerbaijan in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.³ Both Amīnī Haravī and Khvāndamīr used “imitative writing”⁴ as the underlying technique of textual montage, building on *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā*. The other two chroniclers, Yaḥyā Sayfī Qazvīnī (d. 962/1555) and Aḥmad Ghaffārī Qazvīnī (d. 975/1568), devoted the closing parts of their universal histories to the early Ṣafavids. But both chronicles are annalistic, which has divested them of narrative depth, and they pivot primarily around military campaigns, court appointments, and diplomatic relations under the first two Ṣafavid rulers.⁵

THE AUTHOR AND HIS WORK

Very little is known of Qāsim Beg Ḥayātī Tabrīzī’s life and career. First and foremost, he should not be confused with a younger poet from Rasht called Kamāl al-Dīn (d. 1028/1619), who wrote poetry under the pen name Ḥayātī.⁶ Also, it is tempting to identify Qāsim Beg Ḥayātī and Qāsim Beg Ḥālātī, a sixteenth-century “resourceful and meticulous poet and historian” from the Turkmān clan of the Qizilbāsh,⁷ as one and the same person, but there is not enough evidence for this.

Ḥayātī’s name appears in an early seventeenth-century Ṣafavid chronicle as a historian from Tabrīz.⁸ According to the Ṣafavid prince Sām Mīrzā (d. 975/1567), Ḥayātī Tabrīzī’s father was a deputy judge, but the son did not take over this post and ended up as a poet,

3. J. Aubin, “Chroniques persanes et relations italiennes: Notes sur les sources narratives du règne de Šāh Esmā’īl Ier,” *Studia Iranica* 24,2 (1995): 247–59, at 249–50. For more on formalistic features of both chronicles, see T. Trausch, *Formen höfischer Historiographie im 16. Jahrhundert: Geschichtsschreibung unter den frühen Safaviden, 1501–1578* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2015), 249ff.

4. For more on “imitative writing,” see S. A. Quinn, *Historical Writing during the Reign of Shah ‘Abbas: Ideology, Imitation, and Legitimacy in Safavid Chronicles* (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 2000), 61–93.

5. On both historians and their works, see M. B. Dickson, “Shāh Ṭahmāsb and the Ūzbeks (The Duel for Khurāsān with ‘Ubayd Khān, 930–946/1524–1540)” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Univ., 1958), appendix 2, nos. 16, 24; J. E. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire*, rev. ed. (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 1999), 221–22; Trausch, *Formen höfischer Historiographie*, 262ff.; K. Ghereghlou, “Sayfi Qazvini” and “Ġaffārī Qazvini, Aḥmad,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, online at www.iranicaonline.org (both accessed 17 September 2016).

6. Kamāl al-Dīn, who took the pen name Ḥayātī (Gilānī) based on his occupation as a waterseller, resided in Kāshān, where he espoused Nuḡṭavī ideology. Having taken part in Nuḡṭavī propaganda activities in Khurāsān, he was jailed for a while in Qahqaha Castle in Qarājādāgh. Late in the 1570s he fled to Mughal India and had a successful career as a panegyrist at Akbar’s (r. 963–1014/1556–1605) imperial court. See Mīr Taqī al-Dīn Kāshānī, *Khulāṣat al-ash‘ār va zubdat al-afkār bakhsh-i Kāshān*, ed. ‘A. ‘A. Barūmand and M. Ḥ. Kahnāmū‘ī (Tehran: Mīrāth-i Maktūb, 1384sh/2005), 497–98; ‘Abd al-Bāqī Nahāvandī, *Ma’āthir-i Raḥīmī*, ed. M. H. Ḥusayn, 3 vols. in 4 (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1924–31), 3, pt. 1: 738–81; ‘Abd al-Nabī Fakhr al-Zamānī Qazvīnī, *Tadhkira-yi maykhāna*, ed. A. Gulchīn-Ma‘ānī (Tehran: Iqbāl, 1340sh/1961), 809–17; Dh. Ṣafā, *Tārīkh-i adabiyāt dar Īrān*, 5 vols. in 8 (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Firdawsī, 1369sh/1990), 5, pt. 2: 1007–12.

7. Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad Awḥadī Balyānī (d. 1040/1630), *‘Arafāt al-‘āshiqīn wa-‘arāṣāt al-‘arīfīn*, ed. Dh. Ṣāḥibkārī and A. Fakhr-Aḥmad, 8 vols. (Tehran: Mīrāth-i Maktūb, 1389sh/2010), 2: 1189, the only *tadhkira* source to describe Ḥālātī thus. For more on Ḥālātī Turkmān, who was appointed professor at the Imāmzāda Ḥusayn madrasa, outside Qazvīn, during the reign of Shah Ṭahmāsb, see Mīr ‘Alā’ al-Dawla Kāmī, *Nafā’is al-ma’āthir* (ms. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Codex persien 3), 63r–v (on which, see J. Aumer, *Die persischen Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München* [Munich, 1866], 2–3); Ṣādiqī Beg Afshār, *Majma‘ al-khawāṣ*, ed. ‘A. R. Khayyāmpūr (Tabrīz: Akhtar-i Shumāl, 1327sh/1948), 109.

8. Aḥmad Ḥusaynī Qumī, *Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh*, ed. I. Ishrāqī (Tehran: Dānishgāh-i Tīhrān, 1383sh/2004, repr. of 1980–84 ed.), 3.

scribe, and calligrapher.⁹ Not once in *Tārīkh* does Ḥayātī mention his first name, but from an entry in an early nineteenth-century *tadhkira* it can be established that it was Qāsim Beg.¹⁰ Ḥayātī Tabrīzī's studies seem to have focused on Persian history and hagiography (*siyar*), while oft-cited Quranic verses in *Tārīkh* also suggest that he had studied or memorized the whole Quran as part of his elementary studies. Apart from *Şafwat al-şafā*, which Ḥayātī cites on occasion when dealing with Shaykh Şafī's life and career, there is evidence that he also took inspiration from Mīr-Khvānd's (d. 902/1497) universal history, *Rawżat al-şafā*. In the prologue to his *Tārīkh*, Ḥayātī briefly discusses *favā'id-i tārīkh* ("the benefits of history"), which, as we know, is the title of a long introductory chapter in the first volume of *Rawżat al-şafā*.¹¹

At the time of writing the prologue to his chronicle, in the spring of 961/1554, Ḥayātī was a senior bureaucrat, or "a servant battered by the arrows of outrageous time," as he puts it.¹² According to him, it was Shah Ṭahmāsp (r. 930–84/1524–76) who commissioned him to document Şafavid history but after completing his chronicle, he decided to dedicate it to Princess Mihīn Begum (d. 969/1562), a blood (*a'yānī*) sister of Ṭahmāsp, and to a group of her female relatives, whom he refers to as "the veiled inhabitants of the nook of intuition" (*mukhaddarāt-i ḥijla-yi shuhūd*).¹³ Born in 925/1519 to Tājlu Khānum Mawşillū (d. 947/1540), Mihīn Begum was the "oldest of Shah Ismā'īl's sixteen daughters."¹⁴ Early in the 1550s she was made chief superintendent (*tawliyat*) of religious endowments (*awqāf*), which made it possible for her to disburse generous amounts of cash as pensions and gifts among the Shi'ī clerics and descendants of the Prophet (sg. *sayyid*) in Iran and in the shrine cities of Iraq, Bilād al-Shām, and the province of al-Qaṭīf and its Bahrain salient.¹⁵ It bears noting that later in the sixteenth century Ṭahmāsp's influential daughter, Parikhān Khānum, followed the example of her paternal aunt by commissioning 'Abd al-Mu'min 'Alī b. Zayn al-'Abidin Qavāmī Shīrāzī (d. 988/1580f.), also known as 'Abdī Beg—a prolific poet and bureaucrat employed by the Şafavid shrine in Ardabīl—to compose a universal history with special reference to the dynastic phase of the Şafavid reign.¹⁶ Perhaps, like 'Abdī Beg Qavāmī Shīrāzī, Ḥayātī Tabrīzī had an administrative career in the *awqāf* sector. His detailed account of the Şafavid shrine complex in Ardabīl can be taken to suggest that he spent a stint of service in

9. Sām Mīrzā Şafavī, *Tadhkira-yi tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, ed. R. Humāyūn-Farrukh (Tehran: 'Ilmī, 1347sh/1968), 242.

10. Ḥusayn-Qulī 'Azīmābādī, *Tadhkira-yi nishtar-i 'iḥşāq*, ed. K. Ḥāj-Sayyid-Javādī, 2 vols. in 4 (Tehran: Mīrāth-i Maktūb, 1391sh/2012), 1,1: 459; cf. 'Alī Hasan Khān Bhopālī, *Subh-i gulshan* (Old Delhi, 1878), 144.

11. Muḥammad Mīr-Khvānd, *Tārīkh-i rawżat al-şafā*, ed. 'A. Parvīz and M. J. Mashkūr, 11 vols. (Tehran: Kitābfurūshī-i Khayyām, 1338–51sh/1959–72), 1: 9–20. For references to *Şafwat al-şafā*, see Ḥayātī Tabrīzī, *Tārīkh*, 41r, 44v. Later in his account (138v, 191v), Ḥayātī cites Khvāndamīr's chronicle and 'Abdallāh Marvārīd's collection of late Timūrid-era royal correspondence (*munsha'āt*) as his other sources.

12. Ḥayātī Tabrīzī, *Tārīkh*, 12v: *banda-yi mustahām-i sihām-i li'ām-i ayyām*.

13. *Ibid.*, 15r–v.

14. *Ibid.*, 75r. Ḥusaynī Qumī (*Khulāşat*, 430) claimed that Mihīn Begum was the youngest of Shah Ismā'īl's "five" daughters; cf. M. Szuppe, "La Participation des femmes de la famille royale à l'exercice du pouvoir en Iran safavide au XVIe siècle (première partie)," *Studia Iranica* 23,2 (1994): 211–58, at 216, 219. However, the references made to Mihīn Begum in a late sixteenth-century *tadhkira* (Kāmī, *Nafā'is*, 303v) suggest that as early as the 1540s she was the most influential sister of Shah Ṭahmāsp, which would seem to corroborate Ḥayātī's claim that she was the oldest daughter of Shah Ismā'īl.

15. Ḥusaynī Qumī, *Khulāşat*, 430–31; Sharaf Khan Bidlīsī, *Sharafnāma*, ed. V. V. Zernof (St. Petersburg, 1860–62), 2: 217–18. Bidlīsī was a maternal cousin of Mihīn Begum. For her patronage of calligraphy, see Aḥmad Ḥusaynī Qumī, *Gulistān-i humar*, ed. A. Suhaylī Khvānsārī (Tehran: Bunyād-i Farhang-i Īrān, 1352sh/1973), 51. She was an accomplished calligrapher; see A. Sakisian, *La Miniature persane du XIIIe au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: G. Van Oest, 1929), 119–20.

16. 'Abdī Beg Qavāmī Shīrāzī, *Takmilat al-akhbār*, ed. 'A. H. Navā'ī (Tehran: Nashr-i Nay, 1369sh/1990), 99.

that city, where over the course of the first half of the sixteenth century several members of the Şafavid royal family, including Mihîn Begum's mother, funded and supervised various construction projects.

There is evidence that Ḥayātī belonged to the circle of friends and acquaintances of a number of Şafavid princesses and their female relatives. After eulogizing Mihîn Begum in his prologue, he recommended that the Şafavid princesses and other inhabitants of the royal harem read his *Tārīkh* and get a good grasp of the life and times of their “renowned ancestors.”¹⁷ From Ḥayātī's references to Shah Ṭahmāsp's other siblings it can also be assumed that he was close to Sām Mīrzā. Ḥayātī praised the Şafavid prince for “his unwavering support and generous patronage of scholars and men of letters” and wrote with grief and sadness of the passing of his oldest son, Rustam Mīrzā, who died of smallpox within a few days of being married, in Ardabīl in the spring of 961/1554.¹⁸ At that time Sām Mīrzā held office as chief superintendent of the Şafavid shrine complex in Ardabīl.¹⁹

Ḥayātī is one of the earliest Şafavid chroniclers to experiment with dynastic history as a narrative framework. As noted above, his contemporary fellow historians chronicled the early history of the Şafavids as the closing chapter of their universal histories, juxtaposing Shah Ismā'īl, Shah Ṭahmāsp, and their predecessors with a long line of dominantly non-Shi'ī households, rulers, conquerors, and claimants to power. Unsurprisingly, to emphasize the distinctive and pivotal role of the Şafavids as the true makers of history, the late sixteenth-century chronicler, 'Abdī Beg Qavāmī Shīrāzī, found it necessary to praise in the prologue to the concluding part of his universal history Shah Ismā'īl and Shah Ṭahmāsp as millennial revivers of Twelver Shi'ism.²⁰ The same claim was made by Ḥayātī, who considered Shah Ismā'īl the true reviver of Twelver Shi'ism after “nine hundred years” of failed attempts to establish the faith as the state religion.²¹ Ḥayātī's early use of the dynastic framework in his *Tārīkh* runs counter to the commonly held view that under the Şafavids dynastic histories began to appear only in the early part of the seventeenth century—that is, more than a hundred years after Shah Ismā'īl's rise to the throne.²² In using the dynastic framework, Ḥayātī followed the example of Amīnī Haravī's history, in which Shah Ismā'īl's coronation and military victories are chronicled as a direct continuation of three long introductory chapters (sg. *fath*) on the divinely ordained history of the Prophet Muḥammad and the twelve Shi'ī imams. Both historians have taken the biography of the Prophet Muḥammad and the twelve Shi'ī imams as the starting point of their accounts of early Şafavid history, but while Amīnī Haravī's account opens with two long chapters on the Prophet Muḥammad,²³ in Ḥayātī's narrative it is the history of the Shi'ī imams that has received the lion's share of attention. Like Amīnī Haravī, however, Ḥayātī's introductory chapter on Shi'ī imams closes with remarks concerning the impending return of the Hidden Imam, Muḥammad al-Mahdī.

