THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

"CHAGHATAY ORATION, OTTOMAN ELOQUENCE, QIZILBASH RHETORIC": TURKIC

LITERATURE IN ṢAFAVID PERSIA

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BY

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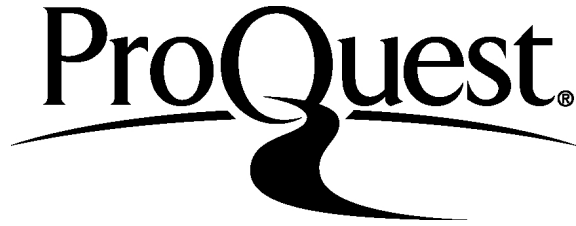

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Acknowledgments

For a Central European raised in the long gone isolated world of communism and getting advanced training in the cosmopolitanism of American academia, it might not be sheer coincidence to have chosen for his dissertation the subject of literary language and language politics, cosmopolitan and vernacular cultures, and confessional and political identities, even if he is investigating them in the 16-17th Persianate world. This thesis has long been in the making, taking me to the US, Turkey, Iran, Azerbaijan, Hungary and Germany. Accordingly, the experiences, advice, support and friendships I have accumulated involved a great many people, and even with the following lengthy list I only hope I have not forgotten anyone.

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TITLE: Chaghatay Oration, Ottoman Eloquence, Qizilbash Rhetoric: Turkic Literature in Ṣafavid Persia

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ABSTRACT

The present dissertation is a broad-minded treatment of the political, cultural and social role of Turkic Literature in Ṣafavid Persia through the analysis of the literary works of Shah Ismāʿīl I (r. 907-930/1501-1524), the founder of the Ṣafavid dynasty, and Ṣādiḳī Beg (940?-1018/1533?-1609), a major painter and bilingual litterateur of the period. Situating these figures against the background of such large-scale historical processes of the epoch as confessionalization, vernacularization and early modern state building, it discusses the development of Turkic literature from the amalgamation of the Timurid and Western Oġuz Turkic literary traditions with the combination of historiographical, literary and philological methodologies.

Chapter One is a historical analysis of Muslim Turkic literary traditions from the beginnings of Turkic literacy in the eighth through the Timurids in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. It offers possible ways to understand the connections between Turkic as a vernacular literary language in the Persianate world, mytho-genealogy and conversion.

The next two chapters are dedicated to Shah Ismāʿīl's poetry. Chapter Two is an analysis of the messianic content of his *Dīvān*, revisiting the old question of how its manuscript copies reflected changes in the messianic image of the Ṣafavids. Chapter Three analyzes the phenomenon of misattribution relating to Shah Ismāʿīl's poetry and that of Nasīmī, another

important Turkophone messianic poet from the late 14th-early 15th century. I claim that despite the obviously literate context of the copies of the two poets' respective *dīvān*s, this kind of poetry was by its very nature deeply informed by the oral culture that characterized its Qizilbash-Turkmen audience.

Chapters Four and Five are about Ṣādiḳī Beg. Chapter Four is his detailed biography, focusing on how he as a poet and painter fashioned his public image in the grand-scale political, artistic and literary changes in the latter half of the 16th century. Chapter Five discusses Turkic literary history in the Ṣafavid period through the lenses of Ṣādiḳī's biographical anthology of poets, comparing this work with other similar biographical compilations and also giving a survey of Turkic literary activities in Persia down to the fall of the dynasty.

Chapter Six analyzes through a handful of poems by Shah Ismāʿīl, Ṣādiḳī and others the two main Turkic literary traditions in Persia and how linguistic and literary choices informed the Turkophone litterateur's public image. Finally, the Conclusion takes a step back and reviews the place of Turkic within the larger Turko-Persian world, elaborating on whether the Ṣafavid period brought any changes in this regard, and providing glimpses of how the case of Persia in the epoch compares with language ideologies in the Early Modern World east and west.

Abbreviations

AAA Eng	Eskandar Beg Monshi, *History of Shah ʻAbbas the Great*
AAA	Iskandar Beg Turkmān, *Tārīḫ-i ālamārā-yi ʻAbbāsī*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
Canon	Ṣādiḳī Kitābdār, *Ḳānūn al-ṣuvar*
Concourse	Ṣādiḳī Kitābdār, *Majmaʻ-i Ḫavāṣṣ*
*EI*²	*The Encyclopaedia of Islam: New Edition*
EIr	*Encyclopaedia Iranica*
Gandjei	Gandjei, *Il Canzoniere di Sāh Ismāʼīl Hataʼī*
Ḫayyāmpūr	Ṣādiḳī Kitābdār, *Majmaʻ-i Ḫavāṣṣ*
IJMES	International Journal of Middle East Studies
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
Kuşoğlu	Kuşoğlu, M. Oğuzhan, *Sâdıkî-i Kitâbdârʼın Mecmaʻ-üʼl-havâs Adlı Eseri*
Məmmədov	*Şah İsmayıl Xatai əsərləri*
TDVİA	*Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*
ZDMG	*Zeitschriften der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

Notes on Transliteration

My transcription system reflects my attempt at trying to harmonize the traditions of transcribing Persian with Chaghatay, Azeri and Ottoman Turkish in a coherent way. For Turkic, Persian and Arabic words, this means that instead of *sh, ch, gh*, *kh*, I have *ş, ç, ġ* and *ḫ*. The true difficulty lies in the transcription of vowels, in that both Arabic and Persian are poor in vowels, unlike most Turkic languages, which have an extensive vowel system. Persian and Arabic words are transcribed according to the customary system used for these languages, Turkic words in the same way, except that vowel differences are indicated. For simplicity's sake, I do not distinguish between *e* and *ä*. In Turkic quotes, I use *c* instead of *j*, but in the main text, I use *j*. Words of Arabic, Persian or Turkic origin that are commonly used in English, such as *shah* or *sultan*, are spelt according to English orthography even when they occur as parts of names. I also use English spelling for words which are common mainly in the scholarly literature but which occur very frequently in the text, e.g. Qizilbash, Chaghatay.

Introduction

A 16th- and a 21st-century anecdote

It is well-known to students of the early sixteenth-century Near East that both Shah Ismāʿīl, the first ruler of the Ṣafavid dynasty of Persia, and Ḳānṣū al-Ġawrī, the penultimate Mamluk sultan of Egypt, composed poetry in Turkic, while their mortal enemy, the Ottoman sultan Selim I, versified in Persian. Half a century later, however, when the Ottomans had already conquered Mamluk Egypt in 1517, they sponsored primarily Ottoman Turkish, while the Ṣafavids patronized chiefly Persian cultural endeavors. How did literature reflect this realignment of the relation of cultural elites and prestige language as well as the political, religious, cultural, social and linguistic separation of Iran from the Ottoman territories in the 16th-17th centuries?[1]

The second anecdote is from one of my trips to Iran. In September 2011, I visited the elegant palace called Çihil Sutūn in Qazvin, capital of Ṣafavid Persia between ca. 951/1544-45 and 1005/1596-97. The second floor of the palace houses a small exhibition of calligraphy and book illustration. In one of the vitrines, a beautiful calligraphic frontispiece (*sar-lawḥ*) is on display, which is the work of one of the most outstanding calligraphers in the Persianate tradition, Mīr ʿImād (d. 1024/1615-16). While the majority of frontispieces produced in Persia,

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[1] The present dissertation concerns Turkic Literature in Ṣafavid Persia, and thus Turkic Literature in Mamluk Egypt cannot be dealt with here, despite it being a greatly neglected field. For the present, we have to make do with a number of publications, most of them written in the 1960s and 1970s, including: Flemming, Barbara. "Literary Barracks in Mamluk Halls and Barracks." In: *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet.* Ed. Myriam Rosen-Ayalon. Jerusalem: Institute of Asian and African Studies, 1977, pp. 249-260; idem. "Šerīf, Sultan Ġavrī und die Perser." *Der Islam* 45 (1969), pp. 81-93; Bodrogligeti, András. *A Fourteenth-Century Turkic Translation of Saʿdī's Gulistãñ."* Bloomington: Indiana University, 1970; Irwin, Robert. "Mamluk Literature." *Mamluk Studies Review* 8:1 (2003), pp. 1-29.

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and quite a lot even in Ottoman territories, contain Persian texts, and indeed, all the other frontispieces of this exhibition in question did so, this particular one was in Chaghatay Turkic:

> *Tā dawr durur dawr sanga yār olsun*
> *Tā çarḫ durur çarḫ madadkār olsun*
> *Zātıngġa abad firṣatı miḳdār olsun*
> *'umrungġa ḫiżr 'umrıdın ās̱ār olsun*
>
> As long as the sky is turning, may it be your aid,
> Even when it stops [turning], may heaven succour you.
> May you have the opportunity to partake of eternity.
> May your life be imprinted with signs from Khiżr.[2]

When I inquired with the young lady on guard at the exhibit about details of the frontispiece, it quickly turned out that she had no idea that this particular piece was in Turkic. Probably a student working during her summer vacation, she was perhaps understandably little interested or might not have wanted to reveal any interest in the historic significance of the piece; it was enough for her that it belonged to a prominent artist and that it was beautiful. Equally interesting, this apparent indifference changed but little when I told her that the frontispiece was in Turkic. For her, this was no big deal, and she was not at all the only one in Iran with such an attitude. During my entire research trip with the purpose of collecting material for this dissertation, I encountered similar reaction whenever I mentioned the subject of my work to either colleagues or people outside academia. I would have expected at least some surprise or even suspicion, dislike from people I talked to about the fact that I was not studying the wonderful masterworks of Persian literature, the crown jewel of Iranian culture and a key component of Iranian identity.

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[2] I am indebted to Professor 'Imād al-Dīn Shaykh al-Ḥukamā'ī of Tehran University for taking a legible photograph of the frontispiece for me.

Interestingly, my experience with Turkic-speaking Iranians was not very dissimilar to this. They were sympathetic and helpful, but nobody raised their brows. And yet, they would always speak amongst themselves in Azeri Turkic, and I am aware of the small but steady stream of Azeri Turkic publications coming out of Iran. Of course, there are more radical elements in the Azeri population there, but their grievances are probably shared by the majority of Iranian society at large, and in terms of relations with the central government, most of them are on a federalist and not a separatist platform that includes demands for broader cultural liberties and, for some circles, education in their native Azeri Turkic.[3]

Remarkably, I encountered a diametrically opposite attitude in Baku. For Azerbaijani colleagues, it was perfectly natural that I was working on what they call Azeri Turkic, an important part of their national literary heritage, and not on Persian literature. Of course, certain members of the Iranian literary Pantheon, mainly who were born in either the current territory of the Republic of Azerbaijan or the Iranian Province of Azerbaijan, are also treated as Azeri in Azerbaijani literary and culture-political discourse, regardless of whether they wrote in Persian or Turkic or both. All in all, the cognitive gap between the Iranian and Azerbaijani approach, mainly a function of modern ethno-nationalism, is remarkable.

Despite the overall mutual intelligibility between Azeri and the official language of the Republic of Turkey, people coming from Iran's largely Turkophone Iranian provinces such as East and West Azerbaijan, Ardabil and Zanjān, or other territories in the country with a Turkic-speaking minority, or Azeris living in the Republic of Azerbaijan, would not consider these two

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[3] This does not at all mean that there are no nationalist political agendas or at least sensitivities in the Azeri community in Iran that could come to the surface in certain circumstances. One should just recall the riots that erupted in 2006 in reaction to Mānā Nayistānī's cartoons published in the children's section of the Iranian weekly *Īrān-i jumʻa* which were considered offensive to the Azeri Turkish community. See also: Grebennikov, Marat. "The Puzzle of a Loyal Minority: Why do Azeris support the Iranian State?" *The Middle East Journal* 67:1 (2013), pp. 64-76. For a deeper, more comprehensive and perceptive analysis, see: Saleh, Alam. *Ethnic Identity and the State in Iran.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

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idioms identical. Far from it; people are highly conscious of distinguishing between *Turkī-yi Āẕarī* and *Turkī-yi Istānbulī*, a distinction, it would seem, made not on linguistic but cultural grounds originating in political and confessional differences.

Why write in Turkic?

This dissertation is about Turkic literature in Ṣafavid Iran (1500–1722) in the 16th through the early-17th century presented through the works of two major figures: Shah Ismāʿīl I (r. 1501-1524), who used the penname Ḫaṭāyī, 'the sinner' in his poetry, and Ṣādiḳī Beg (ca. 1533-1609 or 1610), one of the most prominent painters of the second half of the 16th and early 17th centuries, who was also a highly remarkable writer and poet in both Persian and Turkic. While these two litterateurs of Persia are two greatly different characters with significantly different oeuvres, living in different times, aside from the fact that both of them left behind a considerable amount of writings in Turkic, they are connected by audience and patronage. My choice fell on these two particular figures primarily because, as I will illustrate, each of them is a prominent representative of the two main separate Turkic literary traditions in Iran. Offering an understanding of the status of Turkic as a literary idiom in the cultural-political landscape of that polity, I will address the fundamental but simple problem the dissertation at large deals with: "Why write in Turkic?" Even more broadly, I will thus be able to give a picture of what place Turkic speech and writing might have fulfilled in the social, cultural and ideological make-up of various Turko-Iranian polities in the so-called Middle Periods of Islam and under the Ṣafavids after that.

I will try to trace the development of this literary tradition against the background of Persian literature as well as the nascent Muslim Empires of the Early Modern Era.[4] Though the time frame of my treatment is not of a literary but of a historical character, though a continuous tradition of Muslim Turkic literature started prior to the Ṣafavids, in the 14th century, and though a new period in the literary history of Turkic in the historic territories of Iran which include the current territory of the Province and the Republic of Azerbaijan, as well Iraq, probably came only in the 19th century, the scholarly neglect of Ṣafavid-period Turkic literature as well as the increased amount of pertinent information available vis-à-vis previous historical periods constitute an appropriate reason for my focus.

In our discussion, each part of the question 'Why write in Turkic?' is important. Aside from the reasons for using Turkic for literary purposes and the historical and literary-cultural context, I will also investigate what it means to *write* in Turkic, or generally speaking, in a non-prestige vernacular, as opposed to orality. Indeed, it is a premise of the present discussion that, although they are related, there is a fundamental divide between oral and written culture not only in the way they record and present their subject matter but also in the way they are related to power. My conclusions are mainly valid for written literature, but I will also highlight possible passageways between oral and written culture in Turkic, focusing primarily on reception and audience.

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[4] In the wake of Marshall Hodgson and his thesis on the so-called "Gunpowder Empires" of the late 15th through the early 18th century, there are now two very useful textbooks of the topic: Dale, Stephen F. *The Muslim Empires of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals.* Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010; Streusand, Douglas E. *Islamic Gunpowder Empires: Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 2011.

Methodological problems in writing the history of Turkic Literature in Ṣafavid Persia

The rise of the Safavid dynasty in Iran in 1501 was a watershed moment in the history of the Islamic world, the impact of which can be felt even today. It resulted in the religious and political separation of Ottoman Anatolia and Central Asia from Iran, leading, in turn, to their gradual social and cultural separation. The Ṣafavid takeover and their millennial, "extremist" version of Shi'ism had the counter-effect of solidifying religious orthodoxy in the framework of the centralized, bureaucratic empires of the Ottomans, the Mughals and eventually the Ṣafavids themselves. These early modern imperial projects were carried out by centralized bureaucracies that expressed themselves in an imperial language built upon the vernacular. In the process, these vernaculars supplanted cosmopolitan languages, Latin in the West and Persian in the Ottoman Empire, and also undermined the status of other local languages or those of specific social groups. Under the Safavids, whose supporters were mainly Turkophone nomadic tribes but who ruled territories with a Persophone majority, Persian had the status of a "language of power," while under their chief rivals, the Ottomans, this role went to Ottoman Turkish.

Originally a Sufi order and one of the messianist movements of the 15th-16th century Persianate world, the Ṣafavids came to power at the head of a confederacy of Turkophone nomadic tribal followers, referred to in the sources as Qizilbash, 'the red caps', largely from Anatolia, Greater Syria and Iraq, who brought their own partly oral and partly literary cultural practices with them. Governance, however, soon shifted into the hands of the urban Iranian element, while Shiite scholars imported mainly from the Lebanon, Bahrain and Iraq set out on the long path of converting Persia to a Twelver Shiism based not on the original millenarian

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ideas of the Ṣafavid movement but on Shiite sacred law. The following pages will attempt to show the interaction between such political, cultural, linguistic and literary processes.

There is undecidedness, indifference in western scholarship regarding Turkophone literary pursuits in Iran in general and the Ṣafavid era in particular, not unlike the stance of the woman from Qazvin sketched in the second anecdote above. How does such a literature figure against the background of perceived notions of Iranian identity based on the remarkable stability of the Classical Persian literary tradition down to the modern age? And if, as shown in the first anecdote about the sovereigns, the Ṣafavids espoused the grand Iranian narrative and shifted to sponsoring Persian later in the 16th century, how does that account for the fact that Turkic literature persisted all through their tenure to the very end and beyond, in fact, up to our 21st century? How does Turkic figure in the nascent Early Modern Ṣafavid cultural project with its remarkable sponsorship of Persian, when, at the same time, Turkic continued to be not only spoken but also written and patronized by some of the Ṣafavids' tribal followers and even by certain members of the dynasty?

The question "Why write in Turkic?" pertains not only to a community as a whole but also to members of that community writing in that language. Evidently, it is always up to the individual to make a language choice and, in this case, write in either Persian or Turkic. While linguistic identity as a key component of the individual self and the primacy and idealization of the mother tongue probably both resulted from 19th century ethno-nationalism, I will illustrate how language choice and language practice were governed by political and cultural circumstances and how they were part of the complex dynamics of constructing the self in the Early Modern Persianate world in general, and Ṣafavid Iran, in particular. Of course, the latter issue pertains to bilingual litterateurs in the age, and is hardly touched on in scholarship.

The issue of Turko-Persian bilingualism leads us to the problem of the relative prestige of these two literary traditions. Gone are the days when in his monumental study entitled *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, the Orientalist, Elias John Wilkinson Gibb, could simply characterize Turkish literature as a pale imitation of Persian – an idea, it would seem, based on Romantic and positivist notions of originality in the service of a larger colonialist project and perpetuated since then by, for example, westernizing Turkish nationalism.[5] Another assumption that this dissertation is thus working with is that the premodern poet in general and the Ṣafavid poet in particular operated with and also considered himself as operating with, a full and purposeful awareness of and interaction with the literary convention, which is in direct contrast with how artistic creation is conceptualized in modern times, when individualist-Romanticist notions are in vogue. Moreover, oftentimes, the tradition he was imitating was not in his own mother tongue but in a prestige language which carried a cosmopolitan ethos: *latinitas* in the west, and Persian or Arabic in the Near East. In other words, the author, be he a litterateur or painter, did not conceive of himself as transcending the conventions of a genre, but as operating within them, exploiting them as much as his capabilities and skills allowed. In this respect, we might adduce the cultural historian Peter Burke, who speaks about the process of continuous re-creation as a way of the transmission of the tradition:

> "Whatever the would-be transmitters think they are doing, the process of passing a culture on to a new generation is necessarily one of construction, of what Lévi-Strauss called *bricolage* and Certeau, 're-employment.'"[6]

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[5] Gibb, Elias John Wilkinson. *A History of Ottoman Poetry*. London: Luzac, 1900.

[6] Burke, *What is Cultural History?*, p. 98. One can also look at such classics of the subject as T.S. Eliot's essay entitled *Tradition and the Individual Talent*. For this premodern concept of creativity in a Persian literary context, see: Losensky, Paul E. *Welcoming Fighānī: Imitation and Poetic Individuality in the Safavid-Mughal Ghazal*. Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda Publishers, 1998.

Further, the idea of mother tongue and creativity as inherently related to each other, a core concept of Romanticism deriving perhaps from Herder, was alien to the premodern poet. Indeed, the premodern European poet in the Republic of Letters was expected to be able to write in Latin and he may or may not have written in his or her mother tongue. In a similar fashion, the premodern poet in Persia was first expected to hone his skills in Persian, and he may or may not have written in his mother tongue, be it Kurdish, Turkic, or some Iranian dialect or language. Language choice was a matter of intricate relationships in a web made up of often mutually competing patrons and mutually rivaling litterateurs, and had less to do with the psychological drive to express the inexpressible. Even when there was no concrete patron, the poet conceived as the unruly genius expressing his irrepetible, individual feelings and thoughts seem to be mainly a product of 19th-century Romanticism, just as much as the mother tongue as the only genuine vehicle for literature is a modern invention. It does not mean that the premodern poet had no drive to express the inexpressible—indeed, such a statement would do great injustice to, for example, mystical poetry—but language choice was a different matter.

Another problem with viewing literary history and literature as an expression of the development of a primordially conceived national ethos is that it considers it as a continuous, inevitable or organic, teleological progress. Of course, this is at the heart of modern nationalism which attaches great importance to the national language as a key element of national identity. But aside from the ahistoricity and politically distorted character of such a view of literary history, the problem is that it is unable to conceptualize phases in the history of a literary idiom when it was apparently used in but a limited, circumscribed way, only for certain purposes and in certain contexts, and usually only in at best a handful of genres. It cannot deal with periods where there are no traces of literary activity in a certain literary language, or when works seem to

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be produced only sparsely and randomly over a longer stretch of time. So, for example, nationalist Turkish literary historiography seems to have a hard time accepting that a Turkish literary tradition in Anatolia started with the 14th century, and not earlier.

The idea that literary history is a teleological process is thus problematic because it implies a continuous and inevitable development from its beginnings to a full-blown literary culture in a full-blown political state. The interim between these two endpoints is considered some sort of an emancipation struggle on the part of the future national language against other literary traditions, in order to reach equality with them and eventually to surpass them. So, for example, Turkic literary traditions in the various modern national countries are seen as having waged a veritable struggle against the literary tradition of the cosmopolitan world of Islam, Persian. Such a view disregards the fact that for hundreds of years, Turkophone litterateurs were perfectly happy writing in the cosmopolitan tongue, just as much as litterateurs in Europe were perfectly happy writing in Latin essentially until the late Middle Ages-Early Modern Era. Or at least, they would often learn to write in Persian before writing in Turkic, just as much as European litterateurs would learn to wield their pen in Latin before turning to the vernacular.

As is well known, the larger medieval Iranian world stretching from China to the Adriatic in Europe was the world of *Persophony* in Bert Fragner's term, or, to use the now more widespread English term, it was not a Persian, but a Persianate civilization, Persian being an intellectual and cultural *lingua franca* in this vast space. As the language of a Persianate bureaucracy that served various dynasties, it was the model for all other nascent literary idioms in the region, such as Ottoman, Chaghatay Turkic and Urdu.[7] This concept of Persianate is highly influenced by Marshall Hodgson, perhaps the most formative thinker of Islamic history in

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[7] Fragner, Bert G. *Die 'Persophonie.' Regionalität, Identität und Sprachkontakt in der Geschichte Asiens*. Berlin-Charlottenburg: Das Arabische Buch, 1999.

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the second half of the 20th century.[8] He suggests that Islam is more than a religion, more than a culture, and more than the amalgam of several language communities; it is a civilization. In a similar fashion, the Persianate world or Persophony is more than Persian literature and Persian language, for it also includes the adaptation on the part of vernacular cultures and literatures, from the Ottoman Empire to Mughal India, of the literary conventions, vocabulary, as well as political theology, bureaucratic traditions, etc. that came with Persian, not to mention transfers in other areas such as the arts or architecture. In other words, it is the result of cultural translation on the part of vernacular cultures.[9] Of course, cultural translation is a fully creative process and does not at all necessarily imply qualitative inferiority on the receiving part.

This dissertation straddles cultural and literary history. Accordingly, it relies primarily on literary sources to explore larger cultural phenomena. It has a heavy philological basis, but at the same time, it shows what limits methods deriving from classical philology have when applied to early modern Turkic material. It is detectably influenced by reception theory as formulated by scholars such as Robert Jauss on the one hand, and of the school of New Philology, on the other hand. I am attracted by how scholars of the latter school treat the manuscript as an artifact in dialogue with other artifacts, instead of merely looking at the text, which they consider an abstraction.[10]

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[8] Hodgson, Marshall G.S. *The Venture of Islam. Conscience and History in a World Civilization.* Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1974, vol. 1, pp. 22-26.

[9] Cf. Burke, Peter R. "Cultures of Translation in Early Modern Europe." In: *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe.* Ed. Burke, Peter R. and Hsia, Po-chia. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 7-38.

[10] See the studies in *Speculum: A journal of medieval studies* LXV, 1 (1990), which is a special issue dedicated to New Philology.

Turkic in the Age of vernacularization and confessionalization

Since the modern discourse on language is informed by the notion that the connection between language and community ("nation") is inherent, it is not at all easy to come up with a framework and terminology for the evolution of various literary languages in premodern eras when such a connection did not exist. Hence, in order to give a more nuanced framework for literary history and to transcend nationalist teleological thinking, I will adopt the concept of vernacularization as presented by Sheldon Pollock in his seminal work *The Language of the Gods,* for it yields a useful preliminary chronology for the development of Muslim Turkic literacy down to the 15th-16th century. Pollock suggests that the development of vernacular literature is better to be understood as the process of departure from the cosmopolitan literary culture, Latin in the West and Persian in the Islamic World. He depicts vernacularization as a process of three interrelated stages: *literization, literarization* and *superimposition*.[11] *Literization* means the process when a vernacular language is first put into writing, usually for practical purposes and its use does not become widespread but remains random, not forming a continuous tradition. For example, in the case of Turkic, one might think of 13th-century interlinear Koran translations.[12] Here, the purpose is practical; the author wants to reach an audience with a definite purpose, for example, in the case of interlinear translations, people not educated in Arabic, in order to teach them the Revelation. The second phase, *literarization* means "the

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[11] Pollock, Sheldon. *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006. Of course, Pollock focuses on the cosmopolitan tradition of Sanskrit, but he puts it into a global historical framework and does give separate treatment to vernacular and cosmopolitan cultures in Europe and the Islamic world, too.

[12] Eckmann, János. *Middle Turkic Glosses of the Rylands Interlinear Koran Translations.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1976 (Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica, 21).

transformation of written language into expressive discourse,"[13] a suitable example for which might arguably be the translation of a vast amount of Persian literary works into Turkish in fourteenth-fifteenth century Anatolia or Rabġūzī's hagiographic work *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā* from the 14th century in the Golden Horde.[14] Here, the vernacular author tries to reach the audience, usually one with a less than prestigious literary tradition or even none at all, and the cosmopolitan culture is usually just as present and important as the nascent vernacular literature. The third phase is *superimposition*. The vernacular emerges as the dominant language of cultural and political discourse modeled on the cosmopolitan idiom, which can be illustrated by the emergence of Ottoman as the idiom modeled on Persian and espoused by the Ottoman bureaucratic imperial elite. This is in a nutshell Pollock's concept of vernacularization adopted to our field of inquiry, i.e. the process in which the cosmopolitanism of Persian in the Islamic world was supplanted by local vernaculars as the languages of cultural and political power. Pollock's thesis is at great variance with nationalist discourses that treat the literary idiom as something organically flowing from the bosom of a putatively primordial nation and that consider the transition between the various stages is inevitable. Most significantly, however, Pollock thinks that the superimposition of the vernacular over the cosmopolitan language is not an organic, natural and inevitable but a *willed* act or a *willed* process, carried out by a political-cultural elite with a definite political agenda. Hence, vernacularization is always as much a literary cultural as a political process.[15] We can argue, therefore, that a language can for a long time remain at any

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[13] Pollock, *The Language of the Gods*, p. 318.

[14] Şeşen, Ramazan. "Onbesinci Yüzyılda Türkçeye Tercümeler." In: *XI. Türk Tarih Kongresi*. Ankara: 1994, pp. 889-919; Yavuz, Kemal. "XIII-XVI. Asır Dil Yadigârlarının Anadolu Sahasında Türkçe Yazılış Sebepleri ve Bu Devir Müelliflerinin Türkçe Hakkındaki Görüşleri." *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları* 27 (1983); Kara, Mustafa. "XIV ve XV Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı Toplumunu Besleyen Türkçe Kitaplar.*" Uludağ Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 8 (1999), pp. 29-58; Fazlioğlu, İhsan. "Osmanlı Döneminde Bilim Alanındaki Türkçe Telif ve Tercüme Eserlerin Türkçe Oluş Nedenleri." *Kutadgubilig* 3 (2003), pp. 151-184.

[15] See, for example, his statement: "What is becoming increasingly clear from recent research on primeval moments of vernacularization is that new literary cultures were created by intentional acts of writing; the image of a gradual,

of these three stages, and it is not inevitable that it becomes the language of power for a speech community; various literary traditions can remain literarized but not superimposed. For example, Turkic was literized and literarized in 14th century Anatolia and Central Asia, but it was not considered a match for Persian. Only when it was espoused by an elite with a new political agenda could it come to be acknowledged as a literary idiom on par with and even supplanting, Persian. We see the first glimpses of this process, as we shall discuss below, in Timurid Central Asia and then in Ottoman Anatolia.

A similarly useful periodization is supplied by what Hodgson calls the *military patronage state* in the Mongol era, which then gave way to the emergence of centralized "gunpowder" empires in the sixteenth century. In the former, the sphere of culture was deemed as an extension of the ruling household which, in the process of adaptation to the Irano-Islamic context, went out of its way to patronize high Islamic cultural projects. In the "gunpowder empires," however, there was a bureaucratic elite that spearheaded the use of the vernacular, or more precisely, an idiom grammatically based on the vernacular but thoroughly imbued with the vocabulary and grammatical features of Persian, the prestige language. A case in point is Ottoman Turkish.

Turkic literary traditions as well as patterns of cultural patronage in the context of the Turko-Iranian cultural framework had two functions. On the one hand, Turkic was a tool to convey Islamic cultural and religious ideals to the non-Persophone, Turkophone segment of society. On the other hand, among the Timurid and the Ottoman elite, Turkic was increasingly seen as an idiom capable of conveying an imperial image for the polity. To examine this in the Ṣafavid context, one should study which literary genres were considered appropriate for Turkic. As it will turn out, historiography, theology, and the sciences continued to be reserved primarily

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almost accidental textualization of poetry composed orally by poets utterly unfamiliar with literate—that is, cosmopolitan—culture seems to be largely an illusion" (Pollock, *Language of the Gods*, p. 441).

for Persian and Arabic, while Turkic was mainly but not entirely limited, even among the Turkophone elite, to poetry.

I understand the history of vernacularization in the larger Persianate world to be part of global historical processes of integrated or connected history as analyzed by Joseph Fletcher and Sanjay Subrahmanyam. Although giving these processes detailed treatment would go beyond the limits of this dissertation, I mention them because this puts the present discussion in a broad historical framework, and it makes it possible to transcend the compartmentalization of area studies. It is mainly in recent decades that the Islamic world has been analyzed in a world historical context with methods that treat it not only as the passive receiver of Western impulses from the Early Modern Era onwards, but also as part of global interaction in a wide range of fields from the exchange of ideas, artistic objects and technology to international trade. These global and integrated processes defined what we call the Early Modern era. There are voices that question the analytical value of the concept of the "Early Modern", there might be certain applications of it that go overboard in seeing general trends or similarities everywhere, and interest in the global aspects of the Early Modern World may well have something to do with our own day and age of globalization; however, the model has great intellectual benefits in opening up the 15-18th century Persianate world to comparative analyses with Europe or China.

The changes associated with the power relations between languages are at the very heart of the processes that define the Early Modern era. According to Joseph Fletcher, the 15-16th centuries saw global population growth; acceleration in the pace of historical change; increase in the number, size and importance of not only larger but also middle-size cities of a more regional significance, leading to larger velocity of trade and exchange, and consequently boosting the economic power of urban merchant classes; religious revival and reform movements; rural

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unrest; and the decline of nomadic power. Sanjay Subrahmanyam complements this list of worldwide phenomena by drawing attention to the global appearance and significance of religious millenarianism and, in a more restricted sense, elite migration between larger world regions, such as that between Ṣafavid Iran, Mughal India, the Uzbek Khanates and the Ottoman Empire.[16] One might want to add a greater emphasis on international trade not only as an important factor in economic processes but also as a vehicle for the exchange and transmission of ideas and knowledge; and the famed gunpowder thesis going back to European historiography in the 1950s and appropriated for the Islamic world by Marshall Hodgson, can also be mentioned, which posits that the increase in the military use of gunpowder and the technology, as well as the military and bureaucratic organization its implementation necessitated, gave the state unprecedented power and eventually led to the emergence of centralized bureaucratic "gunpowder empires".[17]

A key element of the above processes is religious change. It is common knowledge that Iran was converted to Shiism by the Ṣafavids, while Ottoman Sunni identity, as a result of Sunni scholars' integration into the Ottoman bureaucracy, became an essential part of Ottoman state identity from the mid-15th century on. The process of political and confessional identity becoming intrinsically linked was termed *confessionalization* in the late 1970s-early 1980s, and

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[16] Fletcher, Joseph. "Integrative Histories: Parallels and Interconnections in the Early Modern Period." In: idem. *Studies on Chinese and Islamic Inner Asia.* Ed. Beatrice Forbes Manz. Aldershot, UK; Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1995, pp. 1-35; Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. "Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia." *Modern Asian Studies* 31 (1997), pp. 735-62. On messianism in the early modern Mediterranean region, see: Fleischer, Cornell H. "The Lawgiver as Messiah. The making of the Imperial Image in the Reign of Süleyman." In: *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps, Actes du Colloque de Paris Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, 7-10 mars 1990.* Ed. Gilles Veinstein. Paris: Documentation française, 1992, pp. 159-177.
[17] Parker, Geoffrey. "The "Military Revolution," 1560-1660--a Myth?" *The Journal of Modern History* 48 (1976), pp. 195-214; Hodgson, *The Venure of Islam*, vol. 3, pp. 14-22.

has since been considered an important part of the thesis of early modernity.[18] More recently, scholars started to adopt the concept in discussions of the Islamic world, giving rise to the thesis of early modern Islamic empires and integrating, in the wake of Hodgson, the Ottoman and the Islamic world at large into the theory of early modernity as a world historical phenomenon.[19] While there are now treatments of the process that go beyond its religious and political implications and discuss how confessionalization influenced social processes as well, there is little debate on its bearing on the role of literary language in the Islamic world. There are some more recent discussions of the phenomenon in the Ottoman sphere, but we know little about it in early modern Iran.[20]

Therefore, another major theme in this dissertation is the relationship between confessional and linguistic change. All three of these polities, the Ottoman, Mughal and Ṣafavid Empires, came from the same Turkic tribal matrix, and there were many similarities between them in terms of the political and cultural ideals they pursued. In the process, vernacular languages in these centralized states of the Persianate world with central bureaucracies and an increasingly homogenous confessional identity challenged the confessional ambiguity of the post-Mongol era along with its cosmopolitan culture carried by Persian.[21] This resulted in much of the cultural and linguistic boundaries that obtain today: now it seems natural that most

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[18] E.g. Reinhard, Wolfgang. "Konfession und Konfessionalisierung in Europa." In: *Bekenntnis und Geschichte*: *die Konfessio Augustana im historischen Zusammenhang: Ringvorlesung der Universität Augsburg im Jubiläumsjahr 1980.* Ed. Wolfgang Reinhard. München: Vögel, 1981, pp. 165-189.

[19] Krstic, Tijana. *Contested Conversions: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire.* Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2011.

[20] Kim, Sooyong. *Minding the Shop: Zati and the Making of Ottoman Poetry in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century.* Chicago: The University of Chicago, 2005 (unpublished PhD-thesis). In terms of confessionalization under the Ṣafavids and its larger implications, the best treatments are Arjomand, Said Amir. *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam. Religion, Political Order and Societal Change in Shi'ite Iran from the Beginning to 1890.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987. Abisaab, Rula Jurdi. *Converting Persia. Religion and Power in the Safavid Empire.* London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2004.

[21] The term *confessional ambiguity* pertaining to the post-Mongol era was coined by John Woods, while the cosmopolitan ethos of Persian, a veritable Persian Republic of Letters, receives great emphasis in Hodgson (Woods, John E. *The Aqquyunlu. Clan, Confederation, Empire (Revised and expanded ed.).* Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 1999, p. 4; Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam,* vol. 2, pp. 293-328).

Iranians (and Azerbaijanis) are Shiite and that the official language in Iran is Persian, while the majority of the population of Turkey is Sunni and Turkish is the official language there. But why and in what way did Turkic "lose" to Persian in Iran? And, equally important, how did the relationship between Persian and Turkic figure in Ṣafavid or early modern Iranian cultural politics? Put it shortly, was there language policy or more appropriately, language ideology in the medieval-early modern Persianate world with regard to Turkic? If there was, what do we know about it? And if there was no such language ideology, what does that tell us about the Ṣafavid state and a specific mode of Iranian early modernity? How did the relationship between confessionalization and vernacularization unfold in the Ṣafavid case and how did it affect the history and our perceptions of, Turkic in early modern Iran? I will address these problems, on the one hand, from the viewpoint of literary sociology, trying to highlight various social and literary contexts for the use of Turkic, and, on the other hand, from the viewpoint of intellectual history, attempting to understand what notions of authority writing in Turkic implied. I will analyze it in the context of bilingualism and *diglossia*, the latter as first formulated by Ferguson, which attributes different social and communicative functions to different language codes; and I will also rely on Bourdieu's concept of language as symbolic power.[22]

I anchor this inquiry in two grounds: political theology and patronage. As we shall see, in the post-Mongol era, prior to the emergence of the Ṣafavids, there was a whole political theology behind Turkic literary activities, which sought to tie the Turkic segment of society along with its literary activities into the larger Perso-Islamic framework. It seems, however, that this state of affairs underwent a fundamental change in the latter half of the 15th through the 16th century. With their conversion to Shiism, the Turkophone tribal following of the Ṣafavids exchanged this

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[22] Ferguson, Charles Albert. "Diglossia." In: *Language and Social Context: Selected Readings.* Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1972, pp. 232-251; Bourdieu, Pierre. *Language and Symbolic Power.* Ed. and intro. John B. Thompson. Trans. Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson. Cambridge: Polity, 1991.

Turko-Islamic political theology for an Alid political theology, in which notions of authority were defined by descent from the Prophet's cousin, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. This new messianic ethos gradually gave way to the influence of Shiite scholars who provided the new ideology of the Ṣafavid state, the latter eventually transcending the tribally based venture the previously held nomadic notions of authority had sustained. The new ideology brought ideological props for a veritable early modern state in Iran, which could afford to rely less on its Turkophone following and more on urban Tajik elements and royal household slaves, the so-called ġulām. With this major shift, Turkic did not completely lose its audience or practitioners, but it definitely lost its ideological basis.

The reign of Shah 'Abbās I (r. 1587-1629) in Ṣafavid Iran initiated a radically new dispensation: it meant centralization in economy, politics and religious life. A new type of elite was created, posing a challenge to the Turkophone tribal aristocracy that had propelled the Ṣafavids to power in the early 16th century. At the same time, the state was not the only source for cultural patronage any more; increasing literacy rates as well as booming long-distance trade and urban life resulted in a strengthened middle class both as audience and as practitioners of literary and artistic pursuits. In art, particularly in painting, instead of large-scale, luxury projects of book illumination, single page paintings and drawings proliferated, which were affordable for non-courtly patrons; the close relationship between painting and text started to loosen; more down-to-earth, everyday subjects started to appear; and there was an influx of western painting and models. On the other hand, Persian poetry was practiced by the widest possible echelons of an urban society, and the new audience meant fundamental changes in style: the well-rounded hermeneutics of cosmic similitude between man and world, image and language, based on a common stock of images and allegories, was first challenged by an increasing emphasis on

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personal experience on the part of the poets of the so called *maktab-i vuḳū'* ('incidentalist school') and then it was turned upside down by the extremely abstract, complex style of the *şīva-yi tāza* ('the new style'), commonly referred to as the "Indian Style".

The new system, in which political and confessional identity merged, together with the consolidation of the early modern state and the tremendously aggrandized sense of power it projected, as well as the new patronage system and the increasing disappearance or weakening of old tribal networks, resulted in existential anxiety and a veritable individualism in members of the elite, who had to redefine their position vis-à-vis political and cultural power. Inasmuch as the artist stepped out of the anonymity of the previous era and started to sign his paintings, there was a high demand among poets that their style be self-consciously new and original, and there was also a pervasive sense of cosmic anxiety as a fundamental theme in poetry.

It is this new political-cum-confessional-cum-cultural change that the Turkophone litterateur faced. The language of power was Persian, and although Turkic continued to be pursued by the Turkophone elite, some of the major poets of the era and even by several members of the Ṣafavid dynasty itself, it could not compete with Persian and its urban background, and, as stated before, the ideological basis behind it was gone, too. At the same time, however, although the Ṣafavid state projected the image of absolute power and a veritable sense of cultural and confessional unity was certainly achieved in Iran, especially in urban centers, the Ṣafavid state in particular and the early modern state in general was never in a position to effect absolute control and completely eliminate either religious dissent or linguistic heterogeneity. Just as much as power was negotiated between the center and the periphery, messianism as well as the presence of Turkic as the language of the Turkophone element (along with other languages like Kurdish or Lor, etc.) continued to be a feature of the Ṣafavid venture

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all through its existence. In fact, it has continued in this fashion up to our very own day, the zenith of Iranian nationalism during the Pahlavī regime in the 20th century when Turkic was ostracized being a transitory exception.

Terminological problems

But what should we call Turkic literature produced in Ṣafavid Persia, the subject of our inquiry? The various designations that have been used in scholarship as well as popular culture are all fine and each of them has its own merits, as long as we are consequent and specific about what we are actually talking about. As a reminder of the proverb *Nomen est omen*, 'the name speaks for itself', these designations are informed by various cultural and political frameworks. Indeed, as stated by the popular saying that goes back to either the Yiddish scholar Max Weinreich or the linguist Joshua Fishman, "A language is a dialect with an army and a navy." The *bon mot* points to the highly political or politicized nature of linguistic identities. Accordingly, the terminological disputes that I will momentarily present derive from the peculiar situation of Turkic in Iranian and Islamic history at large, as well as from modernity and ethno-nationalism. The terms that I will discuss are Azeri, Azeri Turkish, *Turc Ajämi*, 'Ajamī Turkish or 'Ajamī Turkic, Qizilbash Turkic and Ṣafavid Turkic.

Let us see first the difference between Turkish and Turkic. A reflection of modern western learned usage which does not seem to have found wide currency, the differentiation is the same as that between *turetskii* and *turkskii* in Russian or *türkisch* and *turksprachig* in German; it has no parallel in native Turkic/Turkish languages, where speakers before modern times would refer to what they spoke as *Turkī, Türkçe*, etc. In the strict sense, *Turkish* is applied

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to the language spoken in Turkey, while *Turkic*, to all the other languages related to it. This differentiation privileges Turkey where the language has been subject to fundamental reforms and as such it has been a cornerstone of national engineering policies pursued since the emergence of the modern Republic, as opposed to other regions in the Turkic world where until a quarter of a century ago it did not reach the status of official language or had to coexist with the language of dominance of the colonizers, i.e. Russian. Of course, Soviet national engineering did not stop at that, but actually created many "national languages", calling into being such "languages" as Uzbek, Turkmen, Kirghiz, Kazak, Tatar, etc., without the word Turkic/Turkish, or at least it privileged them in certain territories, giving them attributes of a "national language" at the expense of other idioms spoken in a given territory.

The result of Soviet ethno-federalist administration and national engineering, the appropriation of a supranational or a-national past into a particular national tradition is very much common to the ideology of most Soviet or post-Soviet political establishments. As is well known, the territorial divisions of the individual Soviet republics cut across previous cultural, linguistic, social or ethnic boundaries, each republic becoming a veritable Soviet "nation state" in a region where previously there had been no nationalism or national consciousness at all. Accordingly, one ethnic group in the otherwise multi-ethnic territory of the new republic was assigned the status of titular nation on one hand and a national language on the other hand. Policy was conducted by local Communist Party elites who appropriated into their respective nascent national tradition all of the greats who had happened to have anything to do with the territory the new elite was residing in or with the linguistic background of that elite. Hence, we have al-Bīrūnī as an Uzbek "scientist", Niẓāmī as an Azerbaijani poet, Firdawsī as a Tajik poet, or Zoroaster as an Azeri religious figure. Such appropriations took place in the case of the literati

that are the subject of the present dissertation, too. They were adopted into the Azerbaijani national canon on linguistic—i.e. they spoke a linguistic antecedent of Azeri Turkish—as well as on historical and cultural grounds; i.e. they lived under the Ṣafavids, who in this discourse are considered a proto-Azeri dynasty and are thus retrospectively interpreted in official Azerbaijani historiography to be part of a putative Azeri heroic past.[23] Of course, while this could well be to our chagrin and annoy the historian who professes to be an unbiased outsider, it is also a fact that this was the only way for local elites during Soviet times to preserve a part of their cultural heritage. Following the party line in talking about how, for example, this or that poet was actually fighting for the cause of the suppressed and how a ghazal writer was using the simple language of commoners as opposed to the "lifeless" language of the oppressing privileged classes meant that the local elites co-opted into the Soviet system could have a niche in the grand narrative of a Marxist-Leninist vision of the past. Of course, this cooptation also meant internalization of that ideology on the part of the local elites, and thus current Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Uzbek, Tajik, Azerbaijani, etc. nationalist ideologies were born in and now perpetuate, this awkward "Soviet nationalism."[24]

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[23] See, e.g. Caferoğlu, who, in accordance with the Soviet Azerbaijani framework, considers anyone active in Azerbaijan, Iran or Iraq, as an Azeri Turk, and envisions Turkish literature as an unbroken continuum beginning in the 10-11th century (Caferoğlu, Ahmet. "Die Azerbaidschanische Literatur." In: *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta.* Ed. Louis Bazin et al. Wiesbaden: Aquis Mattiacis & Francis Steiner, 1964, pp. 635-699).

[24] Soviet and post-Soviet ethno-nationalism is too vast a topic to be dealt with here at greater length. Suffice it to mention just a few studies: Wheeler, Geoffrey. *The Modern History of Central Asia.* New York: Praeger, 1965; "Russification and Sovietization of Central Asia." *Encyclopaedia of Modern Asia.* New York: Charles-Scribner's Sons, 2002; Fragner, Bert G. "'Soviet Nationalism': An Ideological Legacy to the Independent Republics of Central Asia and the Caucasus." In: *Identity Politics in Central Asia and the Muslim World.* Ed. E.J. Zürcher and W. van Schendel. London: I.B. Tauris, 2001, pp. 13-33; Sarsambayev, A. "Imagined Communities: Kazak Nationalism and Kazakification in the 1990s." *Central Asia Survey* 18:3 (1999), pp. 319-346; Akbarzadeh, Shahram. "Nation-building in Uzbekistan." *Central Asia Survey* 15:1 (1996), pp. 23-32; Shnirelman, V.A. *Who gets the past? Competition for Ancestors among Non-Russian Intellectuals in Russia.* Washington, D.C.; Baltimore: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996; DeWeese, Devin. *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition.* University Park, Pen.: Pennsylvania University Press, 1994, pp. 30-32. For a highly perceptive recent analysis of the construction of Azerbaijani identity in the contested space of the past and vis-à-vis Soviet Iranists using methods of Western Orientalism, see: Yilmaz, Harun. "A Family Quarrel: Azerbaijani Historians against Soviet Iranologists." *Iranian Studies* 48:5 (2015), pp. 769-783.

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The terms Azerbaijani Turkish or Azeri Turkish/Turkic have been subject to debate. On the one hand, the terms Azeri and Azerbaijani in connection with the word Turkic originated with Russian-trained Turkophone intellectuals of Russia's Transcaucasian territory in the early 20th century, which she had annexed in two successive wars against Qajar Persia in the first half of the 19th century.[25] The term was perpetuated during Soviet times, in order to counter pan-Turkist sentiments, while the pro-Soviet and Soviet-trained intelligentsia espoused it, in a fashion just depicted, to secure its own positions within the Soviet system, and to project and maintain some sort of a national identity. Azerbaijani nationalist ideology that formed as a consequence was in many respects similar to other nationalist ideologies nurtured during the Soviet era: it was part of the Soviets' *Divide et empera* policies of fostering ethnic rivalries to forestall independent aspirations in the Soviet colonies. This 20th-century-born national consciousness and such national engineering policies resulted in Azeri Turkish becoming a literary language in the modern sense of the word, with the status of official language in the Republic of Azerbaijan and the institutionalization such a status means: the language policies are perpetuated by a central educational system and cultural policies. In short, it is the language of power in that country.

The terms Azeri Turkish/Turkic, Azerbaijani Turkish/Turkic are appropriate in terms of linguistic history, in that the versions spoken in Republican Azerbaijan and by most Turkophone speakers in Western Iran descend from the Oghuz dialects used by the majority of Turkophone litterateurs under the Ṣafavids. However, as we will see, there are serious problems with it: 1) Linguistically, not all Turkophones of Iran speak Azerbaijani Turkish, there being several other dialects there, although, true, most of these dialects belong to the Oghuz group of Turkic languages, to which Azeri also belongs. 2) As we shall see in the following chapter, the dialectal

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[25] Swietochowski, Tadeusz. "The Politics of a Literary Language and the Rise of a National Identity in Russian Azerbaijan before 1920." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 14 (1991), pp. 55-63.

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differences between the various forms of Turkic spoken in the Persianate world were less important than the diametrical cultural and political opposition of nomad Turks to urban Iranian culture. In the sources, there are certainly references to linguistic differences between various dialects and literary traditions, but because these differences mattered but little compared to the opposition between Turkic and Persian, such references are scant. Such a state of affairs obtained mainly until the 16th century, when one of the Turkic literary languages, Ottoman Turkish, acquired the status of language of power, and when the confessional and political identity of speakers of Turkic languages necessitated an increased emphasis on differentiation. However, it still seems significant that such references are relatively scarce in the sources, and modern nationalism playing up the differences is more a retrospective narcissism of small differences than a reflection of the mentality of prenationalism speakers of Turkic. 3) Linguistic affiliation as a key to identity is more the product of modern ethno-nationalism.

One could also use the term Ṣafavid Turkish or Ṣafavid Turkic. It is parallel to Ottoman Turkish or Chaghatay Turkish/Chaghatay Turkic, both being ethno-linguistic terms modified by the name of a dynasty. However, Ottoman was a literary idiom that defined the entire Ottoman elite, being a fundamental part of the "Ottoman way;" the same thing is difficult to say about "Ṣafavid Turkic", which held a more marginal position. Further, because of the longevity of the Ottoman Empire, the term Ottoman Turkish can be used for connecting various epochs in the history of the territories where it was spoken, whereas due to the Ṣafavids' final demise by the middle of the 18th century and also by the end of various successive, more local political ventures that used the Ṣafavids' aura for legitimizing power, by the end of that century, the term Ṣafavid Turkic may not be used for connecting various epochs. From a linguistic point of view, therefore,

this term is somewhat arbitrary, for it does not stand for any distinct period in the history of the language.

Another possibility is to use the term Qizilbash/Kızılbaş Turkish/Turkic. Although it never gained wide currency, as we shall see further below, the term is known from several Ṣafavid sources. While it is unambiguous, it would limit the language to the Ṣafavids' tribal following, and, similar to the term Ṣafavid Turkic, it severs the literature of the period from its continuation.

One of the architects of Republican Turkish nationalist historiography, Fuad Köprülü presents an overview of Turkic literature in the Ṣafavid realm in his treatment of Azeri Turkish literature. He was the first to put forth the idea that Azeri was the result of the bifurcation of Oġuz Turkish into two distinct literary idioms, which were to become Ottoman and Azeri after the 14th century.[26] Köprülü's views are modified by Ildikó Bellér-Hann, who argues that the Azeri Turkish literary language, more precisely its predecessor, is a continuation of the Old Anatolian language, from which Ottoman had departed around the mid-15th century.[27] She uses the term ʿAjamī Turkī or *Turc Ajämi*, in which she follows Tourkhan Gandjeï, who gleaned it from the writings of a 17th-century missionary, Raphael du Mans.[28] This is a suitable, unambiguous term, which, unlike the term *Azeri,* correctly encompasses both the Azerbaijani Republic and the Iranian province with that name as well as regions beyond them, such as Iraq, where this variant was also used.[29] The word *'Ajam* in Arabic originally depicted roughly the same as the Ancient Greeks meant under *barbarian*, i.e. people who spoke a different language,

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[26] Köprülü, Mehmet Fuat. "Âzeri." *İslam Ansiklopedisi.* Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940-1986, vol. I, pp. 118–151.
[27] Bellér-Hann, Ildikó. "The Oghuz Split." *Materialia Turcica* 16 (1992), p. 120.
[28] Gandjeï, Tourkhan. "Turcica Agemica." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 76 (1986), p. 119.
[29] For a summary of these views, see also Vásáry, István [2002] 2003. "The Beginnings of Western Turkic Literacy in Anatolia and Iran." In: *Irano-Turkic Cultural Contacts in the 11th–17th Centuries.* Ed. Éva M. Jeremiás. Piliscsaba: The Avicenna Institute of Middle Eastern Studies, pp. 245–253.

i.e. in this case, the Persians; it is this latter meaning that was used in Ottoman Turkish, too.[30] Another advantage is that it is unambiguous and not loaded, which distances it somewhat from nationalist claims; its disadvantage, however, is that it has never been in wide circulation.

All in all, as I have tried to indicate, each of these terms has merits and drawbacks, too. Accordingly, each of them will be used with the caveats indicated.

A brief overview of the state of the field of Ṣafavid Turkic Literary Studies

Ṣafavid Turkic literature is a highly neglected field in both Turkology and Iranian studies, despite the boost the latter have recently been experiencing. Many of the primary sources, be they poetic or biographical, are unpublished or poorly edited. Huge strides have been made in Iranian scholarship both in the cataloging and publishing of historical and biographical sources, and Azerbaijani scholars have published a lot of the Turkic poetry produced in the Ṣafavid period, but there are still enormous gaps. Consequently, we do not have full knowledge of who the poets and other literati who wrote in Turkic in this era were. A good measurement of the scope of Turkic literature could perhaps be obtained if we had an assessment of Turkic manuscripts produced in the period, and although such cataloging work is under way, it is far from completed. However, the large bibliographical projects, particularly their digitization in Iran as well as in the West, will form a solid base for further research.[31]

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[30] Gabrieli, F. "Adjam." *EI²*; Karaismailoğlu, Adnan. "Acem." *TDVİA*.

[31] Hopefully, the desolate state of most of the Turkic manuscript material in Iranian libraries lying unknown and untapped, a complaint Eleazar Birnbaum raised in the early 1980s, is increasingly becoming a thing of the past. (Birnbaum, Eleazar. "Turkish Manuscripts: Cataloguing Since 1960 and Manuscripts Still Uncatalogued: Part 3: U.S.S. R., Iran, Afghanistan, Arab Lands (Except Palestine), Israel and Palestine, India and Pakistan, China." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 103 (1983), pp. 696–697). Among the new bibliographical projects should be mentioned the manuscript catalog project found at http://www.aghabozorg.ir/, which is a database of manuscript catalogs run by the Mīrāṯ-i Maktūb research center. An assessment of the Turkic holdings in Iranian collections as presented in catalogs can be found in: Aydın, Şadi. *İran Kütüphaneleri Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu.* Istanbul: Tımaş

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Further, even at its best, the field has primarily been subject to linguistic inquiries, literary history remaining neglected. Of course, there are histories of Azerbaijani literature, but most of them suffer from a nationalism that projects the existence of a primordial Azerbaijani culture since time immemorial.[32] Equally aggravating, most treatments scarcely go beyond positivist or vulgar Marxist approaches that, as part of the base-superstructure dialectic, view literature as a direct expression of or a hunting ground for biographical, historical or social *facts*. However, there are promising recent developments there, too. Although Azerbaijani academia is stiflingly ideological, the cultural policies of the Republic of Azerbaijan have certainly led to the publication of a now considerable segment of the literature of the Ṣafavid epoch, even if the quality of these publications is greatly varied. One of the most prominent scholars of the subject is Paşa Kərimov, whose publication of the Turkic poetry of Ḳawsī Tabrīzī and Ṣādiḳī Beg, a useful anthology of 17th-century 'Azeri' literature and a commendable history of 17th-century Azerbaijani lyric poetry are important steps forward.[33] Nevertheless, it is a constant problem that Azerbaijani publications almost exlusively contain or discuss the Turkic output of Ṣafavid authors, and thus we are often at a loss as to how to situate that either in the author's oeuvre or in a larger literary-historical context.

Yayınları, 2008; and we should mention the catalog of Turkic manuscripts housed in the Marʿashi-Najafi Library in Qom: Muttaḳī, Ḥusayn. *Fihrist-i nusḫahā-yi ḫaṭṭī-yi turkī-yi Kitābḫāna-yi Buzurg-i ḥażrat-i Āyat Allāh al-uẓmá Marʿaşī-yi Najafī: ganjīna-yi Jahānī-i maḫṭūṭāt-i Islāmī*. Qum: Kitābkhāna-yi Buzurg va Ganjīna-yi Maḫṭūṭāt-i Islāmī-i Ḥażrat Āyat Allāh al-ʿUẓmá Marʿashī Najafī, 1381- [2002-].

[32] For a recent example, see: Rüstemova, Azade. "Azeri (Doğu Sahası)." In: *Türk Dünyası Edebiyat Tarihi. Cilt 6: Türk Dünyası Ortak Edebiyat*. Ed. Sadık Tural et al. Ankara, 2004, pp. 405–541. Although there were promising beginnings of Azerbaijani nationalist literary historiography at the beginning of the 20th century (e.g. Mümtaz, Salman. *Azərbaijan ədəbiyatynyn gaynaglary*. [Baku]: Yazychy, 1986; and Köçerli, Firidun Bey. *Azarbaijan adabiiaty*. Baku: Elm, 1978), these works are largely outdated.

[33] Kərimov, Paşa. *Qövsi Təbrizi: Divan (Elmi-tənkidi mətn)*. Baku: Nurlan, 2006; *XVII əsr anadilli Azərbaycan lirikası*. Bakı: Nurlan, 2011.

Most treatments are biased. Literary histories of Iran are biased, for they almost completely neglect Turkic literature produced in the Persianate world.[34] In fact, the Persian literature of the Ṣafavid period has also suffered. 19-20th century historians and critics in a nationalist paradigm dismiss it, perceiving it to come after the great "classics" and to show signs of cultural decline, a fallacy that has been challenged by scholars.[35] Most contemporary Azerbaijani treatments are biased, for they largely disregard the Persian background in the name of a nationalist project that, as mentioned above, has the vision of Azerbaijani Turks (!) and Azerbaijani Turkic literature and culture having struggled since time immemorial. Several scholars present a view according to which Turkic literati in the era were following only Turkic models, primarily Fużūlī and Navā'ī, and not Persian ones—a view that largely disregards the underlying Persian literary and cultural patterns.[36]

Aside from the Republic of Azerbaijan, Turkey is the most active in researching Azerbaijani Turkish, a part of the national cultural policy of studying other Turkic peoples. Of course, it is Fużūlī and Shah Ismā'īl "Ḫaṭā'ī" who receive most attention, on account of their respective relevance for Ottoman literature and history. Many treatments are informed by pan-Turkist ideology, and few are the studies that are characterized by meticulous scholarly analysis and insight. Such is the case of Fuad Köprülü, who wrote the most comprehensive and definitive

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[34] To be fair, it should not be forgotten that the most comprehensive history of literature in Iran written by Zabīḥ Allāh Ṣafā, does give a brief outline of Turkish in the period (Ṣafā, Zabīḥ Allāh. *Tārīḫ-i adabīyāt dar Īrān.* 6th ed. Tehran: Intişārāt-i Firdawsī, 1362ş/1983, vol. 5, pt. 1, pp. 423–429).