Organizationally, Ḥayātī's *Tārīkh* can be divided into two parts (Table 1). The first part, which outlines the history of the Şafaviyya during the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, is structured into three “gardens” (sg. *ḥadīqa*). The second part, titled “the second branch” (*shu'ba-yi duvvum*), deals with the early phase of Şafavid history from the time

17. Ḥayātī Tabrizī, *Tārīkh*, 15v.

18. *Ibid.*, 77r–v.

19. *Ibid.*, 55r.

20. Qavāmī Shīrāzī, *Takmilat*, 34–35, 40–41; cf. Ḥusaynī Qumī, *Khulāṣat*, 79.

21. Ḥayātī Tabrizī, *Tārīkh*, 4v.

22. Quinn, *Historical Writing*, 25–26.

23. Şadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Amīnī Haravī, *Futūḥāt-i shāhī* (ms. Majlis Library, 9006), 28v–105r. These three chapters are omitted in the “edited” version of Amīnī Haravī's chronicle published in Tehran in 2004 (*infra*, n. 39).

Table 1. Organization of Ḥayātī's *Tārīkh*

Ḥadīqas	Sections
	Prologue
1	The Virtuous Life of Imam 'Alī
Part I 2	The Virtuous Life of Venerable Imams
3	The Illustrious Life of Shaykh Ṣafī in Eight Sections (<i>rawza</i>)
	i. On Shaykh Ṣafī's personal attributes
	ii. On Shaykh Ṣafī's noble descent
	iii. On Shaykh Ṣafī's spiritual lineage
	iv. The life of Shaykh Zāhid Gīlānī
	v. The life of Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn Mūsā
	vi. Shaykh Ṣafī's descendants
	vii. The Safavid shrine in Ardabil and its buildings
	viii. The disciples of the Ṣafaviyya <i>ṭarīqa</i> and their deputies
Part II 4	A History of the Ṣafaviyya <i>ṭarīqa</i> and Shah Ismā'īl's Rise to the Throne and His Military Victories

of Junayd's (d. 864/1460) assumption of the mantle of spiritual leadership (*irshād*) of the Ṣafaviyya early in the 1450s until Shah Ismā'īl's invasion of Baghdad in 914/1508. Ḥayātī's account of the twelve Shi'ī imams is larded with internalist (*bāṭinī*) and Ḥurūfī/Nuḡṭavī themes and tropes. Ḥayātī held the view that all Shi'ī imams were masters of hermeneutical exegesis (*ta'wīl*), numerology, and the "science of letters,"²⁴ and it is likely that he associated with a group of Mahdist and Nuḡṭavī mystics and demagogues who, according to an early seventeenth-century Ṣafavid chronicler, were permitted to attend Shah Ṭahmāsp's meetings with religious dignitaries and scholars in Tabrīz and Qazvīn.²⁵

Ḥayātī's focus on Shi'ī imams on the one hand and his remarks concerning the *bāṭinī* and Ḥurūfī significance of the imamate on the other make his narrative comparable, in terms of tone and approach, with an unpublished treatise by 'Alī Ṭūsī dating from the 1550s. Dedicated to Shah Ṭahmāsp and titled *Mubashshara-yi shāhiyya*, the treatise in question is packed with similarly internalist assertions about the Hidden Imam, all intended to purvey the author's prophecy that the coming of al-Mahdī would take place in 963/1555f., the year in which he predicted that Ṭahmāsp would achieve major military victories against the Ottomans and the Ṭzbeks of Transoxiana.²⁶ In the years leading to 963*h*, Qazvīn witnessed the advent of at

24. Ḥayātī Tabrīzī, *Tārīkh*, 18v–19r.

25. Fażlī Beg Khūzānī Iṣfahānī, *A Chronicle of the Reign of Shah 'Abbas*, ed. K. Ghereghlou (Cambridge: Gibb Memorial Trust, 2015), 142.

26. 'Alī Ṭūsī al-Sharīf, *Mubashshara-yi shāhiyya*, fols. 1r–64r of *Majmū'a* (ms. Majlis Library, 21519), 42v–44r.

least one claimant to mahdīship, Sharīf Mahdī Hamadānī, who was arrested in 951/1544f. on account of apostasy and incarcerated in the mountainous Alamūt Castle, some sixty-five miles northeast of Qazvīn in Ṭārum.²⁷ From the outset, the reign of Shah Ṭahmāsp was widely believed to be conducive to the return of al-Mahdī, and as early as 930/1524, the Ṣafavid poet laureate, Mīr Muḥammad Qāsim Qāsimī Gunābādī (d. 982/1574), praised the Ṣafavid ruler as “the vanguard of the Hidden Imam.”²⁸ Likewise, Ḥayātī called Shah Ṭahmāsp “the deputy (*vakīl*) of al-Mahdī, the master of the age (*ṣāhib al-zamān*).”²⁹ A *sharīf* (i.e., descendant of the Prophet Muḥammad on the maternal side of his family) mystic-cum-cleric from Mashhad, ‘Alī Ṭūsī, called himself an “old senior servant” (*pīr ghulām-i qadīmī*) of the Ṣafavid royal household,³⁰ suggesting that he, too, had spent a good part of his career in service of the Ṣafavid court bureaucracy. It was amid this wave of state-sponsored campaigns of mass demagoguery and messianic propaganda that Ḥayātī dedicated his *Tārīkh* in 961/1554, two years ahead of the anticipated advent of the Hidden Imam as prophesied in Ṭūsī’s treatise, to Princess Mihīn Begum, who all her life remained a spinster as honorary fiancée of al-Mahdī.³¹ Around the same time, Ṭahmāsp’s older son, Muḥammad Mīrzā (later Shah Muḥammad Khudābanda), had been made a foot soldier of the Hidden Imam and was expected to fight against the enemies of Twelver Shi‘ism upon the impending return of al-Mahdī.³²

The third *ḥadīqa* of part one of Ḥayātī’s *Tārīkh* is devoted to the life and career of Shaykh Ṣafī and his successors. In this third “garden,” almost all of the anecdotes are reproduced verbatim or in abridged form from *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā*. In his appropriating from *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā*, Ḥayātī is careful not to repeat the names of Sunni religious scholars mentioned by Ibn al-Bazzāz. Instead, in almost every anecdote (sg. *ḥikāyat*, *nukta*, *takmila*, *laṭīfa*) recycled from the *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā*, he concocts the Shi‘i and mystical notions of *walāyat* (spiritual devotion to the imam) and *nūr-i muḥammadī* (prophetic radiance), foregrounding direct transfer of the *walāyat* from the Prophet Muḥammad and Shi‘i imams to the first two Ṣafavid shahs through Shaykh Ṣafī. Ḥayātī’s selective borrowing from *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā* coincided with Shah Ṭahmāsp’s bid to prepare an official version of Ibn al-Bazzāz’s controversial biography of Shaykh Ṣafī, intended to purge it of all implicit and explicit references that cast doubt on the Ṣafavid household’s claims to ‘Alid descent and perpetual devotion to the cause of Twelver Shi‘ism.³³ In 949/1542 Mīr Abū l-Faṭḥ Sharīfī Jurjānī (d. 986/1578), a prominent jurist from Astarābād, was commissioned to revise *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā* in tune with Shah Ṭahmāsp’s ideological considerations and sectarian sensibilities.³⁴ Sharīfī’s edition of *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā* includes a

27. Kāmī, *Nafā’is*, 119r.

28. Fażlī Beg Khūzānī Iṣfahānī, *Afzal al-tavārīkh* (mujallad-i duvvum, ms. British Library, Or. 4678), 3r. For this manuscript, see C. Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1895), 37.

29. Ḥayātī Tabrizī, *Tārīkh*, 11r.

30. Ṭūsī, *Mubashshara-yi shāhiyya*, 62v.

31. Bidlīsī, *Sharafnāma*, 2: 217; Khūzānī Iṣfahānī, *Afzal al-tavārīkh*, mujallad-i duvvum, 274r; Michele Membré, *Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia (1539–1542)*, tr. A. H. Morton (Cambridge: Gibb Memorial Trust, 1999), 25. On 3 Muḥarram 943/14 July 1535, Shah Ṭahmāsp ordered the beheading of a court physician from Kāzīrūn who had dared to ask Mihīn Begum’s hand in marriage; see Qavāmī Shirāzī, *Takmilat*, 85.

32. Ḥusaynī Qumī, *Khulāṣat*, 386.

33. Under Shah Ṭahmāsp, some of the most prominent *sayyid* families of learned and landed notables were accused of false claim to *sayyid* status (*tasayyud*), as, for example, the Nūrbakhshī family in Ray and Tehran in the 1540s (Kāmī, *Nafā’is*, 121v).

34. Mīrzā ‘Abdullāh Afandī al-Iṣbahānī, *Riyāḍ al-‘ulamā’ wa-ḥiyāḍ al-fuḍalā’*, ed. A. al-Ḥusaynī, 7 vols. (Qum: Maktabat Āyatallāh Mar‘ashī al-‘Āmma, 1981–94), 5: 486; M. Mazzaoui, *The Origins of the Ṣafawids: Śī‘ism, Śūfism, and the Ġulāt* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1972), 47; Dānishpazhūh, “Yak parda, 981.

new preface in which he states that he was ordered “to edit out all phrases and statements that are incompatible with the right path of Shi‘i imams and lustrous faith of Twelver Shi‘ism.” Sharīfī Jurjānī considered Ibn al-Bazzāz “a hypocrite and an enemy of imams,” accusing him of spreading “unmerited” lies about Shaykh Ṣafī’s spiritual lineage and religious convictions.³⁵ In the same vein Ḥayātī wrote of Ibn al-Bazzāz as an untrustworthy source, chiding him for including the name of the pro-Umayyad mystic, preacher, and jurist, Abū Sa‘īd Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728), among Shaykh Ṣafī’s spiritual guides. According to Ḥayātī, Ibn al-Bazzāz’s claim that al-Baṣrī acted as a spiritual link between Ṣafī and ‘Alī “represents one of the many embarrassing qualities attributed rather unfairly in that book [*Ṣafwat al-ṣafā*] to the Ṣafaviyya spiritual leaders (*murshidān*).”³⁶

Part two of Ḥayātī’s *Tārīkh* opens with two “tailpieces” (sg. *tadhyīl*). The first deals with the Ṣafavid shrine complex in Ardabīl and its physical expansion in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, focusing on the architectural details and dates of some of the major buildings of the shrine. The second includes a list of successive generations of the shrine’s chief superintendents from the time of Ṣadr al-Dīn Mūsā (d. 779/1377) to the appointment of the Ṣafavid prince Sām Mirzā to chief superintendent of the shrine early in the 1550s (Table 2). Details of each chief superintendent’s achievements and activities are discussed briefly in this second “tailpiece,”³⁷ which is followed by two long sections on the life and spiritual feats of a number of Shaykh Ṣafī’s prominent disciples and descendants. Then Ḥayātī switches the focus of his account to Junayd and Ḥaydar, whom he saw as the real founders of the Ṣafavid dynasty. The second part continues with an account of Shah Ismā‘īl’s rise to power and early years of his reign,³⁸ and ends with a report of Shah Ismā‘īl’s invasion of Baghdad (914/1508).³⁹ A partly obliterated colophon signed by the copyist, a certain ‘Alī Khān b. ‘Alī Beg, is added at the end of Ḥayātī Tabrīzī’s account of Shah Ismā‘īl’s invasion of the province of Arabian Iraq (‘Irāq-i ‘arab): “[The copying of] the book was finished (*tammāt al-kitāb*) on 1 Sha‘bān 1039/16 March 1630 en route from Tabrīz to Ardabīl.”⁴⁰

35. Mīr Abū l-Faṭḥ Sharīfī Jurjānī, *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā’ fī manāqib al-awliyā’ wa-ma‘ārij al-aṣfiyā’* (ms. Central Library of Āstān-i Quds, 4140), 3r. On this manuscript, see M. A. Fikrat, *Fihrist-i alifbā’i-i kutub-i khaffī-i kitābhāna-yi markazi-i Āstān-i Quds-i Raḥavī* (Mashhad: Intisharāt-i Āstān-i Quds, 1369sh/1990), 384; Darāyaī, *Fihristvāra*, 5: 149.

36. Ḥayātī Tabrīzī, *Tārīkh*, 47v–48r.

37. *Ibid.*, 54r–55r.

38. *Ibid.*, 77v–108r.

39. From an autobiographical note dated Wednesday, 21 Dhū l-Ḥijja 914/22 April 1509, by the son of the Aqqayunlu judicial inspector (*mushrif al-qazā’*) of Baghdad and reproduced in an unpublished miscellanea volume, we know that Ismā‘īl captured Baghdad late in the autumn of 914/1508, forcing the military governor of the city, Bāyraq (Bārīk) Beg b. Shāh ‘Alī Beg Purnak, to withdraw with his functionaries and military retainers to the “ruined and famine-stricken” city of Mosul in the winter of the same year. Muḥammad Sharīfī Nasafī, *Safīna* (ms. National Library of Iran, 1194423), 5r; on this miscellanea volume, which is yet to be catalogued, see K. Ghereghlou, “Muḥammad Khān Shībānī in Tūs (915/1509),” *Manuscripta Orientalia* 22,1 (2016): 55–67, at 56–57. In his account of Shah Ismā‘īl’s invasion of the province of Arabian Iraq, Khvāndamār states that the Ṣafavid monarch arrived in Baghdad on 25 Jumādā II 914/31 October 1508. This bears out the date given in the autobiographical note included in Nasafī’s *Safīna*. Amīnī Haravī also clarifies that the invasion of Baghdad took place early in the autumn of 914/1508; see Ghīyāth al-Dīn Khvāndamār, *Tārīkh-i ḥabīb al-siyar fī akhbār-i afrād-i bashar*, ed. M. Dabīr-Siyāqī, 4 vols. (Tehran: Kitābfurūshī-i Khayyām, 1333sh/1954), 4: 494; Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Amīnī Haravī, *Futūḥāt-i shāhī*, ed. M. R. Naṣīrī (Tehran: Anjuman-i Āthār va Mafākhir-i Farhangī, 1383sh/2004), 287.

40. Ḥayātī Tabrīzī, *Tārīkh*, 212r.

Table 2. List of the Safavid Shrine Superintendents

Tenure Period	Shrine Superintendents
Pre-dynastic phase	Şadr al-Dīn Mūsā Şafavī
	Sultān-ʿAlī Şafavī
	Shaykh-Shāh Şafavī
	Jaʿfar Şafavī
	Junayd Şafavī (?)
Shah Ismāʿīl (907–30/1501–24)	Ḥaydar Şafavī
	Najm al-Dīn Masʿūd Gilānī
	Mīrzā Aḥmad Daylamī
	Khalaf (Khulafāʾ?) Beg
	Ḥasan Beg b. Ḥaydar Şafavī (twice)
	Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Şafavī
Shah Ṭahmāsp (until 961/1554)	Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṭālish
	Ajja Sultān [Qājār]
	Nazar Āqā Khāzin
	Aḥmad Beg Şafavī (twice)
	Ibrāhīm Beg Qaşşāb-Oghlī
	Ḥamza Sultān Ṭālish
	Ḥaydar-Qulī Beg
	Amīr Ashraf Awḥadī (twice?)
	ʿAlī Beg Tekkelū
	Maʿşūm Beg Şafavī
Sām Mīrzā Şafavī	

THE FORMATIVE YEARS OF A DYNASTIC SHRINE

Drawing on *Şariḥ al-milk*, a collection of *waqf* deeds and judicial affidavits (*iqrār-nāma*) selected and copied by ʿAbdī Beg Qavāmī Shīrāzī, secondary literature has confined its attention to the Şafavid shrine complex in the latter part of the sixteenth century, leaving us in the dark about the physical expansion of the shrine in the pre-dynastic phase.⁴¹ In addition to aspects of its administrative history, Ḥayātī’s account of the Şafavid shrine treats its growth and development. A recently published book-length study of the Şafavid shrine discusses briefly the construction of a few buildings, including a caravansary, an inn, and a bazaar, but

41. For a partial English translation of ʿAbdī Beg’s account of the shrine’s physical expansion under Shah Ṭahmāsp, see A. H. Morton, “The Ardabil Shrine in the Reign of Shāh Tahmāsp I,” *Iran* 12 (1974): 39–52; K. Rizvi, *The Safavid Dynastic Shrine: Architecture, Religion and Power in Early Modern Iran* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2010), 187–97. According to a royal decree issued by Shah Ṭahmāsp, bureaucratic functionaries in Ardabil, possibly including ʿAbdī Beg Qavāmī Shīrāzī, were ordered to prepare an itemized register of all *waqf* documents in the Şafavid shrine in 969/1561f.; see B. Fragner, “Das Ardabiler Heiligtum in den Urkunden,” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 67 (1975): 169–215, at 178–82. For a catalogue of the Ardabil *waqf* documents, see ʿI. Shaykh-al-Ḥukamāʾī, *Fihrist-i asnād-i buqʿa-yi Shaykh Şafī al-Dīn Ardabīlī* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis, 1387sh/2008).

in terms of temporal scope it does not go beyond the latter part of the fourteenth century.⁴² Ḥayātī's *Tārīkh* sheds new light on the names, dates, and locations of a number of buildings added to the core of the Ṣafavid shrine during the course of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and the early part of the sixteenth centuries.

Ḥayātī reports that the construction of a domed mausoleum (*ḥaḏīra va gunbad*) on the site of Shaykh Ṣafī's tomb started on 12 Sha'abān 737/24 March 1337 and its completion took one decade,⁴³ and that a row of twenty "seclusion" rooms, known as *chilla-khāna*, a bakery, a kitchen, public baths, and another domed mausoleum called "harem dome," where the remains of all female descendants and relatives of Shaykh Ṣafī were to be buried, were also added under the stewardship of Ṣadr al-Dīn Mūsā. From the *Ṣarīḥ al-milk* documents we know that the early phase of construction was followed by Ṣadr al-Dīn Mūsā's purchase, in 760/1359 and following years, of several pieces of arable land (*mazra'a*) in the rural outskirts of Ardabīl, which were to be endowed to the newly founded Ṣafavid shrine. Furthermore, unpublished *waqf* and property deeds from the latter part of the fourteenth century show that between Rabī' II 760*h* and Rabī' I 778*h*, Ṣadr al-Dīn Mūsā and his legal deputies, including Ibn al-Bazzāz, had bought and endowed to the Ṣafavid shrine the full or partial ownership of more than fifteen shops in the Qayṣariyya and Munādīgāh neighborhoods of Ardabīl.⁴⁴ A judicial affidavit prepared and signed by a group of local notables and submitted to the office of local judge in Ardabīl on 24 Dhū l-Qa'da 762/3 October 1361 indicates that in that year Ṣadr al-Dīn was officially recognized as the undisputed chief superintendent of the Ṣafavid shrine complex in Ardabīl.⁴⁵

Ḥayātī Tabrīzī then jumps to the expansion of the Ṣafavid shrine under the first two Ṣafavid rulers. In 945/1538 a new domed mausoleum, known as Jannat-sarā, was built next to the one erected on the site of Shaykh Ṣafī's tomb. This new mausoleum—funded by Tājilū Khānum Mawṣillū, Shah Ismā'īl's widow and mother of Shah Ṭahmāsp and Princess Mihīn Begum, until her death two years later—was completed in 954/1547. The date indicates that either Mihīn Begum or her other blood brother, Sām Mīrzā, at that time the chief superintendent of the Ṣafavid shrine, was closely involved in its completion. Shah Ismā'īl's older brother, Sayyid Ḥasan Mīrzā (fl. 931/1525f.), who held office as *tawliyat* twice in the opening decades of the sixteenth century, is reported to have funded and supervised the construction of a portal (*ivān*) next to Jannat-sarā. According to Ḥayātī, two functionaries from Ardabīl—one by the name of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, who held office as supervisor (*mihtar*) and provisions officer (*garak-yarāq*), and the other called Qarāja Muḥammad—had been hired to oversee the completion of this portal. During his years as superintendent of the shrine, Sayyid Ḥasan Mīrzā also funded the construction of a sanatorium (*dār al-shifā'*) and a religious college (*dār al-ḥadīth*) inside the shrine complex. These two institutions, located on the right and left sides of Jannat-sarā respectively, were later deemed ill-suited for their purposes, however, and were eventually converted to burial chambers for members of a collateral branch of the Ṣafavī household.

According to Ḥayātī, in 940/1535 an earlier portal, also called Jannat-sarā, was erected opposite to that built during Sayyid Ḥasan Mīrzā's tenure. In 950/1543f. an inn (*mihmānkhāna*) and a kitchen were built next to the inn constructed during the reign of Shah Ismā'īl. And

42. Rizvi, *Dynastic Shrine*, 28.

43. Ḥayātī Tabrīzī, *Tārīkh*, 50v–52v.

44. 'Abdī Beg Qavāmī Shīrāzī, *Ṣarīḥ al-milk* (ms. National Library of Iran, Albūm-i 56 saltanatī), 16v–18r. For more on Ibn al-Bazzāz's career as a Sunni judge and legal deputy of Ṣadr al-Dīn Mūsā in Ardabīl, see K. Ghereghlou, "Ibn al-Bazzāz al-Ardabīlī," *EI3* (forthcoming).

45. Qavāmī Shīrāzī, *Ṣarīḥ*, 50r–51v.

during the years in which Maṣūm Beg Ṣafavī (d. 976/1569) and Sām Mirzā held the post of *tawliyat* in Ardabīl—late 1540s and early 1550s—there was another phase of architectural construction and physical expansion. A new administrative office (*daftarkhāna*), a butlery (*ḥavīj-khāna*), a large cellar (*sharbatkhāna*), a new inn, and a new madrasa were added to the shrine complex.

We learn from Ḥayātī's list of shrine superintendents (Table 2) that under Shah Ismā'īl six dignitaries occupied the position. Shah Ismā'īl's brother, Sayyid Ḥasan, held this post twice. His second term began in 930/1524f. and ended in 931/1526, the year in which he might have died. While in the twelve years between 931/1526 and 943/1537 there were six superintendents, during the eighteen-year period 943/1537 to 961/1554 there were only four. Mu'īn al-Dīn Ashraf Awḥadī (d. 951/1544f.) served in this post for eight consecutive years, from 943/1537 until his death; Ḥayātī notes that he was the most successful chief superintendent of Shaykh Ṣafī's shrine under the early Ṣafavids.⁴⁶ Ḥayātī's claim is corroborated by an appointment letter issued by Shah Ṭahmāsp in the name of Awḥadī, wherein the shah praises him as a skilled and efficient administrator.⁴⁷

THE BIRTH OF A ṬARĪQA

Ḥayātī Tabrīzī is remarkably detailed about Shaykh Ṣafī's family as well as those of his immediate descendants (see Fig. 1), whose names are missing in *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā* and other early Ṣafavid narrative sources, and his is the only narrative source that gives dates for Shaykh Ṣafī's father, Amīn al-Dīn Jibrā'īl.⁴⁸ Ibn al-Bazzāz's account of Amīn al-Dīn Jibrā'īl's life is garbled; at one point he does mention that Amīn al-Dīn Jibrā'īl died when his youngest son, Ṣafī, was six years old, but no specific date is given.⁴⁹ According to Ḥayātī, Shaykh Ṣafī's father was born in 613/1216 and died in 686/1287.⁵⁰ In his study of early Ṣafavid history, Walther Hinz drew a genealogical chart of Shaykh Ṣafī's descendants based on information collected from *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā* as well as from Ḥusayn b. Abdāl Zāhidī's *Silsilat al-nasab-i Ṣafaviyya*, a late seventeenth-century narrative source, in which he mentioned that two sons and one daughter survived Ṣadr al-Dīn Mūsā.⁵¹ Ḥayātī's account, however, adds the names of Shaykh Ṣafī's nine sons—Shihāb al-Dīn, Jamāl al-Dīn, Muḥsin, Ṣadr al-Dīn, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, Khʿāja Sulṭān-ʿAlī, Ziyāʿ al-Dīn, Ṭayyib, and Ṭāhir.⁵² A more detailed family tree of Shaykh Ṣafī's descendants, drawing primarily on *Ṣarīḥ al-milk*, was prepared by Jean Aubin, but in light of the information given in Ḥayātī's account, it is safe to say that it is flawed. For example, Aubin has Shah Ismā'īl as a direct descendant of Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Ṣadr al-Dīn Mūsā (fl. 794/1391f.) through his patrilineal grandfather Junayd, which is incorrect.⁵³

46. Ḥayātī Tabrīzī, *Tārīkh*, 54v. For the section on the Ṣafavid shrine and its superintendents see 50r–55r.

47. Abū l-Qāsim Ivoghli, *Majmaʿ al-inshāʿ* (ms. British Library, Add. 7688), 119v–120r. For more on this manuscript, see C. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols. (London, 1879–83), 1: 388.

48. Ḥayātī Tabrīzī, *Tārīkh*, 70r–v.

49. Tavakkulī b. Ismā'īl Ibn al-Bazzāz al-Ardabīlī, *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā*, ed. Gh. R. Ṭabāṭabāʿī-Majd (Tehran: Nashr-i Zaryāb, 1376sh/1997), 80; cf. M. Gronke, *Derwische im Vorhof der Macht: Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte Nordwestirans im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1993), 243.

50. Ḥayātī Tabrīzī, *Tārīkh*, 71r and 70v respectively.

51. Ḥusayn b. Abdāl Pirzāda Zāhidī, *Silsilat al-nasab-i Ṣafaviyya* (Berlin: Iranschäher, 1924), 40; W. Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg zum Nationalstaat im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1936), 126.

52. Ḥayātī Tabrīzī, *Tārīkh*, 70v.

53. J. Aubin, "La Propriété foncière en Azerbaydjan sous les Mongols," *Le Monde Iranien et l'Islam* 4 (1976–77): 79–132, at 86–87.

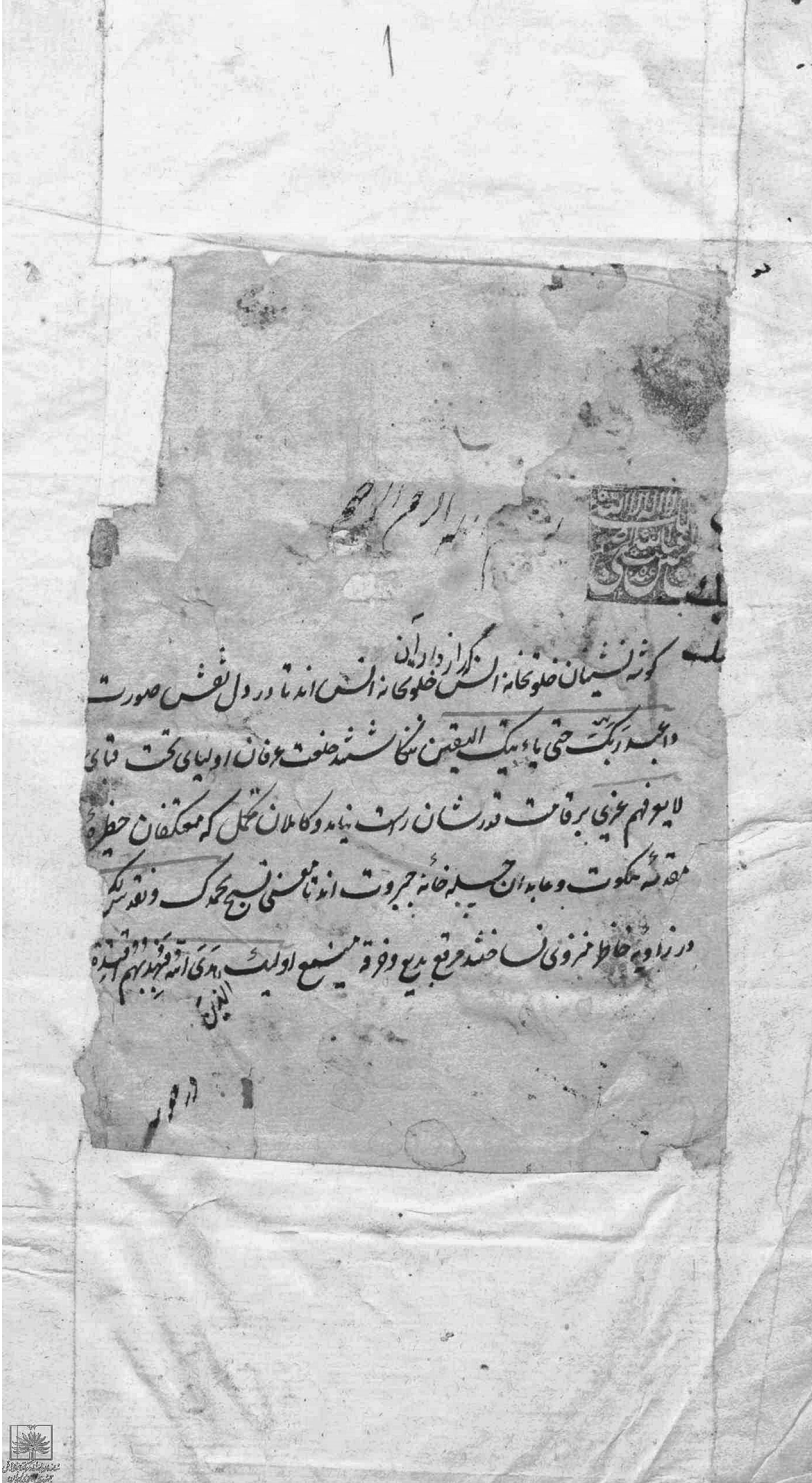


FIG. 2. Qāsim Beg Ḥayātī Tabrīzī, *Tārīkh* (ms. National Library of Iran, 15776), 1v. Courtesy of the Library.