[35] E.g. Yārşātir, Iḥsān. *Şi'r-i fārsī dar 'ahd-i Şāhruḫ (nīma-yi avval-i ḳarn-i nuhum), yā, āġāz-i inḥiṭāṭ dar şi'r-i fārsī.* Tehran: Dānişgāh-i Tihrān, 1955; Losensky, Paul E. *Welcoming Fighānī: Imitation and Poetic Individuality in the Safavid-Mughal Ghazal.* Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda Publishers, 1998; Şafī'ī Kadkanī, Muḥammad Riżā. "Persian Literature from the Time of Jâmi to the Present Day." In: *History of Persian Literature from the Beginning of the Islamic Period to the Present Day.* Ed. George Morrison, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1981, pp. 166-206.

[36] Caferoğlu, Ahmet. "Die Azerbaidschanische Literatur." In: *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta.* Ed. Louis Bazin et al. Wiesbaden: Aquis Mattiacis & Francis Steiner, 1964, vol. 2, pp. 635-699; Nağieva, Cannat. *Azarbaycanda Navai.* Baku: "Turul-a" Naşriyyat-Poliqrafiya Markazi, 2001; Rüstemova, Azade. "Azeri (Doğu Sahası)." In: *Türk Dünyası Edebiyat Tarihi. Cilt 6: Türk Dünyası Ortak Edebiyatı.* Ed. Sadık Tural et al. Ankara, 2004, pp. 405–541. For a refreshingly different approach from Iran, see Hay'at, Javād. *Āẕarbayjān adabiyāt tārīḫinä bir baḫış.* Tehran, 1358sh/1979-80.

treatment of the subject.[37] More recent is Muhsin Macit's small but intelligent summary of the latest developments in the field, who uses most of the pertinent publications that have appeared in Turkey.[38]

In Turkey, the study of the Turkic literary traditions of Iran is thwarted by the fact that there is surprisingly little research on Iran carried out by Turkish scholars, only a few of whom are sufficiently versed in Persian. While the first generation of formative historians of the Republic, such as Fuad Köprülü, Zeki Velidi Togan or Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, and also a few coming after them, such as Bekir Kütükoğlu or Ahmed Ateş, knew Persian and used Persian sources, this can hardly be claimed about the generations coming in their wake. While Arabic found refuge as part of religious education even during heavily secularizing times, Persian had no such function, and therefore was ignored in the early Republic. Turkish historiography is heavily inward-looking; Ottomanists use Ottoman sources, and the study of Turkic literature in Iran could only be carried out, even to the small extent it actually is, in the framework of the study of the literary traditions of the Turkic language family. Not alien to pan-Turkism, most Turkish scholars working on such literary traditions lack a historical perspective and are honest philologists at best, working for a veritable transcription industry in Turkey. Further, after the Islamic Revolution of 1979 in Iran and the military coup of 1980 in Turkey, with the latter's NATO membership and commitment to the US and Israel in the next two decades, Irano-Turkish relations considerably soured, further strengthening the decline of the study of Persian in Turkey, despite the sizable Iranian diaspora in Istanbul, the key role of Iranian or Persian culture for

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[37] Köprülü, Mehmet Fuat. "Âzeri." *İslam Ansiklopedisi.* Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940-1986, vol. I, pp. 118–151, especially pp. 133–139.

[38] Macit, Muhsin. "Azeri sahası Türk edebiyatı (XIII–XIX. Yüzyıl)." In: *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi.* Ed. Talât Sait Halman. Istanbul: Türk Cumhuriyeti Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2006, vol. 2, pp. 229–237.

Ottoman or Turkic history and the abundance of Persian manuscripts and archival materials in Turkish holdings.[39]

There are two treatments of the subject published in western reference works that are worth mentioning. One is Caferoğlu's article in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* which is fortunately purged of many of the Azeri nationalist exaggerations of his article in the *Fundamenta*; the other one is Hasan Javadi and Kathleen Burrill's short overview of the history of Azeri Turkish literature in the *Encyclopaedia Iranica*.[40] The most important pieces in Western scholarship related to Turkic in Iran, however, come from Vladimir Minorsky, a giant in Persianate studies, whose articles, especially the series entitled *Turkmenica*, are hitherto unchallenged classics of the field; and we should also mention Tourkhan Ganjei, who, aside from an important edition of Shah Ismāʿīl's *Dīvān*, published a series of articles that present various Turkophone authors from Ṣafavid times with excerpts from their works, and a useful though short overview of the status of Turkic in Ṣafavid Iran.[41] A more recent pendent to the latter article is that of Hasan Javadi and Willem Floor, who provide quite a rich amount of data regarding the use of Turkic in the era.[42]

The chief biographical source for ʿAjamī Turkic literature published in Iran is Muḥammad ʿAlī Tarbiyat's biographical dictionary, a pioneering, although by now outdated, work which discusses literati, Persian and Turkish alike, from the northwestern part of the Iranian world. Unfortunately, it lacks an index and, more regrettably, a list of the sources the

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[39] For a highly critical analysis of the roots of the state of Iranian Studies in Turkey, see: Yüksel, Metin. "Iranian Studies in Turkey." *Iranian Studies* 48:4 (2015), pp. 531-550.

[40] Caferoğlu, Ahmet. "Ādharī (Azerī)." *EI*[2]; idem. "Die Azerbaidschanische Literatur." In: *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta.* Ed. Louis Bazin et al. Wiesbaden: Aquis Mattiacis & Francis Steiner, 1964, vol. 2, pp. 635-699; Javadi, Hasan – Burrill, Kathleen. "Azeri Literature in Iran." *EIr*.

[41] Gandjei, Tourkhan. "A Note on an Illustrated Ms. of Shāh Ismāʾīl." *Turcica - Revue d'Études Turques - Peuples, Langues, Cultures, États* 18 (1986), pp. 159-164; idem. "Notes on the Life and Work of Ṣādiqī: A Poet and Painter of Ṣafavid Times." *Der Islam* 52 (1975), pp. 112–18; idem. "Turkish in the Ṣafavid Court of Iṣfahān." *Turcica* 21–23 (1991), pp. 311–18; idem. "'Turcica Agemica'." *Wiener Zeitschrift Für Die Kunde Des Morgenlandes* 76 (1986), pp. 119–24.

[42] Floor, Willem, and Javadi, Hasan. "The Role of Azerbaijani Turkish in Safavid Iran." *Iranian Studies* 46, no. iv (2013), pp. 569–81.

author consulted.[43] In Iran, with the lifting of the official ban on publishing in Azeri Turkic after the Revolution, regionally arranged collections of biographical material, as well as a short, modest but useful outline of Turkic literature in Iran have appeared.[44] The increasing availability of Persian biographical sources and the legality of publishing Turkic literature in Iran is a promising starting point for further research.

A Shah and a Painter: the outline of the dissertation

The first chapter starts with an overview of Turkic literature from the time Turkic was first written down to the beginning of the Ṣafavid period. The emphasis is on how the Ṣafavid period was or was not different from previous epochs in the history of the Persianate world in terms of the cultural and social function of Turkic as a literary language and what ideological background its use under various Turko-Persian polities may have had. The historical survey ends with the Timurid period and points to the many highly significant continuities between it and the Ṣafavid era.

The five chapters that follow the first are about two very different litterateurs who lived in largely the same space and social circles but their lives were separated from each other by roughly a decade. One of them is Shah Ismāʿīl I, the founder of the dynasty, who descended from an illustrious line of Ṣafavid sheikhs and picked up the messianic claims of his grandfather and father. His poetry, as we shall see, served largely propaganda purposes and used the language

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[43] Tarbiyat, Muḥammad. *Dānişmandān-i Āẕarbayjān.* Tehran: [s.n.]), 1314 [1935], pp. 212-213; reviewed by Minorsky, Vladimir. *BSOAS* 9 (1937), pp. 251–253.
[44] Dayhīm, Muḥammad. *Taẕkira-yi şuʿarā-yi Āẕarbayjān: Tārīḫ-i zindagī va āsar.* [Tabriz]: Çāp-i Āẕarābādigān, 1368-/1989-; Dawlatābādī, ʿAzīz. *Suḫanvarān-i Āẕarbayjān: az Ḳaṭrān tā Şahriyār.* Tabriz: Sutūda, 1377/1998; Hayʾat, Javād. *Āẕarbayjān adabiyāt tārīḫina bir baḫış.* Tehran, 1358sh/1979-80.

and style of not only the high genres of mainstream Sufi and court poetry but also popular genres and forms.

In Chapters Two and Three, dedicated to Shah Ismāʿīl's poetry, the emphasis is on reception, presented with a heavily philological methodology. Chapter Two is an analysis of the messianic content of his *Dīvān* of poetry, revisiting the question of how its manuscript copies reflected changes in the messianic image of the Ṣafavids. In doing so, it presents a philological survey of the available manuscripts and offers an alternative to currently held views in scholarship as to how we are to understand this kind of poetry and Ṣafavid messianism at large. Chapter Three analyzes the phenomenon of how Shah Ismāʿīl's poetry was often mistaken for that of the most outstanding representative of Turkophone poetry in the late 14th-early 15th century, Nasīmī, and vice versa, how Nasīmī's poems were misattributed to Shah Ismāʿīl. I will situate this philological phenomenon between literary and oral culture, claiming that despite the obviously literate context the copies of Shah Ismāʿīl's *Dīvān* come from, this kind of poetry was by its very nature deeply informed by the oral culture of its Qizilbash-Turkmen audience.

It is after this that I turn to the other protagonist of these pages, the aforesaid Ṣādiḳī Beg, a major painter and bilingual litterateur of the Ṣafavid period. Chapter Four is dedicated to his biography. In this detailed account, I pay special attention to the various patronage circles he belonged to or tried to belong to, drawing parallels between patronage the arts and literature received in the period and how Ṣādiḳī the artist and poet fashioned himself in the changes the patronage system underwent towards the latter half of the 16th century, illustrating how the Turkophone elite reacted to these changes. It is against this background that Chapter Five discusses Turkic literary history in the Ṣafavid period through Ṣādiḳī's biographical anthology of poets, comparing this work with other similar biographical compilations. Discussing this

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biographical anthology, I will survey the history of Turkic literature and literacy in Ṣafavid Iran itself. While this dissertation focuses on the period from the 16th through the early 17th century, I will make a quick foray into the rest of the dynasty's tenure and bring the story down to the fall of the Ṣafavids in 1722. I will treat different spheres of language, including everyday speech and diplomacy, but will give special focus to creative literature, both poetry and prose. Mention will be made of litterateurs of Ṣafavid territorial origin who were active in the Ottoman Empire and Mughal India, respectively. I will, on the one hand, briefly compare the status and function of Turkic in Ṣafavid Persia with that in the Ottoman Empire and Mughal India, and, on the other hand, present Turkophone Iranian emigrants as part of the larger historical process of elite migration. However, the main thrust of our story stops at the death of Ṣādiḳī Beg in 1610. I have chosen this date as the end point not only because he is the other major figure that this dissertation analyzes, but also because his death occurred roughly midway through the reign of 'Abbās with its profound changes in the dispensation of the Ṣafavid polity.

In Chapter Six, the two main narrative lines in the dissertation meet. It analyzes through a number of literary works by Shah Ismā'īl, Ṣādiḳī and others the two main Turkic literary traditions in Persia and how linguistic and literary choices informed the Turkophone litterateur's public image. Finally, the Conclusion takes a step back and reviews the place of Turkic within the larger Turko-Persian world, elaborating on whether the Ṣafavid period brought any changes in this regard, and how the case of Iran in the epoch compares with language policy under the other Islamic "Gunpowder Empires", searching for parallels with European imperial ventures, too.

One could legitimately pose the question: and where is Fużūlī? Indeed, there is hardly a litterateur in the era whose international popularity could be compared to that of the great master

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of Baghdad. Fużūlī was considered by Turkophone poets in both the Ottoman Empire and Ṣafavid Persia one of the most if not *the* most paradigmatic author in Turkic in the 16ᵗʰ century. However, on the one hand, his stature, the enormity of his output and the paper trail it produced is such that its discussion would certainly go beyond the limits of this already unwieldy project, warranting a separate monographic study or studies. On the other hand, since he was particularly popular in Ottoman Turkish literature, focusing on his works would shift the discussion away from the Ṣafavids towards the Ottomans to such an extent that it would fundamentally alter the subject of the present treatment.

Another legitimate criticism could be the imbalance between the discussion of Shah Ismāʿīl and Ṣādiḳī Beg in that I hardly touch on the biography of the former, while I discuss at length that of the latter. To this, I can say that the main contours of Shah Ismāʿīl's biography have been available to scholarship for a long time, which has made good use of the rich historiographical literature coming from both Iran and their Ottoman and Uzbek adversaries, not to mention contemporary Western accounts. Further, due to the highly conventional character of the genres of popular poetry, both religious and secular, that Shah Ismāʿīl wrote in, it is extremely difficult to glean biographical information from his poems. It is more fruitful to analyze how it was received by its audience and what kind of audience that might have been. As to Ṣādiḳī's biography, although there are a number of versions available, most of his literary works have not been used for its reconstruction, which, together with the more complex methodology I use in my version of Ṣādiḳī's biography, makes it important to include it in the present dissertation.

Finally, as far as Turkic literature in Ṣafavid Persia is concerned (and in other fields, too), there seems to be a communication gap between western and non-western, particularly

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Azerbaijani, scholarship, a problem this dissertation cannot undertake to remedy. On the one hand, there is an enormous dearth of scholarship in the west, scholars still having to rely on a few articles and editions mentioned above that Vladimir Minorsky and Tourkhan Gandjei produced 60-70 and 30-50 years ago, respectively. On the other hand, there is an entire parallel academic reality in the Republic of Azerbaijan, where scholars consult a lot of the primary sources but are largely unaware of western literature, are often prone to nationalist bias and unreflected Marxism, and are devoid of adequate methodological and theoretical approaches to deal with the sophistication of the subject. While I do think that further expansion of the present project will definitely demand a deeper engagement particularly with native Azerbaijani scholarship than is here afforded, for the reasons just mentioned, this would, on one hand, enormously increase the quantity but regrettably not so much the quality of the secondary literature consulted, and on the other hand, it would tilt the discussion towards issues of Soviet and post-Soviet nationalism too much to be accommodated in the present study. Therefore, I will use Azerbaijani scholarship selectively.

Chapter One

Sons of Japheth: Turkic Language, Literacy and Literature prior to the Ṣafavids

Before explaining vernacularization in the Persianate world with the Ṣafavid era and the place of Ṣafavid Turkic literature in it, as the subject of the present chapter a brief outline of the history of Turkic literature and literacy, with specific focus on its role in various polities in Islamicate Eurasia prior to the 16th century is in order. It would go beyond the limits of this dissertation if I tried to do justice to the entirety of this literary history, which is almost a millennium long and anything but a linear continuity. Nevertheless, with the caveat that there is much work to be done in such an undertaking, that nationalist and Orientalist discourses have greatly distorted much of our understanding and that the scarcity of sources is bound to limit our knowledge no matter what, I will attempt at presenting some of the main trends that accompanied the development of the role of Turkic in the vast space of the Nile-to-Oxus region, parallel to the evolution of the role of Turks in the Muslim world. Transcending nationalist narratives that talk about a primordially conceived, inevitable, teleological development of Turkic Literature, I will argue that the emergence of Turkic literacy and literature can only be understood as a complex dynamic relationship between politics, confession, script(ure) and language.

From the Orkhon Runes to Islamization

Writing in Turkic goes back before Turks converted to Islam. The first inscriptions, the script of which ultimately derived probably from Aramaic, date from the 8th century, the time of

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the so-called Second Turkic Khaganate or Göktürk Empire (682-744) centered roughly in what is today Mongolia. These Turkic (or Göktürk) Runes were not for everyday use but had celebratory purposes, and had no bureaucratic function, either. The Göktürk Empire was terminated by the Uyghurs in 744, who held out until 840 when they were ousted by the Kirghiz and took refuge in China, Qansu and East Turkestan. The Uyghur group in East Turkestan abandoned the nomadic way of life, and set up a state with Qara Qocho in the Turfan Depression and Besh Baliq on the northern slopes of the Ti'en Shan where they merged with Indo-Iranian speakers and developed a flourishing cultural life.[1] Basing their script on that of the Sogdians, the Uyghurs would later play a key role in the administration of the Mongol Empire.

Muslims first met Turks as early as the 7th century, when they encountered the Khazars at the Caspian and the Göktürks in Transoxiana. Turks had significant presence in the caliphate from the 9th century as slave soldiers, where the Iranian urban element considered them as veritable Barbarians.[2] It is this attitude of hostility and superiority that Ṭabarī (224-310/839-923) reflects with the way he presents them in the framework of prophetic history and the mythogenesis of various nations. Based on traditionists' reports, he claims that Noah had three sons: Shem, Ham and Japheth. Ham was disrespectful to his father, for which God blackened his descendents' skin, who are the Abessynians and the Indians. Shem is the father of the Arabs, Greeks and Persians; and Noah's third son, Japheth, is the father of the Turks, Slavs, as well as

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[1] Allsen, Thomas. "The Yüan Dynasty and the Uighurs of Turfan in the 13th Century." In: Rossabi, Morris (ed.). *China among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and Its Neighbors, 10th-14th Centuries.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983, pp. 243-281; Golden, Peter B. *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples: Ethnogenesis and State-formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East*. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1992, pp. 172-173. Uyghur literature is extremely rich and seems to have been studied primarily by philologists. It is not a unitary literary tradition, in that some of it was put down in Uyghur, some in runic and some in Manichean and Syriac script and it encompasses Christian, Manichean and Buddhist writings, as well as a small amount of non-religious corpus (Zieme, Peter. "Pre-Islamic Literature of the Turks." *EI²*).

[2] Frenkel, Yehoshua. *The Turkic Peoples in Medieval Arabic Writings.* New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2015, pp. 2-8.

Gog and Magog, two mythical Barbarian peoples who inherited the lands of the north.[3] Reflecting the ethnic make-up of the elite of the 'Abbāsid caliphate at its heydays, the traditions that Ṭabarī presents have Arabs and Persians, the two formative groups of the elite of the caliphate, as being closely related and coming from Shem, in opposition to the Turks descending from Japheth in the company of the bizarre, aggressive, potentially dangerous "Other" that Gog and Magog represent. We also find the same attitude in a number of hadiths with claims like

> "The hour of the resurrection shall not come until the Muslims win a decisive victory over the *atrāk* ['Turks']. These are people with faces resembling iron shields, who wear furs. The Prophet pointed to the East and said: From this direction the horn of Satan will emerge."[4]

Ṭabarī's account seems to reflect his negative views on the Turks whom he must have encountered mainly as slave soldiers dominating the political affairs of the caliphate by the late 9th century and posing a serious threat to its internal stability. This mytho-genealogy was taken over into Bal'amī's Persian adaptation of Ṭabarī's history, commissioned in 352/963 by Manṣūr b. Nūḥ, (r. 350-365/961-976), the ruler of the Sāmānid dynasty, who very proudly cultivated their Iranian origins in their territories in Transoxiana and Khorasan, the eastern periphery of the gradually declining Caliphate. In his effort at simplifying and streamlining, Bal'amī gets rid of the conflicting reports he finds in Ṭabarī; in his account, the genealogy is much simpler: Arabs and Persians descend from Shem, while "Turks, Slavs, Gog and Magog, and folks in whom there is no good", come from Japheth. Most probably, the attitude Bal'amī displays is a reflection of his dismay at the political ascendance of Oghuz Turks at the Sāmānid court in Bukhara as well as

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[3] Ṭabarī. *The Children of Israel.* Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1991, 10-22; Heller, B. and Rippin, A. "Yāfith." *EI².* There are some conflicts in the genealogical accounts Ṭabarī relies on, especially the genealogical relationship between the Arabs and Persians, in that certain accounts present them as first cousins.
[4] Quoted in Frenkel, *The Turkic Peoples in Medieval Arabic Writings*, p. 5.

the ravage tribal Turks had brought to the countryside.[5] This negative image of Turks as present in Islamic lore was parallel to their image we find in the Persian epic tradition of the age. In particular, Firdawsī, the author of the *Shahnāma*, presents the myth of Farīdūn's sons, in which Tūr, the forefather of the Turks, conspires with his brother Salm to kill their brother Īraj, the father of Iranians, thereby starting the eternal struggle between Iran and Turan.

Towards the late 10th century, as formulated by Jehoshua Frenkel, there were Turkic nomads operating on both sides of the border of the caliphate, Turks were "recruited by local political entities" and "*atrāk* invaders […] seized power in countries within the Abode of Islam."[6] Indeed, the next phase in the literacy of Turks came with their *en mass* Islamization in Turkestan and Eastern Iran during the 10-11th centuries. The Japheth myth was one of the "mechanisms" to explain for the Islamic *umma* the communal conversion of the Turks, on the one hand, and to present them as the barbarian "other", on the other hand.[7]

By the 10th-11th centuries, New Persian, i.e. Islamized Persian Literature, had emerged in the eastern part of the caliphate as a sign of the emergence of local cultural-political ventures that sought distance from the central power of Baghdad. The eastern regions, particularly Khorasan and Transoxiana, were subject to recurring waves of nomad Turkmens, and an elongated process of Turkification commenced. Indeed, according to Vladimir Minorsky's well-known formulation, the Persianate world was subject to three such waves of nomadic influx, that of the

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[5] Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad Balʿamī. *Tārīḫ-i Balʿamī: Takmila va tarjuma-yi Tārīḫ-i Ṭabarī, taʾlīf-i Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad Ibn Jarīr Ṭabarī.* Ed. Malik al-Shuʿarāʾ Muḥammad Taqī Bahār, and Muḥammad Parvīn Gunābādī. [Tehran]: Zavvār, 1353 [1974], vol. 1, p. 142. Balʿamī was a bureaucrat at the court of the Sāmānids in Bukhara in Transoxiana. They were one of the local dynasties that were becoming strong enough to assert their authority parallel to the weakening of the central caliphate. This was reflected in the fact that they gave patronage to local culture, supporting not only Arabic but also Persian cultural acitivities. For a perceptive analysis of Balʿamī's motifs for writing his history, see: Meisami, Julie Scott. *Persian Historiography to the End of the Twelfth Century.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999, pp. 15-46; Daniel, Elton L. "The Rise and Development of Persian Historiography." In: *Persian Historiography*. Ed. Charles Melville. London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2012, pp. 101-154, esp. 103-114.
[6] Frenkel, *The Turkic Peoples in Medieval Arabic Writings*, p. 14.
[7] DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde*, p. 25.

Oġuz, the Mongol and the Qizilbash. There certainly were regional differences. As argued by John Perry, the Turkification of the Iranian plateu started in the 13ᵗʰ century, by which time Persian had strongly established itself; Central Asia, i.e. Transoxiana and East Turkestan was overrun by Turkic waves in the 11ᵗʰ century, relatively soon after Persian had replaced indigenous Iranian languages there, Sogdian and Khwarazmian in the first place.[8]

Bal'amī's worst fears came true. The first Turkic dynasty to rise to political prominence in Islamic history were the Ghaznavids who started out as *ġulām* or slave soldiers and supplanted their former masters, the aforesaid Sāmānid dynasty in 389/998-999. They nevertheless carried on the patronage traditions of the latter, and supported such illustrious figures of Persian literature as the aforesaid Firdawsī, the author of the *Şāhnāma*, lyricists such as Unṣurī, Farruḫī, Manūçihrī, or the chronicler Bayhaḳī. They lost Eastern Iran to the Seljuks, who ended Ghaznavid rule there in 1040. Both these formations patronized Persian literature and culture, although it is evident that they retained their native Turkic tongue for daily use. According to István Vásáry, the Ghaznavids as originally slave soldiers probably had no distinct Turkic literary traditions that they could carry on; as they came from such a low social status, they embraced Persian language and culture wholesale, as is often the case with neophytes with a sense of cultural inferiority.[9] Likewise, as Vásáry argues, although the Seljuks were not of slave origins but independent tribes and clans that conquered the Persianate world *en masse*, their lack of previous imperial experience must have made them feel socially and culturally backwards and therefore they were also inundated by Persian high culture instead of pursuing the creation of a

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[8] Perry, John R. "The Historical Relation of Turkish to Persian of Iran." *Iran and the Caucasus* 5 (2001), pp. 193–200.

[9] Vásáry, István. "Two Patterns of Acculturation to Islam: The Qarakhanids versus the Ghaznavids and Seljuqs." In: *The Idea of Iran, Volume 6. The Age of the Seljuqs.* Ed. by Edmund Herzig and Sarah Stewart. London & New York: I.B. Tauris, 2015, pp. 9–28. I thank Professor Vásáry for giving me access to his article before its publication.

Turkic *adab* or court culture.[10] At the same time, however, the Seljuk ascent in and their political

domination of, the caliphate corresponded with a change in the image of the Turks as present

particularly in the Arabic belles-lettres of the age. Famously called by Marshall Hodgson the

'ayān-amīr system, a new social and political dispensation rose in the Islamic world which

accommodated the Turkic element as an integral part. Accordingly, inasmuch as the caliph lost

or delegated political power to the Turkic sultan, in local political entities political and military

power was wielded by various Turkic dynasties of tribal origins, while the adminstration was run

by Persian notables.[11] As was put by the famous lexicographer of Qarakhanid Turkic, Maḥmūd

al-Kāşġarī, *"tatsız türk bolmas, başsız börk bolmas"* – 'No Turk without a Persian, no cap

without a head'.[12] This arrangement would arguably govern the Persianate world, a vast swathe

of land, down to the 19th century, for, as succinctly worded by John Perry,

> "[…] the territorial expansion of Persia's Turkophpone dynasts—the Ghaznavids into
> India, the Saljuqs into Iraq and Anatolia, the Timurids in amalgamating Central Asia and
> the plateu and re-colonizing India—automatically extended the range of imperial and
> literary Persian, the language both of diplomatic and commercial contact and of courtly
> prestige."[13]

The Turk was now seen as an integral part of the Muslim universe. The Seljuk takeover

and the resultant *en mass* presence of Turks in the territory of the caliphate effected great ethnic

changes; their acquisition of seats of government and the shift of power from the caliph to the

Seljuk sultan fundamentally altered the political system of the caliphate; and, we might add, their

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[10] Ibid. p. 20.
[11] Hodgson, Marshall G. S. *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974, vol. 2, pp. 64-69, 91-94, 131-135, 260-261.
[12] Kāşġarī, Maḥmūd. *Türk Şiveleri Lügatı (Dīvānü Luġāt-it-Türk)*. Ed. and transl. Robert Dankoff and James Kelly. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982-1985, vol. 1, p. 176; vol. 2, p. 407.
[13] Perry, John. "The Origin and Development of Literary Persian." In: *General Introduction to Persian Literature.* Ed. Bruijn, J. T. P. de. London; New York: New York: I.B. Tauris; Distributed in the USA by Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, p. 38.

promotion of Sunnism and the patronage they provided to the genuine intellectual cosmopolis of the madrasa system with a unified curriculum—these all led to a new place for Turks in Islamic political discourse.[14]

This novel image is reflected in the aforesaid Kāşġarī's compendium of the language of the Qarluq Turks in the late 11th century. Unlike the Ghaznavids, the Qarluq Turkic tribes, who established their polity known as the Qarakhanid Empire in East Turkestan and Transoxiana at the end of the 10th century, did not convert to Islam as slave soldiers but as free tribes; and unlike the Seljuks, they retained their aristocratic tribal culture for several generations, likely, as Vásáry surmises, because some of their tribal constituencies carried on the Göktürk imperial tradition; and there is evidence of the continuation of Uyghur literacy in their territories in East Turkestan.[15]   Three sizable literary pieces survive from that period in Qarakhanid Turkic: the abovementioned Maḥmūd al-Kāşġarī's voluminous lexicographical compendium, the *Dīvan luġat al-turk*, completed between 464/1071-72 and 476/1083-84; Yūsuf Ḫāṣṣ Ḥājib's versified Mirror for Princes entitled *Ḳutadġu Bilig* and completed in 462/1069-70; and Adīb Aḥmad Yuknakī's didactic poem entitled *'Atabat al-ḥaḳā'iḳ* from the 12th century.[16] One of the most remarkable features of the language of these pieces is that, contrary to what would characterize later Muslim Turkic literary idioms, it has but relatively few Arabic and Persian elements. In terms of vocabulary, it has more in common with Uyghur literature from before the Qarakhanids' conversion to Islam than with the literature of later times. However, "these literary traditions were not to bear fruit; they were discontinued, and later Muslim Turkic literacy

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[14] Frenkel, *The Turkic Peoples in Medieval Arabic Writings,* pp. 26-27.
[15] Vásáry, "Two Patterns of Acculturation to Islam."
[16] Kāşġarī. *Türk Şiveleri Lügatı (Dīvānü Luġāt-it-Türk)*; Hazai, György. "al-Kāshgharī." *EI²*; Dankoff, Robert. "Qarakhanid Literature and the Beginnings of Turco-Islamic Culture." In: *Central Asian Monuments.* Ed. Hasan Bülent Paksoy. Beylerbeyi, Istanbul: İsis Press, pp. 58-66. "Adīb Aḥmad Yuknakī." *EI²*. We also know of interlinear Koran translations written in the same literary idiom (Eckmann, János. *Middle Turkic Glosses of the Rylands Interlinear Koran Translation.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1976, pp. 11-19).

sprouted from another soil."[17] Using Pollock's terminology cited in the *Introduction*, these literary works were the products of literarization, equipped with some features of the prestige culture (e.g. the *Kutadġu Bilig* was written in the *mutaķārib* meter, commonly used in the Persian epic tradition), but Turkic was not superimposed as the language of bureaucracy or the court.

In the introductory section of his lexicon, Kāşġarī presents the image of a new age with Turkic rule as ordained by God:

> "When I saw that God Most High had caused the Sun of Fortune to rise in the Zodiac of the Turks, and set their Kingdom among the spheres of Heaven; that He called them 'Turk,' and gave them the Rule; making them kings of the Age, and placing in their hands the reins of temporal authority; appointing them over all mankind, and directing them to the Right; that He strengthened those who are affiliated to them, and those who endeavor on their behalf; so that they attain from them the utmost of their desire, and are delivered from the ignomity of the slavish rabble; – [then I saw that] every man of reason must attach himself to them, or else expose himself to their falling arrows. And there is no better way to approach them than by speaking their own tongue thereby bending their ear and inclining their heart."[18]

Although the work is dedicated to the reigning caliph in Baghdad, al-Muķtadī (r. 467-478/1075-1094), Kāşġarī sees political authority firmly in the hands of the Turks as preordained by God, and suggests that knowledge of their language is therefore advantageous for practical reasons, too. Moreover, he states that there might also be religious blessing in learning Turkic, for it is supported by prophetic hadith:

> "I heard from one of the trustworthy informants among the Imams of Bukhara, and from another Imam of the people of Nishapur: both of them reported the following tradition, and both had a chain of transmission going back to the Apostle of God, may God bless him and grant him peace. When he was speaking about the signs of the Hour and the trials of the end of Time, and he mentioned the emergence of the Oγuz Turks, he said: "Learn the tongue of the Turks, for their reign will be long (*ţuwāl,* transmitted with *rafʻ*

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[17] Dankoff, "Qarakhanid Literature and the Beginnings of Turco-Islamic Culture," p. 64.
[18] Kāşġarī. *Türk Şiveleri Lügatı*, vol. 1, p. 70.

of the *ṭā'*).” Now if this Hadith is sound – and the burden of proof is on those two! – then learning it is a religious duty; and if it is not sound, still Wisdom demands it.”[19]

Further, Kāşġarī reiterates that Turk was the son of Japheth son of Noah, but he rids him of the unillustrious company of “Barbarian brothers” like the Slavs or Gog and Magog, not even mentioning them. The lineage of the Turks is now presented as purely prophetic, and, moreover, as having received their name *Türk* from God himself, a notion that Kāşġarī buttresses with pious traditions.[20] Kāşġarī hailed from the Qarakhanid ruling elite; one can see in his presentation Turkic as part of a pristine political theology coming from Qarakhanid Turkestan. He proposes a veritable Turkic *adab*, originally intending to fashion

> “the structure of the book along the lines of al-Khalīl in his *Kitāb al-'Ayn*, […] in order to show that the Turkic dialects keep pace with Arabic like two horses in a race.”[21]

Equally important in reflecting an attitude we have seen related to the *Şāhnāma*, Alp Er Tonga, the mythical hero and the founder of the Qarakhanids, is presented in the aforeseaid *Kutadġu Bilig* written by Yūsuf Ḫāss Ḥājib as identical with Afrāsiyāb, the ruler of Turan.[22] The Qarakhanids are thus depicted as part of the tradition of Iranian kingship, too.

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[19] Kāşġarī. *Türk Şiveleri Lügatı*, vol. 1, p. 70.
[20] Kāşġarī. *Türk Şiveleri Lügatı*, vol. 1, pp. 273-274.
[21] Kāşġarī. *Türk Şiveleri Lügatı*, vol. 1, p. 71.
[22] Yusuf Has Hajib. *Kutadgu Bilig*. Ed. Reşit Rahmeti Arat. Istanbul: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1947-1979, Vol. I, Metin, 1947, p. 43; Yusuf Khass Hajib. *Wisdom of Royal Glory: A Turko-Islamic Mirror for Princes*. Trans. Robert Dankoff. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983, XXX; quoted also in Dedes, Yorgos. *Battalname: Introduction, English Translation, Turkish Transcription, Commentary and Facsimile*. [Cambridge, Mass.:] Department of Near Eastern Langauges and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1996, p. 29, n. 80.

The Mongols and Turkic Literature

A key turn in the history of Turkic literacy and the emergence of a continuous literary tradition came with the Mongol conquest or more exactly, with the conversion of the Mongols to Islam. The Mongol Empire in the 13th century extended to most of the then known world, and the policy of terror and destruction that undoubtedly accompanied conquest in the first stages gave way to increased opportunities for exchange of ideas and goods in the vast space of the Empire. With the Mongols' symbolic and physical elimination of the caliphate in 656/1258 came landslide changes in the Islamic world: the caliph was replaced by temporal rulers who based their legitimacy not on Hashimite descent and the theoretical endorsement of the Muslim community, the *umma*, but on divinely mandated dynastic charisma and later, around the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries, the pledge to perpetuate divinely inspired order embodied in the shariah or Muslim Sacred Law. The Mongols co-opted Persian bureaucrats to run the Muslim segments of their empire, and Persian became one of the lingua francas in the gargantuan space the Mongols ruled from Eastern Europe to China.[23] In addition, Mongol rule led to profound changes in the ethnic make-up of Eurasia. One of the consequences of these landslide ethnic-cum-cultural-cum-political changes was that, to come back again to Pollock's terminology referred to in the Introduction, they provided for the literization and literarization of Turkic idioms.

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[23] Morgan, David. "Persian as a Lingua Franca in the Mongol Empire." In: *Literacy in the Persianate World: Writing and the Social Order.* Ed. Brian Spooner and William L. Hanaway. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archeology and Anthropology, 2012, pp. 160-170.

The Mongol Empire was multiethnic, multiconfessional and multilingual. The Mongols were in constant need of translators and interpreters, and, as put by Thomas Allsen, "Language learning and language competence became … a political asset."[24] By the late 14th century, it had ceased to function as a unified polity and had been divided into large apanage states along preexisting cultural lines among prominent members of the Chingisid family who established separate dynasties. For our purposes the most important such apanage state is that of Hülegü. In 656/1258, Hülegü conquered Baghdad, symbolically removing the Muslim caliphate as a political entity. As was usual with nomadic conquests, the day-to-day running of the administration soon shifted back into the hands of Iranian administrators, who used Persian as the language of administration instead of Arabic. The Mongol age thus brought to the fore Persian as the language of culture and power even more visibly than before, though, as we have already seen, a continuous Muslim Persian literary tradition had existed essentially since the 10th century.

With the weakening of Mongol power, the space was opened up for a hitherto unprecedented scale of religious fermentation. The Mongols patronized various Sufi orders in their territories that were gradually converting to Islam. By the early 14th century, the Mongol political elite itself had converted to Islam. With the end of centralized Mongol power by 1335, the death date of the last effective Mongol Khan, Abu Saʿīd, religious fermentation gained new dimensions. There were messianic movements all over the vast swathe of Irano-Islamic lands with combined political, social and religious agendas. These movements were characterized by what John Woods has called *confessional ambiguity,* integrating originally Shiite with Sufi, i.e.

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[24] Allsen, Thomas. "The *Rasûlid Hexaglot* in Its Eurasian Cultural Context." In: *The King's Dictionary. The Rasûlid Hexaglot: Fourteenth Century Vocabularies in Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Greek, Armenian and Mongol.* Ed. Peter B. Golden. Trans. Tibor Halasi-Kun, Peter Golden, Lajos Ligeti and Ödön Schütz. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2000, pp. 25-48.

mystical, ideals, even if in some cases retaining nominally Sunni identity.[25] From the 11th century onwards, the primary mode of piety had increasingly been Sufism; in contrast with Islamic theology, which removes salvation to the end of time, i.e. outside of history, Sufism offers salvation in this world, which gave such movements unprecedented social potency. These movements characterize the religious history of the period from the mid-14th century at least to the mid-16th.

The radical crisis of religious authority in the Islamic world that the Mongol conquest brought about led to huge changes in the functional distribution of "languages of power" in the Persianate world. The process of Persian supplanting Arabic as the language of intellectual communication was completed, except in the fields of philosophy, theology and law, where Arabic continued to hold sway.

The new notions of authority that the Mongols brought with them had an impact on the use and status of Turkic, too. While in Islamic political thought the ruler's task is to enjoin good and forbid evil (*al-amr bi al-maʿrūf wa al-nahy ʿan al-munkar*), in the Mongol world, and therefore in Islam under the domination of Mongol dynasties, legitimacy came through the charismatic divine mandate that inhered in Chingisid descent. The Mongols themselves actually comprised only a small portion of the tribal confederation they headed, while most of their military following was made up of Turkophone tribes. Since the social and political bases of this new notion of authority were these Turkophone Turkic and Mongol tribes, Turkic could be used as a tool to reach the illiterate, non-Persian nomadic element of society. Aside from their Persian

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[25] Woods, John E. *The Aqquyunlu. Clan, Confederation, Empire (Revised and expanded ed.).* Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 1999, pp. 1-23; Arjomand, Said Amir. *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam. Religion, Political Order and Societal Change in Shiʿite Iran from the Beginning to 1890*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987, pp. 66-67; Babayan, Kathryn. Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs. Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran. Cambridge, Mass.: Distributed for the Center for Middle Eastern Studies of Harvard University by Harvard University Press, 2002, pp. 121-160.

administrators, the Mongols had in their employment a cadre of Uyghur bakhshis, scribes with access to the Uyghur script the Mongols used for the administration of their own affairs. The tradition continued later by the dynasties that followed the Mongols: the Timurids, the Aqqoyunlu and even the Ottomans down to the mid-15th century.[26]

Mongolian, the language of but a small fraction of the tribal confederation, soon lost its status in the empire of the Golden Horde in Eastern Europe and West Asia, whereas it held out in official use in Ilkhanid Iran until finally supplanted by Persian, parallel to the conversion of the Mongol Ilkhanids from Buddhism to Islam and to the ascent of Iranian bureaucrats at the court in the late 13th century.[27] The story of Turkic was different from Mongolian everywhere in the ex-Mongol territories west of China: it continued to be important both in the Golden Horde and Chaghatayid Central Asia and was only superceded by Persian in Ilkhanid Iran.[28]

The Turkophone element in the Mongol Empire and its successors spoke various dialects. However, as argued by Vásáry,

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[26] Birnbaum, Eleazar. "The Ottomans and Chagatay Literature (An Early 16th Century Manuscript of Navā'ī's Dīvān in Ottoman Orthography)." *Central Asiatic Journal* 20 (1976), pp. 164–174; Sertkaya, Osman Fikri. *Osmanlı şairlerinin Çağatayca şiirleri III Uygur harfleriyle yazılmış bazı manzum parçalar I-II.* Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Matbaası, 1973-1975; Çavuşoğlu, Mehmed. "Kanuni Devrinin Sonuna Kadar Anadolu'da Nevâyî Tesiri Üzerine Notlar." In: *Atsız Armağanı.* Istanbul: Ötüken Yayınevi, 1976, pp. 75-90: Nağiyeva, Cənnət. *Azərbaycanda Nəvai.* Baku: "Tural-Ə" Nəşriyat-Poliqrafiya Mərkəzi, 2001; Demirci, Jale. "Nevâyî'nin Azerbaycan Sahasına Etkisi." *Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Dergisi* 38 (1998), pp. 1-12; Kleinmichel, Sigrid. "Mîr 'Alîşêr Navâ'î und Ahmed Paşa." *Archivum Ottomanicum* 17 (1999), pp. 77-212; Çetindağ, Yusuf. "Ali Şîr Nevâî'nin Osmanlı Şiirine ve Kanunî Sultan Süleyman'a Tesiri ve Sebepleri Üzerine." *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* XXVI (2005), pp. 223-235.

[27] Vásáry, István. "The Role and Function of Mongolian and Turkic in Ilkhanid Iran." In *Turks and Iranians: Interactions in Language and History.* Ed. Éva Á. Csató, Lars Johanson, András Róna-Tas and Bo Utas. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 2015, pp. 147-158 (forthcoming). The last Mongolian document from Iran was issued by the Jalayirid Shah Uvays in 1358 as the Mongolian part of a Mongolian-Persian bilingual document (ibid., p. 150). As to the role of the Uyghur script in the Mongol socio-cultural venture, though evidence is scanty, Devin DeWeese's surmise that it was largely connected to Buddhism in the Jöchid *ulus* and probably even more in Ilkhanid Iran, is most probably right (DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde,* pp. 82-83, n. 22).

[28] This point needs further elaboration in the future. We know very little about literary patronage given to Persian in the Golden Horde, although it would seem to have been considerable. Persian was certainly used in the Golden Horde, because Khwarazm with its urban centers where Persian was spoken belonged to it, and also because its main centers, e.g. Saray on the Volga and Astrakhan, lay on the Silk Road where Persian was a key lingua franca. Cf. Bodrogligeti, András. *The Persian Vocabulary of the Codex Cumanicus.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971; Vásáry, István. "Oriental languages of the Codex Cumanicus: Persian and Cuman as linguae francae in the Black Sea region (13th-14th centuries." In: *Il Codice Cumanico e il suo mondo.* Ed. Felicitas Schmieder and Peter Schreiner. Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2005, pp. 109-110.

"Though all the speakers of this large linguistic community spoke different dialects (sometimes even different languages) and were heirs to different religions and cultures, they were aware of their common origin and called their mother tongue *Turkic* (Türk)."[29]

Indeed, the shared nomadic background and its diametrical contrast with urban-based Persianate culture were common denominators that led to a veritable "gentile consciousness" on the part of Turks in Mongol Eurasia.[30] Indeed, the social and cultural differences from urban groups were much more important than linguistic differences between various Turkic dialects. Hence, up to the late 15th century, all the various Turkic varieties were unanimously referred to as *turkī* in the sources, as was indicated in the *Introduction.* There was, however, a split between the written and the spoken language caused not only by the *a priori* difference between the spoken and the written word. The Uyghur *bakshi* scribal elite working for Mongol chancelleries used Eastern Turkic, a literary tradition whose full-fledged form is called Chaghatay Turkic in modern scholarship. This idiom greatly differed from both the Western Turkic Oghuz dialects preponderantly spoken by Turks in Iran and Anatolia and from the Qipchaq dialects mainly spoken in the territories of the Golden Horde.[31] As we shall see further below, this Eastern Turkic or Chaghatay literary tradition, independent of the spoken dialects, continued to be

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[29] Vásáry, "The Role and Function of Mongolian and Turkic in Ilkhanid Iran", p. 152.

[30] Coined by Reinhard Wenskus and applied to the Germanic tribes, the term was "adapted by Jenő Szűcs for the Hungarians who conquered the Carpathian Basin in the 9th century." Vásáry, "The Role and Function of Mongolian and Turkic in Ilkhanid Iran", p. 152, quoting Wenskus, Reinhard. *Stammesbildung Und Verfassung: Das Werden Der Frühmittelalterlichen Gentes*. Köln: Böhlau, 1961; and Szűcs, Jenő. *A magyar nemzeti tudat kialakulása.* Budapest: Balassi: Osiris: [Szeged] JATE, 1997.

[31] Vásáry, "The Role and Function of Mongolian and Turkic in Ilkhanid Iran", p. 152. As of now, it would be difficult to either establish or refute continuity between the Qipchak and the Chaghatay literary traditions, though scholars have hitherto taken continuity for granted (Eckmann, János. "Das Tschagataische." *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta.* Ed. Louis Bazin et al. Wiesbaden: Aquis Mattiacis & Francis Steiner, 1964, vol. 1, p. 138; Eraslan, Kemal. "Çağatay Edebiyatı." *TDVİA*). Linguists claim that both Chaghatay Turkic and Qipchaq descend from Qarakhanid Turkic through Khwarezmian Turkic. The written form of Kipchak was Mamlūk Kipchak practised in Mamlūk Egypt (Boeschoten, Hendrik, and Vandamme, Marc. "Chaghatay." In: *The Turkic Languages*. Ed. Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató. London; New York: Routledge, 1998, p. 168).

practiced in the Persianate world during the Mongol age and afterwards, in fact, down to the 19th century.

Already Chingis Khan divided his empire into several appanages which eventually developed into independent states. Of these, the Ilkhanids' polity in Iran and the Jöchids' Golden Horde in Eastern Europe and West Turkestan converted to Islam at the end of the 13th to the beginning of the 14th century under Ghazan Khan (1295-1307) and Uzbek Khan (1313-1341), respectively. There are narratives that survive from this period that record in a mythical-legendary fashion this conversion not only as Turks being assimilated into Muslim mytho-history and mythogenesis, but also the other way round, the Muslim worldview being assimilated into the indigenous narratives of the communities that converted to Islam.[32] Perhaps the best-known of these narratives is the legend of the Oġuz, the so-called *Oġuznāma*.[33]

The first known version of the *Oġuznāma* is incorporated into a monumental world-history, the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīḫ*, 'The Compendium of Chronicles', written by Raşīd al-Dīn Fażl Allāh Hamadānī (ca. 1247-1318), vizier under two Mongol Ilkhans, Ġāzān (r. 1295-1304) and Öljeytü (r. 1304-1316).'[34] Raşīd al-Dīn's work is in Persian, but he might have used a collated variant that probably went back to Turkophone orality.[35] The story is made up of five different layers, the first of which is a conversion narrative. It would go beyond the limits of this study to do full justice to the various versions of the stories in this narrative cycle; thus, here I will limit myself to drawing attention to a few points in this conversion narrative. Its occurrence in the popular culture and political theology of various Turko-Mongol political ventures in the 14th through the 17th century in a great variety of genres from dynastic history to popular narrative

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[32] DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde*, pp. 361-362 passim.
[33] DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde*, pp. 501-502; Binbaş, Evrim. "Oğuz Khan Narratives." *EIr*.
[34] Melville, Charles. "Jāmeʿ al-tawāriḵ." *EIr*.
[35] Binbaş, "Oğuz Khan Narratives."

verse is a clear testimony to its importance. The differences between its different versions, several of which have already been pointed out by Evrim Binbaş, are arguably informed by the differences between the political theologies of different political ventures.

The conversion story can shortly be summarized as follows: Oġuz who has descended through his father Ḳara Khan from Abulja Khan identified with Japheth does not accept his mother's milk for three days after his birth. On the third day, his mother encounters him in her dream; he tells her that he will only accept her breast if she worships Tengri, the one God. He develops miraculously fast and gives himself a name. His father wants him to get married, but he does not consummate the marriage with two of his nieces his father sends to him, because these two girls are unwilling to convert. Only the daughter of his uncle Uz Khan is willing to convert out of wifely submission. At a feast, the two neglected brides report Oġuz's faith to his father, who sentences him to death. However, in the ensuing battle, Oġuz defeats his father who is killed in action. Therefore, he can eventually convert his entire tribe.

The incorporation of the Japheth myth into the indigenous Oġuz cycle is also indicative of the context where not only could the Islamic narrative be assimilated into indigenous Turkic lore and presented in a prestigious Islamic language, Persian, but it could also be presented in Turkic. Or even more probably, the assimilation of the Islamic ethos on the part of Turkophone tribes had by this time reached such an extent that the indigenous myths conveying it, the language of which was obviously Turkic, could now be put down in writing.[36] DeWeese asserts that conversion to Islam created new communities inasmuch as the converting community

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[36] This is an important point that has been greatly elaborated by Devin DeWeese. Accordingly, conversion is not so much the imposition of an alien religion but the internalization and assimilation of that culture and religion on the part of the converting community. His work is about conversion to Islam in the Golden Horde, but it is safe to extrapolate from his findings (DeWeese, Devin A. *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition.* University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994, pp. 161-162, passim).

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identified with Islam. The written record of the conversion in the Arabic script attests that there was a need now for the Islamic Revelation to reach Turkophone communities, which could and had to, appear now in the indigenous language of those communities. It can thus be argued that conversion and literature in this context are intimately related, conversion to Islam being a necessary though not sufficient condition for the emergence of the new *literary* Turkic language. It may well not be coincidental that Turkic literacy significantly increased after the time the Mongols of Ilkhanid Iran and of the Golden Horde had converted to Islam. From the Golden Horde, one could adduce the example of Rabġūzī's hagiographical work entitled *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā* from 710/1310, Islām's *Muʾīn al-murīd* from 713/1313, Ḳuṭb's rendition of Niẓāmī's *Ḫusraw u Şīrīn* from 742/1341-42,[37] or an interlinear Koran translation from 764/1363.[38] From the Ilkhanid context, one could mention an interlinear Koran translation from 734/1333, copied by one Muḥammad b. al-Ḥājj Dawlatşāh-i Şīrāzī during the reign of Abū Saʿīd in Shiraz.[39]

Not only language but also script is related to conversion. The conversion of the Turks in the Mongol and post-Mongol polities ultimately led to their wholesale adoption of the Arabic script, which by the late 15th century completely supplanted the Uyghur script. The Arabic script is the carrier of the Revelation of the Prophet, which was spread by the time-honored institutional network of the madrasa, whereas the Uyghur script was used by Mongol or post-Mongol courts and seems to have been primarily cultivated by a narrow cadre of Uyghur

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[37] It is probably noteworthy and requires further research that Rabġūzī's prophetic hagiography only presents the Japheth myth about the Turks, without mentioning Oġuz Khan. Rabġūzī, Nāṣir al-Dīn Burhān al-Dīn. *The Stories of the Prophets: Qiṣaṣ Al-anbiyā', an Eastern Turkish Version.* Ed. Hendrik Boeschoten, M. Vandamme, and Semih Tezcan. Leiden; New York: Brill, 1995, vol. 1, p. 55; vol. 2, p. 67. For the greatly neglected topic of Turkic literature in the territories of the Golden Horde, see: Eckmann, János. "Die kiptschakische Literatur." *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta.* Ed. Louis Bazin et al. Aquis Mattiacis: Steiner, 1959, vol. 2, pp. 275-304. It is to this tradition that the so-called Mamluk-Qipchaq literature belongs, practised in Egypt Mamluk acquired as slaves from the Crimea (Eckmann, János. "The Mamluk-Kipchak literature." *Central Asiatic Journal* 8 (1963), pp. 304-19).
[38] Eckmann, *Middle Turkic Glosses*, pp. 17-18.
[39] Nağısyolu, Möhsün. *XVI asr Azərbaycan tərcümə abidəsi «Şühədanamə» (paleografiya, ortografiya va tərcümə məsələləri.* Baku: Nurlan, 2003, pp. 11-12; Eckmann, *Middle Turkic Glosses*, pp. 13-14. On linguistic grounds, Eckmann opines that the copy was made from an 11th century Qarakhanid original authored perhaps in Kashgar.

*bakhshi*s. It is probably through them and the traditions they perpetuated that the Uyghur script was connected to the ethos and practice of the Chingisid *yasa* or *töre*, 'customary law code', which both the Timurids and the Aqqoyunlu in their respective later phases sought to completely substitute with the Islamic sacred law of the sharia.

In the then Western fringes of the Islamic world, Seljuk Anatolia was an important center for Persian high culture. The presence of Oġuz tribes in the region dates back to the 11th century, and we find scattered fragments of Turkic literary pieces, especially towards the end of the period around the beginning of the 13th century; however, the Anatolian Seljuks were no different from the abovementioned "Great Seljuks" in terms of their complete absorption of Persian high culture. Persian was the language of administration and literature, the latter further boosted by Iranian émigrés fleeing from the Mongols in the early 14th century, the best-known of whom is none other than Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, the eponymous founding saint of the Mawlavī order of dervishes and one of the most important Sufi poets in Persian.

With the weakening of Seljuk and Ilkhanid Mongol control, especially their decreasing power to project cultural models, as well as the parallel emergence of the so-called *beylik*s, or petty kingdoms and the proliferation of Sufism in Anatolia, we witness an increase in Turkic literary activities. The *beylik*s that rose in the wake of declining Seljuk power wanted to establish their own credentials as Muslim dynasties; therefore, they sponsored Persian and Arabic learning on a wide scale, and, in appealing to their Turkophone tribal base, they engaged in sponsoring Turkish literary activities, too. There was thus a steady stream of popular verse romances, essentially Turkic renderings of the Classical Persian tradition, that these dynasties patronized; and there were also popular religious lyrics coming out of Sufi circles that did not even need court patronage but served communal purposes, these two trends making up what is called by

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scholars today the Old Anatolian literary tradition.[40] The situation was not unlike that in 10th-century Persia or, for that matter, Reformation-period Europe, a parallel formulated by John Perry:

> "The impetus toward written dissemination of the vernacular had causes similar in Islamic Persia to those in Reformation Europe: they included the ambitions of independent provincial rulers and the expanding social scope of literacy, both expressed mainly in religious terms."[41]

The literary production of 14th century Anatolia is surprisingly rich. One could mention the altogether five versions of the *Ḳābūsnāma*, a 14th century *Fürstenspiegel*, sponsored by the Germiyanids, the Ottomans and others we cannot identify.[42] Most scholars maintain that such Old Anatolian Turkish works appeared mainly because the emirs of the Turkish beyliks in Anatolia did not know Persian and Arabic. While this might be true in some cases, it certainly is not in others, as, for example, Sara Nur Yıldız has recently illustrated in an article about the Aydınıd court, arguing that in the emergence of a Turkish vernacular literary idiom in Anatolia, we should look for popular registers beyond court patronage.[43] One could thus mention the

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[40] Çelebioğlu, Âmil. *Türk Mesnevî Edebiyatı: 15 yy. kadar: Sultan II. Murad Devri, 824-855/1421-1451.* Istanbul: Kitabev, 1999. On Old Anatolian Turkish, see: Mansuroğlu, Mecdut. "The Rise and Development of Written Turkish in Anatolia." *Oriens* 7:2 (1954), pp. 250-264; Björkman, Walther. "Die altosmanische Literatur." In: *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta.* Ed. Louis Bazin et al. Wiesbaden: Aquis Mattiacis & Francis Steiner, 1966, vol. 2, pp. 403-426; Vásáry, István [2002] 2003. "The Beginnings of Western Turkic Literacy in Anatolia and Iran." In: *Irano-Turkic Cultural Contacts in the 11th–17th Centuries.* Ed. Éva M. Jeremiás. Piliscsaba: The Avicenna Institute of Middle Eastern Studies, pp. 245-253.

[41] Perry, "The Origin and Development of Literary Persian," p. 34.

[42] Birnbaum, Eleazar. *The Book of Advice by King Kay Kā'us ibn Iskender. The Earliest Old Ottoman Turkish Version of His Ḳābūsnāme.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981, 4-7. For the literary culture of 14th century Anatolia, see: Flemming, Barbara. "Old Anatolian Turkish Poetry in Its Relationship to the Persian Tradition." In: *Turkic-Iranian Contact Areas: Historical and Linguistic Aspects.* Ed. Lars Johanson and Christiane Bulut. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006, pp. 49-68. Yıldız, Sara Nur. "Battling *Kufr* in the Land of Infidels: Gülşehri's Turkish Adaptation of 'Aṭṭār's *Mantiq al-Ṭayr.*" In: *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia.* Ed. Andrew C.S. Peacock, Bruno De Nicola, and Sara Nur Yildiz. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2015, pp. 329-347.

[43] Yıldız, Sara Nur. "From Cairo to Ayasuluk: Hacı Paşa and the Transmission of Islamic Learning to Western Anatolia in the Late Fourteenth Century." *Journal of Islamic Studies* 25:3 (2014) pp. 263–297.

Turkic literary works coming out of Sufi circles such as the Mevelevis, the best known litterateur who also wrote a little in Turkic being Sultan Veled, the son and heir of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, the eponymous founder of the order; and we can also mention Gülşeḫrī's rendering of the *Manṭiḳ al-ṭayr* from 1317 or Yūnus Emre's popular mystic poetry.[44] One could also recall the activities of popular Sufi poets in the 14th century like Ḫʷāja Dahhānī who was a protégé of the last Anatolian Seljuks, or Şeyyād Ḥamza or Aḥmed Faḳīḫ, as well as 'Āşıḳ Pasha (d. 1332) or Elvān Çelebi (d. after 1332).[45] By the first half of the 14th century, Turkish had been definitely making strides as an acceptable vehicle to convey the Sufi message toward the Turkophone segment of the population of Anatolia. In this regard, we can quote 'Āşıḳ Pasha's *Ġarībnāme*, a monumental didactic poem, who words a veritable program of language emancipation for Turkish, overcoming vernacular anxiety:

> "Although Turkish has been spoken here,
> The stage of internal meaning has become clear.
>
> If you know the stages on the road,

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[44] Gülşehrî. *Mantıku't-tayr*. Ed. Agâh Sırrı Levend. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1957. There is a widespread claim in Turkish publications that Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī was one of the first Turkish poets. While it seems true that he did acquire some knowledge of Turkish (along with Greek) in Konya and he did use it in a few macaronic poems and as stylistic puns in his otherwise Persian pieces, this is far little to for him to be considered a Turkish poet (Johanson, Lars. "Rumi and the Birth of Turkish Poetry." *Journal of Turkology* 1 (1993), pp. 23-37).

[45] *Başlangıcından Günümüze Kadar Türkiye Dışındaki Türk Edebiyatları Antolojisi (Nesir – Nazim)*, vol. 2, Azerbaycan Türk Edebiyatı II. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1993, pp. 31–32; Dawlatşāh Samarḳandī. *The Tadhkiratu 'sh-shu'ará ("Memoirs of the Poets")*. Ed. Edward G. Browne, London and Leiden: Luzac and E.J. Brill, 1901, pp. 221–222; Macit, Muhsin. "Azeri sahası Türk edebiyatı (XIII–XIX. Yüzyıl)." In: *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*. Ed. Talât Sait Halman. Istanbul: Türk Cumhuriyeti Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2006, vol 2, pp. 229–237., p. 218. In terms of the historiography of vernacularization in 14th-century Anatolia, it is interesting to mention the Karamanids. On the basis of a passage in Ibn Bībī, the Seljuk historian, the Karamanids have long been held in Turkish historiography to be forerunners of linguistic nationalism. This has convincingly been refuted by Sara Nur Yıldız, who claims that the story that Meḥmed Karamanoğlu allegedly introduced Turkish as the language of the palace and administration was actually made up by Ibn Bībī in order to ridicule him as unversed in Persianate administrative culture and practices and thus unable to be a grand vizier (Yıldız, Sara Nur. "The Celebration of the Turkish Language Festival in Karaman, Turkey (or how Karamanoğlu Mehmed Bey has been transformed into the Father of Turkish/Atatürk Dili)." Unpublished paper; idem. "Karamanoğlu Mehmed Bey: Medieval Anatolian Warlord or Kemalist Language Reformer? Nationalist Historiography, Language Politics and the Celebration of the Language Festival in Karaman, Turkey, 1961-2008." In: *Religion, Ethnicity and Contested Nationhood in the Former Ottoman Space*. Ed. Jorgen Nielsen. Leiden: Brill, 2012, pp. 147-170.

Do not look down on the Turkish and Persian languages.