When dealing with Şadr al-Dīn Mūsā's tenure as spiritual leader of the Şafaviyya, Ḥayātī's account revolves around a major internal crisis that in the short run destabilized the *ṭariqa* leadership. Şadr al-Dīn Mūsā, Ḥayātī relates, had nine sons and four daughters from his marriage to Bibī Malaka (d. 753/1352). The oldest son, Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd, turned against his father, accusing him in public of "hypocrisy" (*zariq*). Ḥayātī tells us that Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd was the most learned of Şadr al-Dīn Mūsā's sons—implying that he had an advanced madrasa training and that his opposition to his father's activities as a Sufi was *sharī'a*-minded—and that Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd's anti-Sufi stance eventually led Şadr al-Dīn Mūsā to disinherit him and his children. Until the 1550s none of Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd's progeny was allowed employment in or direct financial benefit from the Şafavid shrine complex and its endowments in Ardabīl.⁵⁴

Almost all early Şafavid narrative sources omit mention of Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd and his antagonism toward his father. According to Ḥayātī, Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd relented on his anti-Şafaviyya stance later in life and endowed the partial or full ownership of some eighteen pieces of arable land in the rural suburbs of Ardabīl to the Şafavid shrine. In a show of religious orthodoxy, Ḥayātī claims, Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd stipulated in the endowment deed that the income accrued from all these plots could only be distributed among employees of the shrine who had committed to memory the entire Quran and worked at the shrine's school of Quranic studies (*dār al-ḥuffāz*).⁵⁵ There is evidence that this endowment deed was issued about 794/1391f.—two *waqf* deeds drafted and filed in that year with the office of local judge in Ardabīl list all the rural districts and pieces of arable land endowed by Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd to the Şafavid shrine complex.⁵⁶

Shaykh Şadr al-Dīn's last years as spiritual leader of the Şafaviyya are commonly viewed in modern scholarship as a turning point in the pre-dynastic phase of Şafavid history. Emphasis is given to the "forgery and adoption" of 'Alid descent in the years leading to Kh'āja Sulṭān-'Alī's assumption of the mantle of spiritual leadership.⁵⁷ Ḥayātī nonetheless tells us nothing about the issue of *sayyid* descent and its significance in the pre-dynastic phase of Şafavid history. He gives the year 832/1428 as the date of Kh'āja Sulṭān-'Alī's death, which contradicts the conventional wisdom of Şafavid historiography, originally put forward in Zāhidī's account, that he died on 18 Rajab 830/24 May 1427.⁵⁸ In dealing with Şadr al-Dīn's grandchildren, Ḥayātī pays close attention to the career of Kh'āja 'Alī's son and successor, Farīd al-Dīn Ja'far (fl. 873/1468f.), whom neither Amīnī Haravī nor Khvādamīr mentions. This is also the case with Sayfī Qazvīnī; even Sharīfī Jurjānī elects to ignore Shaykh Ja'far.⁵⁹ In his account of Şafavid origins, Faẓlī Beg Khūzānī Işfahānī (fl. 1049/1639) highlights Ja'far's hostility to Junayd, ascribing the animosity between them to the meddling of the

54. Ḥayātī Tabrizī, *Tārīkh*, 72r. Zāhidī (*Silsilat*, 40) claims that Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd died without children.

55. Ḥayātī Tabrizī, *Tārīkh*, 72r.

56. Qavāmī Shīrāzī, *Şarīḥ*, 51v, 60r–v; cf. Gronke, *Derwische im Vorhof der Macht*, 21–22. Neither of the deeds corroborates the details given in Ḥayātī's account concerning Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd anti-Şafaviyya views.

57. A. Kasravī, "Shaykh Şafī u Tabārash," in *Kārvand-i Kasravī*, ed. Y. Zukā' (Tehran: Kitābhā-yi Jībī, 1352sh/1973), 55–86, at 70–71; Z. V. Toġan, "Sur l'origine des Safavides," in *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, ed. H. Massé, 3 vols. (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1956–57), 3: 345–57; J. Aubin, "Şāh Ismā'īl et les notables de l'Iraq persan (Etudes safavides. I)," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 2,1 (1959): 37–81, at 46.

58. Ḥayātī Tabrizī, *Tārīkh*, 72r; Pīrzāda Zāhidī, *Silsilat*, 45.

59. Amīnī Haravī, *Futūḥāt*, 36–43; Khvādamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, 4: 425; Mīr Yaḥyā Sayfī Qazvīnī, *Lubb al-tavārīkh*, ed. H. Muḥaddis (Tehran: Anjuman-i Āthār va Mafākhir-i Farhangī, 1386sh/2007), 269; Sharīfī Jurjānī, *Şafwat*, 283v–284r.

Qaraqyunlu in the internal affairs of the Şafaviyya.⁶⁰ In Ḥayātī's narrative, however, Ja'far is cast as a "vile and wicked" usurper.⁶¹ Ḥayātī portrays the Qaraqyunlu ruler of Azerbaijan, Abū l-Muẓaffar Jahānshāh (d. 872/1467), as the driving force behind Ja'far's rise to power and his subsequent mistreatment of Junayd.⁶² We are also told that Ja'far's quest for power stemmed from his ambition to bring under his effective control the sprawling landed properties endowed to the Şafavid shrine under his predecessors.⁶³ Excerpts from correspondence between Junayd and Ja'far are reproduced as part of Ḥayātī's account of the split that eventually divided the *ṭarīqa* into two opposed camps in the latter part of the fifteenth century.⁶⁴

According to Ḥayātī, Junayd was survived by two sons—Kh'āja Muḥammad, born of a Circassian concubine, and Ḥaydar, from Junayd's marriage to the sister of the Aqqyunlu Uzun Ḥasan—and one daughter, Shāh-Pāshā Khātūn.⁶⁵ There is epigraphic evidence that Junayd had a third son named Kh'āja Jamshīd, who died during one of Ḥaydar's military campaigns in southern Dagestan and was buried there.⁶⁶ Ḥaydar is commonly assumed to have been born within a month or so of Junayd's death.⁶⁷ However, Ḥayātī claims that at the time of Junayd's death in Dagestan, Ḥaydar was "eight months old" and lived in Ardabil.⁶⁸ Ḥayātī states that Ḥaydar "took over the mantle of *irshād* at the age of fifteen," that after his father's death he was alive "for thirty-two years," and that he was "forty years old" at the time of his death in 893/1488 (which contradicts the previous information for it assigns Ḥaydar a birthdate of 861 or 862/1457–59, i.e., some three years prior to his father's death).⁶⁹ Ḥayātī tells us as well that Shāh-Pāshā Khātūn was married off to Muḥammad Beg Ṭālish, a military officer from Khalkhāl, while her father was still alive.⁷⁰ According to Ḥayātī, shortly after Ḥaydar's death, it was Shāh-Pāshā Khātūn who fostered her orphaned nephew, Ismā'īl. In the years leading to Ismā'īl's ascent to the throne, Shāh-Pāshā Khātūn and her husband

60. Faẓlī Beg Khūzānī Işfahānī, *Afzal al-tavārikh* (mujallad-i avval, ms. Cambridge Univ. Library, Pote-Eton 278), 42v.

61. Ḥayātī Tabrizī, *Tārikh*, 78v.

62. Ibid., 72v, 79r. For Ja'far's son, Sayyid Qāsim, a son-in-law of Jahānshāh, see Ḥasan Beg Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tavārikh*, vol. 1, ed. 'A. Ḥ. Navā'ī (Tehran: Asāṭir, 1384sh/2005), 60.

63. Ḥayātī Tabrizī, *Tārikh*, 54r.

64. Ibid., 79r–v, 80v–81r.

65. Ibid., 72v–73v; see also Pīrzāda Zāhidī, *Silsilat*, 67.

66. He is buried in Kūbachī, a small village in Tābasarān, some sixty miles northwest of Derbent; see T. Aytberov, "The Newly Found Tomb-Stone of Sheikh Ḥaydar the Şafavid in Dagestan," *Iran and the Caucasus* 13,2 (2009): 281–84, at 283.

67. Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg*, 48–49; Woods, *Aqqyunlu*, 142.

68. Ḥayātī Tabrizī, *Tārikh*, 89v, where it reads *hasht sāl* (eight years), which must be a scribal error.

69. Ibid., 73v. Khūzānī Işfahānī (*Afzal al-tavārikh*, mujallad-i avval, 43r, 44r) gives 850/1446f. as Ḥaydar's date of birth and adds that he was fourteen years old at the time of his father's death.

70. Ḥayātī Tabrizī, *Tārikh*, 124r. Shāh-Pāshā Khātūn's husband should not be confused with Mirzā Muḥammad Ṭālish, also known as Mirzā Sulṭān, who at that time was governor of Āstāra and was married to a sister of 'Alī Beg Chākīrlu, the Aqqyunlu governor of Ardabil (see Ḥayātī Tabrizī, *Tārikh*, 134r). For this Mirzā Muḥammad Ṭālish, who under Shah Ismā'īl ranked among the Qizilbāsh *tiyūl*-holders, see K. Ghereghlou, "Cashing in on Land and Privilege for the Welfare of the Shah: Monetisation of *Tiyūl* in Early Safavid Iran and Eastern Anatolia," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 68,1 (2015): 87–141, at 120, 122. Ḥayātī's account of Shāh-Pāshā Khātūn's marriage was appropriated by Ḥasan Beg Rūmlū (fl. 985/1577), who wrote his chronicle some twenty-five years later (*Aḥsan al-tavārikh*, 904). In fact, Rūmlū took over verbatim relatively large portions of Ḥayātī's account of Junayd and Ḥaydar as well as the early stages of Shah Ismā'īl's "uprising" in Gilān and Azerbaijan in 905–906/1499–1500 without mentioning him as his source (approximately fifteen pages: Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tavārikh*, 903–12; 940–44; Ḥayātī Tabrizī, *Tārikh*, 123v–128r, 138v–142r).

were to play an instrumental role in Ismāʿīl's safe passage from Gilān to Ardabīl via Ṭālish on the eve of his invasion of Azerbaijan.⁷¹

Ḥayātī's narrative brings into clearer focus the fate of Ḥaydar's own family. He tells us that ten sons and four daughters survived him from his marriage to Uzun Ḥasan's daughter and from concubinage with women of Circassian and Georgian origin.⁷² This contradicts the claim made in almost every Ṣafavid narrative source that only three sons survived Ḥaydar. The only Ṣafavid-era historian who confirmed that "numerous children" had survived Ḥaydar was Zāhidī, writing in the latter part of the seventeenth century.⁷³ Ḥaydar's oldest son, Sulṭān-ʿAlī, was born in 874/1469f.; his mother was Uzun Ḥasan's daughter. Four years later, in 878/1473f., Ḥaydar's second son, Sayyid Ḥasan Mīrẓā, was born to Shaykh Jaʿfar's daughter; he was to play a prominent part in Shah Ismāʿīl's rise to power, first as an army commander and then as chief superintendent of the Ṣafavid shrine in Ardabīl. Fakhr-i Jahān Khānum, the oldest of Ḥaydar's four daughters, was married off to Bayrām Beg Qarāmānlū (d. 920/1514), an influential tribal chief from Mughānāt.⁷⁴ Her younger sister, Malaka Khānum, was given away in marriage to ʿAbdallāh Khān Shāmlū, also known as ʿAbdī Beg (d. 912/1506f.), a high-ranking Qizilbāsh military chief from Ardabīl and the eponymous founder of the ʿAbdāllu clan of the Shāmlū.⁷⁵

The names of Shah Ismāʿīl's two other sisters are not given, but Ḥayātī records that one was married to Ḥusayn Beg Shāmlū (d. 920/1514), who later became Shah Ismāʿīl's guardian (*lala*), and the other to Shāh-ʿAlī Beg Sāsānī (d. after 920/1514), the ruler of Hazo and Sason in Anatolian Kurdistan, who claimed descent from the Sasanid kings of Iran.⁷⁶ In his account of Shaykh Ḥaydar's descendants, the Venetian merchant Francesco Romano mixed up ʿAlī Beg Sāsānī with the Ayyūbid ruler of Siirt, Malik Khalīl b. Sulaymān (d. after 907/1501), claiming that the latter had abducted and forcibly married a daughter of Shaykh Ḥaydar shortly after the news of the latter's death reached the fortress town of Ḥasankayf, where Shah Ismāʿīl's sisters lived.⁷⁷ In her study of female members of the Ṣafavid royal household in the early part of the sixteenth century, Maria Szuppe claims that Shaykh Ḥaydar fathered another daughter, who was later married off to Qarā Khān Ustājilū.⁷⁸ The source on

71. Ḥayātī Tabrizī, *Tārīkh*, 129r.

72. Ibid., 73v. There is also a mention that Ḥaydar fathered "around twenty" children; see J. Aubin, "Révolution chiite et conservatisme: Les Soufis de Lāhejān, 1500–1514 (Etudes safavides. II)," *Moyen Orient et Océan Indien* 1 (1984): 1–40, at 4. Drawing on ʿAbd al-Karīm Nīmdihī's *Ṭabaqāt-i Maḥmūd-Shāhī*, which he began composing in Gujarat ca. 905/1499f., A. H. Morton states that "eleven" children survived Ḥaydar (Morton, "The Early Years of Shah Ismāʿīl in the *Afzal al-tavārikh* and Elsewhere," in *Safavid Persia: The History and Politics of an Islamic Society*, ed. C. P. Melville [London: I. B. Tauris, 1996], 27–51, at 33, 48 n. 53). Interestingly, Nīmdihī does not mention Ismāʿīl among Ḥaydar's children. On the date of Nīmdihī's chronicle, see J. Aubin, "Indo-Islamica I: La Vie et l'œuvre de Nīmdihī," *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* 33,1 (1965): 61–81, at 78.

73. Pīrẓāda Zāhidī, *Silsilat*, 68.

74. For more on Bayrām Beg Qarāmānlū, see Ghereghlou, "Cashing in on Land and Privilege," 119.

75. On ʿAbdī Beg Shāmlū's career under Shah Ismāʿīl and his death, which took place during clashes with a group of Kurdish "rebels" outside Urmia, see Aḥmad Ghaffārī Qazvīnī, *Tārīkh-i jahānārā* (Tehran: Kitābfurūshī-i Ḥāfīz, 1343sh/1964), 270.

76. Ghereghlou, "Cashing in on Land and Privilege," 107; on ʿAlī Beg's family background, see Bidlīsī, *Sharafnāma*, 1: 411.

77. [Francesco Romano], "Viaggio d'un mercante che fu nella Persia," in *Navigazioni e viaggi*, ed. G. B. Ramusio and M. Milanese, 6 vols. (Torino: Einaudi, 1978–88), 3: 421–79, at 432. On the authorship of this travelogue, see Aubin, "Chroniques persanes," 255–59. For more on Malik Khalīl, who soon after Shah Ismāʿīl's ascent to the throne was arrested and imprisoned in Tabriz, see Bidlīsī, *Sharafnāma*, 1: 155–56; Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli, *Kūnhū'l-ahbār: Dördüncü rükn, Osmanlı tarihi*, facsimile ed. of Ms. Türk Tarih Kurumu Kütüphanesi, Y-546, 2 vols. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2009–14), 1: 240v.

78. Szuppe, "Participation des femmes," 215, 238, 249.

which Szuppe's claim is based, however, Fażlı Beg Khūzānī Işfahānī's account of the reign of the second Şafavid ruler ʿTaḥmāsp, shows that the princess in question, Fāṭīma-Sulṭān Begum, was a daughter (*şabiyya*) of Shah Ismā'īl.⁷⁹ As to Sayyid Ḥasan Mīrzā, Ḥayātī's *Tārīkh* remains the sole Persian narrative source that records the details of his life and career following the death in 898/1492 of Ḥaydar's oldest son and successor, Sulṭān-ʿAlī. Additionally, Ḥayātī is unique in giving Sulṭān-ʿAlī's date and place of birth: Rajab 874/January or February 1470 in Shamāsbī, a small village outside Ardabīl.⁸⁰

THE ŞAFAVIDS IN THE ASCENDANT, 851–93/1447–88

In Ḥayātī's *Tārīkh*, Junayd and Ḥaydar emerge as the real founders of the Şafavid dynasty. Throughout his chronicle, Ḥayātī calls Junayd *shāh*, giving him the royal *kunya* Abū l-Faṭḥ. Similarly, Ḥaydar bears the epithet Shujā' al-Dīn.⁸¹ Both leaders are cast in the role of military heroes and conquerors, on a par with the Qaraqyunlu and Aqquyunlu rulers of Azerbaijan and Diyarbakir. Likewise, Sayfī Qazvīnī considers Junayd the true founder of the Şafavid dynasty.⁸²

The strength of Ḥayātī's account of Junayd's life and military career lies in the new details it contains with respect to his flight to Diyarbakir under Uzun Ḥasan. Ḥayātī asserts that shortly after Junayd was banished from Ardabīl by Jahānshāh, he received a letter from Uzun Ḥasan in which the Aqquyunlu ruler of eastern Anatolia offered him asylum in Diyarbakir. In the letter, as reproduced in Ḥayātī's *Tārīkh*, Uzun Ḥasan calls Junayd "a *sayyid* of Ḥusaynī descent," promising him unswerving support against his enemies in Azerbaijan.⁸³ No date is given for this letter, but it is likely to have been written and sent in the middle of the 1450s. Perhaps Uzun Ḥasan sent it early in 859/1455, at the end of the year in which Junayd arrived in Diyarbakir, where he married a blood sister of the Aqquyunlu ruler. During his stay in Diyarbakir, Junayd was occupied with preparing his army of devotees for a military campaign against the Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond. According to Ḥayātī's account, Junayd spent four years at the court of Uzun Ḥasan.⁸⁴ This assertion seems accurate if he did indeed arrive in the Aqquyunlu capital in 859/1455. A summary of Ḥayātī's account of Junayd's travels in eastern Anatolia and his subsequent campaigns against Sharvān is reproduced in Ḥasan Beg Rūmlū's universal history, *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*.⁸⁵

Ḥayātī tells us nothing about Junayd's travels and activities in the principality of Karaman and the province of Aleppo in the Mamluk sultanate early in the 1450s. Prior to his arrival in Karaman, he had a short stay in Konya, where he lodged in Şadr al-Dīn Qunavī's (d. 673/1274) cloister (*zāwiya*). At this time Junayd received a cash gift of 1,000 *akçes* from the Ottoman sultan Murād II (r. 1421–44, 1446–51), who was serving his second term as sultan. Junayd is reported to have spent it on hiring a group of local scribes to copy for him the complete oeuvre of Qunavī's mentor and stepfather, Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), using the autograph editions available in the *zāwiya*'s library. During his stay at the Qunavī *zāwiya*, Junayd had an altercation with its head, a certain Shaykh ʿAbd al-Laṭīf,

79. Khūzānī Işfahānī, *Afzal al-tavārīkh*, mujallad-i duvvum, 202v.

80. Ḥayātī Tabrizī, *Tārīkh*, 73v.

81. *Ibid.*, 73r, 78v, *passim*.

82. Sayfī Qazvīnī, *Lubb*, 269.

83. Ḥayātī Tabrizī, *Tārīkh*, 80v.

84. Ḥayātī Tabrizī, *Tārīkh*, 81r–v; see also Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, 602.

85. Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, 601–4.

over the right of the Prophet Muḥammad's descendants to succeed him as caliph.⁸⁶ Junayd therefore left for southwestern Anatolia, where he visited Varsak and Tekke, two nomadic and rural settlements in Karaman. He eventually ended up in Arsus, a mountainous and forested area in Antakya, off the coast of the Gulf of Iskenderun. There he was joined by a group of veteran Turkmen combatants and local notables who had once fought with the rebel Sufi and free thinker, Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd Simāwī (d. 816/1420), against the Ottomans.⁸⁷ Junayd also had a brief stay in Kilis, a rural town some thirty miles north of Aleppo, where he is reported to have funded and supervised the construction of a mosque and public baths. In Antakya Junayd was rumored to have "lived the life of a king" among his followers, raising the suspicion of Mamluk authorities in Aleppo. In Ramaḥān 861/August 1457, a Sharia court in Aleppo sentenced Junayd in absentia to death on account of apostasy and false claim to mahdīship.⁸⁸

Ḥayātī's account of Junayd's invasion of Trebizond is terse and laconic. Secondary literature has shown us that Junayd's capture of Trebizond took place in the first half of the summer of 860/1456 following the outbreak of a plague epidemic in the city, which eventually forced him and his troops to withdraw to Diyarbakir.⁸⁹ According to an early sixteenth-century Greek-language anonymous chronicler,

Before Trebizond had fallen [to Junayd], there had been a plague and the emperor and all noblemen had moved to a place by the sea; suddenly Shah [*sic*] Junayd attacked with his army and put numerous people to death, killing the foremost citizens and those brave enough to carry arms. [. . .] He seized a fortune in horses and weapons before he withdrew. When Sultan Mehmed discovered that a *derviş* had won such a victory, he marched and seized Trebizond.⁹⁰

Ḥayātī tells us nothing about the outbreak of plague that forced the emperor David Megas Komnenos (r. 1459–61) and his forces out of Trebizond on the eve of Junayd's invasion. Casting Junayd in the role of a *ghāzī* hero, he reports that upon the fall of the city, Junayd and his army of some 5,000 Sufi fighters and looters smashed open, robbed, and set ablaze all churches in Trebizond. Ḥayātī notes that Junayd had planned to pay a visit to Ardabīl immediately after his capture of Trebizond, but Jahānshāh and Ja'far joined forces to block his passage into Azerbaijan, a move that eventually forced Junayd and his troops to mount in haste a new campaign against Kvarkvara the Great II (r. 1451–98), the Jakilid governor (*sipahsālār*) of the Samtzkhe Saatabago, who was a regional ally of the Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond.⁹¹ According to Ḥayātī, Junayd launched his campaign against Samtzkhe from Ḥasankayf, which can be taken to imply that he had received logistic support from Uzun

86. Derviş Ahmet Aşıkpaşazade, *Târih*, ed. Â. Bey (Istanbul: Maḥba'a-yi 'Âmira, 1914), 265–66; cf. A. Allouche, *The Origins and Development of the Ottoman-Şafavid Conflict (906–962/1500–1555)* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1983), 165.

87. Aşıkpaşazade, *Târih*, 266; cf. Morton, "Early Years," 39.

88. Sibṭ Ibn al-'Ajamī al-Ḥalabī, *Kunūz al-dhahab fī ta'riḫ Ḥalab*, ed. Sh. Sha'ath and F. al-Bakkūr, 2 vols. (Aleppo: Dār al-Qalam al-'Arabī, 1997), 2: 284–88; Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī, *Durr al-ḥabab fī ta'riḫ a'yān Ḥalab*, ed. M. Ḥ. al-Fākhūrī and Y. Z. 'Abbāra, 2 vols. (Damascus: Wizārat al-Thaqāfa, 1972–73), 2: 231.

89. R. M. Shukurov, *Velikie Komniny i Vostok (1204–1461)* (St. Petersburg: Aleteia, 2001), 304–15; idem, "The Campaign of Shaykh Djunayd Şafawī against Trebizond (1456 AD/860 H)," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 17,1 (1993): 127–40, at 134; M. F. Kırzioğlu, *Osmanlılar'ın Kafkas-Elleri'ni fethi (1451–1590)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1993), 24.

90. Anonymous, *Emperors, Patriarchs and Sultans of Constantinople, 1373–1513*, tr. M. Philippides (Brookline, Mass.: Hellenic College Press, 1990), 125.

91. For more on the Samtzkhean ruler's relations with the Komnenoi and territorial claims over Trebizond, see K. Salia, *History of the Georgian Nation* (Paris: Nino Salia, 1983), 225–27.

Ḥasan for his invasion of Georgia. On his way from Samtzkhe to southern Dagestan, however, Junayd and his troops were cut off and suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the joint armies of Jahānshāh and the Sharvānshāh, Khalilallāh (r. 810–67/1407–62). The main battle was fought in Tābasarān,⁹² a cluster of rural towns and nomadic settlements north-west of Derbent. The date given in Ḥayātī's narrative for Junayd's defeat and beheading on the Tābasarān battlefield is 10 Jumādā I 864/12 March 1460.⁹³ In Ṣafavid historiography, Junayd's death is commonly assumed to have occurred in 860/1456f.⁹⁴ Zāhidī claims that Junayd was twenty at the time of the battle of Tābasarān,⁹⁵ yet Ḥayātī gives Junayd's age at death as thirty-five, which would mean that he was born in 829/1425.⁹⁶ Junayd's remains were reburied in Ardabīl early in the 1460s.⁹⁷

Ḥaydar's early years are dealt with closely in Ḥayātī's *Tārīkh*, as noted above. Ḥaydar's marriage to a daughter of Shaykh Ja'far, the spiritual leader of the *ṭarīqa* in Ardabīl,⁹⁸ meant that the Qaraqyunlu regime's attempts to limit Ḥaydar's movements and activities in Ardabīl began to loosen, such that early in the 1470s scores of his devotees from Anatolia and Qarājādāgh were allowed permanent residence in Ardabīl—by the end of the reign of Jahānshāh some six hundred Sufis along with their families had taken up residence there, according to Ḥayātī.⁹⁹ During his years in Ardabīl, Ḥayātī Tabrizī points out, Ḥaydar was trained by a locally prominent swordsmith, Amīr Faẓllallāh Sayyāf, who following Ḥaydar's death in 893/1488 was to act for a while as the deputy (*vakīl*) of his oldest son and successor, Sulṭān-ʿAlī. Ḥaydar soon mastered the art of swordmaking, which eventually brought him fame and fortune. He is reported to have turned his father's mansion in ʿAlī Qāpū Square (*maydān*) of Ardabīl into a swordmaking workshop. Ḥayātī tells us that under Shah Ṭahmāsp the swords and daggers made in Ḥaydar's workshop were still in high demand in Azerbaijan and Anatolia.¹⁰⁰ According to Ḥayātī, during his tenure as spiritual leader of the Ṣafaviyya, Ḥaydar invented a uniform headgear (*tāj-i Ḥaydarī*) for his followers in Azerbaijan and beyond.¹⁰¹

92. Ḥayātī is correct in recording it as Tābasarān; other Ṣafavid chroniclers misspelled the place name as Tabarsarān.