Every language has system and pattern [* żabt va uṣūl*],
All minds have fallen for these two.

No one used to look after the Turkish language,
No one's heart used to go out for Turks.

The Turk did not [really] know these languages,
Their fine ways and lofty waystations.

This *Ġarībnāme* has come about in my heart
In order for the people of this [i.e. the Turkish] language get to know the inner meaning.

So that they find inner meaning in the Turkish language
And Persian and Turk all be companions.

So that they do not look down on each other on the path,
And do not look on meaning with disdain just because of the language.

So that Turks are not deprived of it
And understand the Truth in the Turkish language, too.

[…]

Do not think that inner meaning can only be in one language,
No doubt, all languages are capable of expressing it."[46]

As we shall see in the following chapters, the poetic activities of various messiannic movements were also very important in the age. It seems that among Turkophone nomads, it was the *ḥurūfī* movement that had the greatest impact. Chapter Three will partly be dedicated to the best known and most influential Turkic poet, 'Imād al-Dīn Nasīmī.

In the 14-15ᵗʰ century, the Ottoman Beylik was gradually expanding in the Balkan and Anatolia. In the 15ᵗʰ century, we see the Oġuz myth used in the emergence of a veritable *Oġuzjuluḳ*, 'Oġuzism', an ideology the Ottomans deployed to compete with the ideology of

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[46] Âşık Paşa. *Garib-nâme (Tıpkıbasım, karşılaştırmalı metin ve aktarma)*. Ed. Kemal Yavuz. Istanbul: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2000, vol. II/2, vv. 10,558 passim. See also: Tekin, Şinasi. "Kuran'ın İlk Farsça Tercümesinin Gerekçesi ve bu Gerekçenin Eski Anadolu Şairleri ile XVI. Asır el-Aḳsarāyī Üzerine Etkisi." *Journal of Turkish Studies = Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları* 28/2, pp. 113-130.

Chingisid descent.[47] The most prominent example of this is Yazıcızāde ʿAlī's (d. 855/1451) presentation of the myth in his *Tavārīḫ-i āl-i saljūk*, dedicated to Murād II (r. 1421-1451).[48] In this work, which is a Turkish rendering of Ibn Bībī's history of the Seljuks, Yazıcızāde seeks to distance the Ottomans from the Mongols in terms of political genealogy, as well as cultural and linguistic differences:

> "According to story-tellers, while the Oġuz tribe was in Turkistan, they were like the Mongols, and their dialect [*lehçeleri*] was also close to theirs. When they came to Iran [*Īrān-zemīn*], Rūm and Syria [*Şām*], they assumed Tajik form, their faces and language becoming soft."[49]

At any rate, the Anatolian connection will be important for our story in the early 16th century, when, at the time of the ascendance of the Ṣafavids, there was an enormous reflux of Turkmen tribes answering the call of the Ṣafavid *daʿva*, flocking under their banners and constituting "the third stage of the Turcoman dominion in Persia."[50] These Turkmen tribes also carried with them their literary and even more their oral, traditions, the subject of Chapters Two and Three of this dissertation.

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[47] Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, pp. 273-276, 278-9, 288n; Woods, *The Aqquyunlu*, pp. 173-182.

[48] "For this reason and on this basis, the greatest ruler, the lord of the Arab and Persian sultans, the commander of the troops of monotheists, the killer of idolaters and polythesists, the sultan son of the sultan, our ruler, Sultan Murād b. Muḥammad Khan, who is the noblest of the Ottoman dynasty, is the best suited and best qualified for kingship. Of Oġuz Khan's living progeny, moreover, even including Chingis Khan's living progeny, he [i.e. Sultan Murād II] has the loftiest origin and the greatest spear, according to both the sharia and customary law [*şer-ile daḫı ʿörf-ile daḫı*]." Yazıcızâde Ali. *Tevârîh-i Âl-i Selçuk: (Oğuznâme-Selçuklu Târihi): Giriş, Metin, Dizin.* Ed. Abdullah Bakır Istanbul: Çamlıca, 2009, p. 29.

[49] Yazıcızâde Ali. *Tevârîh-i Âl-i Selçuk*, p. 5.

[50] Minorsky, Vladimir. *Tadhkirat al-mulūk: A Manual of Ṣafavid Administration (circa 1137/1725), Persian text in Facsimile (B.M. Or. 9496).* Cambridge: E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Trust, 1943 (repr. 1980), p. 30.

Turkic under the Timurids: Mīr 'Alī Ṣīr Navā'ī's language ideology

While under the various Anatolian *beylik*s, especially the Germiyanids and the Ottomans, Turkish literature saw increasing sponsorship in the 14th century, a parallel process can be witnessed in the eastern part of the former Ilkhanid and Chaghatayid territories, especially in Khorasan and Transoxiana. Similar to the Ilkhanids or the Golden Horde, the Jalayirids maintained Uyghur chancellery practices at least until 1358,[51] and the Jalāyirid Aḥmad b. Uvays (r. 1382–1410) is known for his Turkic poetry.[52] It was the Timurids whose court culture with patronage to both Persian and Turkic, as well as both Muslim scholars and popular Sufi orders, not to mention an extensive range of fields in Persianate learning and arts, proved paradigmatic for other political-cultural ventures of the 15-16th century Persianate world. The Timurids headed a Turkophone confederation of tribes with a strong Mongol identity, establishing a new imperial tradition in their vast domains but also claiming to perpetuate the Chingisid legacy. The splendor of the Timurids was such that it proved to be a model for the other nascent politico-cultural ventures in the late 15th through the early 16th century, the Uzbeks, the Mughals (who were actually themselves Timurids), the Ottomans and the Ṣafavids themselves. The patronage given to Turkic now espoused as a literary idiom fully capable of conveying an Irano-Islamic ethos was thus a continuation of the Timurid paradigm and explicitly acknowledged to be so. This model was partly transmitted by intellectuals and artists who had started their career at Timurid

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[51] Vásáry, István. "Turko-Mongol and Persian Chancellery Practices in the Timurid States in the 15th Century." Paper given at Tübingen University as part of the lecture series "Transfer of Knowledge in the Turco-Iranian World", January 26, 2016. I am indebted to Professor Vásáry for giving me access to the manuscript of his paper.
[52] Macit, Muhsin. "Azeri sahası Türk edebiyatı (XIII–XIX. Yüzyıl)." In: *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*. Ed. Talât Sait Halman. Istanbul: Türk Cumhuriyeti Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2006, vol 2, p. 218.

courts and continued or ended it under contemporary or the aforesaid later dynasties.[53] In the case of the Ṣafavids, suffice it to mention among the agents of this cultural transfer just a few prominent ones, such as Bihzād the painter, Ḫʷāndmīr the historian, or Hātifī the Persian poet; one could also cite the Ṣafavid chronicle Iskandar Munšī's remark on how great respect Shah Ismāʿīl had for Sultan Ḥusayn Bayḳara. It would be difficult to overestimate the influence of the Timurids on Ṣafavid culture.[54]

The patronage given to Chaghatay Turkic as a literary idiom was part of a larger project of providing legitimacy to Timurid rule, the multifaceted character of which was reflected in political theology, religion, the pictorial arts, architecture and literature. One of the signs that there were changes in the perception and status of Turkic vis-à-vis previous epochs was that the Timurid court had a separate *dīvān* for the administration of the Turkic tribal military, complementing the work of the *Dīvān-i Aʿlá*, the sublime dīvān, which dealt with the fiscal matters of the realm. Further, himself coming from a Mongol tribe, the Barlas, but not being of Chingisid descent, Timur ruled in the name of a Chingisid puppet khan, while remaining content

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[53] Of course, the Mughals of India were Timurids, but because of the completely different geographical, social and cultural context they ruled in in India, they are usually treated separately from the period of the dynasty when it was centered on Iran and Central Asia. In this regard, there is now a new emphasis in scholarship on the continuities between these two phases of the dynasty (e.g. Moin. Azfar A. *The Millenial Sovereign: Sacred Kingship and Sainthood in Islam.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).

[54] *AAA*, vol. 1, p. 36; *AAA Eng*, vol. 1, p. 59. To further illustrate Navāʾī's influence on Safavid intellectuals in the period, we may cite the example of Molla Ṣuʿūrī Turbatī from the 17th century. A learned man and an acknowledged calligrapher whose forefathers were from Herat, Molla Ṣuʿūrī set out on the pilgrimage to Mecca with a group of fellow pilgrims. When passing through Ottoman territory, they ran out of money. Ṣuʿūrī convinced his fellow pilgrims to sell him as a slave, thus raising the money necessary for the pilgrimage. They sold him to an Ottoman, and he taught his master's children Persian and sciences, as well as the *dīvān* and the *ḫamsa* of ʿAlī Šīr Navāʾī. Finally, Molla Ṣuʿūrī Turbatī was set free by his owner, when his friends came back a year later and explained everything to his master. Molla Ṣuʿūrī finally ended up in Akbar's court in Mughal India (Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, Aḥmad. *Kārvān-i Hind: dar aḥvāl va āsār-i šāʿirān-i ʿaṣr-i ṣafavī ki bi Hindūstān rafta and.* Mashhad: Āstān-i Ḳuds-i Rażavī, 1369/1990-91, pp. 535–537). For the most comprehensive treatments of continuity between the Timurids and the Ṣafavids, see: Szuppe, Maria. *Entre Timourides, Uzbeks et Safavides: questions d'histoire politique et sociale de Hérat dans la première moitié du XVIe siècle.* Paris : Association pour l'avancement des études iraniennes, 1992 (Studia Iranica, Cahier 12); *idem.* "Les résidences princières de Hérat: questions de continuité fonctionnelle entre les époques timouride et safavide, première moitié du XVIe siècle." In: *Etudes safavides.* Ed. Jean Calmard. Paris and Tehran: Institut Français de Recherche en Iran, 1993 (Bibliothèque iranienne 39), pp. 267-86.

with the title *köregen* 'son in law [of the ruling khan].' Moreover, as recently argued by István Vásáry in a lecture, the Timurids effected a veritable Renaissance of the Uyghur alphabet. Remarkably, these works in the Uyghur script were actually transcriptions from the Arabic script, as part of the Timurids' reinvention of the Chingisid tradition.[55]

The best-known litterateur of Turkic under the Timurids was the famous Mīr ʿAlī Şīr Navāʾī. Hailing from a family of Uyghur administrators, he made it a literary program to produce a new, Turkic literary tradition in the second half of the fifteenth century.[56] At the court of the late Timurid ruler Ḥusayn Bayḳara in Herat, he was a phenomenal Maecenas of grandscale and wide-ranging cultural activities in fields such as architecture, music and painting, Persian literature, etc. Having honed his skills in Persian, he produced literary works in Turkic in virtually every genre of the Persian literary tradition, and he even wrote a tract, entitled *Muḥākamat al-luġatayn*, 'Judgement of Two Languages', which argued for the superiority of Turkic over Persian.

Navāʾī's *Muḥākamat* and its stance taken on the mutual relationship between Turkic and Persian have elicited various approaches from scholars. Nationalist Turkish historiography treats it as an early expression of Turkish nationalism, while Bert Fragner considers it as an expression of Navāʾī's personal agenda and genius.[57] There is no doubt that the work is both the expression of some sort of group consciousness (though obviously not nationalism), and it certainly bears the marks of Navāʾī's powerful persona, but I argue that we can read it in a framework which is less motivated by modern political biases and which also offers a larger cultural-political context,

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[55] Vásáry, "Turko-Mongol and Persian Chancellery Practices in the Timurid States in the 15th Century." Paper given at Tübingen University, January 26, 2016. I thank Professor Vásáry for giving me access to his yet unpublished paper.

[56] For his background, see: Subtelny, Maria Eva. "ʿAli Šir Navāʾi: Bakhshi and Beg." *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3:4 (1979-80), pp. 797-807.

[57] Fragner, Bert. "Mir ʿAli Sher Nava'i: The 'Judgement' Reconsidered." In: *Irano-Turkic Cultural Contacts in the 11th-17th Centuries*. Ed. Éva M. Jeremiás. Piliscsaba: The Avicenna Institute of Middle Eastern Studies [2002], 2003, pp. 53-66.

going beyond the personal level. I consider it as a pamphlet of cultural policy as well as a manifesto of vernacular anxiety and pride. Navā'ī presents Chaghatay Turkic as part of a larger historical process and hierarchy of languages. Accordingly, Arabic is the most perfect language, as the language of the Revelation of the Prophet. The other three languages Navā'ī treats in his pamphlet are Persian, Turkic and Hindī.[58] Interestingly, he presents the Japheth myth without connecting it to the conversion story known from the *Oġuznāma* but also offering a wholesale linguistic turn to it. Accordingly, Noah had three sons, Japheth, Sām and Hām, from whom the languages Turkic, Persian and Hindī respectively derive.

> "After Arabic there are three principal varieties of language, each having many arms and branches. These are Turkish, Persian and Hindi, the origins of which go back to Yāfith, Sām and Hām, the three sons of the Prophet Nūḥ. These are the details: When the Prophet Nūḥ (May God bless him!) was delivered from the disasters of the Flood and he once again set foot upon the gorund, no traces of mankind remained in the world. Then Nūḥ (upon whom be peace!) sent to the land of Khatā [i.e. Khitay or Cathay] his son Yāfith, whom historians call the Father of the Turks. He [Nūḥ] made Sām, whom they call the Father of the Persians, the ruler of the lands of Īrān and Tūrān, and he sent Hām, who is called the Father of the Hindus, to Hindistān. The children of these three sons of the Prophet spread and multiplied in the places named. The son of Yāfith was the progenitor of the Turks. Historians all agree that he wore the crown of prophethood and was therefore superior to his brothers. The three languages—Turkish, Persian and Hindi—thus spread among the children and the children's children of the three."[59]

By the claim that the Turks and Turkic were related to Japheth who was also a prophet, Navā'ī makes Turkic part of sacred history. As we learn it later in the *Muḥākamat*, Hām was disrespectful with Noah, and thus God turned his face black and distorted his language, while

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[58] Of course, this is not Modern Hindi but probably what would develop into Urdu, which would than branch into Modern Hindi and Modern Urdu. In this context, however, for Navā'ī the term Hindī most probably meant the language of Hindus or, more generally, that of non-Muslim inhabitants of the Subcontinent.

[59] Mīr 'Alī Shīr. *Muḥākamat al-lughatain*, p. 4; see also: Navā'ī, Mīr 'Alī Şīr. *Muḥākemetü'l-luġateyn: İki Dilin Muhakemesi*. Ed. F. Sema Barutçu Özönder. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1996, p. 168.

Arabic is the most honorable tonguge, being the language of Revelation. Navā'ī omits further detailing them, and proceeds to discussing Turkic and Persian, the real issue for him.

As can be seen, Navā'ī connects the story of language, or, we can say, language of power, to the story of Japheth, but remarkably, he neglects the Oġuz Khan myth. His is an interesting twist in the history of the Timurids' attempt at appropriating the narrative into their own political mythical history.[60] As has been shown above, the Oghuz myth as first presented by Raşīd al-Dīn claimed that the mythological ancestor of the Turks, Oġuz Khan, was one of the sons of Japheth son of Noah, assigning Turks prophetic descent and incorporating them into sacred history. Arguably, its omission on the part of Navā'ī reflected the political attempt by his master, Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayḳara, to strengthen the Perso-Islamic image of his polity at the expense of the Turkmen element and its nomadic-Chingisid notions of authority, thereby weakening the influence of the Mongol-Turkmen aristocracy. Navā'ī's pamphlet reflects his master's attempt at finding a balance between Türk and Tajik; and it is also the manifesto of the creation of a Turkic *adab* the language of which is Turkic but the ethos it is designed to convey is Islamic. Navā'ī's intention was that Revelation be accessible in Turkic, too.[61] In other words, he intended to create a Turkic *adab* based not so much on a parochial Turkic ideology but Persianate cosmopolitanism.

Navā'ī jettisons the Oġuz myth but offers in its stead a specific type of cultural superiority for Turkic, asserting, surprisingly, that Turkic as a language is superior to Persian. He presents this thesis in the framework of a veritable literary history with Arabic having prime of place as the language of Revelation:

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[60] Binbaş, Evrim. "Oġuz Khan Narratives." *EIr*.
[61] Subtelny, Maria E. *Timurids in Transition. Turko-Persian Politics and Acculturation in Medieval Iran*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

"Of all languages Arabic possesses the most eloquence and grandeur and there is no one who thinks or claims differently. For the glorious and sacred Qur'ān descended [from Heaven] in that language and the blessed *ḥadīth*s of the Prophet were spoken in it. Many of the true and wondrous secrets of God voiced by the great saints and religious leaders also have been clothed in the garb of this holy and blessed tongue."[62]

Navā'ī relates the story of Noah and his three surviving sons, roughly in the manner we can read it in Ṭabarī. Accordingly, because Ḥām was disrespectful to his father, his skin turned black, and so did that of all his descendents. Remarkably, Navā'ī adds a linguistic component to the mytho-genesis:

"There is none among them whose skin is not as black as the black of ink and whose speech does not resemble the scratching of a broken pen. No one but themselves knows what is written on that paper and no one but one of those dark people can read and understand that writing, which suggests the footprint of a raven."[63]

Arabic is the most superior and "Hindī" (i.e. Urdu or some other unspecified language spoken in India) the lowest in the hierarchy of languages; Navā'ī then turns to the real issue for him, the superiority of Turkic over Prsian. He bases this on two arguments, claiming that on the one hand, while many Turks know Persian, no Persian knows Turkic, and that Turkic words are more expressive and more flexible than Persian ones:

"There cannot be a clearer and more brilliant proof of the superiority of the Turks than that social intercourse between the youth and elders, the notables and common people of these two nations is of the same degree. They do not differ in their ability to conduct trade and business and to ponder and resolve difficiulties. There are more literates among the Persians. But although that is true, Turks from notables to commoners and from slaves to lords are acquainted with the Persian language and speak it according to their particular stations. Turkish poets even write beautiful poems in Persian. In contrast, not one member of the Persian nation, be he brigand or notable or scholar, can speak Turkish or understand anyone who does. If one in a hundred or even in a thousand learns and speaks

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[62] Mīr 'Alī Shīr. *Muḥākamat al-lughatain*, p. 3.
[63] Mīr 'Alī Shīr. *Muḥākamat al-lughatain*, p. 5.

this language, everyone who hears him knows he is a Persian. With his own tongue he makes himself an object of ridicule."[64]

Timurid considered himself heir to the Mongol tradition, as is also evidenced by his maintenance of the Chingisid legal code, the *yasa*. He maintained corporate and charismatic notions of sovereignty, according to which divine charisma inhered in the Chingisid dynasty with each male clan leader having the right to assert his rule; or in the makup of the Chingisids' tribal following. Indeed, Timur's tribe, the Barlas, traced their genealogy back to Alan Qo'a, the mythical ancestress of the Chingisids; and his ancestor Ḳaraçar Noyon was the chief judge of the Ulus Chaghatay, the patrimony in Central Asia assigned to one of Chingis' sons, Chaghatay. All in all, as argued by Maria Eva Subtelny, the Chingisid dispensation had deeply entrenched positions of prestige on the cultural horizons of the tribal elite supporting the Timurids.[65] Interestingly, this political theology found expression in Navā'ī, too, albeit in an altered fashion.

In the *Muḥākamat*, Navā'ī presents us with a veritable history of literature, in which political power translates into literary power as well.[66] The "Arab caliphs", who patronized Arabic poetry, were followed in some regions by "Persian rulers", who supported Persian poetry, the latter being a reference to various dynasties of Iranian or Turkish origins, i.e. the Sāmānids, Ghaznavids, etc, which have been discussed above. The epoch of Persian literature is now, in Navā'ī's vision, followed by Turkic:

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[64] Mīr 'Alī Shīr. *Muḥākamat al-lughatain.* Tr. Robert Devereux. Leiden: Brill, 1966, p. 6. While the latter argument is of a subjective character, the former one may not be as true as one might think. On the one hand, at least in the Ṣafavid period we will certainly encounter instances when a Persian litterateur not only spoke but also wrote in Turkic, and on the other hand, we will also see instances of the topos *turk-i bī-idrāk*, 'ingnorant Turk', whose field of reference includes ignorance of Persianate learning and of the Persian language. For more on this, see Chapter 6.
[65] Subtelny, Maria Eva. *Timurids in Transition: Turko-Persian Politics and Acculturation in Medieval Iran.* Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007, pp. 19-21, 229-234; Woods, John E. "Timur's Genealogy." In: *Intellectual Studies on Islam: Essays Written in Honor of Martin B. Dickson.* Ed. Michel M. Mazzaoui and Vera B. Moreen. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990, pp. 85-125.
[66] Navā'ī's protégé, Dawlatṣāh, who wrote the first paradigmatic *taẕkira* or 'biographical anthology of poets', also follows the same pattern. About him, see Chapter Five in this dissertation.

"Then the land passed from the Arab and Persian rulers to Turkish _khān_s. From the time of Hūlāgū to the end of the reign of Tīmūr and his son and successor, Shāhrukh, many Turkish poets appeared, and from amongst the sons and grandsons of these rulers came sultans of gentle temperaments. The poets were al-Sakkākī and Ḥaydar Khwārazmī and Atāyī and Muqīmī and Amīrī and Yaqīnī and Gadāyī. But none of them was comparable to the Persian poets I have named. There was only Mawlānā Luṭfī, who wrote many couplets that can be read with pleasure by those who understand poetry."[67]

Navā'ī connects Turkic literary production under the Timurids with the Mongols, when power passed to the "Turkish khans." Just as much as the literary language of the caliphate had been Arabic, and that of some of the dynasties in the pre-Mongol Persianate world, Persian, Turkic is now the literary vehicle of the Chingisid political tradition and divine charisma that the Timurids sought to be attached to. Another important aspect of Navā'ī's picture of Turkic literary history is its emphasis on court patronage. Indeed, it gives us a history of *adab* or court culture, disregarding other contexts, such as Sufi circles.

Navā'ī was of extreme importance to Turkic litterateurs coming after him. This is evidenced, for example, by the tradition of writing poems in Chaghatay—which was identified with him as *Navā'ī ṭarzı* 'Navā'ī style'—amongst Turkic poets in the larger Persianate world, including Kişvarī at the Aqqoyunlu court or, as we shall see it later, Ṣafavid poets like Ṣādiqī Kitābdār and Amānī. Indeed, in the Ottoman context, it was fashionable to write poetry in his vein down to the 19th century as a poetic pastime of stylistic feat. His paradigmatic stature was also evidenced by several poetic anthologies containing specimens of his poetry, or the Turko-Persian lexicographical tradition that was primarily dedicated to the Chaghatay Turkic oeuvre of

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[67] Mīr 'Alī Shīr. *Muḥākamat al-lughatain*, p. 41; Navā'ī, Mīr 'Alī Şīr. *Muḥākemetü'l-luġateyn: İki Dilin Muhakemesi*. Ed. F. Sema Barutçu Özönder. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1996, pp. 187-8.

Navā'ī and was perpetuated by all three Muslim Empires of the time, especially under the Mughals and Ṣafavids.[68]

Not only did Navā'ī write in Turkic and assigned to it imperial prestige, but he did so by imbuing it with traits of Persian literature, such as vocabulary, topoi, genres, poetic meter, etc., so that he could present it as part of a larger Islamic cultural and literary history, claiming both explicitly and implicitly that Turkic is also capable of expressing the Revelation as well as notions of Persian kingship. The tribal elite with its entrenched positions and attachment to the Chingisid-Timurid dispensation identified with its literary traditions, and therefore patronized Turkic literary pursuits, too.

As argued by Azfar Moin, Timur's title 'the Lord of the Auspicious Conjunction' is that of a king whose power was understood not only in political but also in sacral terms. Remarkably, this was not an ideology imposed from above but it was society that called for messianism. This type of legitimacy was understood not so much in scriptural as in bodily forms and social practices:

> "Timurid claims to power were based on an engagement with the particular embodied forms of sacrality dominant at the time. Reports of this ritual theater reach us either as heresies or as grandiose claims of being the Lord of Conjunction. There is, however, more than just religious deviance or bombastic language in these reports. There is instead a ritual process at work, in which sovereign legitimacy was being forged. The way to win was not, as is normally assumed, to impose one's "ideology" on the masses but rather the other way round: to pour oneself into the mythic molds of the hero, the saint, and the messiah—molds shaped by collective imagination and social memory."[69]

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[68] Sertkaya, Osman Fikri. "Azerbaycan Şairlerinin Çağatayca Şiirleri – I." *Kardaş Edebiyatlar* 45 (1999), p. 25; Nağiyeva, Cənnət. *Azərbaycanda Nəvai.* Baku: "Tural-Ə" Nəşriyat-Poliqrafiya Mərkəzi, 2001, pp. 28–33. Navā'ī's Ottoman reception has been relatively well studied, the best and most comprehensive treatment being Birnbaum, Eleazar. "The Ottomans and Chagatay Literature (An Early 16th Century Manuscript of Navā'ī's Dīvān in Ottoman Orthography)." *Central Asiatic Journal* 20 (1976), pp. 164–174.

[69] Moin, Azfar A. *The Millenial Sovereign: Sacred Kingship and Sainthood in Islam.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2012, p. 54.

The early Timurids did use Chingisid charisma for their legitimacy, but they also adopted a political theology of messianic Alid loyalism and floated a genealogy that made them descendents of ʿAlī.[70] As we shall see, the Ṣafavids used a similar discourse with more expressly Alid tenets; however, "the "exaggerated" forms of Alid loyalty were prevalent not only in the nomadic Turkmen milieu but also in urban chivalrous organizations and brotherhoods of craft guildsmen across the region."[71]

Patronage given to Turkic was part of the package just described the Ṣafavids—and for that matter, the Mughals and Uzbeks, too—inherited from the Timurids. Turkic was, as we have seen in Navāʾī, perceived to be capable of expressing the Revelation for the Turkophone nomads. However, as we shall argue later, it had no role that was exclusive to it, aside from the sociologically defined one that it was needed to speak to the Turkophone segment of Ṣafavid society. But Turkic was not needed for administration, because that was carried out by Persophone bureaucrats in Persian, the existence of the so-called Turkish Dīvān in late Timurid administration being ephemeral; it was not the key to the Revelation, because that was reserved for Arabic as a sacred language; it was not necessarily needed for mystical thought, because that was mostly reserved for Persian; and it was not needed for lettrism, because that was reserved for Persian and Arabic. One certainly could and people at times certainly did write in Turkic in these fields, too. However, it seems that aside from its sociological function as the language of the Turkophone segment of the Qizilbash, Turkic had no function exclusive or specific to it within the Timurid cultural-political venture. Arabic and Persian had well-defined functions (*fiqh,*

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[70] Moin, *The Millenial Sovereign*; Binbaş, Evrim. "Timurid Experimentation with Eschatological Absolutism: Mīrzā Iskandar, Shāh Niʿmatullāh Walī, and Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī in 815/1412." *Unity in Diversity: Mysticism, Messianism and the Construction of Religious Authority in Islam*. Ed. Orkhan Mir-Kasimov. Leiden: Brill, 2014, pp. 277-303.

[71] Moin, *The Millenial Sovereign,* p. 77, referencing Arnakis, G.G. "Futuwwa Traditions in the Ottoman Empire: Akhis, Bektashi Dervishes, and Craftsmen." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 12:4 (1953), pp. 232-247.

kalām, philosophy on the one hand, and literature, administration, mystical thought, on the other), and therefore, they could be part of the Timurid and later the Ṣafavid venture and hold authority as such.

Perhaps Navā'ī's *Muḥākamat* and its idea that Turkic is superior to Persian in poetry derives from and tries to compensate for, this vernacular anxiety, which, in turn, comes from noticing that Turkic had a sociological function but no authority. With the waning of Chingisid scribal traditions (e.g. the Uyghur script) and the *yasa*, there was to be no niche for Turkic and the Turkophone elite in the Timurid intellectual enterprise. Navā'ī may have seen this. His vernacular anxiety is, however, different from most other Turkic literati's, for the latter seem to have worried about the supposedly uncouth character of Turkic vis-a-vis Persian, while Navā'ī asserts the superiority of the former over the latter for poetry.

It seems that Turkic as an expression of power was a possibility already in the 15th century under the reign of the Timurids. The early Timurids assumed a Mongol identity, and they relied on not only a Persianate bureaucracy but also chancellors and clerks that were, like Navā'ī, versed in the Uyghur tradition of literacy. It is probably this line of secretaries that Navā'ī hailed from and which formed the background of his commitment to the furtherance of Turkic as a literary language. However, this language could only assume the attributes of language of power vis-à-vis Persian if it became similar to Persian in every aspect. Navā'ī, and let us quickly add, 16th-17th century "high Ottoman poetry," was fully Persianized. And it was precisely when it became very much like Persian that it could also become the vehicle of a separate identity or the projection thereof.[72]

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[72] This brings to mind Peter Burke, who wittily summarizes the phenomenon by quoting Freud, Bourdieu and Anthony Cohen, referring to "'the narcissism of minor differences', the point that 'it is precisely the minor differences in people who are otherwise alike that form the basis of feelings of estrangement or hostility between them.' In the language of Pierre Bourdieu, it exemplifies the search for 'distinction'. In the language of the British

Turkic only had sociolinguistic functions (the language of the nomad segment) in Iran, and no place in the intellectual "matrix" that it would hold exclusive sway in. There certainly were poetic, theological, hagiographic, even diplomatic works produced in Turkic, and, as we shall see, members of the Timurid (and later the Ṣafavid) dynasty themselves patronized such works now and then, but these works ultimately derived from Persian or Arabic. There was nothing that could only and exclusively be written in Turkic. This state of affairs is at variance with the Ottoman case, where the establishment was run by the so-called *ḳul* elite or household slaves who had been converted to Islam and taught the language of the elite, i.e. Turkish, and where the political system integrated the religious establishment, most members of which came to identify with the Ottoman venture.

All in all, Turkic literacy in its courtly forms seems to be present under several, if not nearly all, other political ventures in the Turko-Mongol world of the 14-15th centuries. For example, we can mention Jahān Shah Qaraqoyunlu, who wrote Turkic poetry beside Persian.[73] The Aqqoyunlu were also active Maecenases of not only Persian, but also Turkic poetry, patronizing lyric poets such as Adhamī, Kişvarī and Hidāyat,[74] as well as romance poets like Ḫaṭāʾī of Tabriz (*Yūsuf u Yulayḫā*) and Aḥmadī of Tabriz (*Yūsuf u Zulayḫā* and *Asrārnāma*),[75] or

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anthropologist Anthony Cohen, it reveals the 'symbolic construction of community'" (Burke, Peter. *What is Cultural History?* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004, pp. 84-5).

[73] Minorsky, Vladimir. "Jihān Shāh Qaraqoyunlu and His Poetry (Turkmenica, 9)." *BSOAS* 16:2 (1954), pp. 271–297. Minorsky uses the British Museum copy (Or. 9493), but there is another copy at Tehran University (no. 8198). See also: Jahanşah Hagigi. *Saçilmiş asarlari*. Baku, Yazıcı, 1986; Macit, Muhsin. *Karakoyunlu Hükümdarı Cihânşâh ve Türkçe Şiirleri*. Ankara: Grafiker Yayınları, 2002.

[74] Kişvarī, Niʿmat Allāh. *Asarlari*. Baku: Yazıcı, 1984. Hidāyat's *Dīvān* has two copies: Kitābḫāna-yi Millī-yi Malik, no. 5629; Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian National Academy, Török O. 358. I am indebted to Krisztián Nemes for giving me access to his copy of the latter.

[75] Macit, "Azeri sahası Türk edebiyatı (XIII–XIX. Yüzyıl)", p. 221; Hay'at, *Āẕarbayjān adabiyāt tārīḫina bir baḫış*, p. 31 mentions a 15th-century Turkish translation of Şabistārī's *Gulşan-i rāz*, made by one Alvān-i Şīrāzī, but I have not as yet been able to find any other references to this work.

'Umar Rawşanī (d. 1497), who produced Turkic poetic imitations of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's *Masnavī*.[76]

It seems that Sufis in the ex-Ilkhanid territories found it important to write in Turkic, aside from Persian and Arabic. We should mention 'Izz al-Dīn Isfarā'inī, who used the penname Pūr Ḥasan in his Persian poetry and Ḥasanoġlu in his two extant Turkish ġazals.[77] Another case in point is Ḳāsim-i Anvār (1356–1433). A prominent person in the Şafavid order, he spent a long time in Herat and became closely associated with other Sufi orders as well, but in 1426 Shahruḫ expelled him, most probably because he feared Ḳāsim-i Anvār's great influence in the city, and because Ḳāsim-i Anvār had been implicated in a plot against him. He went first to Samarqand and than to Kharjird in Khurāsān, where he died.[78] Aside from mystical treatises and poetry in Persian, Ḳāsim-i Anvār also wrote in Turkic. A few of these poems are extant, most of them being playful *rubā'ī*s and *mulamma'*s, 'macaronic poems'.[79] It is significant that aside from his Persian output and these few extant Turkic poems, Ḳāsim-i Anvār has a ghazal in Gīlakī, a northwestern Iranian language.[80] Arguably, the attitude of such an intellectual the overall majority of whose oeuvre was in Persian and served missionary or religious dialectical purposes, was not dissimilar from Rūmī's in thirteenth-century Konya, who also wrote mainly in Persian, but a few of his verses are interspersed by lines and expressions in Turkic, Armenian and Greek, reflecting the environment the poet was writing in and engaging with it in a playful manner.[81]

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[76] Musayeva, Azadə. *Dədə Ömər Rövşəni əlyazmaları üzerində araşdırmalar.* Baku: Azərbaycan Milli Elmlər Akademiyası Məhəmməd Füzuli adına Əyazmalar İnstitutu, 2003.

[77] Flemming, Barbara. "Ein Gazel von Ḥasan oğlu (Unbekannte Gedichte im Divan von Sultan Gavrī," with Turkish translation. *I. Türk Bilimsel Kurultayına Sunulan Bildiriler 1972*. Ankara: [s.n.], 1974.

[78] Savory, Roger. "Ḳāsim-i Anwār." *EI²*.

[79] Meredith-Owens, G.M. "The Turkish Verses of Qāsim-i Anvār." *BSOAS* 25:1 (1962), pp. 153–161.

[80] Tadayyun, 'Aṭā' Allāh. "Ḳāsim-i Anvār va ġazalī ki bi-zabān-i Gīlakī surūda." *Armaġān* 26:4 (1336), pp. 179-181.

[81] Lewis, Franklin D. "Solṭân Valad (d. 1312) and the Poetical Order: Framing the Ethos and Praxis of Poetry in the Mevlevi Tradition After Rumi." In: *New Leaves, Fresh Looks: Essays on Persian Language, Literature and Culture.* Ed. Kamran Talattof. London and New York: Routledge, 2015, pp. 23-47.

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We could also adduce as a "sideproduct" of an otherwise predominantly Persian oeuvre the *Dīvān* of Shah Ni'matullāh Valī, the eponymous founder of the Ni'matullāhiyya order, who also has a number of macaronic poems, e.g.:

Man çunīn sarmast yāram **sen neçük sen söyle gel**
Ġayr-i 'işḳ-aş nīst kāram **sen neçük sen söyle gel**

Man bi 'işḳ-i ū tamāmam 'āşiḳānrā man imāmam
Rah-numā-yi ḫāṣṣ u 'āmam **sen neçük sen söyle gel**

[…]

'işḳ-i ū mānad bi ātaş mī basūzad 'ūd-i dil-ḫʷaş
gel meni gör ey ḳarındaş sen neçük sen söyle gel

I am such a drunk companion. **Come, tell me, how are you?**
I do not do anything but love him. **Come, tell me, how are you?**

I am complete in my love for him, I am the imam for the lovers,
I am a guide for nole and commoner. **Come, tell me, how are you?**

[…]

His love is like fire, it is constantly burning happy aloe.
Come, look at me, brother! Come, tell me, how are you?[82]

However, it would be wrong to only examine continuities between the Timurid Turkic and the Ṣafavid Turkic literary traditions, for we would risk missing the larger context: in fact, there were continuities between the two discourses in as much as both Persian and Turkic were integral to them, and in as much as those continuities were at least partially perpetuated by a bilingual echelon of literati and patrons who appreciated literature in both languages. One could mention the so-called *maktab-i vuḳū'*, the 'Incidentalist école' in Persian poetry, which reigned

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[82] Shah Ni'matullāh Valī. *Dīvān*. Ed. Sa'īd Nafīsī. Tehran: Mu'assasa-yi Intişārāt-i Nigāh, 1375/1996, pp. 523-524. Th Turkic parts in the text are in bold.

supreme in the 16th century but had originated with poets like Bābā Fiġānī, in the Timurid and Aqqoyunlu court context.[83]

Conclusion to Chapter One

The ascendance of Turkic literary traditions from the turn of the 10th century onwards was closely related to the conversion of Turkic tribal and political groups to Islam and their subsequent integration into the Persianate Muslim world. This integration did not only mean the acceptance on the part of Turks of Persianate notions of authority and literary forms, but also the assimilation of these notions and forms into indigenous Turkic lore. In the successor states or *ulus*es of the Mongol Empire, i.e. Golden Horde, the Ilkhanid territories and the Chaghatayid realm (although we know less about the latter), that converted to Islam at the turn through the first half of the 14th century, we see the start of both court patronage given to Turkic literary endeavors and Turkic literary products coming out of Sufi circles.

The conversion of nomads in the vast swathes of the Mongol Empire can be detected in conversion myths, which were a mixture of Islamic with indigenous Turkic lore, combining, amongst other things, the Japhetic origins of the Turks known from high Islamic literature with the Oġuz Khan cycle. These conversion myths were later in the 15th century used by various political ventures of a nomadic Turkoman background, the Aqqoyunlu, the Ottomans and the Timurids. We argued that inasmuch as such conversion myths served as pristine ideologies for nascent Muslim Turkic communities, they marked that the way was now open for writing in Turkic and conveying the Koranic revelation to Turks. Remarkably, in the late 15th century, at

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[83] Akbar, Sheila Sheereen. *Reading the Wound: Obsession, Ambivalence, And Authenticity in the Ghazals of the Sixteenth-Century Maktab-e Voqu'* (Ph.D. thesis). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University, 2014. I thank her for giving me access to her yet unpublished dissertation.

the Timurid court in Herat we can witness Navā'ī's attempt at a veritable early modern language policy, which sought to eliminate the indigenous Turkic component from the mytho-genealogy of the Turks, aiming to offer Turkic as a literary langauge a purely Irano-Islamic ethos.

As a final remark it might also be mentioned, though not to be developed in the present dissertation, that in the 14ᵗʰ and 15ᵗʰ centuries there seems to have been a tremendous preoccupation with the question of language itself in the Persianate world. One might think simply of the international network of scholars in the first half of the 15ᵗʰ century that included luminaries such as Sayyid Ḥusayn Aḫlāṭī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Bisṭāmī (d. 858/1454), Ṣā'in al-Dīn Turka Iṣfahānī (770-835/1369-1432) or Şaraf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī (d. 858/1454), and their attempt to create a universal occultist science based on letters "as keys to deciphering all levels of physical, imaginal and spiritual reality."[84] Or we can also mention *ḥurūfism* going back to Fażl Allāh Astarābādī (740-796/1339-1394), which also used lettrism but promoted a highly anti-nomian, gnostic messianism, some aspects of which, particularly its connections with the Ṣafavids on a popular level, will be discussed in Chapter Three.[85] It is possible to hypothesize that the linguistic preoccupation of these movements had a lot to do with the radical crisis in religious authority as well as with the new system of prestige languages in the Islamic world after the Mongols.

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[84] Melvin-Koushki, Matthew. "The Occult Challenge to Philosophy and Messianism in Early Timurid Iran: Ibn Turka's Lettrism as a New Metaphysics." In: *Unity in Diversity: Mysticism, Messianism and the Construction of Religious Authority in Islam.* Ed. Orkhan Mir-Kasimov. Leiden: Brill, 2014, p. 250. See also: Binbaş, İlker Evrim. *Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī (ca. 770s-858/ca. 1370s-1454): Prophecy, Politics, and Historiography in Late Medieval Islamic History.* Chicago: The University of Chicago, 2009.
[85] Bashir, Shahzad. *Fazlallah Astarabadi and the Hurufis.* Oxford: Oneworld, 2005, pp. 61-84, especially pp. 69-73; Mir-Kasimov, Orkhan. *Words of Power: Ḥurūfī Teachings between Shi'ism and Sufism in Medieval Islam: The Original Doctrine of Faḍl Allāh Astarābādī.* London: I.B. Tauris Publishers in association with the Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2015.

Chapter Two

A Messiah Untamed: The Philology of Shah Ismāʿīl's *Dīvān*

This chapter discusses the problems related to the manuscript copies of Shah Ismāʿīl's *Dīvān*. I will give a survey of the manuscript material I have had access to, refute some of the erroneous common wisdom held about them, discuss the problem of authorship related to a specific group of the poems, and finally, try to tie this into a broader discourse on patronage given to Turkic poetry in Ṣafavid Iran. The discussion will shed light on some of the literary and cultural aspects of Turkic poetry and messianism under the Ṣafavids. The problems around the philology of the *Dīvān* are very telling of the backward state of Turkic Philology in general and Ṣafavid Turkic literature in particular. As I hope to demonstrate, some of our ignorance is caused not only by the inaccessibility of the material, but also by the methodological backwardness of much of the scholarship on Shah Ismāʿīl's poetry. In addition, the exclusive emphasis on Shah Ismāʿīl's messianism as expressed in his poetry has somewhat distorted his reception, in that actually only some of his pieces are of a messianic, eschatological character. I will argue on these pages that both his messianic and his more "mainstream," mystical and courtly love poetry, is part of the cultural milieu under the Ṣafavids.

The philological emphasis of the chapter does not mean a positivist turn to a mere gathering of facts.

The Minorsky thesis

The Messianic poetry of Shah Ismāʿīl, the founder of the Ṣafavid dynasty of Persia, has fascinated the international scholarly community ever since the publication of the luminary Russian Orientalist, Vladimir Minorsky's 1942 article about his *dīvān*, which Minorsky finished in September 1941. The timing of the appearance of the article was certainly not accidental. In 1942 both his original homeland, Russia with its messianic ideology of Marxist-Leninist Communism, and his chosen new homeland, Great Britain, were fighting against Germany and its Messiah, Adolf Hitler, in a war that reached eschatological proportions, and both countries, together with the US, were occupying Iran. In the article Minorsky virtually spoonfed scholars interested in Iran and Islam with the extremist notions of the founder of the Ṣafavid dynasty, Shah Ismāʿīl, presenting a sketchy description of the manuscript base he was working with, a short grammatical survey of the language the poet used, the motifs, religious and non-religious he gleaned from the poetry, and a handful of poems with their text and translation. The article, which appeared in a distinguished academic journal accessible in every major research library around the globe, has had a phenomenal career, and has ever since formed a highly important part of the common wisdom held in international scholarship about issues such as Islamic Messianism in the Iranian and Turkic world, Ṣafavid religiosity and the status of Turkish/Turkic language and literature in the lands of the greater Iranian world in the 16th century. A single sentence of this article has had a disproportionately large influence on scholarship, which can serve as a good illustration that Turkic sources of the Ṣafavid period have not been comprehensively dealt with, and therefore a single sentence can generate a whole discourse, primarily because it is the sole voice addressing the subject. To be perfectly fair, Minorsky does

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not develop this idea further anywhere else in the article, and gives just one or two loci to support it. Here is the incriminated sentence:

> "As time wore on, many of the extravagances of the early Ṣafavid period looked too far-fetched and the earlier poems of Shah Isma'il had to be cut out from his dīvān."[1]

The sentence proposes two hypotheses. On the one hand, it sets up a categorization of Shah Ismāʿīl's oeuvre along biographical lines. Minorsky implies that Shah Ismāʿīl wrote those of his poems that carried extravagant, heretical notions earlier in his career, while his poems that were on tamer subjects came later. As he does not specify it, it is unclear how he came to this conclusion, but he seems to refer to the dynasty's gradual turning away from their original *ġulāt* religious notions and/or to the disillusionment that overcame Shah Ismāʿīl after the defeat he suffered at the battle of Çaldıran in 1514. It is truly possible to break down the oeuvre into expressly religious poetry and poetry more in line with mystical cum love poetry of a more classicized form, the latter type, in fact, constituting the majority of the corpus.[2] Yet, claiming that the tame poems were written after Shah Ismāʿīl's defeat is circular argumentation along such lines as Shah Ismāʿīl must have been disappointed in his messianic ambitions, so he must have written the tame poems later in his life, which, in turn, shows that he was disappointed. On the other hand, positing that he could not possibly believe in his own messianic mission afterwards and therefore must have written the "tame" poems later is purely conjectural. However, an even greater problem with this is that it considers Ṣafavid messianism as a wild, uncouth fiery rupture that vanished once the initial heat was gone. While messianism in general and its Ṣafavid version

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[1] Minorsky, Vladimir. "The Poetry of Shāh Ismāʿīl I." *BSOAS* 10:4 (1942), pp. 1006a-1053a, on p. 1009a.
[2] Thackston, Wheeler M. "The Diwan of Khata'i: Pictures for the Poetry of Shah Ismai'il I." *Asian Art* 1:4 (Fall 1988), pp. 54-60; Karamustafa, Ahmet T. "Esmāʿīl I Safawī. ii. His poetry." *Encyclopaedia Iranica,* vol. 8, Fasc. 6, pp. 635–636.

in particular was certainly revolutionary, it was expressed in a space of mutually competing discourses which the Ṣafavids had to accommodate and to which, I argue, they had to adapt their Messianistic discourse.[3]

The other related implication of Minorsky's sentence, i.e. that the *Dīvān* was later allegedly expurgated of the more extravagant poems, has been elaborated by several scholars. For example, Said Arjomand in his book entitled *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam* connects this putative purge to Shah Ṭahmāsp's reign and his policy of suppressing Millenarian extremism amongst his Qizilbash followers.[4]

Hans-Robert Roemer's reading of Minorsky in his chapter on the Ṣafavids in the *Cambridge History of Iran* goes even further:

"His [i.e. Shah Isma'īl's] collection of Turkish poems mentioned above provides an insight into his religious ideas. The Shi'i character of these verses is unmistakable. But clearly what we have here is not something that can be related to the High Shi'a as delineated in Shi'i theology, but rather rabid fanaticism. The worship of 'Alī expressed here betrays an extremism which cannot be reconciled with the normal Shi'i doctrine. 'Alī is named before the Prophet Muhammad and placed on a level with God. In these lines we see perhaps an unrestrained exaggeration of certain Shi'i ideas which also occur incipiently in Folk Islam. *It is also significant that the particularly extreme passages are only to be found in the oldest extant versions of the collection: later manuscripts do not contain them, presumably because they derive from a version expurgated under the influence of Shi'i theologians* [my italics – F. Cs.]. Anyway the creed which Isma'il avowed on coming to power could not have been the Shi'a of the theologians, no matter of what school. Even if he himself, lacking clear religious ideas, envisaged no more than changing from the Sunna to the Shi'a, his poems proclaim very different notions. Nor can they be interpreted as a gradual transition from Folk Islam to the High Shi'a. If one pursues Isma'īl's thought to its conclusion and relates it to his political intentions, one realises that he is proclaiming a Shi'i theocracy with himself at its head as a god-king."[5]

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[3] For the view of the Ṣafavid as a more integrative, accommodating venture, see: Newman, Andrew J. *Safavid Iran: rebirth of a Persian empire.* London; New York: I.B. Tauris; New York ; Distributed in the U.S.A. by Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

[4] Arjomand, Said Amir. *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam. Religion, Political Order and Societal Change in Shi'ite Iran from the Beginning to 1890.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987, p. 110.

[5] Roemer, H.R. "The Ṣafavid Period." In: *CHI* vol. 6, p. 198. See also Gandjeï, Tourkhan. "Ismā'īl I. His Poetry." *EI*[2]; Arjomand, Said Amir. *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam. Religion, Political Order and Societal Change in Shi'ite Iran from the Beginning to 1890.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987, p. 110.

The thesis is clear: the expurgation of the more messianic, self-aggrandizing poems from later copies was concomitant with the shift of Ṣafavid religiosity towards established, "orthodox" forms of Shiism and its parallel waning of the Qizilbash tribal element on the Ṣafavid cultural-political horizon. The alleged purge of later manuscripts of the *Dīvān* is widely used as a showcase for how early *ġulāt* 'extremist' Shiism gave way to establishment Islam and religious views favored by the emerging Shiite clergy under the Ṣafavids. Minorsky was a formidable scholar, and he is clearly right that, on the one hand, the contents of the individual copies of Shah Ismāʿīl's *Dīvān* are different from each other, and, on the other hand, that these differences might reflect cultural, religious or political processes. I think, however, that Minorsky's views raise several problems, but before addressing these, it is worthwhile listing first a few examples of how Shah Ismāʿīl has been treated in scholarship since Minorsky's article.

Shah Ismāʿīl alone gets more scholarly attention from Western scholars than all the other Ṣafavid Turkophone authors put together except, perhaps, for Fużūlī. The reasons for this importance attached to the *Dīvān* are his prominent historical role and the patronage that produced several elegant copies found today in Western libraries and thus accessible to Western scholars. His historical role has received increasingly complex treatments, and has departed from the simplistic views of considering him as the founder of the dynasty that resurrected an alleged Persian national ethos towards views that contextualize him in the Early Modern era of World history as well as the Age of Confessionalization. In Republican Turkish nationalist historiography he is presented as a representative of so-called folk Islam who on the one hand writes in simple, i.e. non-Ottoman, Turkish, and who, on the other hand, as a shaman surrogate in an allegedly semi-Islamic context, implicitly perpetuates the Turkish national ethos. There are

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somewhat similar views in Azerbaijani nationalist scholarship, which also emphasizes the putative proximity of Shah Ismāʿīl to the nation's heart.[6] Such frameworks operate with a rather blurred concept of what *folk* in this case means. We would rather use a remarkable insight put forth by Peter Burke in his seminal work on Early Modern European cultural history, according to which cultural space was shared by two traditions – elite and popular – but its division was asymmetric: the elite participated in popular culture, but commoners did not participate in the elite tradition.[7]

We find a laudably fresh thesis in Kathryn Babayan's works. She views the Ṣafavids as part of the wave of various other *ġulāt* movements, who were social revolutionaries and viewed time in a cyclical framework, perpetuating an "Iranian" view of history as opposed to mainstream Islam that treats history as teleological linearity leading towards the Apocalypse at the end of all times. Her presentation of the *ġulāt* in general and the Ṣafavids in particular seems to be greatly influenced by Norman Cohn's vision of medieval and early modern (and by implication, modern) messianistic movements as instances of an ever present revolutionary strand in history; for her the power of the Ṣafavids was that, contrary to establishment Islam, which removed the *eschaton* to the end of time, i.e. beyond history, the Ṣafavids' chiliastic version of the faith brought it near at hand, which lent messianism tremendous social potency.[8] It would be difficult to deny this, but in as much as Cohn's vision of European messianism has

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[6] Caferoğlu, Ahmet. "Die Azerbaidschanische Literatur." In: *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*. Ed. Louis Bazin, et al. Wiesbaden: Aquis Mattiacis & Francis Steiner, 1964; Caferoğlu, Ahmet. "Ādharī (Azerī)." In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*[2]; Köprülü, Mehmet Fuat. "Âzeri." *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. I, 1943, pp. 118–151; Rüstemova, Azade. "Azeri (Doğu Sahası)." In: *Türk Dünyası Ortak Edebiyatı*. Ed. Sadık Tural et al. Ankara: Diyanet Vakfı. Vol 6, pp. 405–541; Kərimov, Paşa. *XVII. əsr Azərbaycan lirikası*. Baku: Nurlan, 2008, p. 5.

[7] Burke, Peter. *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*. Wildwood House: Aldershot, Hampshire, England, 1978, pp. 23-30; for similar observations on medieval Islam, cf. Shoshan, Boaz. "High Culture and Popular Culture in Medieval Islam." *Studia Islamica* 73 (1991), pp. 67-107, quoted also in Dedes, *Battalname*, p. 46, n. 125.

[8] Babayan, Kathryn. *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs. Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran*. Cambridge, Mass.: Distributed for the Center for Middle Eastern Studies of Harvard University by Harvard University Press, 2002. Cohn, Norman. *The Pursuit of the Millennium: revolutionary millenarians and mystical anarchists of the Middle Ages*. Rev. and expanded ed. New York, Oxford University Press, 1970.

been subject to criticism in European history,[9] I will try to prove that Babayan's thesis can also be elaborated on. Another important study is Rıza Yıldırım's yet unpublished dissertation, which comes from the direction of national Turkish scholarship in stressing the Turkic tribal origins of the Ṣafavids; however, he transcends this framework as he views their emergence as part of the larger social conflict between nomad Türkmens and the centralizing Ottoman state. He studies not so much the Ṣafavids *per se* as the Qizilbash, viewing the emergence of the Ṣafavids almost as an intra-Ottoman affair. In a more recent article, he insightfully claims that the *ġulāt* ethos of the Ṣafavids, and therefore, that of Shah Ismāʿīl's poetry, was connected to a Karbalā-centered popular narrative cycle that called for vengeance on Ḥusayn's blood.[10] The only serious study specifically dedicated to Shah Ismāʿīl and the role of self-glorification and apotheosis in the *Dīvān* since Minorsky has been that of Amy Gallagher with her doctoral thesis she defended at McGill University. Studying the reception of Shah Ismāʿīl among the Bektashis, she suggests, on the one hand, that in other manuscripts of the *Dīvān* a significant amount of the poet's self-glorification is present and that this "… indicates a higher degree of accommodation of such "heretical" expressions than previously thought."[11] On the other hand, she comes to the conclusion that later in Ottoman Bektashi circles it was not the text but the interpretative context of the individual poems that changed. Accordingly, the historic personality of Shah Ismāʿīl became separated from Ḥaṭāyī the poet, and the hero of these poems came to be regarded as the *pīr* of the order. Gallagher also pays attention to philological problems and points to the

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[9] Cf. a review article: Barnes, Robin B. "Varieties of Apocalyptic Experience in Reformation Europe." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 33:2 (Autumn 2002), pp. 261-274.

[10] Yıldırım, Rıza. *Turkomans Between Two World Empires: The Origins of the Qizilbash Identity In Anatolia (1447-1514)*. Ankara: Bilkent University, 2008 (unpublished PhD.thesis); "In the Name of Hosayn's Blood: The Memory of Karbala as Ideological Stimulus to the Safavid Revolution." *Journal of Persianate Studies* 8:2 (2015), pp. 127-154.

[11] Gallagher, Amelia. *The Fallible Master of Perfection: Shah Ismail in the Alevi-Bektashi Tradition.* Montreal: McGill University, 2004 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis), p. 118.

necessity of a comprehensive study of the manuscripts of the *Dīvān*, which, however, she does not undertake and follows Minorsky instead.

The assertion that Shah Ismāʿīl never smiled again after his defeat at the battle of Çaldıran and the entire messianist project was discredited and discarded is problematic if we take into consideration certain analyses made in religious sociology. Accordingly, the disconfirmation of a prophecy or other central tenet in a messianic movement does not usually discredit the ideology itself in the minds of the devotees. Moreover, to overcome the cognitive dissonance deriving from a failure of the movement usually produces an increase in proselyting if there is a conviction, there is commitment to it, the conviction is amenable to unequivocal disconfirmation and there is such an unequivocal disconfirmation, and finally, if there is social support available subsequent to the disconfirmation.[12] As to the tenacity of Qizilbash belief in the continued millennial mission of the Ṣafavid house, evidence is scant; further research needs to be done in this respect. We do know, nonetheless, that Ṭahmāsp himself had to deal with this problem: in 938/1531-2, he suppressed the supposedly extremist Sarulu tribe, in 1554/5 he put down the heresy of a group of Sufis for calling him Mahdī, and he had another allegedly irreligious (*murtadd*) Turkmen tribe clan killed or imprisoned in Alamut.[13] Moreover, arguably, the death of the previous messianic leaders of the Ṣafavid movement before Shah Ismāʿīl, i.e. his grandfather Junayd and his father Ḥaydar, might also have been disconfirmations, which the community had to and did overcome. Or we might mention the false pretenders claiming to be the by then dead Shah Ismāʿīl II, such as the one that occurred in 988/1580-81.[14] Finally, both Babayan and

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[12] Festinger, Leon; Riecken, Henry W.; Schachter, Stanley. *When Prophecy Fails: A Social and Psychological Sudy of a Modern Group that Predicted the Destruction of the World.* New York: Harper & Row, [1956], pp. 4, 28, 216.
[13] Arjomand, *The Shadow of God…*, pp. 111-2; Aubin, Jean. "La politique religieuse des Safavides." In: *Le Shiʿisme imamate.* Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1970, p. 239; *Memoirs of Shah Tahmasp,* Calcutta, 1912, pp. 16-17. The continuation of messianism among the Qizilbash has also been noted by Newman, *Safavvid Iran,* p. 59.
[14] Savory, Roger M. "A Curious Episode in Safavid History." In: *Iran and Islam: in memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky.* Ed. Clifford Edmund Bosworth. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971, pp. 461-473.

Andrew Newman's works demonstrate that messianism and millenarian beliefs continued to reoccur in Persia down to the end of the dynasty, even if with increasing frequency the subject of such beliefs were now not the Ṣafavids.[15]

The great Russian Orientalist's thesis is problematic from a theoretical point of view as well. Accordingly, one might be tempted to question the absoluteness of central power in the early modern state in general and Ṣafavid Persia in particular. Such a framework evidently follows Max Weber about the routinization of charisma and the emergence of the bureaucratic centralized state. This is rightly criticized by Rudi Matthee, who, in the wake of Michael Mann, argues that the strict opposition between the all-powerful central state and society cannot be applied to the Ṣafavid context. On one hand, it is better to speak of a negotiation-based relation between them, where the center applies the carrot just as much as the stick. On the other hand, Matthee also follows Mann in his vision of pre-modern society as a network of multilayered relations headed and navigated by the center, with competition and cooperation on all levels.[16] Accordingly, he speaks of

> "[…] a minimalist state masquerading as an absolutist court, highly factionalized, limited in its ability to collect information, dependent on fickle tribal forces for military support, and forced to negotiate with myriad societal groups over political control.[17] The shah's power was awe-inspiring and Ṣafavid ideology was a commanding force, but state absolutism was a relative concept and centralization was at best uneven. Like Mughal India, Ṣafavid Iran was a "strange mix of despotism, traditional rights and equally traditional freedoms."[18]

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[15] Babayan, *op. cit.* Newman, Andrew J. *Safavid Iran: rebirth of a Persian empire.* London; New York: I.B. Tauris; New York ; Distributed in the U.S.A. by Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

[16] Matthee, Rudi. *Persia in Crisis. Safavid Decline and the Fall of Isfahan.* London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2012, p. 2.

[17] Matthee here references Tapper, Richard. *Frontier Nomads of Iran: a political and social history of the Shahsevan.* Cambridge, U.K.; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 1997, introduction, p. 10.

[18] Matthee, Persia in Crisis…, p. 6, quoting Das Gupta, Ashin. *The World of the Indian Merchant, 1500-1800: collected essays of Ashin Das Gupta.* Compiled by Uma Das Gupta. New Delhi; New York: Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 194. For the question, see also: Mitchell, Colin P. "Provincial Chancelleries and Local Lines of Authority in Sixteenth-century Safavid Iran." *Oriente Moderno,* n.s. 27 (2008), pp. 483-507.

[19] Blochet, E. *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs.* Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, 1932-33, vol. 2, p. 229.