93. Ḥayātī Tabrizī, *Tārīkh*, 85r–88v.

94. Būdāq Munshī Qazvinī, *Javāhir al-akhbār*, ed. M. R. Naṣīrī and K. Haneda (Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 1999), 11; Ghaffārī Qazvinī, *Jahānārā*, 262. Neither Amīnī Haravī nor Sayfī Qazvinī gives a date for this incident. This is also the case with Khvāndamīr; see Amīnī Haravī, *Futūḥāt*, 42–43; Sayfī Qazvinī, *Lubb*, 269; Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, 4: 426–46.

95. Pīrzāda Zāhidī, *Silsilat*, 68.

96. Ḥayātī Tabrizī, *Tārīkh*, 72v.

97. Amīnī Haravī, *Futūḥāt*, 43; see also V. Minorsky, *Persia in A.D. 1478–1490: An Abridged Translation of Faḍlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī's Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi Amīnī* (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1957), 65 n. 1.

98. Ḥayātī Tabrizī, *Tārīkh*, 91v. No other Ṣafavid-era narrative source brings up Ḥaydar's marriage to Shaykh Ja'far's daughter.

99. Ḥayātī Tabrizī, *Tārīkh*, 92r. For references to the presence of several hundreds of Ḥaydar's devotees in Ardabīl under the Aqqyunlu sultan Ya'qūb (886–96/1481–90), see Faẓllallāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī Iṣfahānī, *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlamārā-yi Amīnī*, ed. J. E. Woods (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1992), 272–73.

100. Ḥayātī Tabrizī, *Tārīkh*, 91v–92r, 116r. Relying on oral testimony, Khunjī Iṣfahānī (*ʿĀlamārā*, 275) states that Ḥaydar “was unequaled in the making of weaponry and tools of slashing and jabbing. I heard that he had personally made and stoked several thousands of sharp spear-heads and scimitars as well as pieces of armor and battle shields [in Ardabīl].”

101. Ḥayātī Tabrizī, *Tārīkh*, 91r. In an anti-Ṣafavid polemical treatise in Arabic titled *Risālāt fī ḥaqq tāʿīfat al-Ḥaydariyya*, whose appearance is assigned to the latter part of the fifteenth century, Ḥaydar and his followers are harshly criticized for putting on red-colored headgear; see M. Tan et al., “A Short Treatise on the Context of the Ottoman-Safavid Conflict,” *Islamic Quarterly* 54,4 (2008): 359–81, at 367–68.

Time-honored rivalries between the nomadic inhabitants of mountainous Ṭālīsh and the agriculturalist landed notables of the plains of Sālyān and Sharvān on the one hand and the Qaraqyunlu-Aqquyunlu wars in Azerbaijan on the other constitute the backdrop against which Ḥayātī chronicles Ḥaydar's rise and fall.¹⁰² According to Ḥayātī, Ḥaydar carried out three major expeditions—in southern Dagestan, southern Georgia, and the Kingdom of Sharvān. No other sixteenth-century narrative source in Persian can compare with Ḥayātī's account of Ḥaydar's campaigns when it comes to its detailed coverage of events.

Ḥayātī tells us that to avoid a military confrontation with the Sharvānshāh Farrukh-Yasār (867–906/1462–1500),¹⁰³ Ḥaydar secretly hired and stationed a group of Ṭālīshī lumbermen and woodworkers in a forested camp off the banks of Astarachay, where they built boats for his troops to use during their impending seaborne attack against Miyān-Qishlāq (Makhachkala?) in Dagestan. He posted another group of woodworkers to the forested banks of the Khānbaylī reservoir (present-day Khanbulan) outside the coastal village of Siyāvruḍ (present-day Siyavar) some ten miles south of Langarkunān (present-day Lankaran). This second group of woodworkers was ostensibly hired to erect a new wooden mausoleum on the site of Shaykh Zāhid Gīlānī's (d. 700/1301) tomb in Shaykha-Karān (present-day Shiekeran; also Hilya-Karān), a village about fifteen miles south of Langarkunān,¹⁰⁴ but, according to Ḥayātī, they were actually employed to make boats for Ḥaydar's impending military campaigns against Derbent and the dominantly Christian-populated rural towns of southern Dagestan.¹⁰⁵ After the completion of the mausoleum and its wooden dome in Rajab 888/August or September 1483, Ḥaydar issued a decree endorsing the rights of Shaykh Zāhid's descendants as benefactors and hereditary superintendents of the Zāhidiyya endowments in Shaykha-Karān.¹⁰⁶

Ḥayātī provides us with a short account of Ḥaydar's sea expeditions from Āstāra to Baku to the port cities of Aghrīcha and Miyān-Qishlāq and from there to Astrakhan on the delta of the Volga.¹⁰⁷ No specific date is given for these military campaigns, but from Ḥayātī's account it appears that Ḥaydar fought in southern Dagestan for the first time shortly after marrying Shaykh Ja'far's daughter (ca. 878/1473f.). According to Ḥayātī, Ḥaydar led his troops in two successful raids against the fortresses of Lam'āji and Almaq in Dagestan, where they fought and defeated an army of Qaytāq villagers in the plain of Ḥamīrī.¹⁰⁸ According to John Woods, who draws on Khunjī Iṣfahānī, Ḥaydar raided southern Dagestan a second time in 891/1486.¹⁰⁹ Yet Ḥayātī tells us that Ḥaydar invaded Dagestan a second time within

102. For a *tour d'horizon* of Ḥaydar's career, which is mainly based on Khunjī Iṣfahānī's account, see H. R. Roemer, *Persien auf dem Weg in die Neuzeit: Iranische Geschichte von 1350–1750* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2003), 234–39.

103. Throughout his account of Ḥaydar's career, Ḥayātī mixes up Farrukh-Yasār with his father, Khalīlallāh.

104. Ḥayātī mentions that a Ṭālīshī devotee of Ḥaydar called Shahsuvār Beg held office as governor of Langarkunān at this time. On Zāhid's tomb in Shaykha-Karān, see 'A. Ghaffārfard, "Khāstgāh-i niyākān-i Shaykh Zāhid va maḥall-i kunūnī-i ārāmgāh-i ū," *Pazhūhishnāma-yi tārikh* 3,4 (1387sh/2008): 65–81. Details given in Ḥayātī's history concerning the location of Zāhid's tomb question the validity of the commonly held view that it is outside Lāhījān. For a description of the tomb attributed to Shaykh Zāhid in Lāhījān, see M. Sūtūda, *Az Āstāra tā Istārbād*, vol. 2: *Āthār va banāhā-yi tārikhī Gīlān-i Biyah-Pīsh* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Āgah, 1374sh/1995), 148–57.

105. Ḥayātī Tabrīzī, *Tārikh*, 100v–101r.

106. For the text of Ḥaydar's *farmān*, see Pīrzāda Zāhidī, *Silsilat*, 103–4; cf. Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg*, 81; Woods, *Aqquyunlu*, 142; see also Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tavārikh*, 864–67.

107. Ḥayātī Tabrīzī, *Tārikh*, 93r–94r.

108. *Ibid.*, 94r–99r. Elsewhere, it is claimed that Ḥaydar's first expedition against Dagestan was overland and took place about five years later in 883/1478; see Khunjī Iṣfahānī, *Ālamārā*, 276–77.

109. Woods, *Aqquyunlu*, 142, from Khunjī Iṣfahānī, *Ālamārā*, 277.

a year or two of his first expedition.¹¹⁰ From Ḥayātī's account we know that Ḥaydar's third and last military campaign was against the Sharvānshāh Farrukh-Yasār. His forces laid a successful siege on Maḥmūdābād, where Ḥaydar ordered the massacre of local landed notables along with their families.¹¹¹ The historic enmity of the landed notables of Sharvān, known locally as the Qarābörk (black-caps), toward the Ṣafavids, which Fazlī Beg Khūzānī Iṣfahānī remarks on in the first part of the seventeenth century, seems to have been rooted in Ḥaydar's ruthless suppression of their predecessors during his last military campaign.¹¹² The bloodshed in Maḥmūdābād preceded the major battle that was fought between the Ṣafavid loyalists and the joint armies of Farrukh-Yasār and the Aqqyunlu sultan Ya'qūb outside Gulistān Castle.¹¹³ Ḥaydar tried to mount a surprise attack on Bayqird Castle outside Shamākhī, but an army of 4,000 Qājār fighters from Qarābāgh led by the Aqqyunlu military commander Sulaymān Beg Bīchkīn cut him off; during the clashes that followed Ḥaydar was wounded fatally and beheaded on the battlefield.¹¹⁴ According to Ḥayātī, Ḥaydar was killed by mistake by one of his own troops, Shahsuvār Beg Ṭālīsh, the governor of Langarkunān.¹¹⁵ Ḥaydar's remains were transferred to and buried in Ardabīl, but his severed head was sent to Tabrīz, where it was put on display as a trophy hanging from one of the city's main gates.¹¹⁶ Eventually, a Ṭālīshī carpet merchant from Khalkhāl was permitted by the Aqqyunlu authorities in Tabrīz to take down and bury Ḥaydar's head in the 'Askariyya Cemetery next to a huge black rock, which was widely believed to have been touched by the Prophet Muḥammad. According to Ḥayātī, this black rock, which had been brought to Tabrīz by a medieval Turkish commander, was the site of popular pilgrimage and veneration.¹¹⁷

DYNASTIC TRANSITION, 893–914/1488–1508

When dealing with Sulṭān-'Alī's tenure as spiritual leader of the Ṣafaviyya, Ḥayātī focuses on the precarious balance of power that existed between him and the Aqqyunlu prince Rustam b. Maqṣūd b. Uzun Ḥasan, one of the many claimants to the throne in eastern Anatolia and Azerbaijan, who had recently been set free from the Alanjiq Castle in Nakhjivān by the influential kingmaker, Ayba-Sulṭān Bāyandur.¹¹⁸ Ḥaydar's family was rounded up after his death and sent as prisoners to Iṣṭakhr Castle in Fars, which at that time was controlled by the Purnak clan of the Aqqyunlu. Ismā'īl was then roughly six years old.¹¹⁹ Ḥayātī also deals

110. Ḥayātī Tabrīzī, *Tārīkh*, 101r–v.

111. *Ibid.*, 102v.

112. Khūzānī Iṣfahānī, *Afzal al-tavārīkh*, mujallad-i duvvum, 133v.

113. Ḥayātī Tabrīzī, *Tārīkh*, 104v–105r.

114. *Ibid.*, 105r–108r. In 911/1505 Shah Ismā'īl ordered the arrest and execution of a group of tribal militia in Azerbaijan that had taken part in the battle that resulted in Ḥaydar's death (see *infra*, n. 157). The correct spelling of Sulaymān Beg's epithet is not Bījan, but Bīchkīn ("strongman"; also Turkish slang for "thug"). For Ṣafavid-era chroniclers, this latter sense suited him, given his direct involvement in Ḥaydar's downfall.

115. Ḥayātī Tabrīzī, *Tārīkh*, 107v. Again, Ḥasan Beg Rūmlū (*Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, 868–69) reproduced parts of Ḥayātī's account of Ḥaydar's death almost verbatim with no acknowledgement.

116. Ḥayātī Tabrīzī, *Tārīkh*, 108r; see also [Romano], "Viaggio d'un mercante," 459–60.

117. Ḥayātī Tabrīzī, *Tārīkh*, 108r. He adds that under Shah Ismā'īl, the Ṣafavid ruler's tutor, Shams al-Dīn Lāhījī, arranged to rebury Ḥaydar's skull beside his remains in Ardabīl.

118. Amīnī Haravī, *Futūḥāt*, 63; Ḥusayn Karbalā'ī Tabrīzī, *Rawḍāt al-jinān wa-jannāt al-janān*, ed. Y. Sulṭān al-Qurrā'ī, 2 vols. (Tehran: Bungāh-i Tarjuma va Nashr-i Kitāb, 1344–49sh/1965–70), 1: 526; cf. Woods, *Aqqyunlu*, 154.

119. Ḥayātī Tabrīzī, *Tārīkh*, 109r. This runs counter to all other early Ṣafavid narrative sources, which claim that he was a newborn at the time of Ḥaydar's death.

with Sulṭān-ʿAlī's involvement in the Aqquyunlu wars of succession that broke out immediately after Sultan Ya'qūb's death in 896/1490. Early in the 1490s Sulṭān-ʿAlī had an army of 12,000 Sufi fighters under his command, mainly stemming from Anatolia and Qarājādāgh, a cluster of mountainous rural towns and nomadic settlements northwest of Ardabīl.¹²⁰ Ranked among the most distinguished military chiefs in Sulṭān-ʿAlī's service was Qarā-Pīrī Qājār, a tribal leader from Qarābāgh, who led the troops during their crushing victory outside Darjazīn in Hamadān against Köse Ḥājī b. Shaykh Ḥasan Bāyandur, the Aqquyunlu governor of Iṣfahān and a close ally of prince Bāysunghur and his father-in-law, Farrukh-Yasār.¹²¹ Amīnī Haravī and Ghaffārī Qazvīnī record Sulṭān-ʿAlī's participation in the battle of Ahar, during which Ayba-Sulṭān Bāyandur defeated and killed prince Bāysunghur.¹²²

According to Ḥayātī, soon after Rustam Beg's ascent to the Aqquyunlu throne, Sulṭān-ʿAlī and his army of Sufi fighters left Qarājādāgh for Ganja.¹²³ From Ganja, they mounted an attack against the Kingdom of Kakheti in southern Georgia, where they ransacked the fortress town of Gūrī. Early in the summer of 898/1493 Sulṭān-ʿAlī and his troops entered Ardabīl and received a hero's welcome from their local supporters, alarming the Aqquyunlu ruler Rustam Beg, who immediately summoned Ḥaydar's two oldest sons, Sulṭān-ʿAlī and Sayyid Ḥasan Mīrzā, to Tabrīz.¹²⁴ Instead, Sulṭān-ʿAlī's mother, the Aqquyunlu princess Martha (also known as Ḥulya¹²⁵), left Ardabīl for Tabrīz to convince Rustam not to kill her son and his stepbrother during their stay there. Her intervention was successful and both brothers were put under house arrest in Ivoghli, a small village some twenty miles northeast of Khoy. Within a few weeks of their arriving in Khoy, they escaped to the mountainous suburbs of Ardabīl, where they were cut off by the Aqquyunlu troops; in the clashes that ensued Sulṭān-ʿAlī was killed and his severed head was sent to Tabrīz. According to Ḥayātī, Sulṭān-ʿAlī's death took place late in the summer of 898/1493.¹²⁶

Ḥayātī's *Tārīkh* includes a detailed account of Ismāʿīl's escape from Ardabīl, which is based on testimonies of a number of those Sufi fighters who either personally witnessed those events or took part in escorting Ismāʿīl on his flight from Ardabīl to Lāhijān and subsequent "uprising" in 906/1500.¹²⁷ While Ḥayātī's account highlights the role played by the Anatolian stalwarts of the Ṣafavid cause in Erzincan and Bayburt, Ḥasan Beg Rūmlū, who otherwise takes over the wording in large part, elects to censor Ḥayātī's references to the course of events in eastern Anatolia. Specifically, he does not reproduce Ḥayātī's account of Ismāʿīl's arrival in Erzincan sub anno 905/1499f., during which he was joined by a contingent of high-ranking Anatolian Sufi fighters.¹²⁸ Rūmlū and other Ṣafavid chroniclers of the

120. Ḥayātī Tabrīzī, *Tārīkh*, 111v.

121. Ḥayātī Tabrīzī, *Tārīkh*, 113r. On Qara-Pīrī's career, see Khūzānī Iṣfahānī, *Afzal al-tavārīkh*, mujallad-i avval, 112r, 115r; Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, 973; Ghereghlou, "Cashing in on Land and Privilege," 110. Woods (*Aqquyunlu*, 155) ignores the role played by the Ṣafavid troops in the defeat of Köse-Ḥājī.

122. Amīnī Haravī, *Futūḥāt*, 65; Ghaffārī Qazvīnī, *Jahānārā*, 263. In his account of Bāysunghur's downfall, Khvāndamīr (*Ḥabīb al-siyar*, 4: 437) makes no mention of Sulṭān-ʿAlī's role. For more on the battle of Ahar, see Woods, *Aqquyunlu*, 155, 278 n. 20.

123. No other early Ṣafavid narrative source mentions Sulṭān-ʿAlī's exploits in Ganja.

124. Ḥayātī Tabrīzī, *Tārīkh*, 114r–115r.

125. In several sixteenth-century Persian chronicles her name appears as Ḥalīma, which seems to be a distorted form of Ḥulya.

126. Ḥayātī Tabrīzī, *Tārīkh*, 115v–119v.

127. *Ibid.*, 126v.

128. *Ibid.*, 126v, 142v–144r; Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, 945–46 (Rūmlū places Ismāʿīl's meeting with Sufi military chiefs sub anno 906/1500f. [p. 954]). In the winter of 906/1500f., during Ismāʿīl's stay in Erzincan, the Qizilbāsh military commanders decided to focus their military campaigns and territorial conquests on Azerbaijan

sixteenth century also omit mention of the involvement of a faction of Ṭālishī followers of the Ṣafaviyya *ṭarīqa*, led by Shāh-Pāshā Khātūn's husband, Muḥammad Beg, in an attempt against Ismā'īl's life on the eve of his travel to eastern Anatolia. According to Ḥayātī, rumors of Muḥammad Beg's involvement in the assassination plot proved unfounded and Ismā'īl spared him—for the time being.¹²⁹

Ḥayātī acknowledges Sayyid Ḥasan Mīrzā in the invasion of Sharvān (906/1500f.) as a competent military commander in charge of Ṣafavid vanguard units,¹³⁰ and makes a brief reference to the invasion of the coastal town of Shahr-i Naw in Sharvān immediately after Ismā'īl's crushing victory over Farrukh-Yasār at Gulistān Castle.¹³¹ After this account, Ḥayātī turns to the political feud between Sayyid Ḥasan Mīrzā and Ismā'īl. He tells us that Ismā'īl was intent on killing Sayyid Ḥasan, but their paternal aunt, Shāh-Pāshā Khātūn, intervened and saved his life.¹³² From a late sixteenth-century local history of Tabrīz, we know that it was about the same time that Sayyid Ḥasan's maternal uncle, Sayyid Qāsim b. Shaykh Ja'far Ṣafavī, fled to the Ottoman empire and ended up in Istanbul.¹³³ Shortly thereafter, Ismā'īl ordered the execution of Muḥammad Beg and appointed his brother-in-law, Ḥusayn Beg Shāmlū, as guardian (*lala*).¹³⁴ Following the battle of Sharūr in Nakhjivān, during which the Ṣafavids defeated the Aqqyunlu prince Alvand, forcing him to flee to the Ottomans, Ismā'īl entered Tabrīz and was enthroned as shah, establishing the regnal line. Ḥayātī states that he had heard from several witnesses that Shah Ismā'īl's enthronement took place in Tabrīz immediately after the battle of Sharūr on 1 Jumādā II 907/22 December 1501, making Ḥayātī's *Tārīkh* the only known narrative source to give the exact date of Shah Ismā'īl's ascent to the throne.¹³⁵ In addition, his *Tārīkh* includes a detailed account of Shah Ismā'īl's victory over the Aqqyunlu prince Murād in the battle of Ölma-Qulaqi, which was fought outside Hamadān late in Dhū l-Ḥijja 908/June 1503.¹³⁶

New details on Shah Ismā'īl's military campaigns in central Iran, including his conquest of Kāshān, Kirmān, Damāvand, Astarābād, Iṣfahān, and Yazd, are given. According to Ḥayātī, the Ṣafavids had trouble bringing Kāshān under their control in the summer of 909/1503.¹³⁷ The Ṣafavid troops set ablaze all granaries located outside the city walls and in its rural suburbs, which, according to a late sixteenth-century Sunni scholar, were predominantly Sunni-populated.¹³⁸ Ḥayātī adds that following the conquest of Kāshān, Shah

instead of eastern and central Anatolia. For more on the historical importance of Ismā'īl's winter encampment in Erzincan, see M. Haneda, *Le Châh et les Qizilbâš: Le Système militaire safavide* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1987), 96–99.

129. Ḥayātī Tabrizī, *Tārīkh*, 134v–136v. For his eventual execution, see below.

130. *Ibid.*, 150r, 151r.

131. *Ibid.*, 152r–v. This section is also edited out in Rūmlū's chronicle. Rūmlū ends his account of Farrukh-Yasār's downfall with a brief section on the Ṣafavid invasion of Baku (pp. 958–60), which is basically a slightly altered version of Ḥayātī's narrative (153v–155r).

132. Ḥayātī Tabrizī, *Tārīkh*, 156v–157r. This particular episode, too, is omitted in Rūmlū's narrative.

133. Karbalā'ī Tabrizī, *Rawḍāt*, 1: 217.

134. Ḥayātī Tabrizī, *Tārīkh*, 156v–157r. Sayyid Ḥasan soon was reinstated and during the battle of Sharūr ranked among the Ṣafavid military commanders (*ibid.*, 161r).

135. *Ibid.*, 164v. For the date of enthronement, 74r.

136. *Ibid.*, 166r–174r. For the date of this battle, 170r.

137. This is not mentioned in any of the other Ṣafavid sources; Khvādamīr (*Ḥabīb al-siyar*, 4: 473) claims that the Ṣafavids took the city peacefully. From Ḥayātī we also learn that Shah Ismā'īl's older brother Ibrāhīm was in charge of a contingent of Ṣafavid troops during the invasion of Kāshān (174v); cf. J. Aubin, "L'Avènement des Safavides reconsidéré (Etudes safavides. III)," *Moyen Orient & Océan Indien* 5 (1988): 1–130, at 49.

138. Mīrzā Makhḍūm Sharīfī Shirāzī, *al-Nawāqiḍ li-bunyān al-rawāfiḍ* (ms. British Library, Or. 7991), 128v–129r, where the violent suppression under Shah Ismā'īl of the Sunni denizens of Kāshān's rural outskirts,

Ismāʿīl ordered the forced migration to Qum of a group of local notables, including the self-proclaimed governor of the city, Jalāl al-Dīn Masʿūd Bīdgulī, where they were first put under house arrest and then beheaded.¹³⁹ Following the fall of Kāshān, the Ṣafavid troops captured Qazvīn.¹⁴⁰ The violent suppression of anti-Ṣafavid forces in Kāshān, where a group of Masʿūd Bīdgulī supporters were summarily executed, motivated the inhabitants of Qazvīn to abandon the path of resistance and surrender.¹⁴¹ According to Ḥayātī, Shah Ismāʿīl had a short stay in Qum after invading Kāshān, but according to others, he mounted his invasion of Shīrāz directly from Kāshān. Ḥayātī gives the date of Ismāʿīl's entering Shīrāz as Rabīʿ I 909/September 1503.¹⁴²

As to Kirmān, Ḥayātī states that on his way back from Shīrāz, Shah Ismāʿīl appointed Muḥammad Khan Ustājīlū to military chief of an army of 3,000 Qizilbāsh troops, charging him with the task of capturing the city. The Ṣafavid army laid siege to Kirmān and all pro-Aqquyunlu elements were put to the sword. A close relative of Muḥammad Khān, Aḥmad-Sulṭān Ṣufī-Oghlī Ustājīlū, was made the first Ṣafavid governor of Kirmān. Muḥammad Khan Ustājīlū then mounted an expedition against the Lagūrīs, a dominantly pagan ethnic group that inhabited an isolated cluster of villages in the central desert of Iran, and killed many of them.¹⁴³

Shah Ismāʿīl spent the winter of 909/1504 in Qum preparing his troops for an expedition against the mountainous fortress town of Firūzkūh in Māzandarān, where a contingent of Aqquyunlu military chiefs had taken refuge.¹⁴⁴ On 2 Shawwāl 909/29 March 1504, Shah Ismāʿīl captured Damāvand, where his troops, as Ḥayātī points out, massacred all inhabitants.¹⁴⁵ On 30 Shawwāl 909/25 April 1504, another group of Ṣafavid troops defeated a local military leader, ʿAlī Beg Kayānī, and seized Gulkhandān Castle some fifteen miles west of Damāvand. According to Ḥayātī, Ḥusayn Beg Chulāvī and Murād Beg Turkmān, who had fought against the Ṣafavids from Asta Castle in Firūzkūh, surrendered to Shah Ismāʿīl early in Dhū l-Ḥijja 909/late in May 1504.¹⁴⁶ In the same month the Ṣafavid shah sent his armies to Astarābād to reinstall as governor the Tīmūrid prince Muẓaffar-Ḥusayn Mīrẓā, who had allied himself with the Ṣafavids, defying his father, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā, the Tīmūrid ruler of Herat (r. 873–911/1469–1506). Ḥayātī tells us that following Muẓaffar-Ḥusayn

including Ārān, Bīdgul, Burzābād, ʿAlīābād, and Sāruābād, is recorded. See also J. Aubin, "Chiffres de population urbaine en Iran occidental autour de 1500," *Moyen Orient & Océan Indien* 3 (1986): 37–54, at 45.

139. On Masʿūd Bīdgulī as self-proclaimed governor of Kāshān, see Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tavārikh*, 978. For an account of Shah Ismāʿīl's visit to Qum, see Ḥusaynī Qumī, *Khulāṣat*, 79.

140. Ḥayātī Tabrizī, *Tārīkh*, 174v. Other sixteenth-century narrative sources fail to mention this.

141. Amīnī Haravī (*Futūḥāt*, 206–16) includes a lengthy account of Shah Ismāʿīl's stay in Kāshān, but he omits mention of the arrest and mass execution of local worthies. Neither Rūmlū (*Aḥsan al-tavārikh*, 986–87), whose account of Shah Ismāʿīl's invasion of Persian Iraq and Fars—clearly not taken now from Ḥayātī—is given sub anno 908/1502, nor Ḥusaynī Qumī deals with the fall of Kāshān. According to Hossein Modarressi, the Marʿashī family of *sayyids* allied themselves with the Ṣafavids and, headed by Ẓiyāʾ al-Dīn Nūrallāh (fl. 943/1536f.), helped them bring the city under their administrative control. At that time, the Marʿashīs ranked among the most prominent landed notables of Qazvīn and in 915/1509 Ẓiyāʾ al-Dīn Nūrallāh was Shah Ismāʿīl's envoy to the court of Muḥammad Khān Shībānī (d. 916/1511), the Uzbek ruler of Khurāsān. Likewise, the Daylamīs were among the most influential supporters of Shah Ismāʿīl in Qazvīn. See Ḥ. Mudarrisī-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Bargī az tārikh-i Qazvin* (Qum: Kitābkhāna-yi ʿUmūmī-i Āyatallāh Marʿashī, 1361sh/1982), 23–24, 59–60.

142. Ḥayātī Tabrizī, *Tārīkh*, 175r. Ghaffārī Qazvīnī (*Jahānārā*, 268) gives a precise date of 2 Rabīʿ II 909/4 October 1503.

143. Ḥayātī Tabrizī, *Tārīkh*, 176r–177v.

144. *Ibid.*, 178v.

145. *Ibid.*, 179r–v.

146. *Ibid.*, 181r–183r.