Hence, I have serious doubts as to the ability of the Ṣafavid establishment to so closely monitor the contents of every individual copy of the *Dīvān* of Shah Ismāʿīl. Roemer's vision of Shiite ulema control over poetic manuscript production is also problematic. While the *fatvā* of al-Karakī to ban the recitation of the *Abū Muslimnāma*, a heroic prose epic reflecting the messianic *ġulāṭ* ethos of the Qizilbash, certainly reflects the policies of some of the groups at court, more recent scholarship has shown that for much of the Ṣafavid period the Shiite ulema were only one of the competing status groups and their influence at court became superior only at the end of the dynasty in the early 18th century with the establishment of a hierocracy independent of the court. They were in competition, on the one hand, with the Iranian *ʿayān,* the clerical notables whose families went back many a generation in the service of various polities ruled by Turkic nomadic aristocracies, and, on the other hand, with the Qizilbash notables, as well as the *ġulām* elite from the reign of Shah ʿAbbās I onwards.

But the alleged purge of Shah Ismāʿīl's *Dīvān* on the part of Shiite scholars is also problematic from a philological point of view. A closer look at the manuscripts of the *Dīvān* that Minorsky had access to, complemented by a study of manuscripts that have been identified since the appearance of his article as well as by completely unstudied manuscripts, reveals that there was probably no purge of the nature Minorsky surmises, or even if there were attempts to "tame" the chiliastic, messianic content of Shah Ismāʿīl's poetry, they were by no means complete, and represent only one of the tendencies of the development of the manuscript copies. Minorsky's is a greatly teleological thesis, with the more extremist copies at the beginning of the story and the tamed versions at the end of it. However, while the content as well as the codicology of the copies do reflect historical processes, they tell us a much more complex history. Basing myself on new sources as well as revisiting the evidence Minorsky provides, I will try to show that later

manuscripts *did* preserve most of the *ġulāt* ideas present in the early manuscripts. The research is based on my comprehensive database of the incipit of every poem found in Shah Ismāʿīl's *Dīvān*, indicating, wherever it is possible, in which manuscript and on which page an individual poem can be found, paying some attention to textual variants, too. The database and consequently my results have also been shaped by the order in which I got access to the material. Accordingly, I first processed the textual notes of the two critical editions, which I supplemented and corrected by the addition of the data of several other manuscripts; I also had to go back to the manuscripts the critical editions ostensibly relied on, correcting some of the mistakes in the latter.

The manuscripts of Shah Ismāʿīl's *Dīvān*

In what follows I will discuss the manuscripts of Shah Ismāʿīl's *Dīvān*, starting with the copies Minorsky and Gandjei worked with. This is followed by a survey of the manuscripts that were utilized by Azizağa Məmmədov for his 1966 Baku edition. I will continue with the description of the manuscripts that have hitherto been neglected or received but superficial treatment, and I will finish this section with the copies that I know of but have not had access to.

Two of the manuscripts to be dealt with were illuminated and illustrated with miniatures. Moreover these two have other features that help us date and contextualize them, which somewhat alleviates the difficulty arising from the fact that especially these two copies are extremely defected. Indeed, it is a serious problem for the scholar studying these copies that very few of the extant manuscripts are intact, which makes assessing their content and drawing

definite conclusion from it very difficult. Only in rare cases when one manuscript is obviously in

close relation to another one is it possible to fill such gaps.

1. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Supplément turc 1307 (Paris1). An elegant copy with an illuminated title-page (*sar-lawḥ*), it was executed in 948/1541-2, and contains 254 ḳaṣīdas and ġazals, 3 maṯnavīs, 1 murabba' and 1 musaddas on 84 folios, the first 24 poems not following the usual alphabetical order.[19] Minorsky, and in his wake, Tourhan Gandjei, both considered this the oldest copy of the *Dīvān*, the latter basing his edition on it.[20] Script: nasta'līḳ. The copy is different from the other copies not only in terms of its content but also its orthography. While all the others are written in a Western Oġuz, "Azeri" idiom, this manuscript has many Chaghatay features, such as word initial *b-* in *bol-*, 'to be.'

2. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Supplément turc 995 (Paris2). 64 foll. The copy is undated, but according to Blochet, it was copied in the early 17th century.[21] Contents: 205 ġazals, 9 rubā'īs, 2 maṯnavīs (one of which is the *Naṣīḥatnāme*), as well as a ġazal and a few couplets in Persian. Script: nasta'līḳ. It ends in two Persian ghazals.

3. British Library, London Or. 3880 (London2).[22] Another luxury copy of 83 folios (31.75 cm X 15.cm; 12 lines, 7 cm per page), which is undated, though Rieu thinks it is from the 16th century. The seals in it belong to later owners from the 19th century.[23] Several folios are missing after 47b as well as after fol. 62b; and there are missing or transferred folios after 69b. Foll. 1b-8b have the *Naṣīḥatnāme*, a maṯnavī, while the *Dīvān* with 240 poems and fragments can be found on foll. 10b-83a. 2a is decorated with a beautiful şems, 'sun-shaped vignette', which has the following legend: *dīvān-i Sulṭān Ḫaṭā'ī a'lá'llāhu maḳāmahu / aş'ār-i fayż-āṯār-i ḥażret-i firdevs-mekānī Abu'l-Muẓaffer Şāh İsmā'īl Ḥüseynī navvara'llāhu marḳadahu*, 'The dīvān of Sultan Ḫaṭā'ī, may God elevate his position / the emanation-like poems of Abu'l-Muẓaffar Şāh Ismā'īl the Ḥusaynid, whose place is in Paradise, may God illuminate his shrine,' which is reiterated in şikasta in the upper part of the folio as well as on 10a. The designation Sulṭān Ḫaṭā'ī is noteworthy and will be elaborated on further below. The dedication refers to Shah Ismā'īl as already deceased, which gives 1524 as the *terminus post quem* for the copy date. Script: nasta'līḳ. Some of the folios are mixed up, some of them are missing.

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[19] Blochet, E. *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs.* Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, 1932-33, vol. 2, p. 229.

[20] Gandjeï, Tourkhan. *Il Canzoniere di Shāh Ismā'īl Ḥaṭā'ī.* Napoli: Instituto Universitario Orientale, 1959.

[21] Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs,* vol. 2, pp. 122-3.

[22] Rieu, Charles. *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum.* London: British Museum, 1888, pp. 205-6.

[23] There is a seal in a heading on 18a with the legend "amān allāh 1258" (1842-3); on 83a there is a colophon with the name of the copyist completely scratched, and another seal with the legend "'abdu-hu Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Ḥusaynī 1223" (1808-9). The manuscript was acquired by Sidney Churchill, Esq., secretary of the British Legation at the court of Tehran in 1885-7 (Rieu, *Turkish Mss,* p. ix.), who was an official agent of the British Museum in Iran from 1883 to 1895 (Rogers, J. Michael. "Great Britain xi. Persian Art Collections in Britain." *EIr*). The inside of the back cover has his possessorial note with the date 9 October 1889. There are further possessorial notes which are, however, not dated. 81a bears two Arabic couplets written in şikasta script on the left margin. I am deeply indebted to Prof. István Ormos of Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest, for helping me decipher the couplets.

4. Ardabil (Ardabil). The manuscript was owned by Minorsky, who presented it to what is today the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts in St. Petersburg (B 4544). Measures: 70 foll., 20.5X15, 14.5X8 cm; 12 lines per page. Contents: 223 ġazals, 9 tuyuġs, and the *Nasīḥatnāme*. It is dated 17 Rabīʻ II 1245/16th October 1829, but was copied by one Murtażāḵulı from a manuscript which bears the seal of Shah 'Abbas I and which was presented to the Ardabīl sanctuary in 1022/1613. In preparing his edition, Gandjei also consulted this copy but decided to omit its variants from the critical apparatus, because, as he puts it, its variants agree more or less with those of London2 and Paris2.[24]

5. Vatican, Turco 221 (Vatican).[25] An undated, defective copy of 32 foll. with missing beginning and end. The volume has been misbound; 27a should follow 31b. Contents: 178 ḵaṣīde-ġazels, 1 musaddas; script: nastaʻlīḵ.

6. Tashkent (Tashkent). Al-Biruni Institute of Oriental Studies, 1412. An elegant copy of 85 foll., measuring 14.5 X 23.5 cm with text on foll. 2b-84a. Məmmədov thought it to be the oldest copy of the *Dīvān* and therefore he based his edition on it. It was copied in 942/1535-6 in a fine *nastaʻlīḵ* by Shah Maḥmūd al-Nişābūrī (d. 972/1564-65?), a well-known calligrapher, most probably in Tabrīz, during the reign of Shah Ṭahmāsp. Shah Maḥmūd had been in the service of the Şafavids since the time of Shah Ismāʻīl, collaborating with such masters as Bihzād.[26] The manuscript bears no dedication, so we do not know if it was commissioned by Ṭahmāsp himself or some member of the Ḵızılbaş aristocracy at court. 1b-2a are gilded but left blank possibly for miniatures which, however, did not materialize. On the margins down to 72a can be found the text of Shah Ismāʻīl's two narrative poems, the *Dihnāma* and the *Naṣīḥatnāma*.[27]

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[24] Dmitrieva, L.V. *Opisanie tiurkskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta vostokovedeniia. III. Poeziya. Poėziia i kommentarii k poėticheskim sochineniiam, poėtika.* Moskva: Nauka, 1980, pp. 66-67. Unfortunately, I have had no access to this copy.

[25] Rossi, Ettore. *Elenco dei manoscritti turchi della Biblioteca vaticana: vaticani, barberiniani, borgiani, rossiani, chigiani.* Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1953, p. 193.

[26] The colophon can be found on fol. 84a. About Shah Maḥmūd al-Nişābūrī, see: Sām Mīrzā Şafavī. *Taẕkira-yi Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī.* Ed. Rukn al-Dīn Humāyūn Farruḫ. Tehran: ʻIlmī, 196?, p. 133; Minorsky, Vladimir. *Calligraphers and Painters. A treatise by Qāḍī Aḥmad, son of Mīr-Munshī, circa A.H. 1015/A.D. 1606.* Washington: [?], 1959, pp. 134-138; Akin, Esra. *Muṣṭafā Alī's Epic Deeds of Artists. A critical edition of the earliest Ottoman text about the calligraphers and painters of the Islamic world.* Leiden, the Netherlands; Boston: Brill, 2011, pp. 108, 120, 135n. 126, 139, 222-3, 228, 229, 466; Bayānī, Mahdī. *Aḥvāl u āẕār-i ḫʷushnivīsān.* Tehran: Intişārāt-i ʻIlmī, 1363/1985, vol. 1, pp. 295-307. He is best known for scribing in 946/1539 one of Ṭahmāsp's most celebrated manuscript commissions, a Niẓāmī *Ḫamse* (British Library, Or. 2265; cf. Rieu, Charles. *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum.* [London]: Trustees of the British Museum, 1879, vol. 3, pp. 1072-3). As another sign of Shah Maḥmūd's tremendous prestige as a calligrapher is the legend related by Muṣṭafá ʻĀlī, according to which before the battle of Çaldıran Shah ʻIsmāʻīl hid Shah Maḥmūd and Bihzād in a cavern for fear of their lives if something should befall him and after suffering a defeat in the battle his first thing to do was to rush to his two protégé artists and check if they were safe (Akin, *Muṣṭafá Alī's Epic Deeds of Artists*, p. 223; for an analysis of the legend, see: Akimushkin, O[leg] F[edorovich]. "Legenda of khudozhnike Behzade i kalligrafe Mahmude." In: *Srednevekovyi Iran: kul'tura, istoriya, filologiya.* Sankt-Peterburg: Nauka, 2004, pp. 59-63). In addition, Shah Maḥmūd participated in such prominent projects as the so-called "Freer Jāmī"; cf. Simpson, Marianna Shreve. *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's Haft Awrang: A princely manuscript from sixteenth-century Iran.* New Haven [Conn.]: Yale University Press, 1997, pp. 254-269.

[27] 1a bears three possessorial seals, one with the text *allāhum ṣal ʻalá Muḥammad wa āl Muḥammad*, the other with the name Mahdī. There is also text on the first folio which, however, has been scratched out.

7. Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi Āyat Allāh Burūjirdī, 2009.[28] A copy of 110 folios measuring 25X15 cm, executed probably in the 18th century. According to a note on 109b, it was sold on 11 Ramażān 1118/31 January 1768, which gives us the *terminus ante quem* for its copy date.[29] Not only its textual variants but also the distribution of the individual lines and poems on the pages are extremely similar to those found in the Gulistān copy, which suggests that they are very close to each other in the paper trail.[30]

8. Mazar-i Sharif, Bakhtar Museum. According to Məmmədov, the only scholar to date to have used the copy, the binding of the manuscript indicates that it was executed by Mīr ‘Alī Tabrīzī,[31] but the editor thinks it was put there later and that the manuscript was in fact copied by the most famous calligrapher of the early 17th century, Mīr ‘Imād. The main reason for his doubt about the copyist to be Mīr ‘Alī Tabrīzī is that he puts Mīr ‘Alī Tabrīzī's active years to the early 16th century. However, I only know of a calligrapher Mīrzā ‘Alī Tabrīzī, the son of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tabrīzī, who worked in the library of Shah Ṭahmāsp. This makes him a perfect candidate for being the copyist of the manuscript and could date the manuscript to the mid-16th century.[32]

Copies unknown to previous scholarship

9. Majlis Library, 4096, Tehran (Tehran2). Comprised of 69 foll. on Isfahan paper, this is an undated, defective copy, its beginning and end missing. Script: nastaʿlīḫ. The headings and the pennames are gilded.

10. Gulistān Palace Library, 2194, Tehran (G). Even if some folios are missing, this is probably the largest copy in volume with 332 poetic pieces on 113 foll.[33] The copyist is Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abū Turāb-i Iṣfahānī (d. 1104/1693-4), scion of a family of noteworthy calligraphers, who spent some of his early career on the staff of the royal library of Shah ‘Abbās I.[34] According to the colophon, he had a royal commission (*ḥasb*

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[28] Ustādī, Riżā. *Fihrist-i nusḫahā-yi ḫaṭṭī-yi Kitābḫana-yi Masjid-i Aʿẓam-i Qum: 3955 nuskha.* Qum: Kitābḫana-yi Masjid-i Aʿẓam-i Qum, 1365/1986, p. 185. I am grateful to ‘Imād al-Dīn Shaykh al-Ḥukamā'ī for helping me obtain a copy.

[29] *Huwa'llāhu taʿālá do tūmān u şişşad / bi-tārīḫ-i davāzdahum-i şahr-i Ramażān ibtiyāʿ şud bi-mablaġ-i do tūmān şişşad dīnār-i tabrīzī* 'May God be exalted! Bought on the date 11 in the month of Ramażān 1181 for 2 tomans and 600 tabrizi dinars'.

[30] The manuscript was used in a popular edition which gives no textual notes.Cavanşir, Babek; Necef, Ekber N. (ed.) *Şah İsmail Hatâ'î Külliyatı. Türkçe Divanı, Nasihat-name, Tuyuğlar, Koşmalar, Geraylılar, Varsağılar ve Bayatılar.* Istanbul: Kaknüs Yayınları 2006, p. 158.

[31] Məmmədov, *Şah İsmail Xatai*, intro., 44.

[32] Minorsky, *Calligraphers and Painters,* pp. 180-181, 186. Məmmədov's rejection of Mīr ‘Alī Tabrīzī as the copyist and espousal of Mīr ‘Imād is based on, on one hand, aesthetic arguments, Məmmədov claiming to have compared some of Mīr ‘Imād's calligraphies to this manuscript and to have found them similar. On the other hand, he found in an 18th century *conk*, 'private anthology,' a copy of a popular romance on Shah Ismā‘īl and Tājlū Begum which had been copied from a copy executed by Mīr ‘Imād. These arguments are, however, non-conclusive. On Mīrzā ‘Alī Tabrīzī, see: Minorsky, Vladimir. Calligraphers and Painters. A treatise by Qādī Aḥmad, son of Mīr-Munshī, circa A.H. 1015/A.D. 1606. Washington: [?], 1959, pp. 153-4; Bayānī, Mahdī. Aḥvāl u āsār-i ḫvushnivīsān. Tehran: Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tihrān, 1384/2005-6, vol. 1, pp. 545-6.

[33] Ātābeg, Badrī, *Fihrist-i dīvānhā-yi ḫaṭṭī-yi Kitābḫāna-yi Salṭanatī.* Tehran, Çāpḫāna-yi Zībā, 2535 [1976].

[34] Bayānī, Mahdī. *Aḥvāl u āsār-i ḫvushnivīsān.* Tihrān: Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tihrān, 1384, vol. 3, p. 948 (no. 1469).

al-amr al-a'lá 'on the sublime command') and executed the manuscript in the royal library of Shah Sulaymān (1666-1694) in 1088/1677-8.[35]

11. Āyat Allāh Gulpāygānī Library, Qum, 5/141. 65 foll. (21X15 cm). No date or copyist. There are some mistakes in this copy: e.g. 15b does not continue 15a, but the last two verses of a poem (*ey ṣabā bu 'āşıḳ-ı dilḫastadan ol yāre var…*) on 14b-15a, and another poem (*göreli zülfüngi ey meh başıma yüz sevdā düşer…*) from 15a is also repeated on 15b;[36] 38b is followed by the wrong folio or there is/are a folio/folios missing between 38b and 39a. The text of the legend of the possessorial seals on foll. 10, 57 and 60 (*yā 'azīz allāh 1284*) dates the copy prior to 1867-8.

12. Millet Library, Ali Emiri Mnz. 131, Istanbul (I). An undated, probably relatively recent copy from Bektashi circles. 33 foll. Its material is incorporated in Ergun's edition, and Məmmədov also used it.[37] It contains a lot of material unknown from the copies commissioned under Ṣafavid aegis.

13. Tehran University, Central Library, 5160. According to the colophon on 75a, it was copied on 23 Muḥarram 1260/13 February 1844 in Tehran by Rıżā Ḳulı and Valī Ḳulı for one Sayyid Ḥāji Baba-yi Kirmānī. 86 folios of nasta'līḳ, Shah Ismā'īl's *Dīvān* stopping on 75a. Folios 75b-78b contain verses by Nesīmī, Köroġlu, Fużūlī, Mīrzā Ismā'īl Afşār, Ḳaṣṣāb and Mīr-i Marāġa in Persian and Turkish. The copy was used by the editors of the aforesaid popular edition.[38] After Shah Ismā'īl's *Dīvān,* the manuscript ends with specimens of poetry by Fużūlī,[39] Shah Ismā'īl's *Naṣīḥatnāme,*[40] Nesīmī,[41] Köroġlu,[42] a Persian-Turkish macaronic poem,[43] poems by Mīrzā Ismā'īl Afşār,[44] Ḳaṣṣāb,[45] another one by Fużūlī,[46] and one by Mīr Marāġa'ī.[47]

14. National Museum and Library, Tehran, 3705, microfilm no. 25. 76 foll. with some missing after 30a. This copy written in a fine *nasta'līḳ* has the seal of the Ardabil Shrine Foundation with the date 1022/1613-14, which means it was presented to or acquired by the Foundation at that time.[48] Length: 76 foll. According to the colophon (75b), the

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[35] Gulistān 113a.

[36] Aydın, Şadi. *İran Kütüphaneleri Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu.* İstanbul: Tımaş Yayınları, 2008, p. 110.

[37] Ergun, Sadeddin Nüzhet. *Hatâyî Divanı: Şah İsmail Safevî Edebî Hayatı ve Nefesleri.* İstanbul, Maarif Kitaphanesi, 1946.

[38] Cavanşir, Babek; Necef, Ekber N. (ed.) *Şah İsmail Hatâ'î Külliyatı. Türkçe Divanı, Nasihat-name, Tuyuğlar, Koşmalar, Geraylılar, Varsağılar ve Bayatılar.* Istanbul: Kaknüs Yayınları 2006, p. 158. The ms contains a Shah Ḫaṭāyī poem on the margin of fol. 50b.

[39] 65b-66a: ṣubḥ salıp mihr-i ruḫundan niḳāb / çıḳ ki temāşāya çıḳar āftāb; Ramażān oldı çeküp şāhid-i mey perdeye rū / Mey içün çeng tutup ta'ziye açdı gīsū; göngül tā var elinde cām-i mey tesbīḥe el urma / namāz ehline uyma onlarrıngla durma oturma

[40] 68b-75a.

[41] 75b.

[42] 75b-76a.

[43] 76a.

[44] 76b-77a.

[45] 77a.

[46] Dün sāye ṣaldı başıma bir serv-i ser-bülend / kim ḳaddı dilrübāydı reftārı dilpesend (77b).

[47] 78b.

[48] See the Aghabozorg on-line manuscript database: http://www.aghabozorg.ir/showbookdetail.aspx?bookid=147214, last accessed on June 27, 2016. For a description of the copy, see: Īyūbayān, 'Ubayd Allāh. "Dīvān-i Ḫaṭā'ī." *Majalla-yi Dānişkada-yi adabiyāt va 'ulūm-i insānī* 1 (1343/1964-5), pp. 289-309. I thank 'Imād al-Dīn Shaykh al-Ḥukamā'ī of Tehran University for his good offices in obtaining a copy of this manuscript.

copyist was 'Ayşī (d. 980/1572-73), who is probably identical with 'Ayşī b. 'Işratī. He came from Herat but spent most of his career working in Mashhad at the court atelier of Sultan Ibrāhīm Mīrzā (d. 983/1575-6), participating in the creation of the celebrated "Freer Jāmī", completing the section assigned to him in 968/1537-1538.[49]

15. Sulṭān Ḳurrā'ī Library, private collection, Tabriz. Catalog number unknown. Copyist: Yārī Haravī (d. 980/1572-3); copy date: 954/1547-8. Unfortunately, I have not been able to access it. However, from the report and the photo of a folio illustrating it, it is clearly a finely executed copy which starts with the *Naṣīḥatnāme*.[50] The patron who commissioned the manuscript was one Muḥammad Khan; he is most probably identical with Muḥammad Khan b. Şaraf al-Dīn Takkalū (d. 1557), who, fiercely loyal to Shah Ṭahmāsp, was the governor of Herat from 1536 to 964/1557 and tutor (*lala*) to Muḥammad Mīrzā, Ṭahmāsp's eldest son, the future Shah Muḥammad Ḥudābanda (r. 1578-1587).[51] The commission of the copy should probably be viewed in the context of an urban reconstruction program during the governorship of the latter, which was coupled by an influx of poets, litterateurs, artists and calligraphers, including the historian Amīr Maḥmūd b. Ḥʷāndamīr and the painter Aḳa Ḥasan.[52]

16. Mīrzā Ismā'īl Ṣāfi'ī, personal possession. Cf. Ayyūbiyān, 'Ubayd Allāh. "Dīvān-i Ḫaṭā'ī." *Majalla-yi Dānişkada-yi Adabiyāt va 'Ulūm-i Insānī (Dānişgāh-i Tihrān)* 1:1 (1343/1964), pp. 289-309. Copy date: 969/1561-2. Unfortunately, I have not had access to this copy.

The earliest copies

There are three defective copies with their beginning and end missing which, however, all date from the time when Shah Ismā'īl was still alive. Two of them, S and L1, are beautifully illuminated manuscripts, decorated with exquisite miniatures.

17. Sackler Gallery, Vever Collection, S1986.60 (S), Washington, D.C. Measures: 50 foll, 21 X 14 cm.[53] A superbly executed, beautifully illustrated copy with miniatures, which is unfortunately defective. However, internal clues show that the copy must have been made when Shah Ismā'īl was still alive. On one hand, the headings introducing the poems contain blessings for him: *ḫallada'l-lāhu mulkahu wa salṭanatahu*, 'May God perpetuate

[49] Simpson, *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's Haft Awrang,* pp. 294-297. According to Ḳāżī Aḥmad, he was an opium eater and wrote good verse (Minorsky, *Calligraphers and Painters,* pp. 153-4). See also: Bayānī, *Aḥvāl u āsār-i ḫʷashnivīsān*, vol. 1, pp. 545-6. The divan was followed by the *Naṣīḥatnāma* (68b-75b).

[50] Bayānī, *Aḥvāl u āsār-i ḫwaṣnivīsān*, vol. 2, pp. 965-6; Thackston, Wheeler M. "The Diwan of Khata'i: Pictures for the Poetry of Shah Ismai'il I." *Asian Art* 1:4 (Fall 1988), p. 61, n. 9. The website of the Majlis Library in Tehran has a report about the manuscript and Ja'far Sulṭān al-Ḳurrā'ī (d. 1407/1989), in whose collection it can be found: http://goo.gl/Y02i4, last accessed on June 27, 2016.

[51] Sümer, Faruk. *Safevî Devletinin Kuruluşu ve Gelişmesinde Anadolu Türklerinin Rolü.* Ankara: Güven Matbaası, 1976, pp. 90-91. On the Takkalū family, see: Szuppe, Maria, "Kinship Ties between the Safavids and the Qizilbash Amirs in Late-Sixteenth Century Iran: A Case Study of the Political Career of Members of the Sharaf al-Din Oghlu Tekelu Family." In: *Safavid Persia: The History and Politics of an Islamic Society*. Ed. C. Melville. London: I.B. Tauris; New York: Distributed by St. Martin's Press, 1996 (Pembroke Persian Papers 4), pp. 79–104. Muḥammad Khan b. Şaraf al-Dīn Takkalū's prominence is signified by the fact that before taking up the Herat governorship, he had been governor of Qazvin (1527-29) and Baghdad 1527-1534.

[52] Mitchell, Colin P. *The Practice of Politics in Safavid Iran: Power, Religion and Rhetoric.* London: Tauris Academic Studies; New York: distributed in the United States and Canada exclusively by Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, p. 160.

[53] Thackston, pp. 37–63. I thank Massumeh Farhad, chief curator and curator of Islamic Art at the Freer Gallery of Art/Arthur M. Sackler Gallery for giving me access to this copy.

his kingdom and sovereignty!'; and on the other hand, a frieze in the miniature on 27b refers to Shah Ismāʿīl as the reigning sultan:

> *Banī al-salṭana al-sulṭān al-aʿẓam wa al-ḫāḳān al-aʿdal al-akram mawlā mulūk al-ʿarab wa al-ʿajam muşayyid qawāʾid al-ʿadl wa al-iḥsān bāsiṭ bisāṭ al-amn waʾl-amān Abū al Muẓaffar Şāh Ismāʿīl Bahādur Khan.*

> 'Founder of the sultanate, the greatest sultan and most just, noblest emperor, liegelord of the kings of the Arabs and Persians, layer of the foundation of justice and beneficence, spreader of the carpet of safety and security, Abū al-Muẓaffar Shah Ismāʿīl Bahādur Khan.'[54]

18. British Library, Or. 11388, London (London 1). Another superbly executed, but regrettably defective copy of 19 folios, measuring 6" by 10" (15.24cm X 25.4cm). The golden and blue headings introducing each of the poems refer to Shah Ismāʿīl as the reigning shah, which suggests that the manuscript was executed during his life-time or perhaps copied from such a manuscript shortly after his death.[55] Nora Titley claims the miniatures are close to the Tabriz style of painting.[56] Be that as it may, the first miniature might not come from the same atelier as the rest, since their style is remarkably different.

19. Majlis Library, 4077, Tehran (Tehran 1). Similar to L1 and S, the golden *ʿunvāns* ('headings) in it, such as *wa la-hu lā zāla lisānuhu al-balīǧ al-bayān mawrid al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-ʿirfān* ('May his eloquent speaking tongue never come to an end about the realities of Gnostic knowledge'), or *la-hu zīda dawlatuhu wa shawkatuhu wa salṭanatuhu* ('May his polity, majesty and sovereignty increase'), suggest that the manuscript was executed during Shah Ismāʿīl's lifetime or was copied from one shortly after his demise. A very defective copy, in fact a fragment of merely 11 folios, the last of which is actually taken from a manuscript of Jāmī's *Tuḥfat al-aḥrār,* "the manuscript must have been put together in the 19th century. The binding is Qajar; all the framing blue and red lines are new. There is also a new miniature in it, perhaps later than even the Qajar period, trying to imitate very late 16th or 17th century Şafavid style. There must have been a ragged copy of the Ḫaṭāyī *Dīvān* and a leaf with a poem by Jāmī in a loose state, which were bound together. Hence, the miniature has nothing to do with the actual leaves and does not effect their dating. The leaves on the other hand, both of the Ḫaṭāyī and the Jāmī poems seem genuine. The illumination may be genuine but not of great quality. The binding may have been done during the Qajar period or even at a later date but using a loose Qajar binding."[57]

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[54] Thackston, "The Diwan of Khata'i", p. 39.

[55] Gandjei, Tourkhan. "A Note on and Illustrated Ms of Shāh Ismāʿīl." *Turcica* 18 (1986), pp. 159-164. The manuscript was first introduced by L.D. Barnett ("An Illustrated Dīvān of 'Khaṭāʾī'". *The British Museum Quarterly* 8:1 (July 1933), p. 13) whose introduction was adopted for the entry on the manuscript in the handlist available in the reading rooms of the British Library.

[56] Titley, Norah M. *Miniatures from Turkish Manuscripts. A Catalogue and Subject Index of Paintings in the British Library and British Museum.* London: The British Museum, 1981, p. 46. She actually describes the measures of the folios as 23.3 X 14.5 cm.

[57] Lale Uluç, personal communication, for which I am very grateful to her.

This type of material can only be mentioned briefly, mainly because it has been very superficially studied, and because of the vast quantity of such manuscripts. A study of Shah Ismāʿīl's poetry as reflected in the popular anthologies is, nonetheless, an important research topic for future scholars.

20. Mnz. 631, Millet Library, Istanbul.[58] The manuscript is undated, but a possessorial notice that refers to the enthronement of Selim III with the date 1203/1789 gives us the *terminus post quem* for its copy date. All the poets whose poetry it gives samples of are from the 16th century.
21. *Divan-i Şah Hatayi,* Berlin, Ms. Orient. Fol. 209, foll. 423a-456a. In fact, this is not a copy but part of an anthology of Persian and Turkish poetry. It was copied in 1077/1666 by one Dāvūd Beg.[59]

Editions of the Dīvān

Shah Ismāʿīl's *Dīvān* has several editions, three of which profess to have been edited with principles of textual criticism in mind.[60] The other editions are intended for the general public; in some cases they even rely on manuscripts that were not used for the other editions, but they give no textual references.

The first edition to be mentioned here is that of Tourhan Gandjei. Using four manuscripts—Paris1, Paris2, London2, A—Gandjei, in Minorsky's wake, used Paris1 as the *Urtext.* His readings are usually reliable; there are only a few omissions and errors, and he

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[58] I am greatly indebted to my friend Christopher Markiewicz of the University of Chicago for helping me get a copy of this manuscript.

[59] Pertsch, Wilhelm. *Verzeichniss der persischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin.* Berlin: A. Asher & co., 1888, p. 63.

[60] Məmmədov mentions an unpublished edition by the noteworthy, tragic-fated Azerbaijani philologist, Salman Mümtaz, which compared Ardabil and London 2, and which was presented to the Baku-based Institute of Manuscripts in 1933 (Məmmədov, *Şah İsmail Xatai*, intro., p. 36, n. 20). Unfortunately, I have not had access to this paper.

attempts to establish the relationship between the various manuscripts he consulted. Accordingly, he claims that London2, Paris2 and A constitute one group, Paris1 another group, and V occupies an intermediary position between them. The other edition was prepared by the Azeri scholar Azizağa Məmmədov. As opposed to the primacy of Paris1, Məmmədov argues for that of Tashkent, saying that it is more comprehensive and was executed 6 years earlier. Unfortunately, though Məmmədov professes to present a critical edition and he did work with textological principles in mind, his edition has many oversights and is marred by poor handling of the material at his disposal. For example, Məmmədov makes no reference to Tourkhan Gandjei's 1959 edition of the *Dīvān*[61], although at times he seems to rely on the latter's findings; further, he claims to use the Mazar-i Sharif copy, but he does not incorporate it into the textological apparatus of his edition, i.e. he does not compare its textual variants with those of the other manuscripts at his disposal, remaining content with adding the poems that can only be found in the Mazar-i Sharif copy. This is all the more curious because he is trying to make the case that the Mazar-i Sharif manuscript was executed by none other but Mīr 'Imād, the best known Ṣafavid calligrapher of the late 16th-early 17th century. The Mazar-i Sharif manuscript thus unfortunately remains a phantom. The other problematic feature of his edition is Məmmədov's almost countless oversights. Very often he omits entire poems from his edition, or claims that a given poem cannot be found in a certain copy, although I have found it there; and on one occasion he repeats the same poem at two different places in his edition with greatly different textual notes (!). At this point it is difficult to decide whether these flaws were caused by the quality of the microfilms Məmmədov was working with or by scholarly negligence.[62]

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[61] Gandjei, Tourkhan. *Il Canzoniere di Sāh Ismā'īl Hata'ī.* Napoli: Istituto Universitari Orientale, 1959.
[62] To be fare, today with the appearance of digital copies the researcher is in a much easier situation than the previous generation, which had to make do with microfilms, the quality of which could vary greatly.

In sum, Gandjei's edition reflects serious scholarly input, but on the one hand, the material at our disposal today greatly exceeds what he had access to, and on the other hand, he worked with a now dated theoretical framework of philology. Məmmədov's edition, on the other hand, is claimed to be based on a more extensive manuscript basis, but does not only follow similar philological principles, but its quality is seriously compromised by the abovementioned flaws. A new critical edition based on a more comprehensive and refined theoretical framework and the material that has been found in the last fifty years, is certainly one of the many desiderata of Turkic and Iranian philology and Ṣafavid Studies.[63]

Minorsky's evidence

Now we can turn to the evidence Minorsky provides. As we might recall, he considered Paris1 as the oldest copy, comparing it to Paris2, London2 and Ardabil, though he knew of other copies, which, however, he could not consult. The chart below shows that of the 17 messianic poems he provides as evidence from Paris1, the copies London2, and Paris2 each has 8, which, however, do not entirely correspond to each other.[64] Minorsky could certainly feel that on this basis his thesis about the tamed late copies might very well be true, with the caveat, we might remark, that London2 is not a complete copy and therefore the evidence it gives is only partially definitive. The Tehran University and Gulpāygānī copy each has 7. Even milder copies are Tashkent with only 4 of the messianic poems, Tehran2 with 8 and Vever with only 3, although the latter two are also defective copies, which weakens their value as evidence. At this point we can disregard the Istanbul copies (botht eh *Dīvān* and the anthology), because they are recent

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[63] I do not list the several popular editions available in Azerbaijan and Turkey.
[64] According to Məmmədov's edition, the Ardabil copy also contains 8 of these poems, but I have not been able to check this information.

copy, and more importantly, because they come from the completely different textual tradition perpetuated in Bektashi circles in the Ottoman Empire.

The first surprise comes when we look at the data of Gulistān and see that it has 14, and the Qom copy, 12, of the 17 "Minorskian" poems, which puts Gulistān and Qom close to Paris1 in the paper trail. The sheer volume of the latter manuscripts exceeds all the previous copies; clearly, the copyist Abū Turāb had access to several previous copies, and he clearly knew the manuscript tradition to which Paris1 belonged.

The following chart indicates the distribution of the messianic poems Minorsky uses as evidence in his article. I based it on Məmmədov and Gandjei's editions, the data of which I checked in the manuscripts I had access to. The abbreviation COMP means that the complete poem can be found in an otherwise defective manuscript.

Table A Shah Ismāʿīl's messianic poems cited by Minorsky

Poem	Tashkent edition (Mämädov)	Old British (before 1524)	Majlis1 (before 1524)	Vever (before 1524)	Tashkent (942/1535)	Paris1 (948/1541-2)	Paris2 (before the early 17th century)	British OR 3380 (16th century?)	Ardabil (1245/1829 copied from a ms. dated 1022/1613)	National Museum, Tehran, 1022/1613	Vatican (undated, defective)	Majlis 2 (17th century, defective)	Mzr. Sh.	Istanbul, Millet, Ali Em. 631 (mecmua, 18th century)	Istanbul, Millet, Ali Em. 131 (19th century?)	Gulistān 1088/1677	Masjid-i A'zam, Qom, prior to 1118/1768	Tehran University (1260/1844)	Gulpayagani
bu şäh-i pür-kerem sähib-nazardur veläyetdür yakïn nūr-i beşerdür	Mäm. 129-131				21b-22a	7a-b	6a-b	16b-17a		6b-7a		3b-4a		19a	4a-b	34a-35a	35b-36a	6a-b	7a
Adum Şäh Ismā'īl hakkung sïrrïyam Bu munca gäzïlerüng senverīyem	Not in Mäm., probably due to oversight; Gandjei #16, p. 18					13b-14a	34a	64b		39a-b		38b-39a				65b-66a	63b-64a	38a	36b
allāh allāh ding gäzïler gäzïler diyen şäh menem karşu geling secde kïlung gäzïler diyen şäh menem	Mäm. 379-80; Gandjei #20, p. 22					15b													
yakïn bil kim hüdäyidür Hatāyī Muhammed Muştāfād ur Hatāyī	Mäm. 531-2	COMP 5b on margin				17a	47b	75a		56b-57a	4a-b	55b				107b	103b	54b	
hakkung nustjalarïn da bir beyän var mukarrer bilüngiz kim kana kan var	Mäm. 245-7					36a-b	18b-19a	32a-b		21a-b		19b				34a	35a	20b	17a

Table A cont.

Poem	Tashkent edition (Mümidov)	Old British (before 1524)	Majlis1 (before 1524)	Vever (before 1524)	Tashkent (942/1535)	Paris1 (948/1541-2)	Paris2 (before the early 17th century)	British OR 3380 (16th century?)	Ardabil (1245/1829 copied from a ms. dated 1022/1613)	National Museum, Tehran, 1022/1613	Vatican (undated, defective)	Majlis 2 (17th century, defective)	Mzr. Sh.	Istanbul, Millet, Ali Em. 631 (mecmua, 18th century)	Istanbul, Millet, Ali Em. 131 (19th century?)	Gülistan 1088/1677	Masjid-i A'zam, Qom, prior to 1118/1768	Tehran University (1260/1844)	Gulpayagani
Ezelden şah bizim sultanımız dır pirimüz mürşidüm üz hānumuzd ur	Müm. 134-5, Cavansir-Necef 352-3; Gandjei #103, p. 71				22b-23a	39a	19a-b	32b-33a		22a		20a		20b	5b			20b-21a	17b
'ışk meydanın da her kim cān ilen baş oynadur yār öginde ganzodur kirpik ilen kaş oynadur	Not in Müm, due to oversight. See Gandjei #104, pp. 71	COMP 17a-b		20b	82b-83a	39a-b										27b	29b		26a-b
bağdaş kurup otursa nigārım fıgān kopar dursa otursa fitne-yi āhır zaman kopar	Müm. 227					39b										38b-39a	39b-40a		
menem kim bu zamāna şimdi geldim revān oldum revāna şimdi geldim	Müm. 364-5					57a	34a-34b	64b-65a		39b		39a				64b-65a	62b	38a-b	36b-37a

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Table A cont.

Poem	Tashkent edition (Mâmedov)	Old British (before 1524)	Majlis1 (before 1524)	Vever (before 1524)	Tashkent (942/1535)	Paris1 (948/1541-2)	Paris2 (before the early 17th century)	British OR 3380 (16th century?)	Ardabil (1245/1829 copied from a ms. dated 1022/1613)	National Museum, Tehran, 1022/1613	Vatican (undated, defective)	Majlis 2 (17th century, defective)	Mzr. Sh.	Istanbul, Millet, Ali Em. 631 (mecmua, 18th century)	Istanbul, Millet, Ali Em. 131 (19th century?)	Gulistân 1088/1677	Masjid-i A'zam, Qom, prior to 1118/1768	Tehran University (1260/1844)	Gulpayagani
ey menüm çoh sevdügüm 'âlemde sultândur bugün yär eger kabûl eder cânum kurbândur bugün	Not in Mâm.; Gandjci #197, p. 124					64a													
bugün geldim china serverim men yakîn biling ki nakd-i heyderim men	Mâm. 408-9				61b	64a-b		69a				43a				72a-b	70a-b		
'aynu'llâh im 'aynu'llâh im 'aynu'llâh im gel imdi takka gör ey kâr-i gümrâh	Mâm. 475-6; Gandjci #207, p. 129					66b-67a										89a with a somewhat different text.	85a		
gül agaçtan bitti geldi şiha yoldaş olmağa sırr-ı şâh idi czelden geldi sırdaş olmağa	Not in Mâm. due to oversight. Gandjci #214, pp. 133-4					68b-69a										93a	89a		

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Table A cont.

Poem	Tashkent edition (Mämädov)	Old British (before 1524)	Majlis1 (before 1524)	Vever (before 1524)	Tashkent (942/1535)	Paris1 (948/1541-2)	Paris2 (before the early 17th century)	London2 (16th century?)	Ardabil (1245/1829 copied from a ms. dated 1022/1613)	National Museum, Tehran, 1022/1613	Vatican (undated, defective)	Majlis 2 (17th century, defective)	Mzr. Sh.	Istanbul, Millet, Ali Em. 631 (mecmua, 18th century)	Istanbul, Millet, Ali Em. 131 (19th century?)	Gulistan 1088/1677	Masjid-i A'zam, Qom, prior to 1118/1768	Tehran University (1260/1844)	Gulpayagani
men ol mest-i likáyum geldim imdi hemişe bü ḫudâyum geldim imdi	Mäm. 489-90			38b-39a	73a-b	75a-b	44b	71a-b		53a	24b					93b-94a; v. 7 left out	89b-90a	51a	55b-56a
ta'âlä'lläh gel ey gör kim yine nûr-i ḫudâ geldi cemi'-i enbiyâ ḫatmu Muhammed ed Muṣṭafâ geldi	Mäm. 527-9					77b-78a								24b-25b		12b-13a			
neler geldi gelesidür mehed hey cihân ehli olasıdur mehed hey	Mäm. 540-1					78b										14a	107a		
bi-tüm-i ḫudâvend-i lüty-i kerim kim oldur tevânâ bi-ziti kadim (mesnavi)	Not in Mäm.; Cavansir-Neccef 501-6					81a-84a										108b-109a (first 21 lines)			

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Why would the Gulistān copy from 1688 have so many of the messianic poems of the founder of the dynasty?

Another cause for surprise is that if we add up the occurrences of the "Minorskian" poems in the copies other than Paris1, we find that except for two, all the messianic poems of the Paris1 copy can be found in them. Now let us look at the first poem, which is exclusive to the Paris manuscript and cannot be found even in Gulistān.

1. Allāh allāh ding ġāzīler
ġāzīler diyen şāh menem
ḳarşu gelüñ secde ḳılung
ġāzīler diyen şāh menem

2. uçmaġda ṭūṭī ḳuşıyam
aġır leşker erbaşıyam
men ṣūfīler yoldaşıyam
ġāzīler diyen şāh menem

3. ne yerde ekersen biterem
ḫande çaġırsan yeterem
ṣūfīler elin dutaram
ġāzīler diyen şāh menem

4. Manṣūr ile dārda idim
Ḫalīl ile nārda idim
Mūsá ile Ṭūrda idim
ġāzīler diyen şāh menem

5. Esrā'adan beri gelüng
nevrūz edüng şāha yetüng
Hey ġāzīler secde ḳıluñ
ġāzīler diyen şāh menem

6. ḳırmızı tāclu boz atlu
aġır leşkeri heybetlü
Yūsif peyġamber ṣıfatlu
ġāzīler diyen şāh menem

7. Ḫaṭāyī'em al atluyam
sözi şekkerden datluyam
Murtażá 'Alī ẕātluyam

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ġāzīler diyen şāh menem

Ghazis, say, "God!" I am the shah calling upon you,
Come before me, prostrate yourselves, I am the shah calling upon you.

I am a parrot in heaven, I am the commander of a mighty army,
I am companion to the Sufis, I am the shah calling upon you.

Wherever you plow me, I grow, wherever you call me, I go there,
I hold the Sufis by the hand, I am the shah calling upon you.

I was on the gibbet with Manṣūr and with Abraham in the fire,
I was with Moses on Sinai, I am the shah calling upon you.

Come from the eve, celebrate the New Year, join the King.
O ghazis, prostrate yourselves. I am the shah calling you.

I wear a red crown, my charger is grey,
I (lead a) mighty army. I am the shah who is calling you Joseph-like ghazis.

I am Khata'i, my charger is sorrel; my words are sweeter than sugar,
I have the essence of Murtaḍā ʿAlī. I am the shah calling upon you.[194]

The shah in the refrain refers to the author, Shah Ismāʿīl, and it is also a common epithet of ʿAlī. Presenting himself as a manifestation of ʿAlī, the poet calls upon his adepts to prostrate before him, invoking prayer, which in mainstream Islam is due only to God. He is both a parrot, i.e. a transmitter of divine guidance, as well as military commander and Sufi master. Strophe 3 is a reference to the 12th-century Arab mystic philosopher Ibn ʿArabī's notion of *vaḥdat al-vujūd*, 'the unity of being', according to which the world is an emanation of God and every being is His manifestation. Strophe 4 implicitly identifies the speaker with God, referring to Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj (d. 922), an emblematic figure of antinomian Islam. Al-Ḥallāj was executed for statements that were considered heretic, the most famous of which is *anā'l-ḥaḳḳ* 'I am God,' a motto of of *unio mystica* in Islamic mystical thought. According to the Koran (21:68-9), Abraham was to be burnt

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[194] Paris1, fol. 15b; Məmmədov., pp. 379-80; Gandjei #20, p. 22.

on a pyre for smashing idols, but God rescued him from the fire; and God revealed his power to Moses, when He destroyed Mt. Sinai. In an eschatological sense, Shah Ismāʿīl's reign is the beginning of the reign of the Messiah, the Mahdī, who has been in occultation and now is coming at the end of time. Implicitly, the sharia is therefore to be suspended, because God reveals himself in Ḫaṭāʾī; the coming of the New Year in strophe 5 marks perhaps the beginning of this new dispensation.[195] In the next strophe we encounter Shah Ismāʿīl's red capped Turkmen followers, the Qizilbash, who are likened to Joseph, the manifestation of God's beauty in Islamic lore. In the end, the poet announces his identity with ʿAlī, which has a concrete reference in that the Ṣafavids presented themselves as Sayyids, descendents of Muhammad through ʿAlī and Mūsá al-Kāẓim, the seventh Imam; however, the image of the advent of an Alid descendent is definitely part of the eschatological context of the poem, too.

The fact that this highly messianic poem can only be found in Paris1 would support Minorsky's thesis, even if there is only one such instance. On closer examination, however, one can see that, in contrast to all the other poems in the divan, this piece is not a ghazal, i.e. a short poem in couplets that follows the Arabo-Persian metrical system of the *arūż*, but a *koşma*, a folk-Turkish genre, which has a strophic structure and a syllabic meter. (I have broken the lines accordingly, although, as is usual, in the manuscript it looks as if it were made up of couplets.) Since all the other messianic poems, which follow the prestigious *arūż* system, can be found in the manuscripts that were produced after the Paris1 copy, I venture to claim that it was not at all the messianic content of the poem that made, for example, Abū Turāb in 1688 exclude it from the Gulistān copy, which he penned, but its versification, considered substandard.

The other messianic ghazal from Minorsky's list is as follows:

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[195] Spring can have eschatological connotations in Persian literature. For example, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī uses it. See: Csirkés, Ferenc. "Mystical Love as the Day of Judgment. Eschatology in Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's *Dīvān-i kabīr*," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 64/3 (2011), pp. 305–324.

1. ey menüm çoḫ sevdügüm ʿālemde sulṭāndur bugün
   yār eger ḳabūl eder cānumnı ḳurbāndur bugün

2. ey ādem sen ʿāḳıl iseng dünyāya verme göngül
   dünyāya veren göngül bu yolda nā-dāndur bugün

3. ʿAlī'yi ḥaḳḳ bilmeyenler kāfir-i muṭlaḳ olur
   dīni yoḫ īmānı yoḫ ol nā-müsülmāndur bugün

4. bir göngül avlar iseng yüzüngge varmış kimidür
   bir göngül yıḫar iseng yüz Mekke vīrāndur bugün

5. ey Ḫaṭāyī cān ġanīmetdür özini tanı gör
   dangla gün olacaḳuz cān tende mihmāndur bugün

1. *O, my Beloved is the sultan of the world today,*
   If the friend accepts my heart, it will be sacrificed today.

2. *O, man, if you are smart, do not give your heart to the world,*
   He who gives the world his heart today is but a fool on the path today.

3. *Those who do not acknowledge ʿAlī as the Truth, are absolute idolators,*
   Today they have neither religion nor faith, and they are no Muslims.

4. *If you hit a heart, it will amount to a hundred,*
   If you destroy a heart, a hundred Meccas will be ruined today.

5. *O, Ḫaṭāyī, the heart is a prey, know yourself,*
   We will die tomorrow, our soul is but a guest in the body.

The only verse that can be considered as belonging to a *ġulāt* ethos is number 3. In an excommunicative zeal, the poet declares that those who do not acknowledge ʿAlī's divinity are not Muslims. If taken together with verse 1, where the Beloved is declared sultan in the world, the message of uniting spiritual and political authority under a Shii banner is clear. The poem seems to support Minorsky's thesis.

If we recall, Minorsky claims that even if a poem was not purged from the later copies, its text was altered to reflect the new religiosity of the dynasty. For example, the variant of the next poem as contained in Paris1 is also different from the one in later manuscripts:

yaḳīn bil kim ḫudā'īdür Ḫaṭāyī
Muḥammed Muṣṭafā'īdür Ḫaṭāyī

Ṣafī nesli Cüneyd-i Ḥayder oġlı
'Alīyy-i Murtaża'īdür Ḫaṭāyī

Ḥasan 'ışḳında meydāna giriptür
Ḥüseyn-i Kerbelāyīdür Ḫaṭāyī

'Alī Zeynü'l-'İbād Bāḳir ü Ca'fer
Kāẓim Mūsá Rıżāyīdür Ḫaṭāyī

Muḥammed Taḳīdür 'Alī Naḳī hem
Ḥasan 'Asker liḳāyīdür Ḫaṭāyī

Muḥammed-i Mehdī ṣāḥib zamānung
ḳapusında gedāyīdür Ḫaṭāyī

Menüm adum velī Şāh İsma'īldür
Ḫaṭāyīdür Ḫaṭāyīdür Ḫaṭāyī[196]

Here is Minorsky's translation:

Know for certain that Khata'i is of divine nature, that he is related to Muhammad Mustafa;
He is issued from Safi, he is the scion of Junayd [and] Haydar, he is related to 'Ali Murtaḍā.
For the love of Ḥasan he has entered the arena, (for) he is related to Husayn of Kerbela.
[He possesses the qualities of the other Imams.]
He is like a beggar at the gate of Mahdī, Master of the Time.
My name is Valī Shah Isma'īl; my surname is Khata'i.[197]

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[196] Minorsky p. 1032a; Gandjei #24, pp. 24-5; Məmmədov, p. 531.
[197] Minorsy, p. 1043a.

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The poem can be found not only in Paris1 but also in Paris2, London2, Tehran2 and Gulistān, Qom, Tehran University and Vatican. Drawing attention to the last verse, Minorsky suggests that it was also tempered with by ideologically minded later copyists. Paris1 has *velī Shah Isma'īl*, the poet identifying with 'Alī, one of whose commonly known titles is *velī Allāh* 'guardian of God' but also posing as a Sufi saint. The later manuscripts, as pointed out by Minorsky, give the following variation of this line:

Velī-kin adıyla Şāh İsma'īldür
Taḫalluṣı Ḫaṭāyīdür Ḫaṭāyī

Yet in name he is Şāh İsma'īl,
His penname is Ḫaṭāyī.

Minorsky argues that the ambiguity of *velī Shah İsma'īl,* which can either mean 'but Shah Isma'īl' or 'guardian Shah Isma'īl', was intentionally lifted from the later copies. One must accept that he is right that the ambiguity and the identification of Shah Ismā'īl as an 'Alid is stronger in Paris1. Of course, *velī* is an extremely loaded term in Shiism, where it designates someone who holds sanctified power and is therefore the sole human source of religious authority. However, I would argue that the most 'heretical' verse of the poem is the first one, where the speaker claims to be of divine nature, which, notably, is present in all the manuscripts. If later manuscripts were indeed affected by censorship, would it not have been more logical to alter the first verse as well?[198]

The next poem also has a strong self-aggrendizing tone. Here it is as it can be found in Paris1:

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[198] Gulistān 30b has a ghazal with a similar last verse: *velī kim ism ile Şāh İsma'īldür /*
Ḫaṭāyīdür 'Alīning çākeridür 'The saint/But he whose name is Shah Ismail / is Ḫaṭāyī, slave to 'Alī.' Play with the ambiguity of the word velī, if indeed this is an ambiguity, is apparently not alien from later manuscripts, either.

ezelden şāh bizim sulṭānımızdur
pīrimiz mürşīdimiz cānumızdur

şāh adın deyüpen girdük bu yola
ḥüseynī'üz bu gün devrānumızdur

biz imām ḳulları'uz ṣādıḳāne
şehīdluḳ ġāzīluḳ nişānumızdur

yolımız incedür inceden ince
bu yol baş başvermege erkānumızdur

Ḫaṭāyī'em ezelden sırr-ı Ḥayder
Munı ḥaḳḳ bilmeyen bīgānemizdür

From Pre-Eternity the Shah is our Sultan,
our pīr and murshid, our soul.

Having pronounced the name of the Shah we have walked along
this path. We are Ḥusaynī, to-day is our period.

We are slaves of the Imams, in all sincerity.
Our token is to be martyrs and ghazis.

Our path is narrow, narrower than anything.
This time our fundamental rule is to give our heads away.

I am Khata'i. From Pre-Eternity I am the Mystery of Haydar.
He who does not recognize this as Divine Truth (Ḥaqq) is a stranger to us.[199]

Amy Gallagher suggests that the difference between the last line as it appears in Paris1 and as it appears in the other known manuscripts is also an example of later copyists' efforts to rid the *Dīvān* of notions of Shah Ismāʿīl's divinity,[200] such as the last verse, which appears, for example, in Tehran2 as follows:

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[199] Minorsky 1044a, except the last verse, the translation of which is taken from Gallagher, p. 121. Məmmədov, pp. 134-5; Gandjei #103, p. 71.
[200] Gallagher pp. 120-121.

Mevālīdür Ḫaṭāyī sırr-ı Ḥayder
Şāhı ḥaḳḳ bilmeyen düşmānımuzdur

Ḫaṭāyī is protector of the Mystery of Ḥayder
He who does not recognize the shah as Divine Truth is our enemy.

Gallagher thinks that while Paris1 presents the poet's apotheosis, in the other manuscripts we find *shah*, which she thinks is more fluid. But is not the presentation of a different *ġulāt* idea, namely, the deification of 'Alī, also implying that the poet himself is 'Alī/God?

However, all the other poems in Minorsky can be found in either the manuscript he or Məmmədov was working with or Tehran2, and especially Gulistān and Qom. I have not found any other major textual variety, one that would make the versions in later copies less ecstatic or messianic. Here is the next poem:

1. menem ki bu zamāna şimdi geldüm
   revān oldum revāna şimdi geldüm

2. 'āşıḳım mest ü ḥayrān şāha çun men
   muḥibbem ḫānadāna şimdi geldüm

3. şāha müştāḳ idim ġāyette bi'llāh
   şükr kim āsitāna şimdi geldüm

4. Yezīd ü müşriküng kökin keserem
   Çırāġa yana yana şimdi geldüm

5. Ezelden gelmişem şāh emri ilen
   Saġınmagil cihāna şimdi geldüm

6. muḥibbim on iki şāha ezelden
   velīkin bu dükkāna şimdi geldüm

7. Süleymān ḫātemi Mūsá 'aṣāsı
   'āleme Nūh ṭūfāna şimdi geldüm

8. Muḥammed mu'cizi şāh Zu'l-Fıḳārı
   Elümdedür nişāna şimdi geldüm

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9. ḫavāric aṣlını ḳoyman cihāna
   Ḫaṭāyī'em bürhāna[201] şimdi geldüm

*1. It is I who have come now for this epoch (var. " to this world ").
   I have set myself in motion and have entered a soul (manifested myself in a soul ?).*

*2. I am intoxicated with love for the Shah and dazzled by him.
   As a lover I have come to (my) family (home).*

*3. By God, I was sorely longing for the Shah! Thanks to God, I have
   now come to the sanctuary.*

*4. I shall uproot Yazid and the heretics, a-burning I have come to
   the source of light.*

*5. By the Shah's command I had come in Pre-Eternity. Do not be
   troubled, (for) now I have come (again).*

*6. From Pre-Eternity I am in love with the " Twelve Shahs " (Imams)
   but now I have come to this shop (i.e. this mundane world).*

*7. (Like ?) Solomon's ring and the staff of Moses I have come to
   the world, as Noah (during) the Flood.*

*8. Muhammad's miracles, the Shah's (sword) Dhul-Fiqar are signs
   in my hand. Here I have come.*

*9. I shall exterminate outsiders from the world. I am Khata'i,
   I have come to serve as a proof (of Truth).[202]*

All the other manuscripts have a similar text, except that the version in Tehran2 is two verses

shorter.

The following poem can be found in Paris1 and Gulistān in slightly different versions.

1. 'aynu'llāhım 'aynullāhım 'aynullāh

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[201] Uncertain reading.
[202] Minorsky, p. 1036a; Məmmədov, pp. 364-5.

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gel imdi ḥaḳḳı gör ey kūr-i gümrāh

2. Menem fā'il-i muṭlaḳ ki derler
   Menüm ḥükmimdedür ḫurşīd ile māh

3. Vücūdum beyt-i allāhdur yaḳīn bil
   Sücūdum sangadur şām u seḥergāh

4. yaḳīn bil ehl-i iḳrārung yanında
   yer ü gök cümle ḥaḳtur olma gümrāh

5. velāyet bāġınung bir mīvesidür
   ḫaçan uza onı her dest-i kūtāh

6. dilersen ḥaḳḳı ḥaḳḳa vāṣil etmek
   erişti fī maḳām-i mīm allāh

7. 'ulūḳı pāk öze seyrān edür ki
   Ḫaṭāyī uġradı bir gence nāgāh[203]

Here is a modified version of Minorsky's translation:

1. *I am God's eye (or " God Himself" !); come now, o blind man
   gone astray, to behold Truth (God).*

2. *I am that Absolute Doer of whom they speak.
   Sun and Moon are in my power.*

3. *My being is God's House, know it for certain. Prostration before
   me is incumbent on thee,3 in the morn and even.*

4. *Know for certain, that with the People of Recognition
   Heaven and Earth are all Truth. Do not stray!*

5. *The garden of Sanctity has produced a (or one) fruit.
   How can it be plucked by a short-handed one?*

6. *If you wish to join Truth to Truth,
   (here is) God who has reached the stage of Mīm.*

7. *The one of pure connections goes back to his own person.
   Suddenly Khata'i has come by a treasure.*

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[203] Minorsky p. 1037a; Məmmədov, pp. 475-6; Gandjei #207, p. 129.

Both Minorsky and Gallagher argue that this poem is unique to Paris1, but in fact it is also contained in Gulistān and Qom with almost the same text, except for two differences in the last verses 6-7:[204]

> *dilersen ḥaḳḳı ḥaḳḳa vāṣil olgil*
> *eriştir fī'l-maḳām^i lī ma' allāh*
>
> *Ulūfet [?]^{205} bāġını seyrān ederken*
> *Ḫaṭāyī uġradı bir gence nāgāh*

> If you want the Truth, unite with the Truth,
> Convey [yourself] to the station of "I have [time] with God."
>
> Walking in the garden of ?,
> Suddenly Ḫaṭāyī has come by a treasure.

The meaning of these two variants is problematic and awaits further research. Nevertheless, it seems clear that v. 6 in Paris1 refers either to God's revealing Himself in the letter *mīm*, which perhaps refers to Muḥammad, or to one of the mysterious letters in the Koran, while the version in Gulistān and Qom invokes the moment of the mystic's union with God. However, these are minor changes and the most expressly messianic verses carrying *ġulāt* notions are the same in both manuscripts.

The problem of versification leads us to the other group of manuscripts. This is a topic that cannot extensively be dealt with here because of the vastness of primary sources hitherto neglected and the elementariness of research on the topic. These *mecmua*s, 'private anthologies', belong primarily to Anatolian Alevi-Bektashi communities, who, though Ottoman subjects, shared much of the Shiite leanings and ghulāt ideology of the Ṣafavids. One such manuscript is

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[204] In fact, in Gulistān the order of the verses is slightly different and these are vv. 5 and 7.
[205] Uncertain reading.

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Millet Library Mnz. 631 mentioned above. Even the outlook of these manuscripts reveals that we should not seek a rich patron behind them but a simple Bektashi dervish intent on collecting poetry from the major poets whose poems he could use in Bektashi rituals. This copy differs from the Ṣafavid-sponsored manuscript tradition, because it is fully of syllabic and strophic poems, similar to the one I adduced previously. Interestingly, in the Bektashi tradition there were several poets writing under the poetic pen-name, Ḫaṭāyī, i.e. Shah Ismāʿīl's pen-name. Or they used pen-names that had reference to Shah Ismāʿīl's nom de plume, such as Shah Ḫaṭāyī, Dervish Ḫaṭāyī, Can Ḫaṭāyī, Derdimend Ḫaṭāyī, Pir Ḫaṭāyī, Sultan Ḫaṭāyī, Shah Ḫaṭāyī.[206] These poets, whose oeuvre forms an important part of Alevi rituals, used the same imagery and produced both genres of high culture, *ġazal*s, *ḳaṣīda*s, *ma<u>s</u>navī*s, *murabbaʿ*s, etc., and low-register *koşma*s and *nefes*, *varsaġı*s, etc.,[207] a feature understood by scholars as an intentional appeal to the Qizilbash followers. According to Amy Gallagher, these poems are different from the ones preserved in the Ṣafavid-sponsored copies; Ḫaṭāyī features no more as the historical figure claiming to be the incarnation of the divine but as the sheikh of the order who has attained mystical union with God. It seems, therefore, that the two manuscript traditions, i.e. the Ṣafavid-sponsored Shah Ismāʿīl copies and the Alevi Bektashi popular anthologies, bifurcated at some point in history. To date, Shah Ismāʿīl "Ḫaṭāyī" and the pseudo-Ḫaṭāyīs form an essential part of Alevi-Bektashi rituals. The story of this bifurcation is not entirely clear, especially because recent research by Ayfer Karakaya-Stump reveals that many of the Bektashi groups continued to have contacts with the Ṣafavid shahs into the 17th century. She also suggests that "[T]he Qizilbash movement should be

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[206] It is remarkable and goes against the abovementioned theory of bifurcation that London 2 gives Sulṭān Ḫaṭāyī as the author of the *Dīvān*. Were some of the poems found in Anatolian *mecmua*s written by Shah Ismāʿīl? Did at least some of these collections go back to Shah Ismāʿīl or the Ṣafavid propaganda machine? At this point it is difficult to give a final answer. The differentiation, however, between the Ṣafavid and Bektashi copies on the grounds of the presence or lack of syllabic poetry in the copies, seems plausible enough.

[207] Qošma: a popular Turkish genre of poetry, characterized by a strophic structure, syllabic or accented syllabic rhythm with caesura, and a rhyme scheme of abcbor abab (Kowalski 1986). The varsaġı is similar; it is also strophic with lines of 8 or 11 syllables (Köprülü 1966, p. 210, n. 96).

conceived as a union of various mystical formations and antinomian dervish groups which flourished in Anatolia from the late medieval period."[208] I will come back to this point in Chapter Three, where I show how some poems by Nesīmī, the greatest Ḥurūfī poet, were plagiarized by Shah Ismāʿīl or the copyists of his *Dīvān*, and vice versa, when Shah Ismāʿīl poems were presented as though they had been written by Nesīmī, a phenomenon that, I suggest, can best be understand against the background of a larger popular Sufi context that carried features of both oral and literary culture.

And now we can come back to the Minorsky thesis and critique it from a literary point of view. Already the great Muslim thinker of the 12th century, al-Ġazālī (d. 1111), who harmonized Sufism with mainstream Islam, touches on the issue of the so-called *şaṭḥiyāt*, which are

> "broad, extravagant claims (made) in passionate love of God Most High, in the union that is independent of outward actions, so that some go to the extent of claiming unification, rending of the veil, contemplative vision (of God) and oral conversation (with God). Then they say, "We were told such-and-such, and we said such-and-such. In this way they resemble al-Ḥusayn ibn Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj, who was crucified for uttering the words of this kind, and they quote his saying, "I am the Truth."[209]

He maintains that such exclamations are dangerous for the ignorant but they are therefore permissible for the initiated. Moreover, Minorsky forgets about an essential feature of the Persianate ghazal, ambiguity, which had been classicized from the 12th century on and by Shah Ismāʿīl's time had formed part of the convention. In the classical ghazal the language of love poetry, the courtly setting and the language of mystical intoxication are inextricably intertwined. The reader often does not know whether what he or she is reading is the depiction of a wine

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[208] Karakaya Stump, Ayfer. *Subjects of the Sultan, Disciples of the Shah: Formation and Transformation of the Kizilbash/Alevi Communities in Ottoman Anatolia.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University, 2008, pp. 34-5.
[209] Quoted in: Ernst, Carl W. *Words of Ecstasy in Sufism.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985, p. 14. Gallagher p. 123 also discusses the significance of *shaṭḥiyāt* in relation to Shah Ismāʿīl.

gathering with dancing boys and musicians or an ecstatic gathering of Sufis. Accordingly, the poems cited above can also be interpreted as elaborations of the idea of *vaḥdat al-vujūd*, 'the unity of being,' which was an acceptable part of religious discourse as well as poetry. Many of the messianic poems of Shah Ismāʿīl could therefore easily avoid the putative censorship of later, pious readers. It is probable that the copies of the *Dīvān* that were commissioned by those members of the dynasty, such as Ṭahmāsp I or ʿAbbās I, who at one point or another actively suppressed millenarian groups, could have been subjected to closer scrutiny and a possible censorship. However, the space of ambiguity in which literary texts operated left the copyists of the *Dīvān* with a considerable amount of freedom.

The question of audience can take us back to the Persian sources about the religiosity of the early Ṣafavids and Shah Ismāʿīl. I will delve into this issue in more detail in chapter 3; a cursory notice should suffice at this point. The best known account can be found in the staunchly Sunni Fażlullāh b. Rūzbihān Ḫunjī's *Tārīḫ-i ʿālamārā-yi amīnī,* written in 1480, in which he criticizes in a vitriolic language the heretic ideas of Shah Ismāʿīl, his grandfather Junayd and father Ḥaydar.[210] This is in stark contrast with the accounts found in the court historians of the next generation, Ḫʷāndmīr (d. 1535-6) or Ḥasan Beg Rūmlū (d. 1539-40), who are virtually silent about the 'heretical' leanings of the founder of the dynasty. The reason might be that these historians belonged not to the Tajik segment of the Ṣafavid elite. To them, the *ġulāt* ideas of the early Ṣafavids and Shah Ismāʿīl were alien and embarrassing, something they felt it was best to be silent over. That this was a conscious attitude on the part of important segments of the Ṣafavid elite can be illustrated by the example of Sām Mīrzā. The learned prince, Shah Ismāʿīl's second son, composed a biographical dictionary entitled *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī* in imitation of the great Timurid

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[210] Faḍlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunji-Iṣfahānī. *Tārīḫ-i ʿalam-ārā-yi amīnī= Persia in A.D. 1478-1490. Turkmenica 12.* Abridged English translation by Vladimir Minorsky; Persian text ed. by John E. Woods. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1992, pp. 261-307.

litterateur, Mīr ʿAlī Ṣīr Navāʾī's *Majālis al-Nafāʾis.* Remarkably, he does not quote from the Turkic poetry of his own father, Shah Ismāʿīl I, but quotes instead a few Persian verses from him and only mentions that Shah Ismāʿīl used the penname Ḫaṭāʾī in both his Persian and in his Turkic poems.[211] Perhaps this was due to some personal predilection on the part of Sām Mīrzā for Persians, as evidenced, for example, by his entry on a certain Yūsuf Beg of the Çāvuşlū branch of the Ustājlū tribe: "Although he is a Turk, he has humane manners," and "nowdays there are few Turks and even Tajiks like him."[212] But more important than Sām Mīrzā's personal preferences, the omission and suppression of the *ġulāt* discourse was very much in line with the official Ṣafavid stance under Shah Ṭahmāsp, who tried to eliminate the *ġulāt* tendencies of the Qizilbash. As is well known, this policy came full fledged under Shah ʿAbbās I (1588-1629), who as part of his centralizing efforts tried to weaken the Qizilbash emirs and destroy messianic groups and tendencies that they and other discontented groups could have relied on.

Related to the issue of the "Tajik" audience and courtly context of Shah Ismāʿīl's *Dīvān* is the question of the miniatures illustrating two of the manuscript copies, L1 and S. If we look at the illustrations we see that they do not pertain to the poems with religious themes, let alone the poems with a fervently messianic content. All of them depict more conventional scenes, such as the hunt, court scenes, a dervish, or birds. The single exception is a mace appearing in two miniatures, which bears the well-known Shiite formula written on it: *lā fatā illá ʿAlī lā sayfa illá Ẕū al-fiḳār*, 'There is no warrior but ʿAlī, there is no sword but *Ẕū al-fiḳār* ('Alī's sword).' Of course, these are defective copies and may have had miniatures depicting themes that are perhaps more eschatological. However, the lack of such topics in the miniatures might also have to do with the question of audience. The painters who made the period so famous for book illustration,

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[211] Sām Mīrzā Ṣafavī. *Taẕkira-yi Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī.* Ed. Rukn al-Dīn Humāyūn Farrukh. Tehran: ʿIlmī, 196?, p. 11.
[212] Sām Mīrzā. *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, pp. 344-5.

Bihzād, Mīr Muṣavvir, Sulṭān Muḥammad, etc., all came from an urban Persian background. In fact, before the ascent of Shah Ismāʿīl to the throne and his forced conversion of his domains to Shiism they were Sunnis themselves, serving Sunni patrons. For such masters the depiction of eschatological topics, let alone illustrating such heretic ideas as, for example, the divinity of the ruler, would probably have been inappropriate. Moreover, only a relatively small portion of Shah Ismāʿīl's *Dīvān* is made up of eschatological, messianic poems. Most of them are conventional ghazals, with a setting of courtly love and mystical overtones. The illustrators had plenty of poems of a more conventional character to look to.

Connections of Shah Ismāʿīl's *Dīvān* with Persian poetry

We must not think, however, that the chiliastic tone in poetry was in any way peculiar to the Ṣafavid period. We find it, for example, in the perhaps greatest Persian mystical poet, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (604-672/1207-1273), who used the motif of the Day of Judgment in a number of his *ghazal*s as a highly elaborate conceit for depicting the gathering of mystics or the mystical experience of union with God.[213] Further, we find a similar strategy in a Persian *ghazal* by the noted Ṣafavid *dāʿī* or propagandist, Ḳāsim-i Anvār (757-837/1356-1433), too:

> Moses reached the light of manifestation on Mount Sinai,
> the divine favor of union with the beloved reached him abreast.
>
> The people of the world are happy, and it is time for happiness,
> for the Messiah of the End of Time has reached the world.
>
> We are content and our heart is happy and merry,
> An abundance of the virtues from the companion of the world has reached the world.
>
> Adam is a secret of God, while Iblīs was blind,

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[213] Csirkés, Ferenc. "Mystical Love as the Day of Judgment. Eschatology in Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's *Dīvān-i kabīr*." *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 64:3 (2011), pp. 305-324.

Everyone who beheld the secret reached the secret treasure.

Thank God that the secret that beings seek with their soul
reached us for free.

Unexpectedly, we dropped by the tavern
when the attraction of the beloved reached our heart.

Everyone with ears and a heart heard Ḳāsimī,
the fame of whose union [with the Beloved] has reached the world.[214]

Although addressed to the Qizilbash Turkmen community of adepts and thus written entirely in Turkic, the *Dīvān* of Shah Ismāʻīl, as has been astutely observed by Michael Glünz, can also be connected to the Persian poetic production of other *ġulāt* religious movements, notably the Nūrbaḫšiyya and the Niʻmatullāhiyya.[215] In particular, some of the tenets of both Şams al-Dīn Muḥammad Asīrī Lāhījī and Shah Nimatullāh Valī's poetry, such as simplicity of meter and syntax, the high frequency of repetition, the emphatically homiletic style appropriate for a dervish community, and the unbound ecstatic tone revealing the mystical experience, are also highly characteristic of Shah Ismāʻīl's style.[216] The connection is not at all surprising; all three of these movements came from the post-Mongol socio-religious fermentation and espoused a chiliastic, mystical form of Shiism at some point during their career, and there was even personal acquaintance between Shah Ismāʻīl and Lāhījī. The Şafavids clearly saw all other messianic movements as rivals; as argued by Shahzad Bashir, the Nūrbakḫšiyya ended as an

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[214] Ḳāsim al-Anvār. *Kulliyāt.* Ed. Tehran: Saʻīd Nafīsī. Kitābkhāna-yi Sanāʼī, 1337/1959, p. 163. On his life, see: Browne, Edward G. A *History of Persian Literature under the Tartar Dominion (A.D. 1265-1502).* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920, pp. 473-487; Savory, Roger M. "Ḳāsim-i Anwār." *EI²*; idem. "A 15th-century Safavid Propagandist at Herat." In *Semi-Centennial Volume of the Middle Western Branch of the American Oriental Society.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press [published for] the International Affairs Center, 1969, pp. 189-197.

[215] Glünz, Michael. "Poetic Tradition and Social Change: The Persian Qasida in Post-Mongol Iran." In *Qasida Poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa.* Ed. Stefan Sperl and Christopher Schackle. Leiden; New York; Köln: E.J. Brill, 1999, vol. 1, pp. 192-193.

[216] Asīrī Lāhījī, Şams al-Dīn Muḥammad. *Dīvān-i aşʻār va rasāʼil-i Şams al-Dīn Muḥammad Asīrī Lāhījī.* Ed. Barāt Zanjānī. Tehran: McGill University, Institute of Islamic Studies, Tehran Branch: Tehran University, 1978. Shah Niʻmatullāh Valī. *Dīvān.* Ed. Saʻīd Nafīsī. Tehran: Muʼassasa-yi Intişārāt-i Nigāh, 1375/1996.

independent intellectual movement a couple of decades after the Ṣafavid takeover, and the Ni'matullāhīs could only survive because they had by then shed their independent messianic agenda.[217]

There is a surprising turn in this story in the second half of the 17th century, for which we have to return to the Gulistān copy of Shah Ismā'īl's *Dīvāñ* and try to find a contemporary context for it. In the late 17th century there were several popular romances or popular histories about Shah Ismā'īl, bearing the title *'Ālamārā-yi Ṣafavī, Jahānguşā-yi ḫāḳān* and *'Ālamārā-yi Shah Ismā'īl*. One of them was for a long time known to scholarship as a source contemporary with Shah Ismā'īl; it is Andrew Morton who clarified that it belonged to the late 17th century along with the other like prose romances.[218] In a recent paper based on these late 17th century popular romances and Ṣafavid political advice literature, Sholeh Quinn has found that there was a discourse claiming that Shah Ismā'īl fulfilled some hadith and prophecies.[219] Moreover, in a very recent article Amy Gallagher studies a copy of a late 17th century official hagiography entitled the *Silsilat al-Ṣafaviyya*, which contains four poems by Shah Ismā'īl. Though these poems do not contain Shah Ismā'īl's claims to divine incarnation, they do contain *ġulāt* elements. To Gallagher this suggests that there might have been an Ardabil-based millenarian strand well into late Ṣafavid times.[220] To Quinn and Gallagher's claims we can add that the existence of such a complete, finely executed and embellished, extensive copy of Shah Ismā'īl as the Gulistān

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[217] Bashir, Shahzad. *Messianic Hopes and Mystical Visions: the Nūrbakhshīya between Medieval and Modern Islam.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003, pp. 191-192.

[218] Morton, A.H. "The Date and Attribution of the Ross Anonymous. Notes on a Persian History of Shah Isma'il I." In: *Pembroke Papers* I. Ed. Charles Melville. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Centre of Middle Eastern Studies, 1990, pp. 179-212. For a revival of interest in Shah Ismā'īl in the late 17th century, see also: Wood, Barry D. "The Tarikh-i Jahanara in the Chester Beatty Library: an illustrated manuscript of the "Anonymous Histories of Shah Isma'il."" *Iranian Studies* 37:1 (2004), pp. 89-107.

[219] Professor Quinn presented her results at the Ninth Biannual Conference of the International Society for Iranian Studies (ISIS) in Istanbul. I thank her for sharing her yet unpublished paper with me.

[220] Gallagher, Amelia. "Shah Isma'il's Poetry in the *Silsilat al-Nasab-i Safawiyya*." *Iranian Studies* 44:6 (November 2011), pp. 895-911.

manuscript, commissioned and produced in Isfahan, the Ṣafavid capital, may well tie in with the possibility of a millenarian discourse in late Ṣafavid times or at least a milieu of highetened interest in the early days of the dynasty.

Indeed, as Said Arjomand has argued, Ṣafavid ideology tried to preserve the "Mahdistic tenet." He adduces the *Takmilat al-aḫbār*, a world chronicle written by 'Abdī Beg Ṣīrāzī (921-988/1515-1565), who reserves a key place for the Ṣafavid monarch as a sayyid in the grand chiliastic scheme of history:

> "The office of the Sovereignty of the world after the Prophet is reserved for the Commander of the Faithful ('Alī), and after Him, this exalted office belongs to the Twelve Imams; and anyone else who interferes in this matter is a tyrant. As the Ruler of the Age [*sulṭān-e zamān*] [and] the Lord of Command [*ṣāhib-e amr*] ... is absent, it is right and necessary that a person from the exalted dynasty of 'Alī and Fāṭima, who is compeetent for this task, should give currency to the Commandment[s] of the Imam of the Age among God's worshippers."[221]

In other words, the Ṣafavid ruler, by virtue of his sacred descent from 'Alī, is a place-holder for the Mahdī until the latter's parousia at the end of time, and as such, he unites political and spiritual authority. Although at variance with what Shiite theological doctors would have preferred them to say, the Ṣafavid rulers seem to have continued to profess millenarian charisma, albeit in a modified version, perhaps to the very end of the tenure of the dynasty.

The same attitude to the dynasty's chiliastic charisma, i.e. one that considers the Ṣafavids as precursors to the advent of the Mahdī, can be seen in a *ḳaṣīda* written by Ṣādiḳī Beg (ca. 1533-1610), the other main figure of this dissertation. The poem starts out with the Mahdī depicted as the Beloved; after the transitory couplet to be cited below, however, it turns into the praise of

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[221] 'Abdī Beg Shīrāzī. *Takmilat al-aḫbār: tārīḫ-i ṣafaviyya az āġāz tā 978-i hijrī ḳamarī.* Ed. 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Navāyī. Tehran: Nay, 1369, pp. 33-34; Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam*, pp. 181-2. On the author, see: Storey-Bregel, vol. 1, pp. 405-406; Fragner, Bert. "'Abdī Šīrāzī", *EIr,* vol. I, fasc. 2, pp. 209-210.

Shah 'Abbās I, whose persona as the Beloved apparently metamorphoses into being depicted as the Mahdī; or at least, this playfulness is certainly there:

> He is the guiding Mahdī, the just king whose justice
> Issues a *fatwā* [even] to Anūshirvān to suppress injustice.[222]

Aside from this single couplet, I have found no other traces in Ṣādiķī's oeuvre that could be related to the "Mahdistic tenet". We cannot date the poem with exactness; it could have been originally written for Ṭahmāsp or Ismāʿīl II, too, and then refashioned later into a panegyric for 'Abbās. What, however, seems probable is that the language of Messianism continued to inform certain registers of literary discourse well into the 17th century. This is also borne out by the following couplet in a panegyric *ķaṣīda* written for 'Abbās II (1052-77/1642-66) by Ṣāʾib (b. Tabriz, ca. 1000-1086/1592-1676), the most prominent representative of the so-called Indian style in Ṣafavid Persia:

> May the times of his fortunate reign [*dawlat-aṣ*], through God's graces,
> Extend to the reign of the Mahdī, the Lord of the Time![223]

This is not unlike how Muḥtaṣam-i Kāṣānī (d. 996/1587-88) extols 'Abbās in a panegyric:

> May the sun make its rays every day into a broom
> For the blessed chamberlain who spreads carpet on the path of the Lord of the Time.[224]

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[222] *Mahdī-yi hādī-yi ʿādil ān ṣahī ki ʿadl-i ū / fatvā-yi ẓulm-i jawr bi-Nūṣirvān dihad* (Ṣādiķī, *Kulliyāt*, Tabriz Kitābḫāna-yi Millī, no. 3616, fol. 19a. Anushirwan or Khusraw I was a Sasanian king (r. 531-579) and the epitome of social justice in Islamic lore.

[223] *az ʿināyāt-i ilāhī rūzgār-i dawlat-aṣ / muttaṣal gardad bi-ʿahd-i mahdi-yi ṣāḥib zamān* (Ṣāʾib. *Dīvān-i Ṣāʾib Tabrīzī*. Ed. Muḥammad Qahramān. Tehran: Intiṣārāt-i ʿIlmī va Farhangī, 1985, XXX.

[224] Muḥtaṣam-i Kāṣānī. Ķaṣīda no. 63. XXX

Of course, one can argue that there is a huge difference between claiming to be the godhead or an incarnation thereof, as Shah Ismāʿīl did, and claiming to be the placeholder or precursor of the last Imam. However, the fact that the dynasty itself maintained an aura of eschatological significance and that messianic movements recurrently occurred during its tenure, suggests that there was a niche for the continuation of messianic discourse in various segments of cultural life, including literature.

Conclusion to Chapter Two

The textological conundrum of the individual manuscripts of Shah Ismāʿīl's *Dīvān* is far from being solved. However, I have been trying to show that Minorsky's thesis, which claims that the extreme, 'heretical' views present in the old Paris copy were purged from later manuscripts, is an oversimplification. It would not be surprising if this thesis were grounded in the discourse of the *Urtext*, which posits that the work of philology is to go back to the author's original version. There certainly are theoretical arguments against such a positivist approach, but the *Dīvān* of Shah Ismāʿīl and its different versions seem to resist such treatments particularly easily. We know for certain that the *Dīvān* was used in Ṣafavid propaganda efforts. It may well be that already during Shah Ismāʿīl's lifetime there were many texts circulating. As will be amply illustrated in the following chapter, the usually very simple language of the poetry and the great variability of the texts suggests a context on the verge between orality and the written form.

The oral nature of this poetry is confirmed by the following account. It is from the biographical dictionary of the aforesaid Ġarībī:

"Although the matchless *dīvān* penned and produced by the perfect guide [*mürşid-i kāmil*] and most perfect one, that is, Sulṭān Shah Ismāʿīl Bahādur Ḫān, sultan son of sultan –

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May God illuminate his proof and perpetuate his noble sons on the throne of his guidance – and although this divan has become mystical chant [ẕikr] and prayer on the tongues of the people of God's unity as well as men of mystical states, and although by informing them of the mysteries of certain faith, those poems, which are the refuge of divine truth, and his (i.e. Shah Ismā'īl's) trustees, who are lovers of the threshold of the Shah, have led to the Path of God many people (who had been led) astray, for the sake of bliss, at this point I have referred to that matchless divan and copied the following dear poem, which makes the sight of the eyes and the heart happy and fills it with light again."[225]

From this account we learn that the poetry of Shah Ismā'īl was part of Ṣafavid rituals and that it was used for prozelytization. This context was very likely such that shifts and modifications occurred easily in the text of the poems that were chanted. The poem was an open text that was modified, completed, shortened as the moment demanded. This is confirmed by the fact that several poems have variants that clearly did not come from the copyists and had already been known in several different variations.[226] Indeed, as I will show in the following chapter, Shah Ismā'īl's poetry was on the margin between literary and oral culture; in other words, although it was written down, features of orality continued to inform it, making the text of the poems highly flexible and malleable.[227]

The non-literate nature of this poetry is extremely significant. As we will see especially in our analysis of the misattributed poems of Nasīmī and Shah Ismā'īl in the following chapter, it was the result of its communal, homiletic nature. Included in the communal rites of Qizilbah/Alevi-Bektashi communities, such poems provided and continue to provide today a space for members of the congregation to encounter the divine and reenact, in a way, their own conversion.[228] Therefore, just as much as such conversion narratives as the *Oġuznāma* discussed

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[225] Babacan, İsrafil. *Tezkire-i Mecâlis-i Şu'arâ-yı Rum. Garîbî tezkiresi.* Ankara: Vizyon Yayınevi, 2010, pp. 62-3.
[226] This point will be much further elaborated in the next chapter.
[227] Lewis, Franklin D. *Reading, Writing and Recitation: Sana'i and the origins of the Persian ghazal.* Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1995 (unpublished PhD-thesis).
[228] Of course, conversion does not always have to mean conversion from paganism or Christianity to Islam; it can also happen between two different strands of Islam, the importance and frequence of which in Islamic history has recently been emphasized by Richard Bulliet (Bulliet, Richard. "Conversion to Islam." In: *The New Cambridge*

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in the previous chapter articulate "notions of sacred origins, in particular the notions of sacred *communal* origins that typically provide the basis for assertions of communal integrity and legitimacy,"[229] the religious poetry of Shah Ismāʿīl as well as the pseudo-Ḫaṭāyīs and other poets in Qizilbash/Alevi-Bektashi communities were symbolic reenactments of the conversion and creation of these communities. In a highly insightful recent article referred to above, Rıza Yıldırım suggests that the *ġulāṭ* ethos of the Qizilbash found expression in Anatolian Karbala-oriented narrative traditions that centered on the mission to avenge the blood of the first and most important martyr of Shiism, Ḥusayn, who was massacred along with his family and followers at Karbala in 680 CE, marking the beginning date of Shiism's eternal struggle against oppression. Ṣafavid propaganda in general and Shah Ismāʿīl's poetry in particular, sought to tie in with this ethos, which conceived of its social and political struggle as a reenactment of the struggle against Yazīd and the Umayyads who had murdered Ḥusayn.[230]

It is certainly questionable how much control the dynasty or Shiite clerical circles had over the production of manuscripts. Even if they had and even if certain copies, such as the Vever manuscript, were associated with the court, the purge against 'heretical', messianic ideas was far from complete even in the case of the manuscripts Minorsky had access to. More importantly, I would argue that there may well have been several textological traditions that produced copies with mutually different content. There was a constant flow of interest on the part of the Ṣafavid dynasty and the Qizilbash elite in the poetry of Shah Ismāʿīl and on several occasions they ordered copies from highly skilled and prestigious calligraphers.

History of Islam: Volume 3, The Eastern Islamic Lands, Eleventh to Eighteenth Centuries. Ed. David O. Morgan and Anthony Reid. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 529-538).
[229] DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde*, p. 491.
[230] Yıldırım, "In the Name of Hosayn's Blood."

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Of course, all this is not to say that Ṣafavid *ġulāt* religiosity was the same as the establishment Islam represented by Shiite clerics after Shah Ismā'īl. Kathryn Babayan documented well their crack down on the public performance of such apocalyptic texts as the *Abū Muslimnāma*.[231] There was an attempt on the part of certain circles in the Ṣafavid elite to establish the mainstream Shiite credentials of the regime. Aside from the ban on the public performance of the *Abū Muslimnāma*, or the rewriting of the official Ṣafavid hagiography, the *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā*, commissioned by Shah Ṭahmāsp, also points in that direction. As is well known, the Ṣafavids originally started as a Sunni order and only under Junayd did they convert to Shiism. To remedy this blemish on the pedigree of the dynasty, Ṭahmāsp ordered new copies of the *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā* that presented the Ṣafavids as Shiis from the beginning. Such a context would perhaps make the Minorsky thesis feasible, were it not for the several caveats listed above, such as the ambiguous context of mysticism and poetry or the fact that even the copies Minorsky worked with had some of the "heretical" poetry. Andrew Newman rightly argues that the Ṣafavid venture was multifaceted, seeking to appeal to a broad social and cultural segment of society. In this discourse, the poetry of Shah Ismā'īl was only one of the many voices. It was probably important only at certain times and only to a certain audience, but that audience, the Qizilbash Turkmen, continued to be there long after the early days of the dynasty. We could also adduce Colin Mitchell, who most succinctly argues for the heterogeneity of Ṣafavid political and religious discourse as follows:

"[It] is difficult to see the "formational" reigns of Ismā`il (1501–24), Ṭahmāsp (1524–76), and `Abbās (1589–1629) through an exclusive lens of Persian Twelver Shi`ism, which in turn allowed for the formation of a national identity. This is not to deny the centrality of Twelver Shi`ism to the Safavid imperial project but simply to point out that there was a panoply of important religious, ethnic, and political constituencies in play during the

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[231] Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs,* chapter 5, pp. 121-160.

sixteenth century. Indeed, the underlying premise of this present work is that Safavid ideological pretensions in the sixteenth century were reflections of this unparalleled heterogeneity, and that this malleability allowed them to survive the transition from parochial mystical movement to political empire and emerge as a viable, premodern Islamic state. During this period, the Safavid shahs relied on an impressively variegated range of legitimization, which included `Alid messianic rhetoric (to mobilize their zealot nomadic adherents); Turco-Mongol symbols and apocryphal legends (to accentuate martial traditions and a sense of loyalty to Steppe); legalistic and orthopraxic aspects of Twelver Shi`ite doctrine; ancient, pre-Islamic Iranian notions of divine kingship and statecraft; and, lastly, a vigorous commitment to citing Abrahamic Prophetic history."[232]

It seems the development of the manuscripts of Shah Ismā'īl's *Dīvān* is far more complex than a mere reflection of the Ṣafavids' shift in the direction of a more 'orthodox' form of Shiism. The religious image the earlys Ṣafavids projected is often depicted in the literature as fervent messianic zeal. And there is certainly a truth to this if we read the tremendous amount of violence that took place during the extirpation of the Aqqoyunlu and the conversion of Persia to Shiism. This vision, however, does not take into account that messianism found itself in a contested space immediately after the Ṣafavid take-over. The Ṣafavids had to appease an elite only a segment of which was made up of their Qizilbash followers, while they had to present a different discourse to the Tajik segment. To illustrate the latter, we can adduce that part of Shah Ismā'īl's poetry where he presents himself using imagery that harks back on the *Shahnāme*. However, the millenarian discourse as present in Shah Ismā'īl's *Dīvān* was also in the vein of the time-honored traditions of Persianate poetry with its penchant for ambiguity, and it also fitted the tradition that tolerated religious ecstasy in the appropriate context. Moreover, in the late 17th century there seems to be a reinvigorated interest in Shah Ismā'īl, which can be interpreted both as a nostalgic looking back on the beginnings of the dynasty and a possible interest in its original messianic message. The different copies of the *Dīvān* reveal that messianism as a literary-cum-religious-cum-political

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[232] Mitchell, Colin P. *The Practice of Politics in Safavid Iran: Power, Religion and Rhetoric*. London: Tauris Academic Studies; New York: distributed in the United States and Canada exclusively by Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, p. 5.

discourse never disappeared from its textual tradition but continued to be a possible discourse that could be applied in appropriate circumstances.

But then what happened? How and to what extent do the copies of Shah Ismāʿīl's *Dīvān* reflect historical processes? A distinctly outlined story would probably be based more on conjectures than on manuscript evidence. What is more probable is that there were several textual traditions at the same time with several nodes of intersection. The majority of the *Dīvān* was made up of poems that were written in the love/courtly/mystic "mainstream" genre, i.e. a conventional voice of Persianate poetry, which also formed an important part of the cultural image the Ṣafavids wanted to project and which belonged to the Persianate ethos of the traditions of Turkic poetry as inherited from previous Turko-Persian dynasties, the Timurids and the Aqquyunlu, and which was also part of the Ṣafavids' competition with the Ottomans and Uzbeks.

Chapter Three

Messianic Oeuvres in Interaction: Misattributed poems by Shah Ismā'īl and Nasīmī

This chapter is an analysis of textual interaction between manuscript copies of the respective *Dīvān*s of Shah Ismā'īl and Nesīmī, which sheds an interesting light on how the messianic movements of the fourteenth through the sixteenth century in the Islamic world on Eastern Anatolia, Iraq and Iran as a cultural unit at least down to the late 16th century.[1] Remarkably, there are altogether 23 poems which were written either by Shah Ismā'īl or Nesīmī but which can be found in various manuscript copies of both poets' respective *Dīvān* under both poets' names.[2] Analyzing the contents of manuscript copies of Shah Ismā'l's *Dīvān* and data referring to manuscripts as found in the two available critical editions of Nesīmī's *Dīvān*, first I will try to clarify the authorship of these poems to the extent it is possible, showing the limits of the results textual philology can provide in the case of material like the copies of Nesīmī and Shah Ismā'īl's *Dīvān*s. Then I will fit this into a larger literary and cultural framework, briefly discussing various forms of literary misattribution in the context of the popular Islamic messianism of the fifteenth through the seventeenth century on the one hand and then-contemporary Turkish/Turkic popular poetry, on the other hand.

Sayyid ʿImād al-Dīn Nasīmī (Nesīmī) was the most prominent poet of the *ḥurūfī* 'lettrist' tradition who was one of the disciples of the founder of the *Ḥurūfī* movement or order, Fażlullāh

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[1] See: Gandjeï, Tourkhan. "Turkish in the Safawid Court of Iran." *Turcica* 21-23 (1991), pp. 311–318; Vásáry, István. "The Beginnings of Western Turkic Literacy in Anatolia and Iran." In: *Irano-Turkic Cultural Contacts in the 11th–17th Centuries.* Ed. Éva M. Jeremiás. Piliscsaba: The Avicenna Institute of Middle Eastern Studies, [2002] 2003, pp. 245–253; Floor, Willem, and Javadi, Hasan. "The Role of Azerbaijani Turkish in Safavid Iran." *Iranian Studies* 46:4 (2013), pp. 569-581.

[2] Seven misattributions have already been noted by Qəhrəmanov, editor of Nesīmī's *Dīvān*. Examination of a more extensive manuscript base, however, reveals that there are altogether 23 suspect poems.

Astarābādī.Nesīmī is said to have met a cruel death, being flayed alive in 820/1417-18 in Aleppo. His literary merits still await comprehensive literary and historical appreciation, although his quatrains have been dealt with in a single monograph.[3] He is mostly discussed in nationalist Republican Azerbaijani literary historiography as one of the Azeri classics. Research on him in general and this chapter in particular, however, faces difficulties immediately at the level of sheer textology.

As we have already seen, Shah Ismā'īl's poems are essentially of three types with frequent overlapping between the individual categories: love poems of the (by his time) classicized Persianate ghazal type, Sufi ghazals and explicitly ġulāt 'extremist' propaganda poems where the poet often poses as the reincarnation of the godhead, 'Alī or as the Mahdi or messiah. Nesīmī's oeuvre can be categorized roughly in the same way, except that most of his messianic output explicitly propagates ḥurūfī 'lettrist' tenets. Another important difference of his messianic, religious poetry compared to Shah Ismā'īl's is that most of Nesīmī's poems are far more complex in terms of both language and content, and it often takes the reader to know something about ḥurūfī lettrism to understand them. The majority of Shah Ismā'īl's religious poetry is simpler and more straightforward, sometimes even with frequent lapses in the poetic meter. One has the impression that the religious poetry of each poet was addressed to a somewhat different audience; at least some of Nesīmī's poems were originally directed at ḥurūfī adepts probably of a more intellectual, urban background, while Shah Ismā'īl wrote largely for his nomadic Turkmen following.

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[3] Burrill, Kathleen R.F. *The Quatrains of Nesimi, a Fourteenth-century Hurufi*. The Hague: Mouton, 1972.

Manuscripts and editions

Nesīmī's Turkish *Dīvān* has two editions that were conceived with philological methodology in mind. Cahangir Qəhrəmanov based his edition on a manuscript found at the Fuẓūlī Institute of Manuscripts in Baku (Füzuli Adına Əlyazmalar İnstitutu).[4] He claims that this is a composite copy made up of three types of paper and is probably the work of four hands from different times from the sixteenth through the seventeenth century.[5] He used other manuscripts as well as other editions, too, most importantly, a copy from 1700 also preserved in Baku (M-188/5225).[6] While he was working on his edition, however, he obtained two additional copies: one undated from the Bayezıd Library in Istanbul and another one from Tabriz, Iran. Regrettably, Qəhrəmanov gives his readers no other information about the latter copy, but internal evidence suggests that it must have been penned some time before 1109/1697-8.[7] Unfortunately, instead of incorporating the latter two copies – the Bayezıd and the Tabriz copies – into the philological apparatus of his edition, Qəhrəmanov chose to publish in a separate volume only those poems that he did not find in the other manuscripts, making it difficult to evaluate their relation vis-à-vis the other manuscripts he worked with. The other edition of Nesīmī's Turkic *Dīvān* was produced by Hüseyin Ayan in Turkey. This relatively recent (2002) edition is based primarily on copies found in Turkish libraries. One of its major faults is that it does not show its position vis-à-vis either the Baku edition or the manuscripts that the Baku edition was based on but ignores them

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[4] M-227/11671 (Adilov, A.A. *Katalog tyurskikh rukopisei. II tom (Poeziya)*. Baku: Nurlan, 2009, pp. 23-4); Qəhrəmanov, Cihangir. *İmadəddin Nəsimi əsərləri*. Baku: Elm Nəşriyyatı, 1973, 3 vols.

[5] Qəhrəmanov, pp. 13-23.

[6] Adilov, p. 24.

[7] Sayyid Yūnusī, Vadūd. *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Millī-yi Tabrīz*. Tabrīz: Kitābkhāna-yi Millī-yi Tabrīz, 1348- [1969-], #3662, p. 584. I thank Connie Bobroff for providing this information to me.

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entirely. Nonetheless, Ayan had access to more numerous and older manuscripts than Qəhrəmanov.[8]

But let us now try to group the manuscript evidence at our disposal. In the case of Shah Ismāʿīl's *Dīvān*, I use the manuscripts listed in Chapter Two, while in the case of Nesīmī's *Dīvān*, I have been relying on the philological apparatus found in its critical editions. We can identify three main textual traditions among the copies of Shah Ismāʿīl's *Dīvān*:

1) The earliest copies, copied before 1524, i.e. during Shah Ismāʿīl's lifetime.

Sackler Gallery, Vever Collection, S1986.60 (S), Washington, D.C.

British Library, Or. 11388, London.

Majlis Library, Tehran, 4077.

2) The "main group"

I have named this the main group because most of the extant copies belong to it. They are textually close to each other and, except for the Vatican copy, all of them are fine manuscripts evidently commissioned by patrons, although they contain no miniatures. The similarity of the British Or.3880, Paris Supplément turc 995 and the Ardabil manuscripts has been noted by Tourhan Gandjei.[9]

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Supplément turc 995.

British Library, London Or. 3880.

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[8] These include the following: Ayasofya 3977, copied in 909/1503-4 by Sulṭān Aḥmad al-Haravī in Istanbul; Millet Library, Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa 639, copied in 893/1488; Isparta, Halil Hamîd Paşa Library 650, copied by Murād al-Kātib in 971/1563-4; Süleymaniye, Kadızade Mehmed Efendi 395 (no copy date, but its orthography and the paper makes Ayan think it is from the 16th century); Dil Ve Tarih-Coğrafya Library 148 (Milli Library, microfilm (A) 919), copied in 874, 878 or 879/1469-70, 1473-4 or 1474-5 (most probably the first). Ayan, Hüseyin. *Nesîmî Hayatı, Edebi Kişiliği, Eserleri ve Türkçe Divanının Tenkitli Metni.* Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2002, 2 vols.
[9] Gandjei, *Il Canzoniere…*, p. 8.

Tashkent, Al-Biruni Institute of Oriental Studies, 1339 (1412).

National Museum and Library, Tehran, 3705, microfilm no. 25.

Majlis Library, Tehran, 4096.

Vatican, Turco 221. As we might recall, this copy is undated and defective with missing beginning and end; therefore, if a poem is absent from it, it might have originally been still included in it.

3) The "Gulistān group"

Gulistān Palace Library, 2194

Qom, Kitābḫāna-yi Āyatullāh Burūjirdī, 2009

4) This group is only made up of one manuscript, the Older Paris manuscript.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Supplément turc 1307.

5) I have also used two nineteenth-century copies whose position in the paper trail is yet to be established, although they seem close the "main group":

Āyat Allāh Gulpāygānī Library, Qum, 5/141.

Tehran University, Central Library, 5160

6) Bakhtar Museum, Mazar-i Sharif, Afghanistan, copied probably in the mid-16th-early seventeenth century. Since Məmmədov regrettably does not incorporate it into the philological apparatus of his edition, it is impossible to say anything about its relationship with the other copies.[10]

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[10] This copy was used by Məmmədov but I have unfortunately had no access to it. He claims it was made at the turn of the 16th and 17th century by none other but the most famous calligrapher of the time, Mīr ʿImād, but the evidence he brings for this is very weak. It is more probable that the copyist was, as is indicated by a note Məmmədov found on the cover of the volume, Mīrzā ʿAlī Tabrīzī, who worked in the atelier of Shah Ṭahmāsp; this could date the

7) "Anatolian group"

Also included in the present analysis are two copies that probably derive from Anatolian Alevi-Bektashi circles and represent a textual tradition greatly different from the one coming from Ṣafavid Iran:

Istanbul, Millet Library, Ali Emiri Mnz. 131

Istanbul, Millet Library, Mnz. 631.

The distribution of the suspect poems in the manuscripts

The following charts display the distribution of the first couplets (or in one case, quatrain) of the suspect poems in 15 copies of the *Dīvān* of Shah Ismā'īl, and in the *Dīvān* of Nesīmī, in the latter case relying on manuscript evidence found in the available critical editions.

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manuscript to the mid 16th century (On Mīrzā 'Alī Tabrīzī, see: Minorsky, Vladimir. *Calligraphers and Painters. A treatise by Qāḍī Aḥmad, son of Mīr-Munshī, circa A.H. 1015/A.D. 1606.* Washington: [?], 1959, pp. 153-4; Bayānī, Mahdī. *Aḥvāl u āṯār-i ḫvushnivīsān.* Tehran: Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tihrān, 1384/2005-6, vol. 1, pp. 545-6. For a more comprehensive comparative analysis of the extant manuscript copies of Shah Ismā'īl's *Dīvān*, see my dissertation cited above.

Table 1 Poems with obscure provenance (the problem of the Mazar-i Sharif copy of Shah Ismāʿīl's *Dīvān*)

Poem	Editions	Old British	Majlis1	Vever	Tashkent	Paris1	Paris2	British OR 3380	National Museum, Tehran	Vatican	Majlis 2	Tehran University	Gulpāyegani	Mzr. Sh.	Istanbul, Millet, Ali Em. 631	Istanbul, Millet, Ali Em. 131	Gulistān	Masjed-e A'zam, Qom,	Nesimi
hüsnüng beyânı süreyi Yes ve hel etâ ey ka'be-yi mübârek vey mürüvve-yi safâ	Məm. 91-92												3a	Y					Tabriz (before 1697)
vechingde peydâdur sening envâr-i zât-i kibriyâ ol yüze karşuda dâyim şermendedür şems al-duhâ	Məm. 95-96												3b	Y					Bayazid 3353

The provenance of the first two suspect poems is highly problematic. They both appear in the Mazar-i Sharif manuscript used by Məmmədov for his edition of Shah Ismāʿīl's *Dīvān*, executed sometime in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, as well as in the Gulpāyagānī copy probably from the nineteenth century. Since I have not had access to the former, their provenance is difficult to check and their description in the catalogs and editions is highly defective, it is impossible at this point to decide whether they were written by

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Table 2 Nasīmī poems attributed to Shah Ismāʿīl

Poem	Editions	Old British	Majlis1	Vever	Tashkent	Paris1	Paris2	British OR 3380	National Museum, Tehran	Vatican	Majlis 2	Tehran University	Gulpāyegani	Mzr. Sh.	Istanbul, Millet, Ali Em. 631	Istanbul, Millet, Ali Em. 131	Gulistān	Masjed-e Aʿzam, Qom,	Nesimi
cemālüng kaʿbe-yi ehl-i safādur vişāling kible-yi rüks-i menādur																	35a-b	36a-b	Ayasofya (1503), Hekimoğlu (1488), Isparta (1563), Kadızade (cca. 16th c.)
ol perī peyker ki tāc u saltanat başındadur çīn ü māçīn musahhar eylemek başındadur nūrına																	37a-b	38a-b	Ayasofya (1503), Isparta (1563), Dil ve Tarih (btw. 1469-74)
saldı nazar ol hālik-i perverdigār ābā döndi derdim ol hayretten oldı tār u mār ol nürung kandīine yazmıştılar ...																	17a-b, 108a		Ayasofya (1503), Isparta (1563), Baku M-188/5225)
la fetā illā ʿAlī lā seyfe illā zaʿ'l-fiķār																			

These three poems are definitely the work of Nesīmī. As the chart shows, they appear in the oldest extant copies of Nesīmī's and in the "Gulistān group" of copies of Shah Ismāʿīl's *Dīvān*, the latter dating from much later.

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Table 3 Shah Ismāʿīl poems also attributed to Nasīmī

Poem	Editions	Old British	Majlis1	Vever	Tashkent	Paris1	Paris2	British OR 3380	National Museum, Tehran	Vatican	Majlis 2	Tehran University	Gulpayegani	Mzr. Sh.	Istanbul, Millet, Ali Em. 631	Istanbul, Millet, Ali Em. 131	Gulistān	Masjed-e Aʿzam, Qom,	Nesimi
dilberā ʿışkıng tenimde sevgülü cāndur manga pertev-i mihr-i ruḫung ḫurşīd-i tābāndur manga	Mam. 73			4b-5a	16a	18a-b	1b	10b-11a	1b-2a	27b		1a (last 2 beyts)					1b-2a	2b-3a	Baku M-227
ʿārıżında sünbülin ʿanber-feşān etmişdürür şanasın kim ʿakreb ile meh kırān etmişdürür dilberā ol ay yüzüng ḫurşīd-i tābāndur manga	Mam. 194; Gandjei #72, p. 53			17b	33b	30a	9b	20b	9b	14b	7b-8a	10a	8b				97a	21a	Baku M-227
baġçeng içinden aḫan su āb-ı hayvāndur manga	Mam. 77			5b	17a	17b	3a	12b	3a	27b	69b	2a-b	2a					4a	Baku M-227
bir perī hayrānıyam bilmen mekānı ḫandedür kimse bilmez dünyāda nām u nişānı ḫandedür	Mam. 169-170			17a-b	29b-30a	28a	9a	19b-20a	8b-9a	17b	7a	9a	10a-b				first 6 beyts	20b	Baku M-227

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Table 3 cont.

Poem	Editions	Old British	Majlis1	Vever	Tashkent	Paris1	Paris2	British OR 3380	National Museum, Tehran	Vatican	Majlis 2	Tehran University	Gulpāyegani	Mzr. Sh.	Istanbul, Millet, Ali Em. 631	Istanbul, Millet, Ali Em. 131	Gulistān	Masjed-e A'zam, Qom,	Nesimi
'ışḳuŋ ey dilber köŋül taḫtında şāh olmışdurur şūreting cān mülkine ḫūrşīd ü māh olmışdurur	Mәm. 174-5; Cavanşir-Necef 326-7			24a only verse 5, illustrating a miniature; 24v. vv. 4, 6-7	30b-31a	32a-b	7a	17b	14a		4b	7a	7b			8a	62b	23b	Baku M-227
menem bir ten veliken cān anıngdur ki her kim cān ḳıyar cānān anıngdur	Mәm. 180-182;Gandjei #83, pp. 59-60; Cavanşir-Necef 328-9			14a-b	33b-34a	33a-b	19b	33a-b;	22a-b	9b	20a-b	21a-b	18a-b				75a	19a	Baku M-227
ol per-peyker ki çeşmimden nihān olmışdurur bāḳi 'ömrüm olsun ol cismimde cān olmışdurur	Mәm. 123	2a, vv. 2-5; 12b, v. 1 COMP			19b-20a	38a	7b	18a	14b	14b	5a	7b	8a				9a-b	12a-b	Baku M-227
geldi şarrābı meclise def eylemiş niḳāb nūr eyledi bu meclisi zerrīn pür-āftāb	Mәm. 101-102			6b-7a	18b	20b-21a	4b	14a-b	4a-b	8a-b	66b	4a	4b-5a				3a-3b	6a-b	Baku M-227
māhım gördüm ki yüzünden niḳāb almış gider pertev-i nūrundan anıng āftāb almış gider	Mәm. 152			9b	26a-b	31b	10b	21b	10b		8b-9a	10b-11a	11a				19b	14b	Baku M-227

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Table 3 cont.

Poem	Editions	Old British	Majlis1	Vever	Tashkent	Paris1	Paris2	British OR 3380	National Museum, Tehran	Vatican	Majlis 2	Tehran University	Gulpāyegani	Mzr. Sh.	Istanbul, Millet, Ali Em. 631	Istanbul, Millet, Ali Em. 131	Gulistān	Masjed-e A'zam, Qom	Nesimi
cān u dilimi ḳoymsam yolungda men ey dilrübā / tā ki uyḥuda görer men sen teki bir meh-liḳā	Mom. 86			6a		19b-20a	3b	13a-b	3a-b	28a	65b	3a	2b					3b-4a	Baku M-227
ḥaḳīḳat baḥr-i zāt-i ekber oldı / ṣıfātımdan anıng bir gevher oldı	Mom. 57-59	COMP 11a-b			13a	10a-b	46b-47a	74a-b	55b-56a	5a-b	56a-b	53a-b	55a-b		9b	16b-17a	10a	103a	Baku M-227
ezelden pīr-i 'ışḳung peyreviyüz / ṭarīḳat ehl-i fażlıng rehberiyüz	Mom. 48-49				11a-b	26b-27a		42a-b			29a-b	29a-b	27a-b				40a-b	41a-b	Tabriz (before 1697)
ta'ālā şa'nehü ekber bu ne ḥüsn-i dilārādur / cemālıng ḥurīden yeğrek boyung ṭūbādan a'lādur	Mom. 220	COMP 16a		20a	82a-b		12b	24b	13b	10a-b	11b	13a-b	13b				27a	29a	Tabriz (before 1697)

These 13 poems most certainly belong to Shah Ismāʿīl. They can all be found in the "main group" of manuscripts of his *Dīvān*, executed probably in the mid to late sixteenth century, the older Paris manuscript from 1541, and even in the earliest fragments executed during Shah Ismāʿīl's lifetime. On the other hand, the poems can be located only in the composite copy of Nesīmī's *Dīvān* Qəhrəmanov based his edition on, coming some time from the sixteenth century through the seventeenth century. Only two of them found their way into the "Anatolian group" of Shah Ismāʿīl's *Dīvān* copies, but this should not weaken our attribution, for, as has been pointed out above, represents a greatly different textual tradition.

Table 4 Poems with undecided provenance

Poem	Editions	Old British	Majlis1	Vever	Tashkent	Paris1	Paris2	British OR 3380	National Museum, Tehran	Vatican	Majlis 2	Tehran University	Gulpāyegani	Mzr. Sh.	Istanbul, Millet, Ali Em. 631	Istanbul, Millet, Ali Em. 131	Gulistān	Masjed-e A'zam, Qom,	Nesimi
dudağıng kand imiş bal anda neyler ne nāzik ḫaṭṭ imiş bāl anda neyler	Mam. 230					24a											37a	38a	Baku M-227; Tashkent P-1794
neler geldi gelesidür meded hey cihān ehli olasıdur meded hey	Mam. 540-1					78b											14a	107a	Baku M-188/5225

It is difficult to decide the authorship of these two poems. Of the copies of Shah Ismā'īl's *Dīvān*, they can be found in the old Paris manuscript and the "Gulistān group" but not in the "main group". On the other hand, one of them can be found in the sixteenth century composite copy of Nesīmī's *Dīvān*, the other, in a late Nesīmī copy from 1700.

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Table 5 Poem probably by Shah Ismā'īl

Poem	Editions	Old British	Vever	Tashkent	Majlis1	Paris 1	Paris 2	British OR 3380	National Museum, Tehran	Vatican	Majlis 2	Tehran University	Gulpayega ni	Mzr. Sh.	Istanbul, Millet, Ali Em. 631	Istanbul, Millet, Ali Em. 131	Gulistān	Masjid-i A'zam, Qom	Nesimi
'āşik iseng gel beni kim cānı cānān mendedtir zāhidā pes bandesin kim mir -i imān mendedtir	Mam. 140-2. Cavanşir- Necef 361-2			24a-b		23a-b; 3/2.	8b	19a-b	8a-b		6b-7a	8b-9a	10a	21b-22a, 11 vv.	6b-7a		25b-26a	27b-28a	Palatics (1598-99)

This is also probably a poem by Shah Ismā'īl, found in the "main group" as well as the "Anatolian group" of the manuscripts of his Dīvān, and is only attributed to Nesīmī in an interesting multilingual (Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Hungarian, Latin, German and Croatian) anthology from late sixteenth-century Ottoman Hungary (Sudár, Balázs. A Palatics-kódex török versgyűjteményei. Török költészet és zene a XVI. századi hódoltságban. Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2005, pp. 176-7).

Table 6 Poem probably by Shah Ismā'īl

Poem	Editions	Old British	Majlis1	Vever	Tashkent	Paris1	Paris2	British OR 3380	National Museum, Tehran	Vatican	Majlis 2	Tehran University	Gulpayegani	Mzr. Sh.	Istanbul, Millet, Ali Em. 631	Istanbul, Millet, Ali Em. 131	Gulistān	Masjid-e A'zam, Qom	Nesimi
dilberā şemsü'z-zuhādur şu'le-yi rühsārıngız āyet-i ilāhā ve ye'sīn sūret-i dīdārıngız	Mam. 274			21b	38b		27b	44b	31a	19b	30b	30b	27b-28a				40b	41b	Bayazid 3353

In terms of the copies of Shah Ismā'īl's Dīvān, the poem can be found in one of the earliest copies, the "main group" as well as the "Gulistān group," whereas only in an undated copy of Nesīmī's Dīvān. Therefore, this is most likely a Shah Ismā'īl poem.

Table 7 A Nasīmī poem also attributed to Shah Ismāʿīl

Poem	Editions	Old British	Majlis1	Vever	Tashkent	Paris1	Paris2	British OR 3380	National Museum, Tehran	Vatican	Majlis 2	Tehran University	Gulpāyegānī	Mzr. Sh.	Istanbul, Millet. Ali Em. 631	Istanbul, Millet. Ali Em. 131	Gulistān	Masjed-e Aʿzam, Qom,	Nesimi
sen manga ger yār sen var cy göngül yār isteme yāre dildār ol sanga ger yār u dildār isteme							41a-b	54a	48b		49b	47a	50b						Ayasofya, Dil ve Tarih, Hekimoğlu, Isparta, Kadı-zade, Mevlana Müzesi, Tehran

The poem can be found in a number of manuscripts of the "main group" of Shah Ismāʿīl's Dīvān, but also in fifteenth-century copies of Nesīmī's Dīvān, which makes it attributable to the latter.

Analysis

It seems that only in the case of the four poems in Tables 1 and 4 is it impossible at this point to establish the authorship of the poems on the basis of a comparison of the manuscript data. We have seen that the majority of these 23 pieces were written by Shah Ismāʿīl but misattributed to Nesīmī mainly in the sixteenth-century composite Baku copy. As far as the poems written by Nesīmī but misattributed to Shah Ismāʿīl are concerned, it is tempting to point to the "Gulistān group", the Gulistān copy probably being a major investment on the part of the Ṣafavid dynasty at the end of the seventeenth century into the production of the most voluminous copy of Shah Ismāʿīl's *Dīvān* made in an age of the aforementioned heightened interest in the origins of the dynasty as well as its messianic mission. Particularly the poems in Table 3 were well-known Nesīmī pieces, as is attested by their occurrence in so many copies of Nesīmī's *Dīvān*; thus it is not impossible that they might have been intentionally misattributed by the copyist of the Gulistān copy or his sources, for it would well fit such a historic context. Attribution to Shah Ismāʿīl might lend royal glory to poems – especially ones with royal imagery – otherwise well-known at Sufi gatherings. It is not impossible, either, that such misattribution was originally intended to rehabilitate Nesīmī. Take the case of the following poem:

ol perī peyker ki tāc-i salṭanat başındadur
çīn ü māçīni müsaḫḫar eylemek yaşındadur

tūtiyā-yı çeşm-i bīnādur ayağı toprağı
secde-gāh-ı ʿārifān ol ḳavs ile ḳaşındadur

bu ḳamer devrinde hergiz görmesün şāhum zevāl
üç otuz on yaşı olsun on iki yaşındadur

siḥr ile eyler imāmet gözleri ʿāşıḳlara
secde-i āzādeler hem çeşm ü hem ḳaşındadur

şerbet ü āb u şerābı āh u derd ü ḫūn-ı dil

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iy Nesīmī bil ḥaḳīḳat ʿāşıḳung āşıdadur[244]

The fairy faced one who has the crown of sovereignty on his head
Is at the age when he wants to conquer China and beyond.

The dust of his feet is collyrium for the seeing eyes,
The Gnostics would prostrate themselves before the arch of his eyebrows.

May this moon (my king) never see eclipse in his circle,
May he reach age three times thirty and ten; now he is twelve.

With his spell he casts the eyes of the imamate at the lovers,
The free ones (Sufis) prostrate themselves before his eyes and brows.

His sherbet, water and wine is sighs, pain, affliction and the blood of the heart,
O, Nesīmī, know that the Truth is in the broth of the lover.

Remarkably, Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abū Turāb-i Iṣfahānī, the scribe of the Gulistān copy

recorded several interesting changes in the text of the poem. He altered the last word of the first

couplet as follows:

ol perī peyker ki tāc-i salṭanat başındadur
çīn ü māçīni müsaḫḫar eylemek başındadur

The fairy faced one who has the crown of sovereignty on his head
Has got it in his head to conquer China and beyond.

The benediction in couplet three is also strengthened:

bu ḳamer devrinde hergiz görmesün şāhum zevāl
cāvidān ʿömri ola çūn on iki yaşındadur

May this moon (my king) never see eclipse in his cycle,
May he have eternal life now that he is twelve.[245]

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[244] Qəhrəmanov, vol. 1, #81, pp. 192-3; Ayan, #119, vol. 1, p. 328.

[245] *ḳamer devri* 'the lunar cycle', stands for the time between the *Hijra* and the Day of Judgment, as well as for the time shortly before that. According to popular lore, people born shortly before the Day of Judgment have shorter life; the poet's wish that the patron (who can also be ʿAlī as well as the king) have eternal life may thus have eschatological connotations (Cf. Deniz, Sabahat. "Klasik Türk Şiirinde Devr-i Kamer Anlayışı." *Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi* 19 (2008), pp. 149-178; I am indebted to Ahmet Tunç Şen for this reference).

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The warrior king's image also gets more emphasis in couplet 4. Magic is a black art, and by contrast, the secrets of the Qibla are white art. Falcon hunting is not appropriate at the Qibla, for that is a sacred site, but here royal and divine activities are merged.

> *Siḥr ile ḳılur çu ġāret gözleri 'āşıḳları*
> *ḳıblening esrārı anıng ḳuşlayan ḳaşındadur*

When his eyes with their spell raid against the lovers,
The secrets of the Qibla are wherever he hunts with his falcon.

The following Nesīmī ghazal may have been recorded in the Gulistān copy of Shah

Ismā'īl's *Dīvān* due to its strong Shiite message.

> *cemālıng ḳible-yi ehl-i ṣafādur*
> *viṣālıng ka'be-i rükn ü Minādur*

> *Şeh-i merdāna ḳul olgil göñülden*
> *Ki ol sulṭān imām-i pīşvādur*

> *(...)*

> *'Alīni bilmeyen nefsini bilmez*
> *la'īn ü müşrik ü ḳatlı revādur*

> *imām-i Mehdī-yi Hādī uş ol kim*
> *çırāġ-i cümle çeşm-i enbiyādur*[246]

Your beauty is the Kaaba of the people of purity/Mt. Safa,
Union with you is the Qiblah, [its] pillars and Minā.[247]

(…)

Be the servant of the Shah of Men from the heart
For that sultan is a guiding imam.