Mīrzā's recapture of Astarābād, Shah Ismā'īl wrote a letter to Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā, asking him to make peace with his son and recognize Astarābād as a Ṣafavid protectorate.¹⁴⁷ Then for three months, from Muḥarram to Rabī' I 910/June to September 1504, Shah Ismā'īl encamped in the grasslands of Kharaqān, located midway between Qazvīn and Hamadān, readying his troops to descend on Iṣfahān and Yazd in winter.¹⁴⁸

Ḥayātī's account of Shah Ismā'īl's capture of Iṣfahān, in Jumādā I 910/December 1504, and his campaign against Yazd the next month revolves around the life and activities of Muḥammad Karra, a military chief from Luristān, and his allies from among the landed and learned notables of both cities.¹⁴⁹ Muḥammad Karra came from an influential Shi'ī tribe in Kuhgīlūya affiliated with the Jūnakī tribal confederation of Luristān.¹⁵⁰ Under the Aqquyunlu, he was made *ra'īs* (local governor) of Dihshīr, a rural town eighty miles south of Yazd. Karra's support base was Abarkūh, a rural town some ninety-six miles south of Yazd, where the local judge, Mīr Quṭb al-Dīn Yūsif, who worked under Karra's cousin 'Īsā, had proclaimed him Mahdī.¹⁵¹ The political chaos that had ensued following the death of the Aqquyunlu Sultan Ya'qūb paved the way for Karra to bring Yazd under control. During his tenure as governor of Yazd, Karra affiliated with the Nūrbakhshī *ṭarīqa*, allying himself with some of its leading members in Yazd and Iṣfahān, including scions of the Mīr-Mīrān (Shahshahānī) family of *sayyids*, and with the chief judge Mīr Ḥusayn Maybudī.¹⁵²

Led by Shah Ismā'īl, the Ṣafavid troops laid siege to Yazd on 8 Rajab 910/25 December 1504; the main battle was fought on 6–7 Ramaẓān 910/20–21 February 1505. Karra and his local supporters, including the chief judge, were arrested. After his victorious return from a punitive expedition against Ṭabas,¹⁵³ and on his way back to Hamadān, Shah Ismā'īl stopped over in Iṣfahān where he ordered the mass execution of Muḥammad Karra and his supporters. These included the paterfamilias Mīr Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad Mīr-Mīrān Iṣfahānī, his three sons, Mīr Tāj al-Dīn Ḥasan, Mīr Jalāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd, and Mīr 'Aṭā'allāh, a close relative of Mīr Ḥusayn Maybudī of Yazd named Mīr Rukn al-Dīn, and a group of some two hundred relatives and backers of Muḥammad Karra from Abarkūh.¹⁵⁴ Visiting Iṣfahān's main square (*maydān*) in 1523, the Portuguese envoy Antonio Tenreiro still saw the mounds of charred bones of those killed eighteen years earlier.¹⁵⁵

147. *Ibid.*, 184r–185r. For Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā's reply to this letter, see Kh'āja 'Abdallāh Marvārid, *Sharafnāma* (ms. Istanbul Üniversitesi, F87), 29v–31r; German trans. in H. R. Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit: Das Šaraf-nāma des 'Abdallah Marwarid in kritischer Auswertung* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1952), 120–22.

148. Ḥayātī Tabrizī, *Tārīkh*, 186r–187r.

149. *Ibid.*, 187r–v.

150. On the Karra and Jūnakī confederation of Shi'ī tribes of Kuhgīlūya and Luristān, see Muḥammad Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī, *Tadhkira-yi Naṣrābādī*, ed. M. N. Naṣrābādī (Tehran: Asāfir, 1378sh/1999), 803.

151. Ḥayātī Tabrizī, *Tārīkh*, 187v; Qavāmi Shīrāzī, *Takmilat*, 44.

152. Ḥayātī Tabrizī, *Tārīkh*, 193r. Secondary literature has not covered the Nūrbakhshī/Mahdist clique in Yazd and Iṣfahān and its violent suppression under Shah Ismā'īl; see A. W. Dunietz, "Qāḍī Ḥusayn Maybudī of Yazd: Representative of the Iranian Provincial Elite in the Late Fifteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Chicago, 1990), 171–76; S. Bashir, *Messianic Hopes and Mystical Visions: The Nūrbakhshīya between Medieval and Modern Islam* (Columbia, SC: Univ. of South Carolina Press, 2003), 186–93.

153. Ḥayātī Tabrizī, *Tārīkh*, 188v–191r.

154. *Ibid.*, 193r.

155. António Tenreiro, "Itinerário," in *Itinerários da Índia a Portugal por terra*, ed. A. Baiáo (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1923), 21. For a detailed account of Shah Ismā'īl's conquest of Iṣfahān, which is mainly based on the oral testimony of a prominent family of local landed notables, see Khūzānī Iṣfahānī, *Afzal al-tavārīkh*, mujallad-i avval, 124v–126r.

A Zoroastrian priestly statement (*ravāyat*) to a group of Parsee religious dignitaries in Gujarat, dated 7 January 1511, contextualizes Ḥayātī's account. Drafted and signed by the high priest (*dastūr*) Marzbān b. Rustam b. Shah-Mardān, this *ravāyat* closes by invoking the apocalypse. Marzbān held the view that Shah Ismā'īl's rise to power in 907/1501 represented "an unmistakable sign" (*nishāna-yi taḥqīqī*) of the impending advent of the Zoroastrian messiah, Ūshīdar b. Zartusht, and the subsequent beginning of a millennium of Zoroastrian revival. He urged the Parsees of Gujarat to look carefully through all religious texts in their possession and write back to him if they come across any explicit or implicit prophecy with regard to Ismā'īl's rise to power as precursor to the promised apocalypse. Marzbān reminded his coreligionists in Gujarat that,

In our religion [. . .] there are a number of apocalyptic signs that portend the coming of [Ūshīdar b.] Zartusht, Pashūtān b. Vīstāspān, and Bahrām b. Hamāvānd. Of these signs one, which has come to pass as of late in an unmistakable manner, is the rise to power from the mountains of Turkistan of a king who wears a red cap (*tāj-i surkh*) as his royal emblem and seizes the province of Babylonia. Now nine years have passed since this mighty and blessed king ascended to the throne [and achieved all these accomplishments].¹⁵⁶

From the Zoroastrian perspective, Shah Ismā'īl's capture of the city saved their local population from an impending existential threat, which came in the form of a nascent Mahdist theocracy headed by the Nūrbakhshī *mutamahdī* (false claimant to mahdship) Muḥammad Karra and his supporters in Yazd, Abarkūh, and Iṣfahān. After Iṣfahān, Shah Ismā'īl spent the spring of 911/1505 in the plain of Takht-i Sulaymān, south of Sulṭāniyya.¹⁵⁷

Ḥayātī's account of the Ṣafavid invasion of the province of Arabian Iraq is preceded by a section dedicated to Shah Ismā'īl's visit to Hamadān, where he ordered the construction of a public garden (*chahār-bāgh*) outside the shrine of Sahl b. 'Alī, a descendant of the Prophet Muḥammad. Ḥayātī's account includes marginal notes in a different hand, reporting that Ismā'īl had ordered as well the foundation of a village, called Parī-Kandī after the name of one of his favorite concubines, within walking distance from the Sahl b. 'Alī shrine complex. In the margin are also references to the construction of a watermill, a water reservoir, and a lakefront gazebo outside Parī-Kandī.¹⁵⁸

In its contours, Ḥayātī's account of the Ṣafavid invasion of Baghdad overlaps with what we know from the writings of Amīnī Haravī and Khvāndamīr. There are additional details, however, with regard to alliances Shah Ismā'īl forged with the Shi'ī tribes of Arabian Iraq. He tells us that on the occasion of Ismā'īl's victory against the Aqquyunlu governor of Baghdad, Bāyrāq Beg Purnak, an assemblage of *sayyids* of the shrine cities of Najaf, Karbala, and Kāzīmayn, led by the Shi'ī jurist, 'Alī al-Karakī (d. 940/1535), welcomed him. Grandees of the Musā'īd, Muzāḥīm, and 'Isā *sayyid* clans of Karbala are reported to have accompanied al-Karakī during his meeting with Shah Ismā'īl in Baghdad.¹⁵⁹ Ḥayātī also describes Shah Ismā'īl's visit to Najaf and Ḥilla, which ended with a punitive expedition against a group of

156. Jung (ms. Majlis Library, 17341), 210v–211r. With Turkistan and Babylonia, Marzbān clearly is speaking of Azerbaijan and Arabian Iraq. For more on this, see my "On the Margins of Minority Life: The Zoroastrians and the State in Safavid Iran," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 80.1 (2017): 45–71.

157. According to Ḥayātī (*Tārīkh*, 193v), it was here where Shah Ismā'īl ordered the arrest and mass execution of the Qājār military chiefs who had taken part in the battle of Tābasarān, during which Shaykh Ḥaydar was killed. See also Qavāmī Shirāzī, *Takmilat*, 44.

158. Ḥayātī Tabrīzī, *Tārīkh*, 197r–199r.

159. *Ibid.*, 204v.

Sunni Arab “bandits” called Qurna.¹⁶⁰ The destruction of Abū Ḥanīfa’s tomb in Baghdad as well as Ismā‘īl’s trip to Sāmarrā’ and to the ruins of the Sasanid palace in al-Madā’in and the tomb of the Prophet’s companion, Salmān al-Fārsī, are also chronicled in Ḥayātī’s *Tārīkh*.¹⁶¹ However, Ḥayātī does not mention the mass execution of pro-Aqquyunlu elements in Baghdad which was carried out by the Qizilbāsh army commander Dīv ‘Alī Beg Rūmlū and his military underlings.¹⁶²

Ḥayātī concludes his narrative abruptly with a brief section on Shah Ismā‘īl’s invasion of Ḥuvayza (Khūzistān). Emphasis is given to the Ṣafavid’s alliance with the Musha‘sha‘ī governor of Shūshtar, Fayyāz b. Muḥammad Naṣrallāh, and his vizier, Mīr Shujā‘ al-Dīn Asadallāh Mar‘ashī Shūshtarī.¹⁶³ According to Ḥayātī, rivalries between Fayyāz and his Musha‘sha‘ī cousins in Ḥuvayza prepared the way for Shah Ismā‘īl to bring the province under his effective control.¹⁶⁴ Mīr Asadallāh was eventually promoted to *ṣadr* (minister of religious affairs and endowments) under Shah Ṭahmāsp.¹⁶⁵

CONCLUSION

Ḥayātī’s *Tārīkh* contains new details on various aspects of the pre-dynastic and dynastic phases of Ṣafavid history. Parts of his narrative have been reproduced verbatim by the late sixteenth-century Ṣafavid court chronicler Ḥasan Beg Rūmlū, who omitted mention of his source. In its first two parts, it focuses on the formative years of the Ṣafaviyya *ṭarīqa* with special reference to internal dynamics of leadership among Ṣafī al-Dīn Ishāq Ardabīlī’s descendants. It then segues into the administrative history of the Ṣafavid shrine complex in Ardabīl during the course of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and the early part of the sixteenth centuries, shedding new light on the physical expansion of the shrine and successive generations of its superintendents. The focus then switches to Junayd and Ḥaydar, providing us with new details concerning their lives and careers as spiritual leaders of the *ṭarīqa* and true founders of the Ṣafavid dynasty. Unlike other sixteenth-century chroniclers whose accounts of the pre-dynastic phase of Ṣafavid history are based on *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā*, Ḥayātī adds new and occasionally important details to what we know from *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā* about Ṣafī al-Dīn’s descendants and successors. As far as the pre-dynastic phase of the Ṣafavid history is concerned, the strength of Ḥayātī’s narrative lies in its detailed coverage of the administrative history of the Ṣafavid shrine in Ardabīl. Furthermore, his *Tārīkh* is rich in first-hand details about the early Ṣafavid shaykhs, Junayd and Ḥaydar.

For Ismā‘īl’s rise to the throne and his military victories in the opening decade of the sixteenth century, Ḥayātī draws inter alia on testimony from a number of Sufi fighters who either personally witnessed those events or tagged along with Ismā‘īl during his years in Gīlān. In particular, he provides us with new details of Ismā‘īl’s early political alliances

160. *Ibid.*, 207r–208r.

161. *Ibid.*, 208r–209v.

162. Amīnī Haravī, *Futūḥāt*, 297; Khurshāh b. Qubād Ḥusaynī, *Tārīkh-i ilchī-i Niẓām-shāh*, ed. M. R. Naṣīrī (Tehran: Anjuman-i Āthār va Mafākhir-i Farhangī, 1379sh/2000), 35; Aubin, “Révolution chiite,” 4.

163. After receiving a letter from Fayyāz and Mīr Asadallāh Shūshtarī, in which they both pledged their allegiance to the Ṣafavids, Ismā‘īl invaded Ḥuvayza. Ḥayātī Tabrizī, *Tārīkh*, 210v–212r.

164. Fayyāz had fought against the Qizilbāsh troops during the Ṣafavid invasion of Luristān; see Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad Shūshtarī, *Tārīkh-i Musha‘sha‘īyān* (ms. Majlis Library, 8934), 10v–11r.

165. Iskandar Beg Munshī Turkmān, *Tārīkh-i ‘ālamārā-yi ‘abbāsī*, ed. I. Afshār (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1334sh/1956), 149; Engl. trans. R. M. Savory, *History of Shah ‘Abbas the Great* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1978), 238; M. Ḥ. Ṭīhrānī, *Ṭabaqāt al-‘ālam al-Shī‘a*, 17 vols. (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī, 2000), 7: 20.

that he forged with political worthies and powerbrokers in Ṭālish, Sharvān, and Azerbaijan, as well as of his military campaigns in central Iran. We learn new details about the Ṣafavid conquest of Kāshān, Kirmān, Damāvand, and Astarābād, and Ḥayātī's *Tārīkh* brings into sharper focus how Shah Ismā'īl's invasion of the province of Persian Iraq toppled the Mahdist governor of Yazd, Muḥammad Karra. In its description of the Ṣafavid invasion of Baghdad, Ḥayātī's narrative corresponds to the writings of Amīnī Haravī and Khvādamīr, but further particulars can be found with respect to the political clout that the early Ṣafavids wielded among the Shi'ī tribes of Arabian Iraq and Ḥuvayza.