He who does not know/acknowledge Ali does not know himself,
He is accursed, an idolater; killing him is lawful.

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[246] Qəhrəmanov, vol. 1, #50, pp. 128-9; Ayan, #56, vol. 1, pp. 248-9G 35 a-b; Q 36 a-b.
[247] Mt. Ṣafān and Mīnā are near Mecca.

The imam Mahdi the Guide is he who is
The light of the eyes of all the saints.

It is probably the explicitly eschatological, messianic content of the following Nesīmī

murabba', a poem made up of quatrains with the last line of each quatrain serving as a refrain:

> *nūrına saldı naẓar ol ḫāliḳ-i perverdigār*
> *ābā döndi derdim ol ḥayretten oldı tār u mār*
> *ol nūrung ḳandīline yazmıştı der rūz-i şümār*
> *lā fetā illā 'Alī lā seyfe illā zū'l-fiḳār*

> The Creator Omnipotent cast a glance at his light (Ali),
> My affliction was dissolved and destroyed by that astonishment.
> On the Day of Judgment He wrote into the candle of that light:
> "There is no man (like) Ali and no sword (like his) Zulfiqar."[248]

This is a heavily Alid poem which also displays some *ḥurūfī* tenets, for example, in the

following quatrain:

> *Ādem'e virdi kerāmet ḫuld ü cennātü'n-na'īm*
> *Cümle aña secde ḳıldı ġayrü şeyṭāni'r-racīm*
> *Ādem'üñ vechinde yidi ḫaṭṭı yazmışdı ḳadīm*
> *lā fetā illā 'Alī lā seyfe illā zū'l-fiḳār*

> He gave the paradise of delights to Adam as a miracle.
> All bowed before Adam except Satan the execrable.
> God inscribed the seven lines into Adam's face
> "There is no man (like) Ali and no sword (like his) Zulfiqar."[249]

The case of the 13 poems in Table 3 is just the other way round: they are Shah Ismā'īl's

poems presented as Nesīmī's in the sixteenth-century composite Baku the copy. Our explanation

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[248] Qəhrəmanov, vol. 2, ilaveler #17, pp. 502-6; Ayan, vol. 2, pp. 767-769.
[249] In *ḥurūfī* lore, the seven lines of hair (the hairline, the two eyebrows and the twice two sets of eyelashes) in man's face are related to God's message in the first chapter of the Koran, which is also made up of seven lines. "The idea here was again that God's creative commands existed in bifurcated forms in bodies and sounds in the physical world and that we could see the correspondences between the two facets by correlating major aspects of a body (the human being) with a form of speech (the Qur'an).The fact that these two entities in particular were comparable was no surprise since they were, respectively, the best body and the most perfect form of materialized language, God's ultimate scripture" (Bashir, Shahzad. *Fazlallah Astarabadi and the Hurufis*. Oxford: Oneworld, 2005, p. 52).

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can only be conjectural. It may have been convenient to attribute "heretical" verses that might cause objections to someone who is dead. That was probably the case for 'Umar Ḫayyām, and it may be the case for these Nesīmī ghazals. Since he was dead long before Shah Ismā'īl, it is not impossible that there is an ideological reason for some scribes to pawn off Shah Ismā'īl 's poetry on someone else, in which case ḥurūfī poets in general and Nesīmī as a slain heretic or Ḥusayn-like martyr might in particular be likely culprits. Let us see, for example, parts of the following poem:

> ḥaḳīḳat baḥr-i ẕāt-i ekber oldı
> ṣıfātından anıng bir gevher oldı
> (...)
> erişdi va'desi ṣāḥib-zamānung
> ulı dīvān ḳuruldı maḥşer oldı
>
> ẕühūr etdi tecellīsi imāmung
> münāfıḳ görmedi kūr dīger oldı
>
> olar ki tabi'-i Mervānīlerdür
> sürüldi çıḫtı dīnden ebter oldı
>
> şāhıng evlādına iḳrār edenler
> aḫīler ġāziler abdāllar oldı
>
> velāyet bāġçesining bāġbānı
> yüzin açdı cihānı enver oldı
>
> şāhıng āstānesinde ḳulları çoḫ
> Ḫaṭāyī cümlesinden kemter oldı[250]

The Truth emanated as the sea of the Greatest Self,
A pearl came forth from His attributes.
(…)

The age of the Lord of Time has arrived,
The sublime court has been set up, the [Day of] Gathering[251] has come.

The bodily manifestation of the Imam has appeared.
The hypocrites could not see it; they have become deaf and blind.

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[250] Məmmədov, pp. 57-59; Qəhrəmanov, vol. 2, ilaveler #9, p. 628.
[251] I.e. the Day of Judgment.

The followers of the Marwanids[252]
were dragged away, excommunicated and became wretched.

Those who pledged allegiance to the progeny of the Shah (i.e. ʿAlī)
Were akhis, ghazis and abdals.

The gardener of the garden of authority
Revealed his face and his world was shining.

The Shah (ʿAlī) has many servants at his threshold
The smallest of whom is Ḫaṭāyī.

The authorship of the two poems in Table 4 is difficult to establish with complete certainty. The numerological motifs in the second couplet of the first one would make it more probable that this is a Nesīmī poem. Let us see the two versions side by side:

Nesīmī:

> *dudaġıng ḳand imiş bal anda neyler*
> *ne nāzik ḫaṭṭ imiş ḫāl anda neyler*
>
> *yedi ḥarf oldı çūn her bir varaḳda*
> *elif yā lām-elif dāl anda neyler*

> Your lips are sugar, why put honey on them?
> How beautiful your hairlines are! Why add a mole there?
>
> When there are seven letters on each page
> Why write the letters *alif*, or *lām-alif* and *dāl* on them?

The seven letters refer to ʿAlī and Muḥammad, whose names put together are made up of seven letters. The letters straight shape of *alif* (ا), or *lām-alif* (لا) and *dāl* (د) might refer to the movements of standing and prostration in the Muslim prayer. The couplet thus elevates the message of the previous one – the beloved is perfect and cannot be made more beautiful – in a

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[252] A line of the Umayyad dynasty that usurped power from ʿAlī and ruled the caliphate until 750.

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spiritual, antinomian sense: it is enough to mention ʿAlī and Muḥammad, there being no need for prayer. The older Paris manuscript of Shah Ismāʿīl's *Dīvān* from 1541, however, has a different version for the second couplet which has no numerological reference:

> *Elife nisbet ettüm ḳadd-i dālıng*
> *Elif üste elif dāl anda neyler*

> I have straightened your *dāl*-like figure into an *alif*.
> It is now an *alif* on alif (i.e. perfectly straight). Why have a *dāl* there?[253]

The Gulistān copy of Shah Ismāʿīl's *Dīvān* from 1677 alters the second hemistich of the latter couplet, further simplifying the meaning:

> *Elife nisbet ettüm ḳadd-i dālıng*
> *Şol elif rāstdür dāl anda neyler*

> I have straightened your *dāl*-like figure into an *alif*.
> This *alif* is already straight. Why have a *dāl* there?[254]

The second poem in Table 4 gives us no such clue. As strongly messianic poem, it could have been written by either poet.

The phenomenon of poetic misattribution

In the preceding we have been able to establish the authorship of the majority of the suspect poems with a fair degree of certainty. It is perhaps time to turn, however, to the probably most interesting question: how and why did it all happen that 23 poems, i.e. every twentieth poem found in copies of Shah Ismāʿīl's *Dīvān,* appear in Nesīmī *Dīvān* copies as well? Was this sheer

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[253] Qəhrəmanov, vol. 1, #125, p. 282
[254] Shah Ismāīl. *Dīvān* (ms). *Gulistān,* fol. 37a.

scribal ignorance, as poet laureate Bahār would generally have us think?[255] Did these misattributions occur just because the two pennames – H̱aṭāyī and Nesīmī – were identical in meter and rhyme? How could we contextualize the phenomenon?

Misattribution of literary works is universal. One form is plagiarism, i.e. intentional appropriation of someone else's work, which is a possible explanation for the poems in Tables 4 and 7. Dedications, prefaces, prologues etc. have, aside from introducing the work, the added function of claiming authorship and intellectual property rights over it, even in pre-ninneteenth century contexts where there was no legal concept of intellectual property. Of course, we can come across with plagiarism in the Islamic tradition as well. One might recall Hujvīrī, who complains in his *Kashf al-maḥjūb* that on two occasions his works were subject to plagiarism.[256] The appropriation of another poet's works, *sariḳa* or *intiḥāl*, 'theft, plagiarism', was a well-known practice in the pre-copyright world of Arabic and Turko-Persian poetry. We even know of the phenomenon called *iġāra* 'plunder' from pre-Islamic Arabic poetry, when a famous poet takes away the work of another one, claiming that he should have written it, and the less famous versifier submits for fear of being lampooned.[257] However, it is not only through plagiarism that works of one author find their way into those of another. The concept of *sariḳa* was sharply distinguished from the practice of *istiḳbāl* 'welcoming' and *naẓīra* 'parallel poem', i.e. poetic emulation or paraphrasis, according to which the poet imitated another one, citing features, sometimes entire lines from him in the same meter but trying to transcend him at the same

[255] Bahār, Muḥammad Taḳī. *Sabk-shināsī yā tārīkh-i taṭavvur-i naṣr-i fārsī.* Tehran: Çāpẖāna-yi H̱ʷadkār, [1321/1942], vol. 1, pp. 288-296.
[256] Hujvīrī, ʿAlī b. ʿUthmān al-Jullābī. *The Kashf al-mahjūb: the oldest Persian treatise on Ṣúfiism.* London: Luzac and Co., 1967, p. 2.
[257] Von Grunebaum, Gustave Ernest. "The Concept of Plagiarism in Arabic Theory." *JNES* 3/4 (1944), pp. 234-253; Naaman, Erez. "Sariqa in Practice: The Case of Al-Sahib ibn ʿAbbad." *Middle Eastern Literatures* 14/3 (2011), pp. 271-285.

time.[258] Accordingly, we know of several poems by Shah Ismāʿīl that are clearly poetic imitations of certain Nesīmī poems.

Subsequent reception might play a role, too, in misattribution. A well-known practice is pseudepigraphy, which we can find related to Shah Ismāʿīl's poetry as well. In this practice, works are attributed by a later tradition to a famous or paradigmatic author. As examples, we can adduce the *Ṭarīḵ al-taḥḵīḵ* misattributed to Sanāʾī, or ʿUmar Ḥayyām from Classical Persian and Yūnus Emre from thirteenth-century Turkish poetry, the literary tradition attributing so many poems to these latter two poets that now it is completely impossible to fully establish their oeuvre, and consequently instead of oeuvres it is better to talk in their case about 'the ʿUmar Ḥayyām textual tradition' or the 'Yūnus Emre textual tradition'.[259] In the case of ʿUmar Ḥayyām, in certain cases for later generations of pseudo-Khayyāms it may have been safer to attribute their more antinomian poems to a poet who was already dead, a phenomenon similar to many versifiers in the Alevi-Bektashi tradition in Anatolia, who expressed their spiritual attachment to Shah Ismāʿīl by writing poetry in the same vein as him and adopting either his penname, Ḥaṭāyī, or pennames that were similar to or alluded to him, such as Shah Ḥaṭāyī, Darvīš Ḥaṭāyī, Jān Ḥaṭāyī, Derdimend Ḥaṭāyī, Pīr Ḥaṭāyī, Sultan Ḥaṭāyī.[260]

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[258] Zipoli, Riccardo. *The Technique of the Ğawāb. Replies by Nawāʾī to Ḥāfiẓ and Jāmī.* Venice: Cafoscarina [Eurasiatica], 1993. Losensky, Paul E. *"Welcoming Fighānī:" Imitation, and Individuality in the Safavid-Mughal Ghazal, 1480–1680.* Costa Mesa, California: Mazda Publishers, 1998; Lewis, Franklin D. "The Rise and Fall of a Persian Refrain: the Radif âtash o âb." In: *Reorientations/Arabic and Persian Poetry.* Ed. Suzanne Stetkevych. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1994, pp. 199-226.

[259] Utas, Bo. *Ṭarīq ut-taḥqiq: a Sufi Mathnavi ascribed to Ḥakīm Sanāʾī of Ghazna and probably composed by Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad an-Naxčavānī. A critical edition, with a history of the text and a commentary.* [Lund] Studentlitteratur [1973]. Fouchécour, Ch.-H. de. "'Umar Khayyam. 2. The Quatrains." *Encyclopaedia of Islam. New Edition.* Ed. P. Bearman et al. Brill Online, 2013. Reference. University of Chicago. 22 December 2013 http://referenceworks.brillonline.com.proxy.uchicago.edu/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/umar-khayyam-COM_1284; Lewis, *Reading, Writing and Recitation*, pp. 239-252.

[260] Aslanoğlu, İbrahim. *Şah İsmail Hatayî (Divan, Dehnâme, Nasihatnâme ve Anadolu Hatayîleri).* İstanbul: Der Yayınları, 1992; Gandjei, Tourkhan. "Pseudo-Khatāʾī." In: *Iran and Islam. In Memory of the Late Vladimir Minorsky.* Ed. Clifford Edmund Bosworth. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971, pp. 263–266.

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In the Persianate tradition, where both Nesīmī and Shah Ismāʿīl's poetry can be located, and particularly in the genre of the *ghazal*, the figure of the poet is on conscious display: it is a requirement of the *ghazal* to end with a signatory verse, i.e. one that contains the poet's penname. To misattribute a *ghazal* in a fully literate context, therefore, would constitute a conscious act on the part of the plagiarist to appropriate the real author's authority, or it could indicate ignorance or other unknown motif on the part of the scribe to alter the penname in the signatory verse. But what happens if a certain set of poems serves communal, e.g. ritual purposes? In such a case, members of the community, especially in a pre-modern context, might be regularly exposed to the work in an oral setting, for example, when they are listening to a homily. The poetry might become part of the ritual in the form of chants sung together, and the members might feel attached to the text. Indeed, they might, consciously or unconsciously, alter, omit from or add to, it. Misattribution is perhaps only the next step in this process, the text coming to be attributed to another member of the community's Pantheon. Accordingly, in the context of a dervish community poems were recited and it was probably easy to mix up the person reciting or singing the poem with the author. Several *rubāʿī*s in Furūzānfar's standard edition of the *Dīvān-i Shams-i Tabrīzī* were in fact not written by Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī but were likely attributed to him early on in the dervish context or recited by himself and recorded as compositions of his own.[261] During a mystical ritual, a *ẕikr* or *samāʿ*, it is *ḥāl* 'mystical state, ecstasy' and not *qāl* 'saying, speech' that is paramount.[262] As is put succinctly by Shah Ismāʿīl in one of the aforesaid poems in the older Paris manuscript that is likely a Nesīmī poem:

> *Ḫaṭāyī ḳāl evinden ḥāle yetdi*

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[261] Lewis, Franklin D. *Rumi: Past and present, east and west.* Oxford: Oneworld, 2008 (revised paperback edition), p. 532.
[262] I thank Prof. Franklin Lewis for this comment.

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Bu bir ḥāl evidür ḳāl anda neyler

Ḥaṭāyī has reached a mystical state from the way-station of speech.
This is the station of mystical state. Speech has no place here.[263]

A useful analytical tool could be the concept of *textual community* as put forth by Brian Stock in relation to tenth-eleventh century European literacy, when he tries to interpret "…the persistence of the oral, the ritualistic, and the symbolic within an increasingly literate society." Accordingly, social or religious groups used texts

"[…] both to structure the internal behaviour of the groups' members and to provide solidarity against the outside world.
    In this sense they were 'textual communities.' The term is used in a descriptive rather than a technical sense; it is intended to convey not a new methodology but a more intensive use by groups hitherto dependent on oral participation in religion. What was essential to a textual community was not a written version of a text, although that was sometimes present, but an individual, who, having mastered it, then utilized it for reforming a group's thought and action."[264]

This is a process parallel to what Amelia Gallagher describes in her dissertation on the reception of Shah Ismāʿīl's poetry in the Alevi-Bektashi tradition. According to her analysis, the historic figure of Shah Ismāʿīl was gradually forgotten and he simply became the legendary *pīr* 'saint' of the dervish order alongside, I would add, other poets like Pīr Sultan Abdāl and, of course, Nesīmī.[265]

Both poets' works are steeped in the oral context of nomadic Turkmen in the territory that includes Anatolia, the Balkans, Syria, Iraq, Iran and Central Asia. When such works get written

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[263] Məmmədov, p. 230. The poem can also be found in Qəhrəmanov vol. 1, #125, p. 282. About the two versions, see further below.
[264] Stock, Brian. *The Implications of Literacy. Written Language and Models of Interpretations in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983, pp. 71, 90.
[265] Gallagher, Amelia. *The Fallible Master of Perfection: Shah Ismail in the Alevi-Bektashi Tradition.* Montreal: McGill University, 2004 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis).

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down, especially if they are entered into a lavishly executed manuscript, a new dynamics sets in. The poetry steps out of the realm of the religious community and enters the realm of politics. It is now also used for the representation of power, accompaniment to political ritual, illustration of the grandeur of a dynasty, etc., as can be illustrated by the aforementioned Vever and older London copies of Shah Ismāʿīl's *Dīvān.* Sometimes, as we can see in the case of Shah Ismāʿīl's poems, poetry used for political purposes might reenter the realm of the populus, or it might exist in two spheres at the same time. In the popular realm it might be subject to a wholesale new range of modifications whereas in the palace with trained scribes the textual tradition probably tends to be more conservative. Both of our poets' works were on the margin between literacy and orality; their poetry retains features of both spheres. It is thus useful to quote the cultural historian Walter J. Ong's words:

> "Manuscript cultures remained largely oral-aural even in retrieval of material preserved in texts. Manuscripts were not easy to read, by later typographic standards, and what readers found in manuscripts they tended to commit at least somewhat to memory. Relocating material in a manuscript was not always easy. Memorization was encouraged and facilitated also by the fact that in highly oral manuscript cultures, the verbalization one encountered even in written texts often continued the oral mnemonic patterning that made for ready recall. Moreover, readers commonly vocalized, read slowly aloud or *sotto voce*, even when reading alone, and this also helped fix matter in the memory."[266]

Another factor facilitating misattribution of poems by Shah Ismāʿīl and Nesīmī was the literary-social context of this type of poetry, which spread not only in the form of *Dīvāns* that were commissioned by a patron, but also orally and in private anthologies, with the text of the poem opening up greatly with lines being added and omitted or modified. Such a context has fluid notions of authorship and text, a phenomenon not at all limited to the Persianate world.

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[266] Ong, Walter J. *Orality and Literacy: The technologizing of the Word.* 30th anniversary edition with additional chapters by John Hartley. London; New York: Routledge, 2002, p. 117.

Speaking about eighteenth-century Hungarian popular literature, István Rumen Csörsz introduces the concept of *variogenesis:*

> "Variogenesis excludes any hierarchy between the textual variants and thinks in its stead in terms of texts of equal value. Not even the text (or a part of it) with the earliest provenance is superior to more recent ones; it is only the first sign that a text has entered the variogenetic field. Such a piece is not born but generated, not created but compiled, and it is identical with itself not in a textological but in a performative sense."[267]

Variogenesis was expedited by reliance on memory. Learning huge quantities of texts by heart was part of training in the humanities in the West, too, up to quite recent times, and it still is in the Persianate world today. In the pre-print context of the Islamic world, especially memorization of poetry was a fundamental way to learn the profession of the learned man. Meter, rhymes, tropes etc, the entire stock-in-trade of literature was mastered through learning by heart. As is most succinctly put by Niẓāmī 'Arūẓī Samarḳandī, a 11th litterateur at the Ghaznavid court:

> "But to this rank [*of immortality* – F.Cs.] a poet cannot attain unless in the prime of his life he commits to memory 20,000 couplets of the poetry of the Ancients, keeps in view [as models] 10,000 verses of the works of the Moderns and continually reads and remembers the *díwáns* of the masters of his art, observing how they have acquitted themselves in the strait passes and delicate places of song, in order that thus the different styles and varieties of verse may become ingrained in his nature, and the defects and beauties of poetry may be inscribed on the tablet of his understanding."[268]

I have mostly referred to *Dīvān* copies of Shah Ismā'īl, a number of which were commissioned and paid for lavishly, as is made probable by the high quality of some of the manuscripts. However, the textual history of this type of poetry is equally strongly related to the world of popular anthologies of poetry that were made for private purposes or to serve the pious

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[267] Csörsz, Rumen István. *Szöveg szöveg hátán. A magyar közköltészet variációs rendszere (1700-1840)*. Budapest: Argumentum, 2009, p. 32. See also: Lewis, *Reading, Writing and Recitation*, pp.
[268] Niẓāmī 'Arūẓī Samarqandī. *Chahār maqāla ('The Four discourses')*. Tr. Edward G. Browne. London: Luzac, 1921, p. 39.

needs of a religious community. The appropriation of Nesīmī poems in early sixteenth-century copies of Shah Ismāʿīl's *Dīvān* could also be the result of intentional plagiarization. Ṣafavid propaganda may have felt it expedient to appropriate the messianic potency as well as the literary prestige of some of Nesīmī's poems. As to the latter appropriations, the context of the Gulistān copy of Shah Ismāʿīl's *Dīvān* with its many Nesīmī poems might be the increasing interest in Shah Ismāʿīl and his messianic mission in the late seventeenth century.

Regarding the appearance of Shah Ismāʿīl poems disguised as Nesīmī poems in copies of the latter poet's *Dīvān*, the motifs are more difficult. One option might be the abovementioned open nature of the poetic text in popular poetry. Moreover, in the same Bektashi tradition in Anatolia that produced the pseudo-Ḫaṭāyīs, we find poets that used the penname Nesīmī, like Ḳul Nesīmī in the late seventeenth century. A more complex picture could be drawn, however, with more exact information about the copies of Nesīmī's *Dīvān* in both Iran and Anatolia.

Conclusion to Chapter Three

There was a broad socio-religious context of interaction between various popular messianic traditions of the day, the Ḥurūfīs, the Bektashis, the Ṣafavids and others, as is shown by this remarkable and textually detectable interaction of the Ḥurūfī and Ṣafavid traditions. We know from the literature about the importance of lettrist, numerological Ḥurūfī techniques for the Bektashis.[269] Both Shah Ismāʿīl and Nesīmī as well as the pseudo-Shah Ismāʿīls and pseudo-Nesīmīs became part of a common popular Sufi lore which operated through the language of Persianate mysticism, in which messianistic elements as well as ecstatic expressions of the *unio mystica* were just as much present as originally Ḥurūfī or lettrist ideas.

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[269] For the Ḥurūfī influence on the Bektashis, see: Ocak, Ahmet Yaşar. *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar ve Mülhidler.* Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998, pp. 106-135.

So far, we have been mainly concerned with what what can be termed as the Western

Oġuz background of Turkic poetry under the Ṣafavids. It is time we turned to another figure,

Ṣādiḳī Beg, who represents another strand.

Chapter Four

The Man of the Pen, the Sword and the Brush: Ṣādiḳī Beg and Self-Fashioning in Early Modern Persia

According to the great chronicler, Iskandar Beg Munšī, in the year 995/1587-88, the province of Astarābād along the southeast Caspian shore had for some time been in revolt against Ṣafavid authority, headed by a loose coalition of the Yaḳḳa Turkmen and local peasants, perhaps millenarian egalitaranists referred to as *siyāh-pūşān*, the 'Black Robes.'[1] First Murtażā Ḳulı Khan Purnāk and then Badr Khan, a chief of the Turkic Afşār tribe, were appointed by the ruler, Muḥammad Ḫudābanda, to address the situation, but they were unable even to approach the capital of the province and their campaign turned into an embarrassing fiasco for the Ṣafavids. During the ensuing battles, one of the protégés of Badr Khan, a middle-aged warrior by the name of Ṣādiḳī Beg displayed extreme bravado and almost insane valor. A flamboyant, valiant soldier who hailed from the lesser known Turkic tribe of the Ḫudābandalū, Ṣādiḳī was also a true polymath whose public image as it has come down to posterity in the sources might remind us of such contemporary Western Renaissance aristocratic warrior poets writing in their vernacular as the English Sir Philip Sidney (1554-1586) or the Hungarian Bálint Balassi (1554-1594).[2] He was a member of the Qizilbash tribal aristocracy, and at the same time he was also a fully accomplished poet in both Persian and Turkic, and one of the leading masters of the brush of his

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[1] Scholars have usually labeled this socio-political movement as heterodox and millenarian. For a more recent, different view, see: Abisaab, Jurdi Rula. "Peasant Uprisings in Astarabad: the Siyāh Pūshān (wearers of black), the Sayyids, and the Safavid State." *Iranian Studies* 49:3 (2016), pp. 471-492.

[2] The several parallel features between the careers and historical reception of these two western "soldiers of Christ," as well as their possible encounters, have been known to scholarship for some time. See: Szőnyi, György E. "Self-representation and Canon-formation in the Late Renaissance: The Reception of Sir Phillip Sidney and Bálint Balassi." In: *Celebrating Comparativism: Papers Offered for György M. Vajda and István Fried.* Ed. Katalin Kürtösi and József Pál. Szeged: Gold Press, 1994, pp. 447-459. Szőnyi's sensitive analysis is greatly informed by his reading of Stephen Greenblatt's *Renaissance Self-fashioning*, a standpoint shared in the discussion that follows.

time, second perhaps only to Riżā-yi 'Abbāsī. His career had hitherto had its ups and downs, but now he would shortly parachute into the most alluring office a painter could aspire for in Ṣafavid Iran, the headship of the royal atelier. Although he would lose this office in less than a decade, it put him in an ideal position to continue his literary career besides painting. His lifelong search for and service to various Maecenases and the changing circumstances of cultural patronage in early modern Persia put him in contact with a plethora of people from all walks of life in a wide geography from the Shiite holy cities in Ottoman Iraq to Mashhad in Eastern Iran. Though a member of the Qizilbash, the tribal aristocracy, the Men of the Sword, his career as a painter and litterateur took him to Tajik circles, the Men of the Pen, too. In fact, unlike his two Occidental contemporaries, the aforesaid Sidney and Balassi, whose artistic, literary careers went hand in hand with their social background and who therefore could safely adopt the cultural ethos of their respective social group, Ṣādiḳī Beg's career trajectory was arguably in breech of the cultural ethos of his social background, the Turkmen military elite, the Qizilbash, in the Ṣafavid realm.

This chapter looks at this famous painter and litterateur, Ṣādiḳī Beg's biography against the background of his intellectual and artistic networks as well as his lifelong search for patronage. As such, it seeks to situate Ṣādiḳī as a bilingual, Turko- and Persophone, litterateur and painter in the shifting political and cultural dispensation of Ṣafavid Persia. Based on to date largely neglected sources, it offers a corrective to what we have hitherto known about this fascinating character. In doing so, I will address two problems: first, his literary output has so far received relatively little attention in scholarship. Except for Ṣādiḳī's biographical anthology of poets, the *Majmaʿ al-ḫavāṣṣ* ('The Concourse of Nobilities'; henceforth: the *Concourse*), his didactic poem in Persian about the technicalities of painting, the *Ḳānūn al-ṣuvar* ('The Canon of Pictures'; henceforth: the *Canon*), and his short collection of Persian linguistic curiosities, the *Ḥaẓẓiyāt*, as well as a handful of Turkic poetic output, most of his works have never been edited,

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and only the *Canon* has been translated into English and Russian, which bars scholars from access to most of his literary oeuvre. Second, his poetic and pictorial works have mostly been dealt with separately, although they were the work of the same person, and thus one would be justified to expect at least some overlap between who patronized his paintings and who his writings, as patronage given to the fine arts and poetry were arguably two integral parts of the same cultural-political dynamics.[3] In what follows, I will first give a survey of the literature about Ṣādiḳī, starting from the late nineteenth century. The rest of the chapter will be dedicated to a reconstruction of his biography through an analysis of his reception as reflected in chronicles and biographical anthologies from the late sixteenth to the nineteenth century, which will be contrasted with what can be gleaned from his own writings, with a particular emphasis on various patronage networks he was part of.[4]

Further, I will situate Ṣādiḳī Beg's life in a broader framework of early modern intellectual and cultural history. In his seminal work entitled *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, Stephen Greenblatt argues that in 16th-century Western Europe there was a new understanding of the self which supplanted the medieval ethos of *Imitatio Christi*, and as such "there appears to be an increased self-consciousness about the fashioning of human identity as a manipulable, artful process."[5] I will argue that Ṣādiḳī's life and career can be best understood if we examine how he

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[3] Cf. Also: Fetvacı, Emine. *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2013. p. 65.

[4] A bibliographical list of his works can be found in the Appendices.

[5] "Such self-consciousness had been widespread among the elite in the classical world, but Christianity brought a growing suspicion of man's power to shape identity. [… F]ashioning may suggest the achievement of a less tangible shape: a distinctive personality, a characteristic address to the world, a consistent mode of perceiving and behaving […] Thus separated from the imitation of Christ—a separation that can, as we shall see, give rise to considerable anxiety—self-fashioning acquires a new range of meanings: it describes the practice of parents and teachers; it is linked to manners or demeanor, particularly that of the elite; it may suggest hypocrisy or deception, an adherence to mere outward ceremony; it suggests representation of one's nature or intention in speech or actions. And with representation we return to literature, or rather we may grasp that self-fashioning derives its interest precisely from the fact that it functions without regard for a sharp distinction between literature and social life. It invariably crosses the boundaries between the creation of literary characters, the shaping of one's own identity, the experience of being molded by forces outside one's control, the attempt to fashion the other selves" (Greenblatt, Stephen. *Renaissance*

and his contemporaries made at times conscious, at times unconscious efforts to present him against the background of the changing economic, political, social and cultural dispensation that obtained in the Early Modern world in general and Ṣafavid Persia, in particular. I will argue, in congruence with recent art history, that this new dispensation led to a new system of patronage for the arts and literature, and hypothesize that this also meant the beginnings of a new understanding of the self on the part of the artist and intellectual, and resulted in a veritable cult of the individual or at least an understanding that there are various modes available for representing, fashioning the self. In this, Ṣādiḳī is probably anything but alone in Ṣafavid Iran or the 16-17ᵗʰ century Persianate world at large; a new type of self-awareness and conscious self-representation has been detected at 16ᵗʰ-century Ottoman, Ṣafavid and Mughal courts, too.[6] This new type of the self, I suggest, was the result of the huge political, religious, social, economic and cultural shifts and dislocations of the period.

While this dissertation is about Turkic literacy and literature in Ṣafavid Persia, in order to contextualize Ṣādiḳī's Turkic literary output, one needs, unlike the majority of existing scholarship, to at least briefly examine what he wrote in Persian, too, on the one hand, and subject his Turkic works to broader literary and cultural processes that were taking place in the Persianate world at large, on the other hand. As is pointed out in the first chapter, Muslim Turkic literature was the result of cultural translation from Persian. This does not deny the possibility of

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Self-Fashioning: from More to Shakespeare. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980, pp. 3-4). To be sure, Greenblatt's thesis has been criticized as a postmodern remake of Burkhardt's romantic thesis about the Renaissance as the birth of the modern individual. However, both of them are evidently right that something did change about the notion of the self during the Renaissance, even if there were multiple ways of thinking about it, and even if it is difficult to imagine any time in which notions of the self are static and not in construct (Martin, John Jeffries. *Myths of Renaissance Individualism.* Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

[6] Dale, Stepehen Frederic. "Steppe Humanism: The Autobiographical Writings of Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur, 1483-1530." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 22 (1990), pp. 37-58; Haarmann, Ulrich. "The Plight of the Self-Appointed Genius – Muṣṭafā ᶜĀlī." *Arabica* 38 (1991), pp. 73-86; Fetvacı, Emine. *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2013; Felek, Özgen. *Dreams and Visions in Islamic Societies.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 2012, pp. 249-250.

originality to Turkic, for translation itself is a highly creative process, and Turkic litterateurs actively contributed to the Persian literary tradition, too. Further, Ṣādiḳī was trained in both Persian and Turkic, and he was striving for patronage in both languages. It would therefore be ill-conceived to separate Ṣādiḳī the Persian from Ṣādiḳī the Turkic litterateur.

Ṣādiḳī in scholarship

Although Ṣādiḳī Beg has been the subject of several scholarly treatments over the last eighty or so years, and although some of his works have been edited in one way or another, his character and literary output are still greatly elusive, primarily because with a few notable exceptions most of the literature about him is descriptive at best and not analytical. Nevertheless, in the scholarship on Ṣafavid Iran, aside from Shah Ismāʿīl, Ṣādiḳī Beg is probably the most widely discussed figure who wrote in Turkic beside Persian. This fascination is partly due to the fact that Ṣādiḳī Beg was one of the most prominent painters of his time, and the art history of the Ṣafavid period is a fairly vibrant field of scholarly inquiry, a development facilitated by the accessibility of a great deal of Ṣafavid art along with Ṣādiḳī's known pictorial works in Western collections. Research about his biography has been facilitated by the fact that there are several major accounts of Ṣādiḳī's life written by some of his contemporaries, and his own extremely rich and at places vitriolically funny biographical anthology, the *Concourse*, has also been available in a published form for almost seventy years now.

Initial interest in Ṣādiḳī Beg in modern times most probably stems from the post-Constitutional and Pahlavī era in Iran with its social and cultural upheavals and rising national consciousness amongst Azerbaijani intellectuals, as well as their search for a niche for their local

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ethnic identity in the nascent Iranian nationalist space. Credit for first mentioning Ṣādiḳī goes to Muḥammad 'Alī Tarbiyat (1875-1940), a well-known figure of the Constitutional era, who at a later stage of his life dedicated to him first a journal article and then an entry in his *Dāniṣmandān-i Āzarbayjān*, a biographical anthology of poets. This anthology is very much in the mode of the traditional *taẕkira*; although its author sometimes does mention his sources in a somewhat vague fashion, it lacks an index and, more regrettably, a list of the sources the author consulted.[7] Apparently, Muḥammad Tarbiyat had access to the unique copy of Ṣādiḳī's *Kulliyāt*, which he probably saw in the collection of the noted bibliophile, Ḥājj Muḥammad Naḫçivānī (1880-1962), and which the latter later donated to Tabriz Central Library along with the rest of his collection. After the publication of his article but before that of his book appeared another article written by Amīrḫīzī Tabrīzī in the same journal, which is essentially a compilation from Ṣādiḳī's autobiographical preface to his *Kulliyāt*, Iskandar Munṣī's account of him in the *'Ālam-ārā-yi 'abbāsī*, and a few remarks on his poetry.[8]

The next important step in the study of Ṣādiḳī's literary oeuvre was the Chaghatay Turkic-Persian bilingual edition of his biographical anthology of poets, the *Concourse*.[9] The editor was 'Abd al-Rasūl Ḫayyāmpūr (1898-1979), who received his doctorate from Istanbul University, where he studied from 1937 to 1941. Later a professor at Tabriz University, Ḫayyāmpūr was one

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[7] Tarbiyat, Muḥammad. "Ṣādiḳī Afṣār." *Armaġān* 12:1 (1310), pp. 15-21; *Dāniṣmandān-i Āzarbayjān*. Tehran: [s.n.]), 1314 [1935], pp. 212-213. The author hailed from a notable Turkophone family of Tabriz that could boast of such ancestors as Mīrzā Mahdī Khan Astarābādī, chronicler and vizier of Nādir Shah and the lexicographer who compiled the *Sanglāḫ*, a voluminous and important glossary of Chaghatay Turkic, which will be briefly discussed in the next chapter. Tarbiyat's early career was spent in the Iranian Constitutional Revolution, while in the early Pahlavī era he represented Tabriz in the Iranian Parliament. His scholarly activities most probably accompanied his strong commitment to Azerbaijan, which he probably saw as part of the larger Iranian tradition, not unlike, for example, two better known and more prominent intellectuals of Iranian Azerbaijan, Aḥmad Kasravī and Ḥusayn Taḳīzāda. His definition of his subject is somewhat loose, as his book includes authors related to Azerbaijan as well as Turkophone ones connected with Iran. For a review, see: Minorsky, Vladimir. *BSOAS* 9:1 (1937), pp. 251-253.

[8] Tabrīzī, Amīrḫīzī. "Lā adrī Ṣādiḳī." *Armaġān* 12:3 (1310/1931), pp. 185-199.

[9] Ṣādiḳī Kitābdār. *Taẕkira-yi Majma' al-ḫavāṣṣ*. Ed. 'Abd al-Rasūl Ḫayyāmpūr. Tabriz: Çāpḫāna-yi Aḫtar-i Ṣumāl, 1327 h.ḳ./1948. About his life, see: Munfarid, Afsāna. "Tarbiyat, Muḥammad 'Alī." *Dāniṣnāma-yi Jahān-i Islām*. 2nd ed. Tehran: Bunyād-i Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif-i Islāmī, 1996-.

of the few scholars who managed to find ways of publishing Turkophone material in the limited conditions set on Turkic publications in staunchly nationalist Pahlavī Iran. Small wonder that in the preface to his edition of the *Concourse*, it is the work's significance for Persian literary history that Ḥayyāmpūr emphasizes, comparing it to the importance of the other major biographical anthology written in Chaghatay Turkic, 'Alī Şīr Navā'ī's *Majālis al-nafā'is*.[10] This edition had the beneficial impact of placing Ṣādiḳī's *taẕkira* within the Iranian literary canon at least to the extent that it has an entry in Gulçīn-i Ma'nī's important survey of Persian biographical anthologies of poets over twenty years after its appearance.[11]

So, Ṣādiḳī is present in the national literary canon of Iran, marginal though his position may be. His *'Abbāsnāma*, a heroic narrative poem in the mode of Firdawsī's *Şāhnāma* about the exploits of Shah 'Abbās I from the beginning of his reign to 1598 has an entry in Ẕabīḥ Allāh Ṣafā's collection of Persian epic poetry; and, based on Tarbiyat, Sa'īd Nafīsī includes him in his history of Persian poetry and prose.[12] Ṣādiḳī's stature as a painter inspired Aḥmad Suhaylī Ḫwānsarī in 1963 to publish Ṣādiḳī's *Canon* in the footnotes of his edition of the *Gulistān-i hunar,* a biographical collection of painters written by Ḳāẓī Aḥmad of Qom.[13] More recently, the late Īraj Afşār published Ṣādiḳī's glossary of strange and funny Persian expressions entitled *Ḥaẕẕiyāt* 'Delights,' and Ya'ḳūb Azhand mentions Ṣādiḳī's literary works in his booklet on

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[10] Ḥayyāmpūr, *jīm*. Aside from this, he is best known for his Persian grammar, *Dastūr-i zabān-i fārsī*, but for our topic it is more important to mention his comparative study of various (Persian and Turkish) versions of the story of Yūsuf and Zulayḫā (*Yūsuf and Zulayḫā*. Tabriz: Çāpḫāna-yi Şafaḳ, 1339 [1960]), as well as his biographical compendium similar to that by Muḥammad Tarbiyat, entitled *Farhang-i Suḫanvarān* (Tabriz: Sihāmī, 1961).

[11] Gulçīn-i Ma'nī. *Tārīḫ-i taẕkirahā-yi fārsī*. Tehran: Dānişgāh-i Tehran, 1348-1350/1969-1971 or 72, vol. 2, pp. 132-140. For international scholarship, Ḥayyāmpūr's edition was publicized by the noted Turkish scholar of Persian philology, Ahmed Ateş's highly critical review, to which Ḥayyāmpūr retorted in a like vitriolic fashion (*Oriens* 3:2 (1950), pp. 333-5; *Oriens* 6:1 (1953), pp. 197-9).

[12] Ṣafā, Ẕabīḥ Allāh. *Ḥamāsa-sarāyān dar Īrān*. Tehran: Çāp-i Ḫwadkār-i Īrān, 1324 [1946]; Nafīsī, Sa'īd. *Tārīḫ-i naẓm va naṣr dar Īrān va dar zabān-i fārsī*. Tehran: Kitābfurūşī-yi Furūġī, 1344/1965, vol. 2, pp. 457-8.

[13] Ḳāẓī Aḥmad Ḳummī. *Gulistān-i hunar*. Ed. Ḫwānsarī, Aḥmad Suhaylī. [Tehran]: Bunyād-i Farhang-i Īrān, [1973], pp. 152-164.

Ṣādiḳī's painting, saying, though without too much elaboration, that Ṣādiḳī was a mediocre poet in Persian and his genius worked better in Turkic.[14]

In terms of quantity but regrettably not in quality, it is the Republic of Azerbaijan in its Soviet and post-Soviet incarnations alike where the most work has been dedicated to Ṣafavid Turkic literature in general and Ṣādiḳī's literary oeuvre in particular. As a painter and poet, Ṣādiḳī has been appropriated into the national pantheon of the greats in the Republic of Azerbaijan. The first scholar to be mentioned is the art historian Kaziev, who produced a critical edition of the *Canon*, interestingly, in the same year as Suhaylī Ḫʷānsārī in Iran published his, as was mentioned above.[15] Ṣādiḳī occurs in the standard narratives of Azerbaijani literature, such as a high school textbook by Həmid Araslı.[16]

The relatively recent independence of the Republic of Azerbaijan with its post-Soviet nationalism greatly encourages research on themes even remotely related to modern Azeri national consciousness, literary history having a prominent role in nation-engineering. However, the Soviet system that lives on in Azeri academia is rarely conducive to ingenious research. Equally disheartening, the Azeri scholars working on Ṣādiḳī do not seem to be aware of the relevant literature in Western languages. The *Concourse* has been translated into Azeri Turkish, and the translator, Əkrəm Bağırov, provides some useful philological information in his introduction to the work;[17] Paşa Kərimov has published Ṣādiḳī's Turkic poetry in modern Latin Azeri script, using the Tabriz *kulliyāt*, and he draws attention to the fact that some of Ṣādiḳī's

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[14] Ṣādiḳī Beg Afşār. "Ḫaẓẓiyyāt." Ed. Īraj Afşār. *Āyīna-yi Mīrās̱*, New Series 1:4 (1382 [2003-4]), pp. 145-184; Āzhand, Yaʿḳūb. *Ṣādiḳī Bayg Afshār.* Tehran: Amīr Kabīr Kitābhā-yi Jībī, 1386 [2007 or 2008]. See also: *idem.* "Ān tabrīzī-yi tang-ḥawṣila ki nādira-yi dawrān būd." *Iṭṭilāʿ-risānī va kitābdārī: kitāb-i māh-i tārīḫ va cuġḥrāfiyā* 37-38 (1379), pp. 12-16.

[15] Kaziev, A. Yu. *Ganun ös-sövär: traktat o zhivopisi.* Baku: Izd-vo Akademii nauk Azerbaidzhanskoi SSR, 1963; see also: *idem.* "O nekotorykh miniaturakh Sadikibeka Afshara i ego traktate i zhivopisi." *Problemy vostokovedeniya* 4-6 (1959-61), pp. 127-130.

[16] Araslı, Həmid. *XVII-XVIII. əsr Azərbaycan ədəbiyyatı tarixi: ali məktəblər üçün dərslik.* Bakı: S.M. Kirov Adına Azərbaycan Dövlət Universiteti, 1956. Regrettably, I have not had access to this publication.

[17] Sadiq Bəy Əfşar. *Məcməül-xəvəs.* Ed. Əkrəm Bağırov. Bakı: Elm, 2008.

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Turkic poems are imitations (*naẓīra*s) of Fużūlī and Navā'ī poems.[18] With this, he partially builds on the work of Cənnət Nağiyeva, who briefly discusses Ṣādiḳī in her work on the reception of Navā'ī's poetry in Azerbaijan.[19] Ṣādiḳī is the subject of a small monograph by Məntigə Muradova, who quite dutifully though without any real analytical input collects and sums up the majority of the available primary sources as well as Russian and Azerbaijani scholarly literature pertaining to Ṣādiḳī.[20]

As has been indicated above, Ṣādiḳī as a litterateur, and particularly his *Concourse,* was known in the Ottoman Empire very early. In fact, several manuscripts of his works have an Ottoman provenance. An outcome of this interest in his oeuvre in Ottoman circles might be that there is an entry dedicated to him in Şemseddin Sami's late 19th-century lexicographical compendium, the *Ḳāmūsü'l-a'lām*.[21] Early Republican Turkish scholarly interest in Ṣādiḳī probably starts with İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan's mention of him in his history of Azerbaijani literature, which was continued, probably with further inspiration from Ḫayyāmpūr's publication of the *Concourse,* with Köprülü's broad but, appropriate in the case of an encyclopaedia entry, sketchy survey of Azeri Turkish literature in 1951, Tourkhan Gandjei's selection of Ṣādiḳī's Turkic poetry in 1971 and Agâh Sırrı Levend's introduction to Turkish literature in 1973.[22] The relatively meager interest Republican Turkish scholarship has shown in Ṣafavid Turkic literature

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[18] Sadiq Bəy Əfşar. *Şeirlər: transfoliterasiya və fotofaksimile.* Ed. Paşa Kərimov. Baku: Elm və Tahsil, 2010. Regrettably, Kərimov's readings are often erroneous. Ṣādiḳī is also included in his anthology of 17th century "Azeri" lyric poetry: *XVII. əsr Azərbaycan lirikası*. Baku: Nurlan, 2008, pp. 51-58.

[19] Nağiyeva, Cənnət. *Azərbaycanda Nəvai.* Baku: "Tural-Ə" Nəşriyat-Poliqrafiya Mərkəzi, 2001, p. 162.

[20] Muradova, Məntigə. *Sadig Bəy Sadiginin Həyat və Yaradıcılığı.* Bakı: Elm, 1999. The book is based on the author's doctoral dissertation. It should be mentioned that there is an unpublished "Candidate" dissertation about the *Concourse* written in Tashkent: Kabulova, Rano V. *Tradicii "Madzhalis un-nafais" Aleshera Navoi v tyurkskoyazychnoi literature.* Tashkent: Akademiya Nauk Uzbekskoi SSR, Institut Yazyka i Literatury imeni A.S. Pushkina, 1979. Unfortunately, I have not had access to this work.

[21] Şemseddin Sāmī. *Ḳāmūsü'l-a'lām.* Istanbul: Mihrān Maṭba'ası, 1888-9, vol. 4, p. 2913. The author is quite well informed, and seems to have had direct access to the *Concourse.*

[22] Ertaylan, İsmail Hikmet. *Azerbaycan Edebiyat Tarihi.* Baku: Azerneşr, 1928; Köprülü, Mehmet Fuat. "Âzeri." *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. I (1951), pp. 118-151; Gandjei, Tourkhan. "Sâdikî-i Afşar'ın Türkçe şiirleri." *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 16 (1971), pp. 19-26; Levend, Agâh Sırrı. *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi.* Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1973, pp. 256-57.

seems to have started to change lately in the case of Ṣādiḳī Beg's Turkic poetry. Recent scholars working on him include, first, Ahmet Kartal, who in his collection of essays on Turco-Iranian cultural and literary relations examines Ṣādiḳī's discussion of Anatolian poets in the *Concourse*. The Ankara-based journal *Turkish Studies* has published three articles about Ṣādiḳī: Mehmet Nuri Çınarcı gives a presentation of Ṣādiḳī's Turkic poetry in the unique copy of his *kulliyāt* housed at Tabriz Central Library; Münevver Tekcan discusses the relationship between the *Concourse* and its stated model, 'Alī Şīr Navā'ī's *Majālis al-nafā'is*; and Serpil Yazıcı Şahin has published Ṣādiḳī's Chaghatay Turkic poems.[23] Even more important, there is a new, though hitherto unpublished edition of the *Concourse* in the form of a Ph.D.-dissertation by Oğuzhan Kuşoğlu. Written in the tradition of Turkish doctoral theses, it surpasses Ḫayyāmpūr's pioneering edition by its comprehensive treatment of the text and its linguistic aspects as well as by working with a broader textual basis; however, similar to Ḫayyāmpūr, Kuşoğlu had no access to the oldest and probably authorial copy of the *Concourse* included in the Tabriz copy of Ṣādiḳī's works.[24] Unfortunately, all this scholarship can be characterized by the lack of a historically informed analytical framework; and the selective prism of nationalism allows Turkish and Azeri scholars to only look at Ṣādiḳī's Turkic works, making them completely ignore his Persian output.

In international western scholarship, it is Ṣādiḳī the painter that has drawn most attention, although reference has been made to his literary works as well. His paintings were listed in the first major exhibition catalogs and studies of Persian art in the late 1920s and early 1930s, such as

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[23] Kartal, Ahmet. *Şiraz'dan İstanbul'a. Türk-Fars Kültür Coğrafyası Üzerine Araştırmalar.* Çağaloğlu, İstanbul: Kriter, 2008; Çınarcı, Mehmet Nuri. "Sâdıkî Afşar'ın Tebriz Milli Kütüphanesindeki Külliyatı ve Türkçe Manzumeleri. *Turkish Studies* 7/3, Summer 2012, pp. 813-835; Tekcan, Münevver. "Sâdıkî Afşar'ın *Mecma'ul-havâs*'ı: Çağatay Türkçesinde yazılmış şâirler tezkiresi." *Turkish Studies* 8/13 Fall 2013, pp. 169-178; Yazıcı Şahin, Serpil. "Sâdıkî Afşar'ın Doğu Türkçesinde Yazılmış Şiirleri." *Turkish Studies* 8/13 Fall 2013, pp. 1645-1741. I thank Prof. Edith Gülçin Ambros of the University of Vienna for the latter three references.

[24] Kuşoğlu, M. Oğuzhan. *Sâdıkî-i Kitâbdâr'ın Mecma'-ü'l-havâs Adlı Eseri (İnceleme-Metin-Dizin).* Istanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi, 2012 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis). Kuşoğlu's work is extremely valuable and I hope it will soon be published. Aside from a lengthy introduction focusing on some of the philological aspects of the work, it contains a complete Modern Turkish translation of the text as well as extensive and excellent indices.

Thomas W. Arnold's study of painting in Islam or Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray's catalog, which may have accompanied the increasing British interest in Iran as a young nation state with a geopolitical significance and oil reserves.[25] This trend continued in the 1960s with surveys like Stchoukine's of painting under Shah 'Abbās and the later Ṣafavids, or John Seyller's of the imperial Mughal library.[26] Basil William Robinson treats several of Ṣādiḳī's paintings in a couple of articles; and Bailey Gauvin and Robert Skelton analyze Ṣādiḳī's experimentation with imitating Western art.[27] Luckily, there are two excellent studies that contextualize Ṣādiḳī in Ṣafavid art: one is the first comprehensive treatment of his life written by Anthony Welch. Relying on Ṣādiḳī's published literary works as well as his paintings and drawings, he gives an excellent survey of his pictorial output, which he compares to that of the most celebrated painter of the time, Riżā-yi 'Abbāsī, describing Ṣādiḳī as a veritable Salieri overshadowed by Riżā/Mozart the genius. For our purposes here it is also important what Anthony Welch says about the changes in the nature of art patronage which took place in the late sixteenth century and which can be expanded in the direction of literary patronage. In addition, Welch presents a biography of Ṣādiḳī which, however, needs to be corrected and complemented.[28] Another significant work on Ṣādiḳī's art can be found in Stuart Cary Welch and Martin Dickson's

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[25] Arnold, Thomas W. *Painting in Islam: A Study of the Place of Pictorial Art in Muslim Culture.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928 (repr. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1965), p. 142; Binyon, Laurence and Wilkinson, J.V.S. and Gray, Basil. *Persian Miniature Painting: including a critical and descriptive catalogue of the miniatures exhibited at Burlington House, January-March, 1931.* London: Oxford University Press: Humphrey Milford, 1933, p. 170, #301, 302, 303.

[26] Stchoukine, Ivan. *Les peintures des manuscrits de Shāh Abbās Ier à la fin des Safavīs.* Paris, P. Geuthner, 1964, pp. 76-79; Seyller, John. "The Inspection and Valuation of Manuscripts in the Imperial Mughal Library." *Artibus Asiae* 57 (1997), pp. 243-349.

[27] Robinson, Basil William. "Isma'il II's Copy of the Shahnama." In: *Studies in Persian Art.* London: Pindar Press, 1993-. Vol. II, pp. 290-305; *Iran* 14 (1976), pp. 1-8; *idem.* "Two Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the Marquess of Bute, II". *Ibid.* Vol. II, pp. 319-324; Bailey, Gauvin A. "In the Manner of the Frankish Masters: A Safavid drawing and its Flemish inspiration." *Oriental Art XL* (1994-1995), pp. 29-34; Skelton, Robert. "Ghiyath al-Din 'Ali-yi Naqshband and an episode in the life of Sadiqi Beg." In: *Persian Painting from the Mongols to the Qajars: Studies in honour of Basil W. Robinson.* Ed. Robert Hillenbrand. London; New York: I.B. Tauris in association with The Centre of Middle Eastern Studies, University of Cambridge, 2000, pp. 249-263.

[28] Welch, Anthony. *Artists for the Shah: Late Sixteenth Century Painting at the Imperial Court of Iran.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976. He gives a shorter and condensed form of his main arguments in his entry on Ṣafavid and Qajar art in the *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (*idem.* "Art in Iran ix. Safavid to Qajar Periods." *EIr*).

illustrated monumental study of the *Houghton Shahnameh*, which, aside from presenting the largest pictorial book project of the Ṣafavids, contains a detailed analysis as well as an annotated translation of the *Canon*.[29] Martin Dickson seems to have had interests in Ṣādiḳī that extended beyond what has been published in the *Houghton Shahnameh*, as is evidenced by his archive with two files stored at the Joseph Regenstein Library at the University of Chicago, but he never got around to transform them into a separate study. In an interesting development of Ṣādiḳī studies, Eleanor Sims has been led by the extensive variations in Ṣādiḳī and Riżā's style to suggest that in both cases some of the paintings and drawings attributed to them might actually come from other masters.[30] Finally, Ṣādiḳī is included as a source and example in Nomi Heger's dissertation on *The Status and the Image of the Persianate Artist*.[31]

Ṣādiḳī has found his way into the basic bio-bibliographical manuals of Persian Literature, notably Storey's *Persian Literature* as well as Bregel's update of it on the one hand, and into the two most important philological manuals for Turkic literature, on the other hand: both János Eckmann in his overview of Chaghatay Turkic literature in the *Fundamenta* and H.F. Hofman in his bio-bibliographical survey cover him to the extent the framework and genre of their respective study and the information available at the time they wrote allowed, both of them treating him as part of the Chaghatay Turkic literary tradition.[32]

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[29] Dickson, Martin Bernard and Welch, Stuart Cary. *The Houghton Shahnameh*. Cambridge, MA & London, England: Harvard University Press, 1981, vol. 1, pp. 259-269. As Dickson's archive contains two files dedicated to Ṣādiḳī, Dickson was probably planning a larger treatment of his life and works, which, however, never materialized. I thank Professor Cornell H. Fleischer for drawing my attention, and Marlis Saleh, Bibliographer for Middle Eastern Studies at the Joseph Regenstein Library, for giving me access, to the Dickson papers.

[30] This problem cannot be fully developed in the framework of the present dissertation, though later on I will cite hitherto unknown references from Ṣādiḳī's literary works, confirming that *The Annunciation to the Virgin*, the imitation of a Dutch engraving, was certainly painted by him. Sims, Eleanor. *Peerless Images: Persian Painting and Its Sources*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002, pp. 70-72. I am grateful to Iván Szántó for the latter reference.

[31] Heger, Nomi. *The Status and the Image of the Persianate Artist*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 1997, p. 131 passim.

[32] Storey, *Persian Literature*, pp. 1335-36; Storey-Bregel, vol. 2, pp. 867-8; Hofman, H.F. *Turkish Literature: a bio-bibliographical survey*. Utrecht: University of Utrecht under the auspices of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great

One of the few analytical discussions and attempts at the historical contextualization of Ṣādiḳī's literary output comes from James Reid.[33] In his experiment in using socio-psychology in the case of a couple of works written in Ṣafavid times, Reid claims that the *Canon*, claiming that it is a unique "confessional document" about how Ṣādiḳī turned from a Qizilbash warrior into an artist during a crisis of identity confusion and "psychosocial moratorium;" a person in crisis either developed or slid deep into it, and Reid thinks that Ṣādiḳī made this state into a lifelong quest.[34] While Reid is certainly onto something when he emphasizes the significance of Ṣādiḳī's career turn from a Qizilbash into a major painter, he regrettably bases this thesis about Ṣādiḳī on flimsy evidence—essentially one or two couplets from the *Canon* and a passage from Iskandar Munṣī to be discussed further below—shrouded in annoying jargon, leaving the reader at times puzzled as to what Reid actually wants to say.[35] Moreover, as we shall see below, Ṣādiḳī was not the only known Qizilbash to have turned to painting, and there were others who also received training and/or pursued careers in areas traditionally reserved for the Iranian segment of the elite, such as administration, literature and calligraphy. Far more important work on Ṣādiḳī's literary and especially his Turkic output was carried out by the aforesaid Tourkhan Gandjeï in a couple of pioneering articles that respectively deal with Turkic language in Ṣafavid Iran, Ṣādiḳī's life and works, as well as his Turkic poetry.[36]

Britain and Ireland, 1969, Section III, Part 1, vol. 5, pp. 273-277; Eckmann, János. "Die Tschaghataische Literatur." In: *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta.* Ed. Louis Bazin et al., Wiesbaden, Aquis Mattiacis & Francis Steiner, p. 370.

[33] Reid, James J. *Studies in Safavid Mind, Society, and Culture.* Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2000, 100-109.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 106.

[35] For a devastating review of the work, see: Matthee, Rudi. *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin* 35:2 (2001), pp. 239-240.

[36] Gandjeï, Tourkhan. "Sâdikî-i Afşar'ın Türkçe şiirleri." *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 16 (1971), pp. 19–26; "Turkish in the Safavid Court of Iran." *Turcica* 21-23 (1991), pp. 311-318; "Zabān-i turkī dar durbār-i ṣafaviyya dar Isfahān." *Tribun* 4 (1999), (http://kitablar.org/details.php?book_id=771, last accessed on June 27, 2016); "Notes on the Life and Work of Ṣādiqī: A Poet and Painter of Ṣafavid Times." *Der Islam* 52 (1975), pp. 112–118. According to his own statement, Gandjei intended to publish the entire *Kulliyāt*, but this plan regretfully never materialized. I am indebted to Evrim Binbaş of Royal Holloway for his help by graciously taking his time and going through the Gandjeï *Nachlass* stored at SOAS Library and verifying this information.

A cantankerous, "panther-like" artist: Ṣādiḳī Beg in pre-modern literature

The researcher is lucky when wishing to write Ṣādiḳī's biography, for aside from the aforelisted scholarship, s/he has at his or her disposal Ṣādiḳī's own preface to his *Kulliyāt*, his statements and remarks pertaining to his life found in the *Concourse*, the *Canon* and other literary works in his oeuvre, and Ṣādiḳī is fairly visible in the biographical literature and chronicles of his time, too. In what follows, first I will analyze the reception history of his life and oeuvre as reflected in two chronicles and the biographical literature of the time, which will be followed by his reception history in Indo-Persian biographies. Arguably, these works reflected—and probably to a much more limited sense, dictated—contemporary taste; their analysis can shed light on how and why Ṣādiḳī Beg has taken up the position he now has in Persianate literary culture. I will later supplement and contrast the information thus gained with his autobiographical preface to his *Kulliyāt* as well as other information gleanable from his works.

We have biographical accounts of Ṣādiḳī at our disposal in the following sources:

1. Ḳāżī Aḥmad, *Gulistān-i hunar*, 1005/1596-7
2. Taḳī Awḥadī, *'Arafāt al-'āşiḳīn va 'araṣāṭ al-'ārifīn*, 1022-1024/1613-15
3. Iskandar Beg Turkmen Munşī, *Ālamārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, 1616 or 1038/1628-29
4. Shah Ḥusayn Sīstānī, *Ḫayr al-bayān*, 1036/1627-8
5. Vālih Iṣfahānī, *Ḫuld-i barīn*, 1078/1667
6. Naṣrābādī, *Taẕkira-yi Naṣrābādī*, 1083-1091/1672-1680
7. Bindrāban Dās "Ḫʷaşgū, *Safīna-yi Ḫʷaşgū,* 1137-47/1724-35
8. 'Alī Ḳulī Vālih Dāġistānī, *Taẕkira-yi riyāẕ al-şu'arā*, 1161/1748-9
9. Mardān 'Alī Khan "Mubtalā", *Muntaḫab al-aş'ār,* 1161/1748
10. Luṭf-'Alī Beg Āẕar, *Ātaşkada*, 1174-1193/1760-1779
11. 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khan, *Ḫulāṣat al-kalām* (1198/1784)
12. Aḥmad 'Alī Khan Sandilavī, *Maḫzan al-ġarā'ib*, 1217/1802-03
13. Muḥammad Ḳudrat Allāh Gūpāmavī, *Taẕkira-yi natā'ij al-afkār,* ca. 1812-24
14. Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan, *Şam'-i anjuman* 1292/1875

Ṣādiḳī's life can be culled from these sources in a few words as follows: he came from the Afšār tribe of the Qizilbash. He was first a dervish and then received training in painting from one of the most celebrated masters of book illustration of the time, Muẓaffar 'Alī, but these could also have happened in a reversed order. He was employed on the staff of the atelier of Shah Ismā'īl II (984-985/1576-78) and later became the head of the atelier of 'Abbās I. Most of these sources are aware that he was both a painter and a poet and some of the earlier ones are quite explicit about Ṣādiḳī being a difficult, cantankerous person.

The majority of these accounts can be found in biographical anthologies of poets or *taẕkira*s. A genre peculiar to the Persianate literary tradition, these works are usually collections of short biographical vignettes complemented by quotes from the poets they list. Although the first extant work of the genre is Awfī's *Lubāb al-albāb* from the 13th century, continuity in the tradition only dates from the late fifteenth century, the Timurid period. It is the Timurid *taẕkira* that proved paradigmatical for the genre and came to be the inspiration for the Ottoman, Ṣafavid and Mughal *taẕkira* tradition.

*Taẕkira*s are notorious in scholarship for their conventional, formulaic and often sketchy nature. There is undoubtedly some truth to this, and taking them at face value and reading them uncritically might yield few and repetitive results, but dismissing them in their entirety is also wrong; fortunately, there is an increasing scholarly interest in the genre which offers bases for a critical methodology to broach it, especially regarding its real or putative role in literary canon formation or how it reflected phenomena related to taste, patronage and reception.[37] We will

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[37] It was Walter Andrews and Paul Losensky who first subjected the *taẕkira* of poets to critical, comparative reading and came up with complex, inspiring results (Andrews, Walter G. *The Tezkere-i Şu'arā of Latifi as a Source for the Critical Evaluation of Ottoman Poetry* (PhD thesis). Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 1970; Losensky, Paul E. (Paul Edward). *Welcoming Fighānī: Imitation and Poetic Individuality in the Safavid-Mughal Ghazal.* Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda Publishers, 1998). See also: Kim, Sooyong. *Minding the Shop: Zati and the Making of Ottoman Poetry in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century.* Chicago: The University of Chicago, 2005; Kuru, Selim S. "The literature of Rum: The making of a literary tradition (1450–1600)." In: *The Cambridge History of Turkey. Volume 2:*

come back to the *taẕkira* as a genre in our analysis of Turkic poets in Ṣādiḳī's *Concourse* in the next chapter.

The accounts in the abovementioned sources are important not only for their information about Ṣādiḳī's life but also as the main elements of the reception history of his works, the more so as Ṣādiḳī's own biographical records have hitherto been but partially known to scholars. Accounts 1 to 4 were written by Ṣādiḳī's contemporaries, while accounts 5 to 13 show the continuity of the biographical tradition about him well into the 19th century. Elusive as they might be, one can sometimes see parallel features in the discourse about Ṣādiḳī as present in the sources about him and his literary works. I will try to show how his attempt at representation in his works, the image he tried to project did or did not match his image in the biographical tradition, an approach related to the analysis of taste, reception and patronage. It is thus instructive to quote Paul Losensky's views on how it is possible to read biographical vignettes in *taẕkira*s and the poetic reception of a poet in a parallel way:

> "[…] a comparative, critical reading of these *taẕkirahs* may also serve as a prelude to some of the methodological and conceptual problems that will occupy the later chapters of this book. In studying how later biographies quote, elaborate, condense, criticize and

The Ottoman Empire as a World Power, 1453-1603. Ed. Suraiya N. Faroqhi and Kate Fleet. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 548-592. It is especially Losensky's work that inspires the biographical parts of the present dissertation. See also Zeynep Altok's polemical and thought-provoking discussion in her "Âşık Çelebi ve Edebî Kanon." In: Aynur, Hatice and Niyazioğlu, Aslı (ed). *Âşık Çelebi ve Şairler Tezkiresi Üzerine Yazılar*. Istanbul: Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2011, pp. 117-132. She claims that only from the late 16th century should we see Ottoman specimens of the genre of the biographical anthology of poets as documents and instruments of canonization, the latter concept being connected to a greater level of institutionalization. Also instructive is Mana Kia's approach, who suggests that the *taẕkira* as a genre be uderstood as commemorative compendium instead of biographical dictionary, for this "[…] can show us something about the cultural and social contexts of their authors in a way that is less deppendent on, but still mindful of, the value of the factual content of the entries. *Tazkereh* authors, as poets themselves, include and represent certain past and present poets as part of an imagined community, a cultural community of ancestors and peers, that transcended shared origins or homelands as they were conceived of in the eigteenth century. This cultural community transcended actual acquaintance, political loyalties, social ties (such as those between teacher and student), and ethnic commonalities (genealogical and broader tribal groupings) to create lineages based on poetic sensibilities, which defined the *tazkereh* author himself" (Kia, Mana. "Imagining Iran before Nationalism: Geocultural Meanings of Land in Azar's *Atashkadeh*." In *Rethinking Iranian Nationalism and Modernity: Histories, Historiographies*. Ed. Kamran Aghaie and Afshin Marashi. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011, p. 90.

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rework the accounts of their predecessors, we find many of the same intertextual processes that are at work in the response poems. These processes define and organize the interpretative and poetic discourses that developed around Fighānī's life and works. They made it possible for later writers to revise and adapt earlier works, to accommodate changes in the cultural and social environment and to express their individual interests and insights."[38]

Let us see first Ḳāżī Aḥmad's entry on Ṣādiḳī in the former's biographical anthology of painters and calligraphers entitled *Gulistān-i hunar*:

"Ṣādiḳī Beg belongs to the Afshār tribe (*oymaq*). In painting and portraiture he is unequaled and unrivaled. At present the office of librarian of the king [with the qualities of] Lord of the Auspicious Conjunction, World-conqueror and shadow of God is conferred upon him. He composes very good poetry; there exist many *ḳaṣīda*s, *ḳiṭ'a*s, ghazals and *rubā'ī*s by him. In painting, the harmony of colors (*rang-āmīzī*) and portraiture he is a special master. In the drawing of *taksīr* he reached such a level that men of clear vision are amazed and astonished in contemplating his work. Neither in gallantry and bravery does he regard himself inferior to the champions of the time." [39]

Ḳāżī Aḥmad's account is a laudation written for the royal litterateur and painter; this is unsurprising, for at the time Ḳāżī Aḥmad was writing Ṣādiḳī was at the height of his career, heading the atelier of Shah 'Abbās. Nonetheless, the main elements of Ṣādiḳī's image—painting, poetry and military prowess—are in place. He praises Ṣādiḳī's pictorial and poetic talents, noting his excellence in the harmony of colors, portraiture and richness of detail on the one hand, and in *ḳaṣīda, ḳiṭ'a, ghazal* and *rubā'ī*, on the other hand. Inasmuch as the biographical part of the

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[38] Losensky, *Welcoming Fighānī*, p. 21.

[39] Ḳumī, Aḥmad b. Mīr Munşī. *Gulistān-i hunar*. Ed. Aḥmad Suhaylī Ḫwānsārī. Tehran: Bunyād-i Farhang-i Iran, 1973, pp. 152-153. My translation is a modified version of Minorsky, Vladimir. *Calligraphers and Painters. A treatise by Qādī Aḥmad, son of Mīr-Munshī, circa A.H. 1015/A.D. 1606.* Washington: [?], 1959, p. 191. Minorsky is wrong to suggest, though he does voice his doubts, the translation 'detail' for the word *taksīr*. In fact, *taksīr* was a widely practiced technique in letter magic. For Ḳāżī Aḥmad's work, see Storey, *Persian Literature*, vol. 1, pp. 1073-75, 1279-80; Gulçīn-i Ma'ānī, *Tārīḫ*, vol. 2, pp. 708-732; Eslami, Kambiz. "Golestan-e honar." *EIr*. For *taksīr* see the entry *taksīr* in the *Luġatnāma*; Melvin-Koushki, Matthew. *The Quest for a Universal Science: The Occult Philosophy of Ṣā'in al-Dīn Turka Iṣfahānī (1369-1432) and Intellectual Millenarianism in Early Timurid Iran* (unpublished Ph.D.-thesis). New Haven: Yale University, 2012, p. 255, n. 308, where he cites Ḥāji Ḫalīfa's *Kaşf al-Zunūn*, vol. 2, p. 1475.

Gulistān-i hunar covers the pictorial and bookmaking scene of the Timurid and Ṣafavid periods up to the end of the 16th century with lavish royal and princely patronage in these times going into painting and calligraphy, Ṣādiḳī's inclusion in the work is a powerful statement that he was seen as a major representative of the continuity between the two eras, a point for which we will see parallels in Ṣdiḳī's oeuvre.[40]

Ḳāżī Aḥmad's approbation is in great contrast with Taḳī Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Awḥadī's much more detailed, nuanced and at places highly critical entry on Ṣādiḳī in his monumental biographical anthology of poets entitled *'Arafāt al-'āṣiḳīn va 'araṣāṭ al-'ārifīn*. Probably due to its sheer size as well as the fact that it has only recently been published, Awḥadī's important account has hitherto been neglected in the scholarship dedicated to Ṣādiḳī.[41] Born in Isfahan in 973/1565 into a family with Sufi traditions from Balyān in Fars, Awḥadī was a poet and anthologist. He first became part of 'Abbās's court soon after the shah's succession in 996/1588, but in 1003/1594-5 he retired to the 'Atabāt in Iraq for six years, and left for India in 1015/1606 as one of the many Iranian literati who migrated to Mughal India in search of patronage and position. After a short stay in Lahore, he ended up in Agra at the court of Jahāngīr, but he also spent a long time at Aḥmadābād in Gujarat. His death date is not known, but he must have been alive in 1042/1632-3, which is the latest date he mentions in the additions to his biographical anthology. He completed the *'Arafāt* between 1022/1613 and 1024/1615 with over 3,000 entries, many of them quite lengthy ones. In 1036/1626, he produced an abridged version at

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[40] Ḳāżī Aḥmad's and Awḥadī's (see further below) are the only accounts to mention Ṣādiḳī's expertise in occultism and consequently, geomancy. Regrettably, at this point it would be difficult to develop this motif further than remarking that occultism was a major intellectual discourse and practice in the Islamic world at least until the age of colonialism and the advent of modern science (cf. Melvin-Koushki, *The Quest for a Universal Science*).
[41] Only Falsafī mentions it in his voluminous monograph on Shah 'Abbās (Falsafī, Naṣr Allāh. *Zindigānī-yi Ṣāh 'Abbās-i avval.* [Tehran]: Çāp-i Kayhān, 1334-1352 [1956-1973], vol. 2, pp. 54, 72).

the request of Jahāngīr.[42] Of course, by the time of its composition in 1022-1024/1613-15 Ṣādiḳī had lost his position as head of ʿAbbās's royal atelier and his prestige may well have been considerably tarnished, and he had been dead for some 4 years. Here is Awḥadī's account of Ṣādiḳī:

"A magician who paints like Mānī and whose pen works wonders, a Sufi [*rind*] who has left himself behind, a drunkard in quarrel with every creature, Ṣādiḳī Beg, head of the library and a painter. Writing [*taḥrīr*] has made the marks of his reed brilliant like the locks of a bride; recital [*taḳrīr*] has made the ornaments and pearls [of his rhetoric] shine like the ruby [-like lips] of moonlike beauties. For a time during the reign of Shah ʿAbbās he was honored with the office of headship of the library until the calligrapher Mawlānā ʿAlī Riżā-yi ʿAbbāsī took it over from him in an aggressive manner [*amr-an jabr-an ḳahr-an*]. Ṣādiḳī Beg had high intelligence and copious understanding. He pursued most of the occult arts and various crafts [*ṣanāyiʿ-i ġarība va hunarhā-yi mutafarriḳa*], and he wrote a biographical anthology in which he presented the poetry of Persian-speaking poets. He wrote and prosified it in Turkic; he himself was a Turk from the tribe [*oymaḳ*] of the Afşār.

In the beginning, he was wandering around barefoot for some time like a Qalandar dervish [*ḳalandar-vār*]. He received favors from every direction and sought perfection. Verily, he was quite aggressive [*palang-ḫūy*], self-conceited and vainglorious. He wrote about Fayżī a pamphlet [*Sahw al-lisānī*] similar to the one Şarīf [had written against] Lisānī. The reason was that Fayżī had not sent him souvenirs from India when he dispatched gifts to some notables [in Persia]. He lived about eighty-five years. At this time, that is, in the year 1022/1613-14, news of his death has been heard. He possessed talent in everything, but in painting he was [particularly] luminary. He was especially a master in designing and sketching pictures [*majlis-sāzīhā va ṭarḥ-andāzīhā*]. He made a lot of efforts in poetry as well, composing in various genres. In the end, he received [divine] help to write a narrative poem [*maṣnavī*] in the meter of the *Shāhnāma.* By God, he had good couplets in that book.

In poetry, he was a pupil of Mawlānā Lisānī. He was very learned. With strangely hard work, he imitated all the arts of refined subtleties and rhetorical curiosities. However, he was bereft of apparent virtues. I saw him at the end of his life, when he was almost eighty-five years old; he was reading the *Taṣrīf* and the *Kāfiya* by Zanjānī and translating it into Persian.[43] What I mean is that he was a seeker until his last breath and that he was trying to make up for the days gone by in any way possible. Mīr Ilāhī Hamadānī wrote the following chronogram on his death:

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[42] De Brujin, J.T.P. "Taḳī Awḥadī." *EI²*. Cf. also: Gulçīn-i Maʿānī, *Taʾrīḫ-i taẕkirahā-yi fārsī*, vol. 2, pp. 1-24, 33-6; Shams, Mohammad Javad. "Balyānī, Awḥad al-Dīn." *Encyclopaedia Islamica*.

[43] Reference to al-Zanjānī's treatise on Arabic morphology *Kitāb al-taṣrīf* written in ca. 625/1228 and the second part (on rhyme taxonomy) of his *Kitāb miʿyār al-nuẓẓār fī ʿulūm al-aṣʿār* ("al-Zandjānī." *EI²*).

Digar ‘ajab ki damad ṣubḥ-i ṣādiḳ az şab-i mā
'Afterwards it is strange that the truthful dawn comes after our night."[44]
(1018/1609-10)

While the distance from the intrigues and personal rivalries of the Ṣafavid court could

have provided Awḥadī with a neutral, unbiased stance, the fact that he was writing for the court

of Jahāngīr (1605-1627) naturally impacted his attitude. Awḥadī is highly critical of Ṣādiḳī as a

poet, though he has great esteem for him as a painter. Contrary to Ḳāẕī Aḥmad, Awḥadī feels free

to comment on Ṣādiḳī's character. He seems knowledgeable about him, but at times he makes

obvious errors either because he misremembers or because he might only have had secondary

access to the information he actually gives. For example, he cannot have consulted Ṣādiḳī's

Concourse itself or may have had only access to parts thereof, for he erroneously claims that it

merely features Persophone poets, apparently not knowing that there is a separate chapter in it

dedicated to Turkophone ones. Further, Awḥadī presents Ṣādiḳī's life, although without giving

particulars, as progress from the wandering dervish to the litterateur and painter with the help of

studying and patronage, which, as we shall further below, is similar to Ṣādiḳī's own self-image.

Awḥadī also mentions the strife between Ṣādiḳī and ‘Alī Riżā-yi ‘Abbāsī, the chief calligrapher

at ‘Abbās' court, which must have been a hot topic and food for gossip in Ṣafavid court circles.

We will come back to it later in this chapter. The theme that Ṣādiḳī was aggressive or

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[44] Awḥadī Balyānī, Taḳī al-Dīn. *Tazkira-yi ‘arafāt al-‘āşiḳīn va ‘araşāt al-‘ārifīn*. Tehran: Intişārāt-i Asāṭīr, 1388 [2009], #1691, vol. 4, pp. 2123-27. On Taḳī Awḥadi, see: de Brujin, J.T.P. "Taḳī Awḥadī." *EI²*. See also: Gulçīn-i Ma‘ānī, Aḥmad. *Tārīḫ-i tazkirahā-yi fārsī*. Tehran: Dānişgāh-i Tihrān, 1348-1350 [1969-1971], vol. 2, pp. 1-24, 33-36; Storey, *Persian Literature*, vol. I/2, pp. 808-11, vol. III/1, pp. 25-26. "Sincere dawn" (*ṣubḥ-i ṣādiḳ*) is an untranslatable word-pun with Ṣādiḳī's name. The author of the chronogram on Ṣādiḳī's death, Mīr Ilāhī Hamadānī (d. 1063/1652-3), was a poet and biographer of some note, who emigrated ca. 1033/1624 to India. Unfortunately, I have not yet had access to either his unpublished *Dīvān* or his biographical anthology, and thus I am unable to tell with full certainty which of them contains the chronogram. Although the Lucknow copy of the latter, according to Sprenger, contains no entry on Ṣādiḳī, it is still possible that some of its copies might have contained one (Storey, vol. 1, Part II, pp. 815-6; Mir Imaduddin Ilahi Hamadani. *Tazkira-e-Ilahi*. Ed. Abdul Haq. New Delhi: National Mission for Manuscripts, 2013; Sprenger, Aloys. *A Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Hindústány Manuscripts, of the Libraries of the King of Oudh*. Calcutta: J. Thomas, 1854, pp. 66-87).

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cantankerous (viz. *palang-ḫūy*, literally, 'with the character of a panther') and difficult to get along with can be seen in later accounts, too, but those seem to be based on Iskandar Munšī. Awḥadī, however, does not present it as a natural trait of the Qizilbash Turk or as a reason for Ṣādiḳī's dismissal from his office but in the context of Ṣādiḳī's literary attack on Fayżī.

Awḥadī describes Ṣādiḳī as an industrious but not too talented, unimaginative poet. He mentions how multifarious his literary oeuvre is with works in many genres and that Ṣādiḳī kept up his literary and scholarly pursuits to the end of his life, translating grammatical and rhetorical works from Arabic into Persian. Remarkably, he says that Ṣādiḳī tarnished his reputation by writing a pamphlet against Fayżī. Awḥadī attributes the composition to Ṣādiḳī taking umbrage at Fayżī's neglect to include him in the list of prominent people he sent gifts to in Persia. While the story may or may not be true, as it will turn out, this criticism is better to be understood as a conflict between two schools of poetry that were in vogue at the time. One of the most prominent poets and statesmen at the court of Akbar in Mughal Delhi and brother to the historian Abū al-Fażl 'Allāmī, Fayżī (1547-1595) was a major representative of the "fresh style" (*tāza-gū'ī*) of Persian poetry.[45] Awḥadī himself was a great admirer as well as practitioner of this new poetic style which was greatly promoted in Mughal India, and the true popularity of which started towards the late sixteenth-early seventeenth century; therefore, his critique is based on a new aesthetics that distanced him from the so-called *vuḳū'-gū'ī* ('the "realist" school), a secondary follower of which he considered Ṣādiḳī, regarding him to be a pupil of Lisānī of Shiraz.[46] In sum, we can see in Awḥadī's account of Ṣādiḳī the story of the Qizilbash whose journey is also the acquisition of Persianate learning and letters.

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[45] Bazmee Ansari, A.S. "Fayżī." *EI²*; Rahman, Munibur. "Fayżī, Abu'l-Fayż." *EIr*.
[46] Later we will return to the subject of Ṣādiḳī's place in Persian poetry and his treatment of Fayżī.

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Similar to Ḳāżī Aḥmad's, a highly positive account of Ṣādiḳī can be found in Shah Ḥusayn b. Malik Ġiyās al-Dīn Maḥmūd Sīstānī's unpublished biographical anthology entitled *Ḫayr al-bayān*, begun in 1017/1608-9, completed in 1019/1610, revised in 1035/1625-6 and in 1036/1626-7, and dedicated to Shah 'Abbās I:[47]

"Ṣādiḳī Beg is from among the grandees of the Afşār tribe [*oymaḳ*]. He did not waste a single moment in the acquisition of merits [*ḥays̱īyāt*] and is now the assemblage of awes [*jāmi' al-ḫaṣīyāt*]. He has a high rank in arts and marvels [*ṣanāyi' va badāyi'*]. Whatever excellent thing was brought as a present or gift from the countries of the world before His Noblest Majesty [*navāb-i aşraf*, i.e. 'Abbās - F.Cs.], he produced a better one after merely looking at it. The elegance of his painting and the movement of his pen erased the pictures of Mānī and the *Arzhang* from the page of imagination. With his subtle pen he depicted such images that the tongue of the reed is unable to describe them. In his early life, he put on the robes of a wandering dervish [*ḳalandarī*], but eventually His Majesty made him shed those clothes, appointing him the chief librarian of his noble court [*kitābdār-i sarkār-i ḫāṣṣā-yi şarīfa*]. The patterns on the carpets [*ṭarḥ-i ḳālīn*] of his majesty, the paintings on his buildings and the plasterwork on his houses are from pictures that Ṣādiḳī designed. In general, the extict old style of his designs on the page of time remains in the memory of artists. He spent most of his time with poetry. Painting the pictures of his thoughts on the tablets of discourse, he brought them to the surface of manifestation. The poetry of this specialty of the age is comprised of ghazals, *ḳaṣīda*s and a twenty thousand-couplet long *mas̱navī*."

Just like for Ḳāżī Aḥmad, for Shah Ḥusayn, Ṣādiḳī is the paragon of the accomplishments of 'Abbās's artistic vision. He could have featured Ṣādiḳī in the part of the biographical anthology that is about poets born halfway into the reign of Ṭahmāsp, which would be true, but instead, Ṣādiḳī is squarely presented as an artist and poet of the reign of 'Abbās without any mention of his part in court rivalries or his dismissal. Shah Ḥusayn shows painting and poetry as the two complementary sides of Ṣādiḳī's genius, a stance that, as we shall see later, Ṣādiḳī also

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[47] British Library, Or. 3397, microfilm, foll. 370b-371a. On this and another copy (Or. 4510) at the British Library, see: Rieu, Charles. *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum.* London: British Museum, 1895, nos. 108-109, pp. 76-78; Storey, vol. I, part 2, no. 1117, pp. 813-814. See also: Gulçīn-i Ma'ānī, *Tārīḫ-i taẕkirahā-yi fārsī,* vol. 1, pp. 605-609; Ḫʷaşḫāl Dastjirdī, Ṭāhira. "Mu'arrafī va naḳd-i taẕkira-yi Ḫayr al-bayān." *Pizhūhiş-i zabān va adabiyāt-i fārsī* 6 (bahār va tābistān 1385/2006), pp. 113-137, which mentions additional manuscripts.

tried to project about himself. He is depicted as a Qizilbash and a *kalandar* dervish at the beginning of his career, a status from which ʿAbbās elevated him to the level of number-one artist in the realm. As we shall see, Ṣādiḳī's conversion from roaming dervish and Qizilbash Turkmen to elite artist in the service of the imperial vision was an important part of the image in several of the biographical accounts about him as well as his own writings. There is no mention of the fact that he lost his position or that he had other patrons during his career beside ʿAbbās, Ṣādiḳī being described as a court artist in the latter's service. Interestingly, Shah Ḥusayn claims that the style of Ṣādiḳī's designs was extinct [*mansūḫ*] and only remembered by the aristic community, but he was an excellent poet, devoting most of his time to this latter pursuit. While Shah Ḥusayn's emphasis may be due to his work being focused more on poetry and less on the pictorial arts, his description of Ṣādiḳī's allegedly exclusive dedication to ʿAbbās is at great variance with most other sources, including Ṣādiḳī's literary works, that refer to many patrons. Indeed, as we shall see, Ṣādiḳī's career spans a transitional period in the history of Iranian art when the center of art patronage gradually shifted away from the royal court towards the urban, middle echelons of society; and he himself had patrons from among the urban notability, too. Shah Ḥusayn Sīstānī's portrayal of Ṣādiḳī as a court artist is matched by his allegation that Ṣādiḳī's painting style had been extinct or outmoded by the time he was writing the account in the first quarter of the 17th century, when a new style corresponding to new tastes had already arrived. Interestingly, we know that Ṣādiḳī was in the midst of these new developments and indeed, in other accounts, particularly in Naṣrābādī's account in the last quarter of the 17th century, he does feature as an artist of this new epoch who works for a veritable middle-class clientele all across the Persianate world, but we do not find that in the *Ḫayr al-bayān*.

Remarkably, Shah Ḥusayn Sīstānī makes no reference to Ṣādiḳī's Turkic writings. He has nothing against Turkic as a literary idiom in general; indeed, he mentions several Turkophone

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litterateurs elsewhere in his work. He either does not know about Ṣādiḳī's Turkic literary output or does not feel it to be relevant to his image of Ṣādiḳī as the executor of 'Abbās's imperial vision in the pictorial and literary arts.

Ṣādiḳī features in the most prominent chronicle of Ṣafavid times, Iskandar Beg Munşī's *Tārīḫ-i 'ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī*. This is probably the best-known biographical account about him; because of the centrality of the *'Ālam-ārā* in the Ṣafavid historiographical tradition and because it is available in an English translation, practically all modern discussions of Ṣādiḳī's life are based on it. Contrary to Shah Ḥusayn Sīstānī, who features Ṣādiḳī among the poets of the reign of 'Abbās, Iskandar Beg Munşī places Ṣādiḳī among the painters of the reign of Ṭahmāsp, probably on account of the fact that Ṣādiḳī was trained in that period and, more importantly, perhaps because he regarded him as belonging to that by then bygone epoch.[48]

"Ṣādiḳī Beg was a Qizilbash of the Afşār tribe, and a colorful, gifted [*mard-i rangīn ṣāḥib-i tabī'at*] personality. He had chosen the sobriquet Ṣādiḳī. In his early youth he had developed a taste for painting and chose to study night and day under the great master Muẓaffar 'Alī. Muẓaffar 'Alī, noticing that he had signs of real talent and progress, took great trouble with his training. As his disciple, Ṣādiḳī Beg rose to a level of perfection. However, for a time, due to his haughty soul and rebellious character, when there was no demand for painting and things did not turn out the way he wanted them, he gave it up, shed the clothes of love of the external world and went around with the group of the *qalandar* dervish.[49] Emir Khan Mawṣillū, when he was governor of Hamadan, heard about Ṣādiḳī Beg. He made him leave aside his dervish robes and become one of his retainers. He treated him in a humane manner [*bā ū sulūk-i ādamiyāna mī-kard*].[50] Because he had the character of a Turk and the conduct[51] of a Qizilbash, he made much of

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[48] *AAA*, vol. 1, p. 175; *AAA Eng*, vol. 1, pp. 271-2. Though Iskandar Munşī finished the entire work in 1628, the account on Ṣādiḳī can be found in Book 1, which he had completed in 1616. The translation presented here is essentially that of Savory, with my corrections resulting from comparing it with the original and bringing the translation closer to it. Savory's is a good translation, but he intended to produce a readable text at the expense of conveying the rhetorical embellishments of the original. However, here we are also concerned with minor details, wording and style; hence the need for some corrections.

[49] Savory's translation here has the following: *"he had ambitions beyond what was proper in a painter; when things did not turn out the way he wanted them, he gave up painting and went around as a wandering dervish"*. Savory either took this from one of the other two manuscripts he used for his translation or simply oversimplified his text.

[50] Savory's reading, *"In this capacity, Ṣādeqī Beg discharged his duties manfully"*, is clearly wrong here. The subject of this sentence is the same as that of the previous one, i.e. Amīr Khan Mawsillū.

[51] Savory has *background* here, but the word *şīva* is better translated as 'mode, conduct.'

his valor and bravery, and mentioning him was no shame for the champions of the day.[52]
After the accession of Sultan Muḥammad Shah, he entered the service of Badr Khan and
Iskandar Khan Afşār. In the battle with the Turkmen at Astarābād, he performed prodigies
of insane valor. But he never forgot his early training in painting, and eventually made
great progress, becoming a matchless painter, a fine penned draftsman and an
incomparable designer. With his refined [lit. *hair-splitting*] pen, he painted thousands of
astonishing figures for the attention of certain patrons [*bar tavajjuh-i maḳṣūd*]. Being
embellished with the decorum of talent and aptitude, he also dabbled in poetry, and wrote
some agreeable odes, lyrics, and *maṣnavīs*. The following couplets from his *Jangnāma* are
especially good:

While the locust-like arrows were flying
They planted misery in life.

From the force of the back[53] [of the soldiers] the battle axe became
Like a sword against some and like a fist against others.

However, since he was primarily a painter, I did not include him in the list of poets. It is
enough [to include him] here.

In the reign of Ismāʿīl Mīrzā [i.e. Shah Ismāʿīl II], he was on the staff of the royal
library; under Shah ʿAbbas I, he reached the lofty position of librarian, becoming the
subject of favors and patronage [*mawrid-i ṣafḳat va manẓūr-i tarbiyat*]. However, his bad
temper, jealousy, arrogance, and impatience would never leave him to rest from his
egoistic ambitions [*aġrāẓ-i nafsānī*]. Treating friends and peers according to his character,
his bad conduct exceeded moderateness. They bought with their soul his worthless
merchandise which is not valid at the market of worthiness, but he stepped out of the
circle of equity. In his roughness, he exceeded everyone. Therefore, he became distanced
from the carpet of [royal] proximity, and was removed from the aforesaid office. But there
was no change in his rank until his death, and he went on drawing his librarian's salary
from the central *dīvān*."

While Awḥadī's account has most of the key elements—painting, poetry, dervish youth,

and flamboyant but rough character—of Ṣādiḳī's biography as it came down in history, Iskandar

Munṣī's complements it with one additional trait, the military prowess of the Qizilbash warrior,

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[52] The last clause of this sentence is a moot point. Īraj Afşar reads: *şajiʿān-i ān zamān-rā bī-ābrūt* [sic!] *dar namī-āvard*, which Savory renders as 'and in his conceit [he] poured scorn on the champions of the day'. The word spelt as بیابروت is highly problematic. *Bī-ābrū* means 'dishonored, disgraced, degraded,' but the *-t* at the end of the word does not make sense. Hence, I have adopted a reading from two other manuscripts of the *ʿĀlam-ārā*: *şujāʿān-i* [or: *şajiʿān*] *ān zamān-rā yād burdan-aş dar namī-āvard* (Majlis Library, Tehran, no. 8707, fol. 163b; no. 7172, fol. 126a).
[53] Misspelt in Afşar's edition as *zi-rūz-i puşt*; correctly: *zi-zawr-i puşt.*

referring to the painter-poet's bravery.[54] Unlike Awḥadī and Shah Ḥusayn Sīstānī, who struck a balance between Ṣādiḳī as a poet and as a painter, for Iskandar Munṣī, Ṣādiḳī is important first and foremost as a painter and as such does he consider him an important figure in the Ṣafavid cultural project. Though not in a linear fashion, Iskandar Munṣī provides a clear if sketchy biography of Ṣādiḳī: he started painting in his early youth and received training from Muẓaffar 'Alī, one of the most prominent artists of the time. He left the court after Ṭahmāsp terminated art patronage, and took to a wandering dervish's life. Amīr Khan Mawṣillū, then governor of Hamadan, induced him to stop dervish life, giving him patronage at his court, which is at variance with Shah Ḥusayn Sīstānī's emphasis on Ṣādiḳī as a court artist working exlusively for 'Abbās.[55]

The story of the strife between 'Alī Riżā-yi 'Abbāsī and Ṣādiḳī and the former's instrumentality in the latter's loss of his position as the head of the royal atelier is suppressed in Iskandar Munṣī and emphasis is given instead to Ṣādiḳī's difficult character. Aside from the likelihood that there is at least an element of truth in Iskandar Munṣī's portrayal of Ṣādiḳī, there might be several reasons for such an ommission: at the time Iskandar Munṣī was writing his history, 'Alī Riżā-yi 'Abbāsī was still in this position and the chronicler may not have wanted to be too harsh on the ruler's favorite; or else, for the chronicler, Ṣādiḳī's colorful but aggressive image went hand-in-hand with his Qizilbash background; or simply because Awḥadī's work is a biographical anthology of *poets* with emphasis on their poetry, while Iskandar Munṣī wrote a

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[54] That particularly the story of his participation in the Astarābād campaign was very important for his public image as a Qizilbash is born out by a letter he wrote in Chaghatay Turkic. Dedicated probably to his patron, Badr Khan Afşār, it is a recipe for how to prepare the Chinese root or smilax, which was considered an antidote for syphilis. In the short preface to the letter, Ṣādiḳī apologizes for not finding the Persian original, which he claims must have been lost during the troubles in Astarābād (*Kulliyāt*, foll. 507a-b; Malik 6325, foll. 65b-66b).
[55] Savory, Roger. "The *Qizilbāsh,* Education and the Arts." *Turcica* 6 (1976), p. 171, n. 24. From 985/1577 to 992/1584 Amīr Khan Mawṣillū was appointed governor of Tabriz by Muḥammad Khudabanda; in 992/1584 Ḥamza Mīrzā dismissed him, because he was unwilling to participate in a plot to get rid of certain Qizilbash notables. He was imprisoned in Qahqaha and executed in 1585.

chronicle with a biographical section that presents various facets of the proponents and architects of Ṣafavid power, and Ṣādiḳī's contribution as a painter to the Ṣafavid venture was far more visible and uncontroversial for Iskandar Beg than his literary output. Finally and as we shall see it later, the relative scarcity of manuscripts of Ṣādiḳī's literary works does underline the fact that he has come down in history primarily as a painter. However, at this point it is difficult to pinpoint what caused what: was he considered a mediocre litterateur, which shifted his image towards painting, or was it his public image as represented by such critical accounts as Iskandar Munşī's that led to his characterization as a mediocre poet?

Iskandar Munşī's account, which he wrote after Ṣādiḳī's death, is no soft critique of Ṣādiḳī. The latter worked for various other patrons, but the chronicler chose these particular ones. Was there a special reason for this? Or did Iskandar Munşī only want to mention Ṣādiḳī's more prominent patrons? All these patrons of Ṣādiḳī belonged to a past when the Qizilbash were king-makers, a state of affairs Shah ʿAbbās, whose chronicler Iskandar Munşī was and whose new dispensation he was celebrating with his history, sought and managed to fundamentally alter. Perhaps Ṣādiḳī's social background and the fact that he had been patronized by Qizilbash emirs, went hand-in-hand with Iskandar Munşī's portrayal of the master as a difficult person: as a Qizilbash, Ṣādiḳī was brave, but he was tough to get along with.

The next account about Ṣādiḳī to be considered here can be found in Vālih Iṣfahānī's *Ḫuld-i barīn* ('Sublime Paradise') from 1078/1667. The author was a brother of the historiographer and event-recorder Muḥammad Ṭāhir Vāḥid in the vizierate of Khalīfa Sultan.

"Another one of the rarity-producing masters was Ṣādiḳī Beg Afşār whose marvel-painting pen was not only a portrayer of matchless faces but whose reed of eloquent works was also scattering roses on the pages of time by versifying brilliant poems. "Ṣādiḳī" was his penname. At the beginning of the spring of youth and the prime of the flowers of the rose-garden of juvenility, the desire for walking in the ever-blooming

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flower-garden of painting and picturing made him busy with serving Master Muẓaffar 'Alī and occupied him with his service day and night. After ascending to the levels of perfection in this art, because the time is always the enemy of the rarity-producing masters, because the workshop of painting and picturing had no more esteem, and because his affairs were not progressing in this art any more [*madāriş bi-īn kār namī-guẕaşt,* lit. 'his pivot was not revolving in this profession'], he abandoned this job and mixed with dervishes and qalandars, becoming one of them. When he was traveling the world naked without external clothing in the company of *ḳalandars,* Amīr Khan Mawṣillū, the governor of Hamadan found out about his situation and took him out of his clothes of nakedness, making him his day-and-night servant and companion. Although he was a painter by profession, he never descended from his Qizilbash station, and was occupied with the display of agility, heroism, bravery and sword-wielding. Thus, he despaired of happiness and contentment. Finally, during the rule of the ḥāḳān whose dwelling is that of the most eminent ones, Ṣādiḳī returned from the path of Turkishness and chose the service of Iskandar Khan Afşār. At the battle against the Yaḳḳa Turkmen of Astarābād he opened the gates of the acts of foolish bravery in the face of his own time. Eventually, he repented of such foolish acts and came to occupy himself with painting, becoming unique in his time.

When it was Ismā'īl Mīrzā's turn to rule, he took that unique chosen one on the staff of his library. He spent years in civility until the throne of Iran with victorious fortune came under His Majesty the world-conquering khaqan whose abode is like paradise and whose shoulders are [as high as] the Farḳad constellation. Gradually, the mirror of his [i.e. the ruler's - *F.Cs.*] most sacred heart came to reflect his [i.e. Ṣādiḳī's - *F.Cs.*] perfect pictures and he elevated him, honoring him with the position of [royal] librarian. Although he was always the favorite of the one who effects alchemy [i.e. 'Abbās I], because of his bad character and conceitedness that remained with him from the path of Turkishness, no door of the service of proximity to bliss opened for him. However, his wages of librarianship were constant until the end of his life. His poetry is agreeable to the heart and captivates the world. The following couplet about preparation for battle is from his pleasant verses:

> When the locust-like arrows were flying
> They were a curse on the field of life."[56]

The most obvious feature of this account is that it is almost entirely based on Iskandar Munşī. In fact, it seems to be a result of imitative history-writing as defined by Sholeh Quinn.[57] The events Vālih Iṣfahānī narrates are the same, and the verse quoted for illustration is identical

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[56] Vālih Iṣfahānī, Muḥammad Yūsuf. *Khuld-i barīn: Īrān dar rūzgār-i Ṣafavīyān.* Ed. Mīr Hāshim Muḥaddiṯ. Tehran: Mawqūfāt-i Duktur Maḥmūd Afshār Yazdī, 1372 [1993], pp. 468-9. The account is found in the 7th appendix majlis of the second ḥadīḳa. On Vālih Iṣfahānī, cf. Melville, Charles (ed.). *Persian Historiography: A History of Persian Literature.* London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2012, pp. 217-8; Storey-Bregel, vol. 1, pp. 438-440.
[57] Quinn, Sholeh Alysia. *Historical Writing during the Reign of Shah 'Abbas: Ideology, Imitation, and Legitimacy in Safavid Chronicles.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2000.

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to one of the couplets we find in Iskandar Munşī's entry on Ṣādiḳī. Vālih Iṣfahānī follows his model's disregard for chronological order in the narrative: training with Muẓaffar 'Alī - dervish wandering - Amīr Khan Mawṣillū - Iskandar Khan Afṣār - Shah Ismā'īl II - Shah 'Abbās - dismissal.[58] However, Vālih Iṣfahānī's depiction of Ṣādiḳī's personality is much shorter. Probably due to the fact that Vālih Iṣfahānī was writing for an audience the majority of whom, because of the greater historical distance, had no direct experience with Ṣādiḳī's personality, he downplays the harsh critique of Ṣādiḳī's character found in his model. More significantly, he also describes the motifs for Ṣādiḳī's temporary abandonment of painting, but while Iskandar Munşī says the reason was Ṣādiḳī's "haughty soul and rebellious character", the lack of patronage for painting and his consequential career problems, Vālih Iṣfahānī gives the same reasons except that he substitutes the first motif, i.e. Ṣādiḳī's difficult nature, with a sympathetic reference to time as the enemy of the artist.

We find another interesting report in Naṣrābādī's biographical anthology of poets written in 1083-1091/1672-1680.[59]

"Ṣādiḳ Beg. He is from the nobles of the Afṣār. He was an intimate in the service of Shah 'Abbās II such that in the end he was honored with the position of librarianship. He had no match in the art of painting and in valor and prowess likewise. He was always disheveled because of his excess of ambition. I have heard the following from the late Mulla Ġurūrī, who was a truthful man [ṣidḳ-andīṣ]: "Once I wrote a qasida in praise of him. I presented it at the café. When I reached the following couplet which praises his literary discourse:

çūn 'arṣa-yi zang u ṣadā-yi zang ast
ṣīt-i sukhan-ash dar jahān-i imkān

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[58] For some unknown reason, Vālih Iṣfahānī omits mentioning Badr Khan among Ṣādiḳī's patron.
[59] Naṣrābādī, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṭāhir. *Taẕkira-yi Naṣrābādī*. Ed. Vaḥīd Dastgirdī. Tihrān: Kitāb′furūshī-yi Furūghī, [1352/1973], pp. 39-41, 290-291; *idem*. Ed. Muḥsin Nājī Naṣrābādī. Tehran: Intishārāt-i Asāṭir, 1378, pp. 56-7. On the author, see: Fotoohi, Mahmoud. "Taẕkera-ye Naṣrābadi." *EIr*, and the sources cited therein, especially: Gulčīn-i Ma'ānī, *Tārīḫ*, vol. 1, pp. 397-304.

> The fame of his discourse in the incidental world
> Is like a rusty surface and cry [or rust] of rust.

> He took the copy from me, saying, 'My patience cannot take more of hearing this', and left. A minute later he came back and gave me 5 tumans wrapped in a cloth together with 2 pages which he had drawn on with black ink. He said, 'Merchants buy my drawings for 3 tumans apiece, so they can take them to India. God forbid that you sell cheap.' And he took his leave. Put shortly, he was unique in his time in every field. He versified some of the ġazā wars of Shah 'Abbas."

This account is even further removed from Ṣādiḳī's lifetime than Vālih Iṣfahānī's. Though at the end of the entry there is reference to the *'Abbāsnāma*, Ṣādiḳī is depicted primarily as a painter. While the essential elements of tribal affiliation (in its widespread version) and the dichotomy of military prowess and artistic talents are there, the description of his personality is schematic, without any concrete illustrative example. However, the report taken from Mullā Ġurūrī, who died some time at the end of Shah Ṣafī's rule, is an extremely important reflection on patronage given to the arts—and implicitly, literature— in the period, a topic to which we will return further below. At this point it is difficult to give a definite answer to the question why it is Ṣādiḳī's *'Abbāsnāma* that Naṣrābādī quotes, but we might remark that in this he follows his predecessors including Shah Ḥusayn-i Sīstānī, Iskandar Munṣī and Vālih Iṣfahānī.[60] Be that as it may, Ṣādiḳī's fame as a painter endured unabated at the Ṣafavid court; for example, his name appears in the roster of the painters included in Muḥammad Vaḥīd Ṭāhir Ḳazvīnī's (d. 1110/1698) *Tārīḫ-i jahān-ārā-yi 'abbāsī*.[61]

As is well known, there was a flourishing lexicographic tradition on the Subcontinent, dating back to the time of the Delhi Sultanate. Under the Mughals, lexicography experienced a

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[60] Naṣrābādī, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṭāhir. *Taẕkira-yi Naṣrābādī*. Ed. Vaḥīd Dastgirdī. Tihrān: Kitābʹfurūshī-yi Furūghī, [1352/1973], pp. 39-41, 290-291; *idem.* Ed. Muḥsin Nājī Naṣrābādī. Tehran: Intishārāt-i Asāṭir, 1378, pp. 56-7. Cf. also: Storey, vol. 1, part 2, pp. 818-21.

[61] Muḥammad Vaḥīd Ṭāhir Ḳazvīnī. *Tārīḫ-i jahān-ārā-yi 'abbāsī*. Ed. Saʿīd Mīr Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ. Tehran: Pizhūhashgāh-i 'Ulūm-i Insānī va Muṭalaʿāt-i Farhangī, 1383/2004, p. 78.

new upsurge of patronage, the influence of which trickled down to the lower echelons of society. Persianate learning was in general central to the Mughal elite's cultural outlook, but lexicography truly seems to have assumed new dimensions. As has been put by John Perry, "[b]y the latter part of the 13th/19th century, Persianate lexicography had become a cottage industry, and in educated court circles, virtually an obsession."[62] Indeed, early modern Indian lexicography is so vast that one could argue that its sheer volume statistically guarantees that no Persophone poet goes unnoticed. As the following lexicographers seem to have used previous lexicographers' works, henceforth the story of the Ṣādiḳī reception has probably more to do with the mutual relationship between these works and anthologies than with actual knowledge about or direct consultation of his oeuvre or parts thereof, though there are instances where the lexicographer may have had access to materials unknown to his models. The next account to be considered here is from ʿAlī Ḳulī Vālih Dāġistānī's *Taẕkira-yi riyāẕ al-şuʿarā* completed in 1161/1748-9 in Mughal India, probably during the reign of Aḥmad Shah Bahādur:[63]

> "Ṣādiḳ Beg was from the Afşār tribe. He had perfect expertise in painting and portrayal. For a time he was wandering around barefoot. Finally, he became librarian in the service of the late Shah ʿAbbās and advanced greatly. He has a *masnavī* in the *taḳārub* meter."

Vālih Dāġistānī then adds the chronogram for Ṣādiḳī's death that we saw in Awḥadī. Similar to Naṣrābādī's, this is also a simplified account that might go back to Awḥadī and it also omits Ṣādiḳī's military valor. Vālih Dāġistānī enumerates in a truncated form the same elements: tribal affiliation - excellence in painting - dervish years - librarianship under ʿAbbās I - mention

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[62] Perry, John R. "The Waning of Indo-Persian Lexicography: Examples from Some rare Books and Manuscripts of the Subcontinent." In: *Iran and Iranian Studies: Essays in Honor of Iraj Afshar.* Ed. Kambiz Eslami. Princeton, NJ: Zagros, 1998, p. 329; *idem.* "Lexicography." *EIr.*

[63] ʿAlī Ḳulī Vālih Dāġistānī. *Taẕkira-yi riyāẕ al-şuʿarā.* Ed. Muḥsin Nājī Naṣrābādī. Tehran: Intişārāt-i Asātīr, 1384 [2005-6], vol. 2, p. 1184. On Vālih Dāġistānī and his works, see: Storey, vol. 1, Part 2, pp. 830-833; Gulçīn-i Maʿānī, Aḥmad. *Tārīḫ*, vol. 1, pp. 650-666.

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of and quotation from the *Abbāsnāma*. However, he also cites from another *masnavī* by Ṣādiḳī. It seems that Vālih Dāġistānī sought to surpass Awḥadī with his work, so it is likely this account also goes back to him, but he may also have used Naṣrābādī.[64]

It is also interesting to note the entry on Ṣādiḳī in the *Muntaḫab al-aşʿār* by Mardān ʿAlī Khan "Mubtalá". Hailing from a family of immigrants from Mashhad, he wrote his work in Lucknow in 1161/1748, during the reign Aḥmad Shah Bahādur. He only mentions that "Ṣādiḳ" was an Afşār poet in the service of Shah ʿAbbās I and used the penname Ṣādiḳī, though this sketchiness is matched by the other entries in his biographical anthology.[65] It is probable that Mardān ʿAlī Khan had very little information about Ṣādiḳī, for he does not even mention that he was a painter.

For the next account about Ṣādiḳī in our chronological survey we should step back to Persia, for it comes from Luṭf-ʿAlī Beg Āzar's *Ātaşkada*, written in 1174-1193/1760-1779:

> "His name is Ṣādiḳ Beg. He is from the Afşār tribe. He has a *dīvān*. He wrote a biographical anthology about his contemporary poets, and because of his expertise in calligraphy and painting, he served in the royal library [*kitābḫāna-yi dīvānī*]."[66]

Mentioned in this short entry is Ṣādiḳī's tribal affiliation, painting and literary excellence as well as peak of career, and similar to Vālih Dāġistānī and Naṣrābādī, no reference is made to Ṣādiḳī's Qizilbash prowess or his character. Remarkably, however, Luṭf-ʿAlī Beg is alone in the biographical literature to mention that Ṣādiḳī excelled in calligraphy and that he had his poetry collected in a *dīvān*. Indeed, similar to Awḥadī but most probably independent of him, Luṭf-ʿAlī

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[64] Gulçīn-i Maʿānī, *Tārīḫ-i tazkirahā-yi fārsī*, vol. 1, pp. 651-2.

[65] Mardān ʿAlī Khan "Mubtalā". *Tazkira-yi muntaḫab al-aşʿār.* Ed. Muḥammad Aslam Khan. Delhi: Indo-Persian Society, 1975, p. 73. See also: Storey, vol. 1, Part 2, p. 829; Ethé, *Bodleian*, no. 379 (373), p. 247 (fol. 110b).

[66] Āzar, Luṭf-ʿAlī Beg. *Ātaşkada.* Ed. Ḥ. Sādāt Nāṣirī. 3 vols. Tehran: Muʾassasa-yi Matbūʿātī-i Amīr Kabīr, 1337 Sh./1958-1341 Sh./1962, pp. 71-2. See also: Madīnī, J. "Āzar Bīgdelī." *EIr*, vol. III, Fasc. 2, p. 183; Gulçīn-i Maʿānī, *Tārīḫ*, vol. 1, pp. 3-17.

Beg quotes from Ṣādiḳī's *Dīvān* of Persian poetry and not his *ʿAbbāsnāma*, which he does not even mention. Also similar to Awḥadī is that he mentions Ṣādiḳī's *Concourse*, correctly describing it as an anthology of poets who were Ṣādiḳī's contemporaries. The author of the *Ātaşkada* is considered as a forerunner of the so-called *bāz-gaşt* movement in literary history because of his critical attitude to the so-called "Indian style" or *tāza-gū'ī*, 'fresh style', of poetry. If Luṭf-ʿAlī Beg indeed knew Ṣādiḳī's *Dīvān*, it is not improbable that for him Ṣādiḳī represented a style at variance with the "Fresh Style" or "Indian Style", and this might be one of the reasons for his sympathetic treatment.[67]

Ṣādiḳī continued to be present on the Mughal literary horizon, as is evidenced by the second volume (*daftar*) of the *Safīna-yi Ḫʷaşgū* written between 1137/1724-25 and 1147/1734-35 by Bindrāban Dās "Ḫʷaşgū," a Hindu litterateur who was a very active member of literary saloons and was an associate of such prominent literary giants of the time as Ārzū and Bīdil. The second volume of his work, which contains a notice on Ṣādiḳī, consists of biographies and poetic specimens from 811 poets of the "Middle Ages" (*şuʿarā-yi mutavassiṭīn*), i.e. poets of the 15th-16th centuries. There is now a twist to the tradition, for the author speaks about Ṣādiḳī Beg of Herat (sic!) with the penname "Ṣādiḳī" who was educated at Qandahar, wrote a *maṣnavī* on the exploits of Shah ʿAbbās I, in whose services he was in his later years.[68] We do not know how Bindrāban Dās came across this Ṣādiḳī of Herat educated in Qandahar, but we do find one Ṣādiḳ of Qandahar in the *Maḫzan al-ġarā'ib* to be discussed below; however, the author of the *Maḫzan* distinguishes this Ṣādiḳ of Qandahar from Ṣādiḳī Afşār. Therefore, it seems that in the *Safīna*, two Ṣādiḳs are collapsed into one.

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[67] Kia, Mana. "Imagining Iran Before Nationalism: Geocultural Meanings of Land in Azar's Ātashkadah." In: *Rethinking Iranian Nationalism and Modernity: Histories, Historiographies.* Ed. Kamran Aghaie and Afshin Marashi. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014, p. 92.

[68] Ethé, *Bodleian,* no. 376 (593), p. 231, fol. 222a; Storey, vol. 1, part 2, pp. 827-8.

The next account is in the *Ḫulāṣat al-kalām*, a biographical anthology of the 78 poets the author, Navvāb Amīn-al-Dawla 'Azīz al-Mulk 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khan Bahādur Naṣīrjang considered most prominent in the *masnavī* genre. Written in 1198/1784, i.e. during the nominal reign of Shah 'Ālam II (1759-1808), the work features Ṣādiḳī as Ṣādiḳ Beg who had the penname "Ṣādiḳī" and left an incomplete *masnavī* on the military exploits [*vaḳā'i'-i muḥārabāt*] of Shah 'Abbās. Regrettably, I have not had access to this work, which is still in manuscript, but the very presence of the account is evidence for the continuity of the reception of Ṣādiḳī's literary oeuvre in India, and as such it constitutes a connection with the next evidence.[69]

Another interesting piece in the mosaic of the Indian reception of Ṣādiḳī's work is the entry on him in Aḥmad 'Alī Khan Hāşimī Sandilavī's *Maḫzan al-ġarā'ib* completed in 1217/1802-03. The author, a member of the court of Shah 'Ālam II in Delhi, cultivated friendship with many immigrants from Persia and was a great connoisseur of Persian poetry, writing a biographical anthology that contains 3,184 notices of poets in alphabetical order. Remarkably, the compiler of the anthology claims that Ṣādiḳ Beg Afşār, of a Turkic tribe in Iran, went to India during Shahjahān's reign. He also gives the chronogram for the date of his death in 1018/1609-10, which we have seen in Awḥadī, and which should have made it clear for him that Ṣādiḳī had already died by Shah Jahān's reign.[70]

At the end of this survey of Ṣādiḳī's image as present in the Ṣafavid-Mughal historical and biographical tradition can be found an anecdote in Muḥammad Ḳudrat Allāh Gūpāmavī's (active 1812-24) 19th-century biographical anthology entitled *Taẕkira-yi natā'ij al-afkār*. Accordingly, a poet from Kashan by the name of Abū Turāb Firḳatī Jūşḳānī (d. 1026/1617-8)

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[69] 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khan. *Ḫulāṣat al-kalām.* Bodleian, no. 390, foll. 472a-472b (pp. 940-941). Cf. Ethé, Hermann. *Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindûstânî, and Pushtû Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889, no. 39, p. 298; Abdul Muqtadir, Maulavi. *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore.* Patna: The Library, 1908-, vol. VIII, nos. 704-6, pp. 137-147 (these three defective copies do not contain the notice on Ṣādiḳī); Storey, vol. 1, part 2, p. 877.
[70] Storey, vol. 1, part 2, pp. 880-81; Ethé, Bodleian, no. 395 (1299) vol. 1, p. 344.

sent Ṣādiḳī Beg, "the painter of Isfahan", a ḳiṭʿa, asking for advice on the choice of a penname. Ṣādiḳī Beg complied and sent him a ḳiṭʿa in reply, suggesting four pennames, of which Abū Turāb chose the name Firḳatī. When he was asked why he did not choose the penname Kalīm, which was also among the four suggested by Ṣādiḳī, he replied: "God forbid that the wits call me Kalīm-i Jūşḳānī!"[71] In this early 19th-century anecdote we encounter Ṣādiḳī as the widely respected poet and painter living at the legendary court of Shah ʿAbbās in Isfahan. We might also mention as the last instance of the Ṣādiḳī reception in India the noted litterateur, statesman, poet and bibliophile, Navvāb Sayyid Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan's (1832-1890) biographical anthology entitled *Şamʿ-i anjuman*.[72] Completed in 1292/1875, it is a compilation of 989 poets, ancient and modern. The notice is as follows:

> "Ṣādiḳī: Ṣādiḳ Beg was from the Afşār group [*jamāʿa*]. He had far reach in the art of painting and a high taste in poetry. He wrote a biographical anthology about the lives of his contemporaries. Finally, he was appointed librarian of Shah ʿAbbās. Due to his peevishness [*tang-ḥawṣilagī*] and other displeasing features, he became distanced from the carpet of [royal] proximity."

His wording ("Due to his peevishness [*tang-ḥawṣilagī*] and other displeasing features, he became distanced from the carpet of [royal] proximity") suggests that Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan relied on Iskandar Munşī, whose *ʿĀlam-ārā* was probably available for this highly learned and affluent statesman and litterateur, or else, he might have relied on a source that went back to Iskandar Munşī. Interestingly, the verses Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan cites as examples to illustrate Ṣādiḳī's poetry

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[71] Muḥammad Ḳudrat Allāh Gūpāmavī. *Taẕkira-yi natāʾij al-afkār*. Ed. Yūsuf-Bayg Bābāpūr. Qom: Majmaʿ al-ẕaḵāʾir-i Islāmī, 1387/2008, p. 577. Interestingly, the story cannot be found in the *Concourse*, although Ṣādiḳī does have an entry on him, referring to him as Mīrzā Abū Turāb-i Firḳaṭī (Ḥayyāmpūr, pp. 225-6; Kuşoğlu, pp. 408-9). A *majmūʿa* housed at the Gulistān Palace Library in Tehran contains both Ṣādiḳī and Firḳatī's respective ḳiṭʿa (Gulistān, no. 537, foll. 100-101, Ātābeg, Badrī, *Fihrist-i dīvānhā-yi ḵaṭṭī-yi Kitābḵāna-yi Salṭanatī.* Tehran: Çāpḵāna-yi Zībā, 2535 [1976], vol. 2, pp. 1007-9).

[72] Muḥammad Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan. *Şamʿ-i anjuman.* Bhōpāl: Maṭbaʿa-yi Şāhjahānī, 1292/1876. About the author, see: Storey, *Persian Literature,* vol. 1, pp. 27-28, vol. 1, part 2, p. 913; Khan, Zafarul-Islam. "Nawwāb Sayyid Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Ḵ͟hān." *EI².*

cannot be found in the foregoing biographical anthologies and chronicles, which means that he had access to Ṣādiḳī's poetry from some independent source, too, most probably a manuscript of his works.

The story of Ṣādiḳī Beg's reception as reflected in the biographical literature surveyed above is perhaps an instance of the natural process of historical oblivion, during the course of which Ṣādiḳī became just a name and one or two correct or incorrect data. It also seems that the accounts after Iskandar Beg Munṣī drew first on the biographical literature preceding them and in some cases (e.g. Naṣrābādī and Mubtalá) oral tradition, probably without direct access to Ṣādiḳī's oeuvre. It is with Muḥammad 'Alī Tarbiyat in the Tabriz of the 1930s that modern scholarship on Ṣādiḳī was born, for Tarbiyat relied directly on a primary source, Ṣādiḳī's *Kulliyāt,* and complemented it with Iskandar Beg Munṣī's account.

In the accounts about Ṣādiḳī we can find the same few elements in various permutations. Remarkably, all the narratives refer to (except for Mubtalā) both his painting and his Persian endeavors, while only Awḥadī mentions that Ṣādiḳī wrote in Turkic, too, and even he is erroneous to claim that the *Concourse* is about Persophone poets, which makes it obvious that he did not consult the work itself. Only the earliest entries—i.e. those in Ḳāżī Aḥmad, Awḥadī and Shah Ḥusayn Sīstānī—refer to the versatility of his poetry; most of the quoted Ṣādiḳī verses are from his *'Abbāsnāma*, and only Luṭf-'Alī Beg and Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan seem to know or deem it important to mention that Ṣādiḳī has a *Dīvān*. However, Luṭf-'Alī Beg only quotes Persian verses from him, which is actually in congruence with the rest of his collection as well as all the other accounts. Clearly, Ṣādiḳī was a very well-known litterateur and painter until shortly after his death, and he continued to be remembered in Ṣafavid-Mughal (and post-Ṣafavid) biographical literature that looked back to the great days of Shah 'Abbās I, although the contours of his image

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were naturally fading with the passage of time.[73] One might argue, perhaps, that the Ṣafavid-Mughal biographical tradition was so rich that by virtue of sheer statistics a highly distilled, sketchy version of Ṣādiḳī's image had a fairly good chance to survive the passage of time, and that it is actually Ṣādiḳī the painter whose fame and prestige could ensure a modicum of the memory of his literary oeuvre. Even if we accepted this, however, we would still need to try and account for why this literary image developed in the way it did.

It might be interesting to add a final epilogue, showing that Ṣādiḳī had an international reputation. The greatest Ottoman polymath, Kātib Çelebi (1017-67/1609-1657) includes the *Concourse* in his Arabic bibliographical compendium, the *Kaşf al-zunūn*. He certainly knew the work, for he correctly designates the language of Ṣādiḳī's work as *Tatar Turkī*, which in Ottoman parlance meant Chaghatay Turkic.[74] This is a strong confirmation that at least some of the manuscript copies of the *Concourse* had found their way to Istanbul by the middle of the 17th century and were copied there. Although the exact provenance of those manuscripts is not yet fully established, and we do not know about each of them whether they had been copied in Ṣafavid or Ottoman lands, their very presence and the aforesaid entry in the *Kaşf al-zunūn* such a relatively short time after the composition of the *Concourse* indicate that the work was known in certain Ottoman literary circles relatively soon after its composition.

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[73] Ḳāẓī Aḥmad and Luṭf ʿAlī Beg mention his calligraphic pursuits, but no calligraphic specimen by him is known to be attributed to him.

[74] Kâtib Çelebi. *Kitāb Kaşf al-zunūn ʿan asāmī al-kutub wa al-funūn.* [Istanbul]: Maṭābiʿ Wikālat al-Maʿārif al-Jalīla, 1941, vol. 1, p. 388. For the designation *Tatar* meaning Chaghatay Turkic, cf. the inventory of the library of Bayazid II: Oriental Collection of the National Academic Library of Hungary, Torok F59.

"There was no sign of literacy among my ancestors; the honor of versifying came directly to me": Ṣādiḳī's life as reflected in his own works

Here I will give a biographical sketch about Ṣādiḳī on the basis of his literary works. I will complement the information found in them with other literary sources and conclude the chapter with a short outline of his pictorial oeuvre. It is no easy task, for the majority of his works follow the requirements of the conventions of the various genres they were written in, which often makes them hard to contextualize. Most of his works are difficult to date, and even many of the ones that are highly occasional in nature, such as his epistles or lampoons, often omit mentioning concrete names or dates. Be that as it may, special emphasis will be given to the various patrons and patronage networks Ṣādiḳī was working for, giving glimpses as to who he was writing for and how he had to position and fashion himself as a painter and litterateur.

Origins and early years

Now let us go back to the beginning of Ṣādiḳī's life story. The autobiographical foreword to his *Kulliyāt* composed in the vein of Persian *inşā*, 'epistolary composition,' is an elegant prose piece in Persian and a mixture of hardcore biographical information and conventional elements. It has been known to scholarship for a long time via Tarbiyat and Amīrḫīzī, who, however, do not subject it to critical examination but take it at face value. After a lengthy and conventionally highly rhetoric praise of God, Muḥammad, ʿAlī and his patron Shah ʿAbbās I, Ṣādiḳī says as follows:

> "This smallest and vilest servant and insignificant mote, Ṣādiḳī the Librarian submits [as follows]: it is apparent and evident to my companions that this wretch is from the group [ṭāyifa] of those Turks that are known and famous by the name *Ḫudābandalū*. At the beginning of the world-conquering and country-subduing revolt and rise [ḫurūj va ẓuhūr]

of the justice-spreading king, the sincere servant of ʿAlī, the Commander of the Faithful, who made current the sect of the Twelve Imams (May God's blessings be upon Them!), [i.e.] the greatest king Abū al-Muẓaffar Shah Ismāʿīl Ḥaydar-i Ḥusaynī Bahādur Khan, they [i.e. the Ḫudābandalū - F.Cs.] came of their own accord from the land of Syria with submission and with [the intention of] assistance to the palace of the one who is the refuge of the world. Since they are a tribe [ṭāyifa] that live in the steppe and have livestock and pastures, they customarily dwell less in Iraq and Azerbaijan close to the Great Savād or cities which are unsuitable for the raising of livestock, except one group, like my forefathers and the other chieftains [rīş-safīdān], who were and still are at the foot of the most magnificent throne, [seeking] fame and servitude."[75]

Ṣādiḳī claims to come from the only clan of the Ḫudābandalū that left Syria to join Shah Ismāʿīl at the very beginning of his revolt, perhaps already in 1499, while he says that the rest remained in Syria. Unfortunately, our present knowledge of this tribe is rather scant. According to Sümer, they are identical with the group called *Harmandalú* (?) listed by Don Juan of Persia among the tribes supporting the Ṣafavids; Don Juan categorizes them as "Marquesses", which means that the Harmandalú were a tribe of smaller eminence compared to the larger tribal confederations. The connection between *Harmandalú* and *Ḫudābandalū* sounds very problematical on linguistic grounds but might go back to an identification in the sources.[76] In any case, Sümer suggests that the name *Ḫudābandalū* is associated with the Ilkhanid ruler Öljeytü (1304-1316), who took the Muslim name Ḫudābanda.[77] That the eponymous ancestor of the Ḫudābandalū was indeed Öljeytü is also borne out by one of Ṣādiḳī's *ḳaṣīda*s:

"I am a Turk and related to Öljeytü Khan, but

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[75] Ṣādiḳī, *Kulliyāt*, fol. 2b.

[76] *Don Juan of Persia, a Shi'ah Catholic, 1560-1604.* New York; London: Harper & Brothers, [1926]. Trans., ed., intro. Guy le Strange, p. 46. See also: Sümer, Faruk. *Oğuzlar (Türkmenler): Tarihleri - Boy Teşkilatı - Destanları.* 2nd ed. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, p. 166. For some unspecified reason, Maşkūr in his compendium on Azerbaijan transcribes the name as *Harmanda* (Maşkūr, Muḥammad Javād. *Naẓarī bi tārīḫ-i Āzarbayjān va ās̱ār-i bāstānī va jamʿīyyatşināsī-yi ān*. Tehran: Anjuman-i Ās̱ār-i Millī, 1349 [1971], p. 247. The Harmandalú must, however, be identical with the Ḥarbandalū mentioned by Şaraf Khan Bidlisī; also cf. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu,* pp. 191, 288, n. 47, who also seems to accept the Ḥarbandalū-Ḫudābandalū identification. The problem of Ṣādiḳī's tribal affiliation caught Tourhan Gandjei's attention, too, who accepts Sümer's version (Gandjei, "Notes on the Life an Work of Ṣādiḳī," p. 112, n. 2).

[77] Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, p. 166.

my face and figure suggest poverty and abstinence."[78]

However, in the same poem the poet downplays the importance of his tribal affiliation, emphasizing his position as a court litterateur who claims to have broken with the tradition of his ancestors:

> I do not seek to connect my lineage to my poetic talent [*bi-mawzūnī*],
> For my inborn poetic talent seeks to borrow from no one.
>
> There was no sign of literacy among my ancestors,
> The honor of versifying came directly to me.[79]

Indeed, it seems Ṣādiḳī strives to show the Ḥudābandalū in a rather inconspicuous light, clearly defocusing from them the attention of the reader of his collected works.

There are only a handful of figures mentioned in the literature as belonging to the Ḥudābandalū, some of whom Sümer identifies to have lived during the reign of Shah ʿAbbās I. They include Shah ʿAlī Sultan Ḥudābandalū, who was the governor of Harsīn, and in 1012/1603-4, together with Ḳāsim Sultan Īmānlū Afşār, captured Uzun Aḥmed Pasha, the Ottoman governor of Baghdad, who had marched on Hamadan;[80] Mīrzā ʿAlī Beg Ḥudābandalū, who was a *ḳūrçī* and in 1007/1598 was sent as envoy to the Mughals with the news of ʿAbbās's recapture of Khorasan from the Uzbeks;[81] as well as Ulu Khan Sultan and Ḥānadān Ḳulı Sultan, the latter being the captivator of the Ottoman Ṣafer Pasha in 1014/1605-6.[82]

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[78] *Turk-am va ūljāytū ḫānī valīkin mī-dahad / yād az faḳr va ḳanāʿat jabha va sīmā-yi man* (*Kulliyāt*, fol. 41a). For a framework of corporate clan succession, see: Woods, *The Aqquyunlu,* pp. 19-22.

[79] *az nasab nisbat na-jūyam bi-mawzūnī ki nīst / ʿāriyat-ḫʷāh-i kasān mawzūn-i mādar-zā-yi man*
bar ab u jadd-am şiʿār-i abjadī nūşiş na-şud / āmad īn taşrīf-i mawyūn rāst bar bālā-yi man (*Kulliyāt*, fol. 41a).

[80] *AAA*, vol. 2, p. 661; *AAA Eng,* vol. 2, p. 852; Sümer, *Safevi*, p. 174.

[81] *AAA,* vol. 2, p. 970; *AAA Eng,* vol. p. 1190; Sümer, *Safevi*, p. 174. In addition, Sümer mentions Ḥusayn Beg as coming from the Ḥudābandalū. According to Iskandar Munşī (*AAA*, vol. 2, p. 971; *AAA Eng,* vol. p. 1191), this Ḥusayn Beg once conveyed a message from ʿAbbās to the commandant of Qandahar, Shahi Beg Khan Chaghatay. However, his name was in fact Ḥusayn Beg Ḥudābanda Şāmlū. As will be seen later, this might mean that there

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According to Sümer, the Ḫudābandalū were one of the subtribes of the larger tribal confederation of the Şāmlū, nomadizing between their summer pastures in Anatolia south of Sivas and in the Uzun Yayla region, as well as their winter pastures in the Aleppo region.[83] That the Ḫudābandalū were affiliated with the Şāmlū, whatever the exact nature of this relationship might have been, is also borne out by Ṣādiḳī himself, who in a Turkic lampoon against a Ḳājār *ḳurçıbaşı,* 'head of the royal war-band or praetorian guard,' claims to come from the Şāmlū:

> I am a poor Şāmlū, you a Ḳājār noble,
> You come from an evil people and you need men of evil.[84]

Interestingly, however, contemporary sources such as Ḳāżī Aḥmad of Qom, Iskandar Munşī, Awḥadī and Fażlī Ḫuzānī designate Ṣādiḳī as belonging to another tribal confederation, the Afşār, and do not mention either the Şāmlū or the Ḫudābandalū in relation to Ṣādiḳī at all. Indeed, this is how Ṣādiḳī has come down in the literature: Ṣādiḳī Afşār.[85]

In the present framework and on the basis of the available data, it is impossible to completely solve this contradiction. The story of the Qizilbash tribes and their organization still

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indeed was a subtribe of the Şāmlū by the name of Ḫudābandalū, but there are a lot of problems with the affiliation of the Ḫudābandalū tribe, and therefore I have excluded Ḫusayn Beg Ḫudābanda Şāmlū from the list of the known Ḫudābandalū notables.

[82] Sümer, *Safevi,* ibid; Jalāl al-Dīn Munajjim. *Tārīḫ-i 'Abbāsī yā Rūznāma-yi Mullā Jalāl.* Tehran: Intişārāt-i Vaḥīd, 1366/1987, p. 295.

[83] Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, p. 153. Uzun Yayla is a plateau that can be found in Central Anatolia.

[84] *men şāmlū faḳīriyem ve sen ḳacar begi /sen ahl-i şarsen ve sanga bir ahl-i şar gerek* (Sadiḳī, *Kulliyāt*, fol. 460a; Kərimov, *Sadiq Bey Əfşar,* pp. 75-6; Muradova, p. 21). See also: Gandjei, "Notes on the Life and Works of Sadiqi Beg", p. 112.

[85] Ḳāžī Aḥmad b. Mīr Munşī. *Calligraphers and Painters.* Trans. Vladimir Minorsky. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1959 (Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers vol. 3, no. 2), p. 191; *AAA English*, p. 271-2; Awḥadī, #1691, vol. 4, pp. 2123-27; Fazli Beg Khuzani Isfahani. *A Chronicle of the Reign of Shah 'Abbas*. Ed. Kioumars Ghereghlou. [Cambridge, England]: Gibb Memorial Trust, 2015, vol. 1, p. 302, n. 2. I thank Kioumars Ghereghlou for this reference as well as his illuminating advice on Qizilbash tribal organization. On the Afşār, see also: Woods, *The Aqquyunlu,* p. 183; and Oberling, Pierre. "Afšār." *EIr.*

awaits comprehensive treatment.[86] First, there is some problem with the name *Ḫudābandalū*. I have already referred to the confusion about the tribal name *Ḥarmanlū* (?) found in Don Juan of Persia, which Don Juan describes as one of the lower-ranking tribes and which Sümer equates with the Ḫudābandalū. Linguistically, the connection is impossible, but it might also go back to some folk etymology or other kind of confusion among contemporaries. As has been showed above, the name *Ḫudābandalū* derives from the eponym *Ḫudābanda*, which was part of the Ilkhanid khan Öljeytü's (r. 704-16/1304-16) Muslim name, Muḥammad Ḫudābanda. The tribe might have in its history been affiliated with Öljeytü, or it might have assumed the name Ḫudābandalū retrospectively at some later period in time, referring to Öljeytü as eponymous ancestor on grounds unknown to us.

Second, the question of the affiliation of such an apparently minor and underdocumented tribe as the Ḫudābandalū with either the Afşār or the Şāmlū is also impossible to answer definitively.[87] The word *Şāmlū* literally means 'Syrian', and might therefore simply refer to geographical origins. Ṣafavid chroniclers could often be confused by the complex networks of tribal affiliations among the Qizilbash. Ṣādiḳī himself says that his tribe came from Syria. Hence, it is possible that the Ḫudābandalū were affiliated with that segment of the larger confederation of the Afşār that was originally from Syria. In addition, recent anthropological studies show that tribal affiliation was a form based primarily on political allegiance and not at all necessarily or

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[86] Reid's attempt at describing Ṣafavid tribal history and organization is highly controversial and has drawn harsh criticism from reviewers (Reid, James J. *Tribalism and Society in Islamic Iran, 1500-1629.* Malibu, Calif.: Undena Publications, 1983; for reviews, see that by John E. Woods. *IJMES* 18:4 (1986), pp. 529-532). See also Reid's article "The Qajar Uymaq in the Safavid Period, 1500-1722." *Iranian Studies* 11:1-4 (1978), pp. 117-143, and its devastating review by Robert D. McChesney. "Comments on "The Qajar Uymaq in the Safavid Period, 1500-1722"." *Iranian Studies* 14:1-2 (1981), pp. 87-105. For a fresh look at the debate, see: Sneath, David. "Ayimag, uymaq and baylik: Re-examining Notions of the Nomadic Tribe and State." In: *Nomad Aristocrats in a World of Empires.* Ed. Jürgen Paul. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2013, pp. 161-86.

[87] This has already been noted by Martin Dickson (Dickson-Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh,* vol. 1, p. 259), and Heger, *The Status and Image of the Persian Artist*, p. 131.

exclusively on blood relations, though the latter might at times also have been the case.[88] Thus, Ṣādiqī may well have changed allegiance at some unknown point of his life, which stuck with him and resulted in him coming to be recorded as an Afşār by his contemporaries; hence, as is alluded to in the introduction of the present chapter, in 996/1587 we find him as a protégé of two Afşār chieftains, Iskandar Khan and Badr Khan. Not only did Ṣādiqī praise him with poetry, but in a lampoon that he wrote against an unidentifiable person he poses as having espoused the Afşār cause:

> Go, leave behind irrationality on the road,
> Take the load of sins, carrying it across your wretched shoulders.
>
> The only *qibla* for the Afşār is the palace of the shah,
> Whatever is left of this tribe has been captivated by your coming.
>
> Go away! You have already destroyed two hundred lineages!
> Go away! Free the Afşār from this turmoil![89]

It is also possible that either Ṣādiqī's mother or his father was a Şāmlū, and for some unknown reason Ṣādiqī might have used this affiliation in certain times and contexts and used his Afşār affiliation in others. Be that as it may, we might recall that his career took him to Tajik circles where it was probably important that he was a member of the Qizilbash aristocracy at large—a fact he could try capitalizing on—but less important what tribe exactly he came from,

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[88] E.g. Sneath, David. *The Headless State: Aristocratic Orders, Kinship Society and Misrepresentations of Nomadic Inner Asia.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.
[89] Ba-raw ay bar guẕar-i bī-ḫiradī rūy bi-rāh
basta bar dūş-i girān-jānī-yi ḫʷad bar-i gunāh

na-buvad ḳibla-yi afşār bi-juz dargah-i şāh
şuda gīr az ḳadam-i ḳawm-i tū īn ḳawm-i tabāh

ba-raw ay karda du şad silsila-rā zīr u zabūr
ba-raw īn maʿraka-rā az sar-i afşār ba-bar
(*Kulliyāt*, fol. 541b)

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which might also have led on his part to a somewhat lax and opportunistic indication and use of his tribal affiliation. He might even have consciously intended to fashion himself as keeping aloof of tribal strife that characterized Ṣafavid history up to the 1590s. We do not know whether at various points of his life he fully committed himself to any tribal cause or not. However, in the 546-folio long autograph copy of his *Kulliyāt* compiled in 1010/1601, aside from the ḳiʿṭa and qasida mentioned above, we find no reference to his larger tribal affiliations and he poses neither as an Afşār nor as a Şamlū. Not improbably, this indicates that by the beginning of the 17th century, when ʿAbbās, having transferred his capital to Isfahan, gave his polity a new visual, political and cultural identity, Ṣādiḳī sensed the new tide and presented himself as an artist and litterateur committed to the larger Ṣafavid venture and not to any parochial tribal cause. As we shall see further below, he was not the first Turk to publicly sever his relations with his tribe, as this attitude was possibly shared by a whole range of artists and literati of Turkic background during their careers. Needless to say, it did not at all mean the loss of Turkic as a possible language of choice for literary purposes.

No definitive answer to the question of Ṣādiḳī's tribal affiliation can be found in his paintings or sketches, either. When he does, he usually signs his pictures as Ṣādiḳ or Ṣādiḳī Beg.[90] He has a portrait of Timur Khan Turkmen which he drew in 1002/1593-94 and which is signed as Ṣādiḳī Afşār. However, the picture, now housed at the Oriental Institute in St. Petersburg, was completed by Muʿīn-i Muṣavvir in 1684, some 90 years later, and by his time, be it true or not, Ṣādiḳī's affiliation with the Afşār seems to have become widely accepted.[91]

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[90] Cf. his works in the album housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, sup. Pers. 1171, foll. 3b, 32, 44b (Stchoukine, *Les peintures,* tables XXVIII, XXIX, XXX). However, as noted above, the authorship of works attributed to Ṣādiḳī as well as Riżā-yi ʿAbbāsī is far from a final solution. C.f. a painting in the same album which is signed as made by Ṣādiḳī, but which, according to Stchoukine, is falsely attributed to him, being probably the work of Riżā-yi ʿAbbāsī (fol. 29; Stchoukine, *Les peintures*, table XXXIV).

[91] Welch, *Artists for the Shah*, pp. 62-3, 204; *Canon,* ed. Kaziev, fig. 4. As to the significance of whether this painting actually depicts Timur Khan or not, see further below.

Now let us turn back to Ṣādiḳī's autobiographical account:

"May it not be hidden that this humble one was born in the capital [*dār al-salṭana*] Tabriz, in the vicinity of the neighborhood *Varjū*.[92] From the time of childhood to the days of youth, when I was about twenty years old, I kept the reins of control in the hands of a community [*jamʿī*] the coarseness of whose tongue never opened up for the language of any other people, except for Turkic. After the martyrdom of my father and the cruelty of those who had a share in the base heritage of tumult, indigence reached the merry time of my youth. The purses of silver and gold gained by my father, which had been collected like the constellation of the Pleiades, were scattered like the "Maidens of the Bier"[93] due to the capriciousness of my jealous brothers,[94] and the saddle-loads of valuables and cloths purchased by my ancestors, which were bound up fold-by-fold, were gone with the wind of carelessness like colorful leaves in autumn because of the hurricane of the avaricious [relatives] close and distant. Since there was no felicitous or fortunate one to spread the shadow of the wings of mercy and affection over the head of this wretch of the abode of disesteem or to grab firmly the belt of this helpless one with the hands of favor and patronage, I was forced to leave the company of my relatives, remove the chattels of love for that clan [*ḳawm*] and set out traveling. I spent some time with artists to make money, and some time with mendicants clothed in rags [*zhinda-pūşān-i ḳalāş*]. At times I carried out fearless [acts] with vagabonds and ruffians [*bā runūd va awbāş*], at times I loaded my heart with mountains of love pain. Far be it from [your] penetrating intellect that there be a single group among the groups of humankind [*ṭāyifaī az ṭavāyif-i anām*] which this wretch has not followed for a few steps or from whom I have never profited [at least] once. As has been put by Sheikh Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Saʿdī,

I have found delight in every corner,
I have enjoyed every vintage.[95]

When my eyes were illuminated with [but] a little splendor by the darkness [of ink] and when I acquired a little capital of skills and ingenuity as well as some knavery and fearlessness, with the power of my personal merit and natural talent, I raised the neck of pride of artistic display [*numāyiş-i hunarvarī*] towards the sky, and I was calligraphing on my heart letters praising poetry and discourse. My wisdom cried, "O ignorant one, be silent and listen for a little while, for every atom is fostered by the sun, and every drop is nourished by a mother-o-pearl to become a pure gem. Not every corner has treasures; not every blessing comes from hard work." I knew that without foundation in knowledge the wall of natural talent would be destroyed by a single whirlwind, and without good advice

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[92] *Varjū* is probably identical with *Varjī* or *Vījūya*, a quarter in the western part of Tabriz, found in 19th century sources (Werner, Christoph. *An Iranian Town in Transition: a social and economic history of the elites of Tabriz, 1747-1848.* Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 2000, pp. 76, 176; see also: ʿAwnullāhī, Sayyid Āġā. *Tārīḫ-i Tabrīz az āġāz-i dawra-yi muġūlān tā pāyān-i dawra-yi ṣafaviyān.* (Electronic edition). [Isfahan]: Markaz-i Taḥḳīḳāt-i Rāyānāʾī-yi Ḳāʾimiyya-yi Iṣfahān, s.d., p. 111). In fact, the *Kulliyāt* has *Dārjū*, which is most probably a lapse.

[93] The constellation Big Dipper.

[94] I have emended the text from *bi-dast-andāz-i barādarān-i ġayūr to bi-dast-andāzī-yi barādarān-i ġayūr

[95] Saʿdī, Muṣliḥ al-Dīn. *Būstān, dar niyāyaş-i ḫudāvand*, v. 2.

even a champion with the power of an elephant could be felled by the claws of a raven. You cannot smear the sun with a handful of dirt; you cannot smash a diamond just by touching it. It is the diver who will know what is in the sea; it is the wayfarer who will recognize who the guide is. Despite my good offices for and servitude under sultans, despite my feats in battle and efforts at feasts,[96] and despite all my services and traipsing in the alley of love, verily, since I was seven up to now that the feet of my life are treading on the seventieth step, there has never been a time without ardor for a rosy face and without the chant of screams, except now that neither the name of the subject of my desire nor the target of the seeker is around anymore. The acquisition of necessary genres [*şunūf*] and strange and curious skills, obtained through sweat of effort in order to become famous through the ages is perhaps the blueprint for every skillful one. For the sake of speaking shortly and praising myself at length, I have not plunged into how many they [i.e. *my skills* - F.Cs.] are. With this profession and occupation, I knew it was time for plunder, and started to learn as much as possible the formulae [*rusūm*] of poetry and prose and the rules of riddle and other [genres]. I found some joy in every letter, delight in every line, success in every sign and a mode for every name. In the course of my studies and examinations, the roses of essence started to blossom among the thorns of talent [*mawzūnīyat*] in the garden of [my] natural disposition [*ṭabī'at*]. All in all, I shifted from studying to composing and from listening to reciting [...][97]

  The purpose of these introductory remarks is that if these pages and fascicles of this broken and tied one—because of the lack of commission from the sultans of the world and the affliction inflicted by his contemporaries—remained under the veil of concealment like the existence of the ancients, my contemporaries would be debarred from the benefit of its soothing. From no one have I received as much favor and clemency as I should have the leisure of a day or two to set about arranging this scattered collection and handful of insignificant [writings]. Lest the fast-running stallion of my life hit the stony ground of Alexander's life or the weak winged dove of my life be captured by the claws of the eagle of death and these sweet-natured children [of mine], like unprotected wretches, be deprived of the clothes of arrangement and editing, the arrangement of these elements was started in the year 1010 in the capital [*dār al-salṭana,* lit. 'the Abode of Sovereignty'] Isfahan."[98]

Ṣādiḳī claims that when in 1010/1601-2 he commenced the compilation of his literary oeuvre he was seventy years old, which yields us the date 940/1533-34 as his birth date.[99] Eight (or ten) years later after his literary works had been collected, i.e. in 1018/1609-10, he died, when he was definitely of an advanced age according to the standards of the era. Thus, this date of birth

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[96] Untranslatable word pun: *kuşiş-i bazm va kūşiş-i razm*
[97] In the text, here follows a list of Ṣādiḳī's works, which I will deal with further below.
[98] Ṣādiḳī, *Kulliyāt*, foll. 2b-4b.
[99] This date is also confirmed by a ḳaṣīda he wrote in praise of 'Abbās: "My age got from sixty to seventy, and I, the ignorant one / am becoming more and more withered by every moment (*zi-şaşt raft bi-haftād 'umr u man-i ġāfil / ki har dam az dīgaram fisurdanāktaram* (*Kulliyāt*, fol. 64b).

might be correct, but Ṣādiķī's claim of seventy years of age might also be a trope. However, as we have no other convincing data as to when he was born, we cannot but follow scholarship in accepting 940/1533-34 as his date of birth.[100] The last sentence in the quote suggests that he was directly involved, either as a copyist or, more probably, as a supervisor, in the copying and editing process of his collected literary oeuvre, which, together with its comprehensive character, makes the Tabriz copy extremely important.

Ṣādiķī's autobiographical preface is no coherent life story but rather an arrangement of snippets of biographical facts dissolving into allegory, shrouded in the ornate rhetoric of Persian belletristic prose. He presents his life story as progress from the ignorant Turk to the highly accomplished litterateur and painter. The uncouth, dull Turk (*Turk-i bī-idrāk*) is a well-established trope in Persianate literature. It derives from the old Turk-Persian dichotomy, or, as famously formulated by Marshall G.S. Hodgson, the *amīr-'ayān* system, which, as has already been referred to in Chapter One, was a fundamental pillar of the socio-political arrangement of Persianate polities down to modern times. It meant that while political and military power was in the hands of the Turkic nomadic aristocracy, i.e. the *amīr*s, the administration was held by the urban notables, i.e. the *'ayān*.[101] Accordingly, the designation *Turk* is not so much an ethnic as a sociological term. It is actually derogatory today in Iran, and so it was in the Ottoman context until the emergence of nationalism in the 19th century.

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[100] Actually, the *Kulliyāt* (foll. 43a-44b) contains a panegyric ķaṣīda the dedicatee of which is most probably Badr Khan, during whose tenure as governor of Astarābād the poem must have been written, i.e. in 997/1589-90. We can find in it a reference to Ṣādiķī's age: "It is forty years or even more / that in this plain of tumult [*ba-gīr va ba-dār*], That sometimes I have sought company in battle, / and sometimes I have been sad at feast" (fol. 43b). If forty refers to the number of his years, then Ṣādiķī must have been born in ca. 957/1550, i.e. some seventeen years later than deducible from his autobiographical foreword. If we accepted this as the date of his birth, however, it would not fit various other data to be presented in the discussion below. Nonetheless, this is an unsettling piece of evidence and would necessitate further research. For the present, we shall adhere to the usually accepted date of Ṣādiķī's birth as 940/1533-34.

[101] Hodgson, Marshall G.S. *The Venture of Islam. Conscience and History in a World Civilization.* Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1974, vol. 1, pp. 64-69, 91-94, 131-135.

Of course, Ṣādiḳī's Persian autobiographical introduction was written with an erudite audience fully versed in Persian belles-lettres in mind. It is difficult to determine the truth value of his assertion that his clan spoke only Turkic, but it is probable, especially on the basis of one of his Persian lampoons and Chaghatay Turkic letters to be discussed below.[102] It is possible to assume that he himself spoke only Turkic to the age of twenty, too, though on the one hand, he only says that he lived under the aegis of his clan, and, on the other hand, the highly floral and complex style of the Persian prose of his autobiographical sketch as well as his voluminous output in Persian makes it difficult though not entirely impossible to believe that he knew no Persian at all until he was twenty. It is more likely that he was bilingual to a certain extent early in his life, but his competence in the literary traditions of Persian was only refined with the training he received later in his life.[103] But when was he trained? And who trained him?

Ṣādiḳī is extremely laconic about his early life. In his childhood and adolescence, he stayed with his tribe, perhaps near Tabriz, the capital. This laconicity is not to be surprised at if we bear in mind that the foreword to his *Kulliyāt* is not an autobiography in the modern sense of the word, but a rhetorical piece intended to situate the *Kulliyāt* and its author in the grand scheme of things and convince the reader or potential patron or patrons that the work is worthy of patronage. In a conventional manner, it sets out with lengthy and elaborate praises of God, the Prophet, ʿAlī, the Shiite Imams and finally, Shah ʿAbbās. On the other hand, this lengthy foreword is also there to emphasize the efforts and knowledge that went into the composition of Ṣādiḳī's literary oeuvre and to underline that he achieved it entirely on his own. The emphasis is on rhetoric and not on facts of his life.

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[102] *Dar şikāyat-i falak va hijv-i Muḥammad,* 'Complaint about fate and a lampoon on Muḥammad,' *Kulliyāt*, foll. 523b-531b; *dar ʿuẕr-i çūb-i çīnī nivişta şud* '[A letter] written as an excuse for taking çūb-i çīnī,' *Kulliyāt*, foll. 507a-b; Malik, 6325, foll. 65b-66b. See Chapter Six.
[103] The problem of the distribution of Turkic and Persian in the Ṣafavid era will be dealt with in greater detail in the next chapter.

When Ṣādiḳī was twenty years old, his father died—"was martyred"—and the young Ṣādiḳī soon found himself bereft of all his inheritance. The phrasing may well refer to one of the Qizilbash feuds as the cause of his father's demise or the first Ottoman campaign, which resulted in their capture of Iraq (1532-36), but we know nothing further about this.[104] In the *Concourse*, Ṣādiḳī claims that at the age of ten—ca. 950/1543-4, if he was indeed born in 940/1533-34—he corrected riddles (*mu'ammā*) written by Mīr Ḳurbī in Abarḳūh.[105] This statement is in contradiction with his claim in the aforesaid foreword to his *Kulliyāt,* where he says that up to the age of twenty he lived with his tribe that only spoke Turkic.

As to Ṣādiḳī's training, we have to make do with a mixture of conjecture and data found in his writings. His early studies most probably commenced in Tabriz and continued in Qazvin, where Shah Ṭahmāsp transferred his capital between 951/1544 and 965/1557, by which latter date his new palace had been completed there.[106] The little Ṣādiḳī may have learnt to read and write, along with the basics of the Koran and Arabic, at a madrasa in Tabriz, but we have absolutely no knowledge whatsoever which one it might have been, for on the one hand, he does not mention it in his works, and on the other hand, the madrasa system did not reach such a level of institutionalization as to be a strong source of identification, students identifying with their masters, instead.[107] One of Ṣādiḳī's early teachers was Ḥāfiż-i Ṣabūnī, who used to correct his poetry:

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[104] Welch, *Artists for the Shah*, pp. 41-42.

[105] Kuşoğlu, pp. 22-229; Ḫayyāmpūr, p. 84. About Mīr Ḳurbī, see also: Sām Mīrzā Ṣafavī. *Taẕkira-yi Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī.* Ed. Rukn al-Dīn Humāyūn Farrukh. Tehran: 'Ilmī, 196?, p. 71.

[106] Echraqi, Ehsan. "Le *Dār al-Salṭana* de Qazvin, deuxième capitale des Safavides." In*: Safavid Persia: the history and politics of an Islamic society.* Ed. Charles Melville. London: Tauris, in association with the Centre of Middle Eastern Studies, University of Cambridge, 1966 (Pembroke Persian Papers, 4), pp. 105-115; Mazzaoui, Michel M. "From Tabriz to Qazvin to Isfaahan: Three Phases of Safavid History." *ZDMG*, Supplement III (1977), pp. 514-22.

[107] Chamberlain, Michael. *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190-1350.* Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 70-71.

"Ḥāfiẓ-i Ṣābūnī is from Qazvin. There are few such old men of purity. Despite his advanced age, he was very friendly and gentle. I was honored to accompany him in my early youth. I would bring my verse to him for the benefit of correction. I profited from his fine poems. He composed poetry in various genres in different languages. He composed a panegyric in seven languages in praise of Khan Aḥmad. It was very good. He composed mostly in his own dialect."[108]

Whether Ḥāfiẓ-i Ṣābūnī was truly a *ḥāfiẓ* 'Koran reciter' is a moot point, but the biographical vignette does suggest that Ṣādiķī's training was in Persian. Learning to write and learning to compose poetry first and foremost meant learning in Persian. To illustrate this, it is enough to recall Mīr ʿAlī Šīr Navāʾī, the paradigmatic maecenas and bilingual litterateur's aforesaid advice to aspiring Turkophone poets that they should first learn the skills of the trade in Persian before turning to Turkic. Literacy in the first place meant literacy in Persian; thus, more literacy in Persian could mean more literacy in Turkic, too. For Ṣādiķī, similar to most non-Persophone litterateurs, the key to literary and thus social advancement was full command of the Persianate tradition.

It is difficult to know more about this relationship, and we know only a little more about Ṣādiķī's other master in his early career, Mīr Ṣunʿī.[109]

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[108] Ḥayyāmpūr, pp. 179-180; Kuşoğlu, pp. 345-346; Awḥadī, #830, vol. 2, pp. 1123-1124. According to Awḥadī, Ḥāfiẓ-i Ṣābūnī was a great satirist.

[109] Kuşoğlu, pp. 217-220; Ḥayyāmpūr, p. 75; Minorsky, *Calligraphers*, pp. 149-150. On the relationship between Mīr Ṣunʿī and Ṣādiķī Beg, see: Welch, Anthony. *Artists for the Shah: Late Sixteenth-century painting at the Imperial Court of Iran.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976, pp. 47-49, which comes to a different conclusion as to the date of the relationship between Mīr Ṣunʿī and Ṣādiķī. Sām Mīrzā also dedicates an entry to him. In Humāyūn-Farruḫ's edition, the main text has his name as Mīr Ṣafī but a footnote referring to Vaḥīd Dastgirdī's edition gives the name correctly as Mīr Ṣunʿī. Sām Mīrzā Ṣafavī. *Taẕkira-yi Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī.* Ed. Rukn al-Dīn Humāyūn-Farruḫ. Tehran: ʿIlmī, 196?, p. 75, n. 374; *ibid.* Ed. Vaḥīd Dastgirdī. Tehran: Maṭbaʿa-yi Armağān, 1314 sh./1936, p. 48. See also: Tehran, National Museum, no. 33045, fol. 71). "He is one of the sayyids of Nishapur of impossible bliss. He is extremely famous for his good nature (or talent) and punctual intellect. His calligraphy, especially his *nastaʿlīķ* is quite nice. In dialogues and manners of talk (*muḥāvarāt va ādāb-i ṣuḥbat*), he is well liked. The following incipit verse is from him: Lift your veil from your face and behold my astonishment, / untie the knot from your locks and behold my disheveled state." Mīr Ṣunʿī is also mentioned by Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī, who took his information from Sām Mīrzā (*Epic Deeds*, p. 207).

"He was from Nishapur. He was dervish-like and abstemious (*dervīş-veş ve riyāżet-keş*). He was one of my mentors in the art of poetry. I completed most of the letters that are necessary for poetry [?] as his disciple. In over three years [in his service] I never saw him place his head on a pillow and take a rest. His noble age reached ninety. He was captivated [by his passion] for the son of a perfume merchant in Tabriz. There was a slope between his house and his. He climbed it several times without a problem. The gentleness and finesse of his talent is beyond description. He was such an expert in the skill of *ırāḳ-bendlik* that he would adorn a single hemistich with two-colored roses without stepping out of the style of praising. The hemistich is as follows:

Ba-ngar ṣunʿ-i ḫudārā ba-ngar
'Behold the art of God, behold!'

He was well versed in coloring and sprinkling paper and also knew how to wash it in vermilion (*surunj*), whiting, and lapis lazuli. He had many praiseworthy qualities. They do not fit into this treatise."

From this account of the *Concourse* we know that the scene of Ṣādiḳī's relationship with Mīr Ṣunʿī was Tabriz; the latter must have come there in the crowd of artists, litterateurs, men of religion, etc., flocking in search of patronage at the royal court. Therefore, the three years of Ṣādiḳī's apprenticeship probably predated the final transfer of the capital from Tabriz to Qazvin in 965/1557.[110] Mīr Ṣunʿī died in 976/1568-9 at the age of ninety; if therefore he was born in ca. 886/1481-2, he must have been in his seventies when he was mentoring Ṣādiḳī.[111] Apparently it was also Mīr Ṣunʿī who was Ṣādiḳī's most influential master in poetry, and he also taught him painting and the related skills of paper preparation and coloring. We know next to nothing about the setup; on the basis of the following account in the *Concourse*, however, we might conjecture

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[110] This is also confirmed by Luṭf ʾAlī Beg's *Ātaşkada*, which adds that Mīr Ṣunʿī's name was Ṣafī al-Dīn (vol. 2, pp. 694-5).

[111] The chronogram of Mīr Ṣunʿī's death can be found in Ḳāżī Aḥmad, though without mentioning who wrote it (Minorsky, *Calligraphers and Painters*, p. 150). Ṣādiḳī also mentions it, identifying the auhtor as one Mīr Ḥarfī, a perfumist from Tabriz who was wont to give poets parties with *barsh* and opium (*Kulliyāt*, foll. 339b-340a).

that during his training there was a veritable circle of disciples, fellow litterateurs and artists around Mīr Ṣunʿī. The vignette is about one Mawlānā Nāmī:[112]

> "He is from Ordubad. He was a person of honest faith and kindness. He came to Tabriz with his son called Badr. This wretch, I came to be bound to the love of his son and tied to the sapling of his friendship. One day my master, Mīr Ṣunʿī – Mercy on Him! – started a poetic contest. I preferred remaining silent because I felt shame from both sides. My master had secretly commanded me thus: "Take side with him. I will be gracious with you, but he would be cruel to you. There is not much sympathy in him." May God Most High keep his end and hereafter flourishing! As the aforesaid Mawlānā was a little gullible and gentle, he recited to the party and the congregation the verses he had composed on his son's name. Since he did not reach the [desired] effect, the flames of my affection were gradually blown out and little by little they changed to disgust."

Ṣādiḳī's other, more famous master was Muẓaffar ʿAlī. A son of Ḥaydar ʿAlī the painter, who was also Bihzād's nephew through Bihzād's sister, Muẓaffar ʿAlī took part in most of the major book-making projects during Ṭahmāsp's reign.[113] In the *Concourse,* Ṣādiḳī claims to have heard on several occasions that Ṭahmāsp had preferred Muẓaffar ʿAlī to Bihzād himself, although this remark might also be some self-promotion on the part of Ṣādiḳī.[114] Nevertheless, if it is true, we can conclude that Ṣādiḳī saw Ṭahmāsp in person, perhaps at the atelier of Muẓaffar ʿAlī. Ṣādiḳī, together with Siyāvuṣ the Georgian, were the old master's chief students. We do not know exactly when Ṣādiḳī studied with Muẓaffar ʿAlī; it is possible that he followed his master to Qazvin, the new capital, where the latter took part in decorating with painting the shah's new palace, the Çihil Sutūn, but there is no clear evidence for that. Nonetheless, as we saw above,

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[112] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 214-215; Kuṣoğlu, pp. 394-395. For a similar poetic contest involving a poet by the name of Rafīḳī and his clumsy but overconfident imitations of Amīr Ḫusraw, see: Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 297-298; Kuṣoğlu, pp. 478-479.

[113] About Muẓaffar ʿAlī, cf. Ḳāẓī Aḥmad, *Gulistān-i hunar,* p. 141; Minorsky, *Calligraphers and Painters,* p. 186; *AAA,* vol. 1, pp. 174-175; *AAA Eng,* vol. 1, p. 271; *Welch, Artists for the Shah*, passim; Simpson, Marianna Shreve. "A Manuscript Made for the Safavid Prince Bahrām Mīrzā." *The Burlington Magazine* 133, No. 1059 (June 1991), pp. 376-384, esp. p. 380.

[114] *"Şāh-ı cennet-mekāndın mükerrer istimāʿ étdük kim Üstād Behzādǧa tercīḥ ḳoyar érdi"* (Kuṣoğlu, p. 438; Ḫayyāmpūr, p. 255).

they would collaborate on the 981/1573-74 *Garşāspnāma* as well as on Shah Ismāʿīl's unfinished Shahnāma project. Of course, Muẓaffar ʿAlī's atelier, either in Tabriz or in Qazvin, may well have been a fairly vibrant hub of learning and arts. In the *Concourse*, Şādiḳī mentions one Ḥakīm Badīʿī, a constant companion of Muẓaffar ʿAlī, who was given to drinking and wrote poetry in both Persian and Turkic.[115]

The tutelage of Muẓaffar ʿAlī was *the* most important career change in Şādiḳī's intellectual and artistic development. Not only must he have been an inspiring master in the arts, but his mentorship opened up for Şādiḳī new, even royal sources of patronage. Şādiḳī, intending this to be known, of course, includes his mentor at another place in the *Concourse,*[116] and in the *Canon,* he eulogizes Muẓaffar ʿAlī without explicitly mentioning his name, only alluding to it. The poem starts with a narrative foreword, which has already been cited above but which is worth quoting at length:

> At the beginning of my youth, I spent my life
> In the service of sultans.
>
> I dispised any other profession,
> I would not abandon my father's vocation.
>
> However, once from my poignant nature,
> An inner voice reached the ears of my heart:
>
> "It is worthier to stay away from the proximity of sultans,
> It is worthier to be separated from the feast of worldly desires.
>
> Do not forget what I just say to you:
> Seek the acquisition of art as long as you live.
>
> Learn art as much as you can,
> For life is bad without the arts."

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[115] Ḫayyāmpūr, p. 260; Kuşoğlu, pp. 441-442; Awḥadī, #440, vol. 2, pp. 686-687.
[116] Ḫayyāmpūr, p. 8; Kuşoğlu, p. 162.

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When taste for seeking embraced my heart,
I forgot about the service [of sultans - *F.Cs.*] entirely.

Fortune and felicity came to guide my heart,
And my desire for knack and art increased.

But the falcon of my talent flying high in the sky
Would not grab every prey.

Whatever undertaking it desired
Looked facile to its eyes.

My heart's desire was always
That I get a touch of Bihzād's favors,

Move with the chattels of my aspiration into the abode of painting
And seek inner meaning in the form.[117]

My heart was informed about the art of form,
But alone, it was unprotected on the path of inner meaning.

How well a sage man has put it:
Things are difficult without a master.

The master of intellect gave me guidance such that
First I should travel to a master.

Following its wishes, my heart searched everywhere
For a master related to Bihzād.

The heart of whoever seeks with passion
Will find [what it searched for].

Finally, someone with a brilliant heart became my guide,
Who took by the hand the one who has lit the candle.

He is virtuous and good-natured,
Unique in his time, a rare master.

He is one of the heirs of Bihzād's brush,
And Bihzād was delighted by his apprenticeship.

He is sitting high in the gallery of the pen,
In terms of vision, he is far-sighted.

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[117] Untranslatable pun with the meaning of *ṣūrat*, 'surface, face, portrait, form.'

He could sight the sun with a single look,
He could draw both worlds with a single hair of the brush.

He is so wise that when he took to his pen
Mercury burst out cheering.

When he gave face to a form,
It counted as astonishing wizardry.

When he set about portraying someone,
He created his ideal on the basis of his form.

No one could distinguish it [from the real]
Except for his movements and stoppages.

When he chose a damsel [ra'nā] to depict,
The legs of desire went shaking.

When he gave the form of depiction to a brave one,
His [i.e. the brave one's - *F.Cs.*] rashness was mummified by the mind.

When he set his brush to decoral painting,
The Garden of Iram was resurrected.

When looking at his color-varnishing technique,
The blood of purity rushed to the liver.

For a time, as an apprentice,
I bound myself to him in service.

I journeyed on the path of figural painting so much
That I reached the inner meaning.

Through the renowned name of the one who teaches masters,
I became a conquistador of the country of this art [i.e. painting].[118]

When from the grace of Holy Truth his soul becomes felicitious,
May his victorious soul be illuminated!

May he remain distanced from worldly faults,
May he be immersed in the mercy of perpetual bounty![119]

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[118] *bi-nām-i nāmī-yi ān pīr-parvar / șudam bar kișvar-i īn fann muẓaffar:* an untranslatable pun. *Muẓaffar* means 'victorious, conquistador,' but it is also the name of Șādiḳī's master, Muẓaffar 'Alī.

[119] *Canon* (Kaziev, *Ganun-ös-sövər*, pp. 23-29). For a more interpretative, quite free English translation of this passage, see Dickson, Martin Bernard and Welch, Stuart Bernard. *The Houghton Shahnameh,* Cambridge, MA & London, England: Harvard University Press, 1981, vol. 1, pp. 260-61; for a Russian translation, see: Kaziev, *Ganun-ös-sövər*, pp. 67-69.

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As was alluded to when I discussed the chronology of Ṣādiḳī's biography gleanable from Iskandar Munṣī alongside with the autobiographical aspects of the *Canon*, the latter presents Ṣādiḳī's artistic progress as the allegory of the mystical path. The narrative sets out with an old topos of Persianate literature: the protagonist serves worldly powers but he hears an inner voice (*nidā*) calling on him to abandon the service of "the sultans," i.e. Qizilbash chieftains, and turn to art. Art, or more particularly, painting, is conceived here as a way to reveal the inner meaning of phenomena, just as much as the purpose of the mystic is to follow the path in order to behold and unite with, the Divine. This is in a way a conversion narrative: conversion to Sufism/art; however, the seeker needs a guide, a master:

My heart was informed about the art of form,
But alone, it was unprotected on the path of inner meaning.

This master for Ṣādiḳī was Muẓaffar ʿAlī. Beyond this, however, it would be difficult to find other biographical data in the *Canon*. The prefatory part of the work, which has autobiographical references, has a highly conventional character, which makes further concretization difficult. To come back to the problem of dating various events in Ṣādiḳī's life, it is therefore possible but not certain that he joined the aged master at a more mature age, as Welch suggests, who bases this on his reading of the *Canon*. Nonetheless, if this excellent art historian is right and our deduction to be presented further below that Ṣādiḳī was in Hamadan some time after 967/1560 and must have left it by 981/1573-74 is correct, it is also possible that he received training from Muẓaffar ʿAlī in the late 1560s and early 1570s. However—but this is more of a speculation—the first lines of the *Canon* seem to allude to a Ṣādiḳī who is still young; a man in

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his late thirties, which he must have been if his birth date of 940/1533-34 is correct,[120] would perhaps have been too mature to be an apprentice at the atelier of even such a prominent artist as Muẓaffar ʿAlī. Moreover, as we shall see in the next paragraph, Iskandar Munşī and Shah Ḥusayn Sīstānī date Ṣādiḳī's training with Muẓaffar ʿAlī to the youth of the former. At any rate, a final solution of this problem would probably need further evidence; nonetheless, I am tempted to accept as more likely Iskandar Munşī Shah Ḥusayn Sīstānī's chronology as opposed to the one Welch reads into the allegorical story found in the *Canon*, and thus I think Ṣādiḳī was fairly young when he became Muẓaffar ʿAlī's apprentice.

There is also a contradiction between the account of the *Canon* and the narrative found in Iskandar Munşī. The *Canon*, as I have argued, presents Ṣādiḳī's life as progress on the Sufi path. Accordingly, Ṣādiḳī first lived the life of the Qizilbash soldier and *ḳalandar* dervish, but later the call of the Muse makes him seek out a master.[121] However, Iskandar Munşī and Shah Ḥusayn Sīstānī claim that Ṣādiḳī was groomed by Muẓaffar ʿAlī to be a painter right from his youth. This may have been shortly before Ṭahmāsp moved his capital from Tabriz to Qazvin in 962/1555 and Muẓaffar ʿAlī participated in the decoration of the Çihil Sutūn palace built by Ṭahmāsp. At any rate, it is also possible that Muẓaffar ʿAlī took his young apprentice with him to Qazvin, where he probably stayed until his death, which occurred shortly after that of Ṭahmāsp in 1576. Ṣādiḳī heard on several occasions that Ṭahmāsp had preferred Muẓaffar ʿAlī to Bihzād himself, which suggests that he and his mentor spent an extended period in the proximity of the ruler—first in Tabriz and then in Qazvin—although we have already suggested that this remark might also be self-promotion on the part of Ṣādiḳī.[122]

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[120] See the discussion about Ṣādiḳī's birth year above.

[121] *Canon* (Baku), pp. 23-32 (Persian text), 67-69 (Russian trans.); Welch-Dickson, pp. 260.

[122] *"Şāh-ı cennet-mekāndın mükerrer istimāʿ étdük kim Üstād Behzādġa tercīḥ ḳoyar érdi"* (*Concourse*, Kuşoğlu, p. 438; Ḫayyāmpūr, p. 255). He claims Muẓaffar ʿAlī to be his master in painting at another place in the *Concourse*

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But what was the training like that Ṣādiḳī received in Tabriz and Qazvin? As has already been stated, his assertion that

"From the time of childhood to the days of youth, when I was about twenty years old, I kept the reins of control in the hands of a community [*jamʿī*] the coarseness of whose tongue never opened up for the language of any other people, except for Turkic"[123]

does not necessarily mean that he was an uneducated, monolingual nomad until he was twenty when his father died. It only claims that he stayed with his folks until then. As is evidenced by his literary and pictorial works as well as the abovementioned episode in the *Concourse*, he was fully versed in the Persianate tradition, which he must have started to acquire already as a youth. The abovecited *Canon* with its presentation of the author's conversion from a Qizilbash warrior to an artist greatly emphasizes the uniqueness of this phenomenon. However, Ṣādiḳī was far from being alone with such a career turn. Although painting was definitely not the typical career choice for Qizilbash nobles, there were several whose sons were reared at the Ṣafavid court and were imbued with Persianate learning. One can adduce the examples of Ḥasan Beg Rūmlū, who hailed from a prominent Qizilbash clan, served as a *ḳūrçī*, i.e. member of the royal guard, but was also a court chronicler; Iskandar Beg Munşī, the chronicler whom we have already mentioned; Şānī Takkalū, poet laureate at Ṭahmāsp's court and an important figure of the 'incidentalist school' of Persian poetry; or Maḥmūd Beg Sālim Takkalū, a noted musician and poet;[124] and we could and shall cite many more examples of Turkic poets writing in Persian under the Ṣafavids

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(Ḫayyāmpūr, p. 8; Kuşoğlu, p. 162) and, more importantly, in the *Canon,* he eulogizes Muẓaffar ʿAlī without explicitly mentioning his name, only alluding to it: *bi-nām-i nāmī-yi ān pīr-parvar / şudam bar kişvar-i īn fann muẓaffar* (*Canon*, Baku ed., p. 29: Through the renowned name of the one who teaches masters / I became a conquistador of the country of this art [i.e. painting]. For a more interpretative translation, see Dickson, Martin Bernard and Welch, Stuart Bernard. *The Houghton Shahnameh,* Cambridge, MA & London, England: Harvard University Press, 1981, vol. 1, p. 261.
[123] *Kulliyāt*, fol. 2b.
[124] Shah Ḥusayn Sīstānī, *Ḫayr al-bayān*, fol. 236b.

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who, as will be depicted, even formed a separate socio-poetic group in Sām Mīrzā and Ṣādiḳī's respetive anthologies of poets. Among the Qizilbash who became painters should be mentioned one Mīrzā Ġaffār, about whom we only know that he was a Qizilbash; Başdan Ḳara Şāmlū, who was implicated in the failed plot to poison Shah Ṭahmāsp in 1534 and was executed in 1536; and Yolḳulı Beg Şāmlū, who was the head of 'Alī Ḳulı Khan's atelier at Herat and wrote poetry under the penname "Anīsī". The number of Qizilbash who dealt in calligraphy was even higher.[125] These artists were beneficieris of the patronage system created by Ṭahmāsp in order to develop a loyal clientele when he asserted his authority from 1533 onwards. Part of his policy was to keep scions of prominent Qizilbash families as pages at court and imbue them with court culture, which meant immersing them in Persianate learning and arts or at least the appreciation thereof. Şaraf Khan Bidlīsī, a Kurdish protégé of Ṭahmāsp relates this policy as follows:

> "It was the habit of the late padishah to bring the sons of his emirs and urban notables to his own seraglio when they were small of age. He gave them a special place in the order of the princes and assigned them to the respectable lords. In patronage and protection [tarbiyat va ra'āyat], he did not let a moment pass by without care for them. He instigated [taḥrīż] them with the instruction of the Koran, reading the rules of the Holy Law, piety and religious purity. He encouraged them to choose the company of men of religion and people of faith. Constantly preventing them from mixing with people who were corrupt, of a crooked character, heinious, wicked, offensive or deviant, he would always commission them to the service of scholars and learned men ['ulamā va fużalā]. When they reached the age of maturity and discernment, he [had them] taught the skills of soldiering, archery, horse polo and equitation, as well as the rules of chivalry and the code of humanity and valor [insānīyat va ādam-garī]. He would sometimes say, 'Engage in painting, too, for it straightens the taste.'"[126]

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[125] Ḳāżī Aḥmad, *Gulistān-i hunar,* p. 141; Minorsky, *Calligraphers*, p. 186. Başdan Ḳara Şāmlū was a relative of Ḥusayn Khan Şāmlū, regent of Ṭahmāsp between 1531-34 and governor of Herat (For these examples, cf. Heger, *The Status and the Image of the Persianate Artist,* pp. 131-2). On Yolḳulı Beg Şāmlū, see Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 106-108 and Kuşoğlu, pp. 253-256, as well as further below.

[126] Şaraf Khan Bidlīsī, *Şarafnāma*, pp. 576-7. See also: Minorsky, Vladimir. *Tadhkirat al-mulūk: A Manual of Şafavid Administration (circa 1137/1725), Persian text in Facsimile (B.M. Or. 9496).* Cambridge: E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Trust, 1943 (repr. 1980), p. 133. On the phemonemon of integrating the Qizilbash court elite into Persianate court culture, see: Savory, Roger M. "The Qizilbash, Education and the Arts." *Turcica* 6 (1975), pp. 188-196, where he also refers to the *Şarafnāma* as well as the *Taẕkirat al-mulūk.*

The passage, which is based on Ṣaraf Khan's personal experience, depicts Ṭahmāsp's elite engineering by keeping scions of the Qizilbash elite at his court and integrating them as loyal to the shah in the nascent patronage system. This policy seems to be in line with Ṭahmāsp's rearticulation of royal authority. As presented by Hani Khafipour in his doctoral dissertation, during the late 1530s through the mid-1550s, Ṭahmāsp moved away from his father, Shah Ismā'īl I's image as divine incarnate towards the image of the implementer of Divine Law and the perpetuator of justice on the one hand, and the central dispenser of political patronage to whom fealty and loyalty was due, on the other hand. Concomitant to this was the organization of the bureaucracy supervised by his grand vizier Ḳāżī Jahān, and the continuation of lavish patronage given to the arts as part of the new cultural outlook of the polity characterized by an almost unprecedented sophistication, especially in the field of the arts of the book.[127] Of course, the central court in Tabriz and then in Qazvin were not the only hubs of the arts at all; there was an extensive network of princely ateliers and provincial workshops patronized by Ṣafavid princes or Qizilbash amirs, too, vying to pose a challenge to the lustre of Ṭahmāsp's palaces, even though in terms of magnitude and finesse, the royal court undoubtedly had prime of place.

While we do not have exact data about Ṣādiḳī Beg's training, it can safely be hypothetized that he was the product of this cultural sophistication and patronage system. He may not in the beginning have started as a trainee at the palace atelier itself, but probably in one of the outer circles in the network of patrons, artists, poets, etc, until he finally found himself or was discovered by, a "big shot", Muẓaffar 'Alī, who seems to have profoundly influenced or at least perfected his training and promoted his career with his authority and connections. This was a fully bilingual setting where both Turkic and Persian were used. Suffice it to mention Ḥakīm

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Badīʿī, a learned litterateur whom Ṣādiḳī depicts to be always in the company of Muẓaffar ʿAlī and to write in both languages.[128]

Ṣādiḳī's bad luck may have been that in 963/1556 Ṭahmāsp issued an edict of sincere repentance—actually not the first one of its kind—after which there was no or at least significantly less royal patronage for painting and generally for the arts. Ṣādiḳī—along with other artists and litterateurs—was compelled to leave the court and try his luck elsewhere. As is well known, some of the artists and litterateurs ended up at other Ṣafavid courts, such as that of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, or in Mughal India. As we shall see later, there were some, like Ṣādiḳī, who migrated to Ottoman lands. His move was facilitated by the rapprochement between the Ṣafavids and the Ottomans, confirmed by the Amasya Peace Treaty of 1555, which provided for peace and mutual recognition between the two powers and was honored until 1578. It does not mean, of course, that relations between them were henceforth unproblematic, but travel and trade definitely became smoother.[129]

Ṭahmāsp's edicts of sincere repentance and the new policies they epitomized have been discussed by scholars for some time. Our knowledge on these edicts goes back to references to them in Ḳāżī Aḥmad's Ḫulāṣat, as well as to an epigraphy recorded in the Congregational Mosque of Tabriz.[130] Aside from them, there exist accounts of Ṭahmāsp turning away from the arts and discharging his artists from court in Ḳāżī Aḥmad's Gulistān-i hunar, Iskandar Munşī's

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[128] Ḫayyāmpūr, p. 260; Kuşoğlu, pp. 441-442; see also: Awḥadī, #440, vol. 2, pp. 686-687.

[129] Ṣādiḳī's Ottoman sojourn will be dealt with further below.

[130] Ḳāżī Aḥmad. Ḫulāṣat al-tavārīḫ. [Tehran]: Dānişgāh-i Tehran, 1359-1363 [1980-1984], vol. 1, p. 386; Mustawfī, Muḥammad Taḳī. "Yakī farmān-i jālib-i tavajjuh-i Şāh Ṭahmāsp-i avval." Yaġmā 25 (ḫurdād 1329/1950), pp. 133-135. In conventional historiography, these edicts of repentance on the part of Ṭahmāsp represented the Ṣafavid polity's transition from popular, folk Islam to the orthodoxy spearheaded by immigrant Shiite scholars. More recently, however, it has been suggested that there was no homogeneity even among the Shiite scholars themselves and that modes of popular piety continued late into the tenure of the dynasty. Colin Mitchell argues that the new-found piety of Ṭahmāsp and the puritanic outlook he wanted to project had more to do with the emerging influence of various sayyid networks than with that of Shiite scholars (Mitchell, Colin P. "Ṭahmāsp I." EIr; idem. The Practice of Politics in Safavid Iran, pp. 104-144).

'Ālam-ārā and Vālih Iṣfahānī's *H̱uld-i barīn*.[131] However, the royal studio was first dispersed in 1548, when the transfer of the capital from Tabriz to Qazvin started; the change in the character of royal art patronage was gradual.[132] Moreover, there was no ban on the arts; artists working for the shah were henceforth merely left to their own devices. And there were plenty of alternative sources of patronage in other cultural centers, governor seats and courts, both in the provinces and even in the capital Qazvin itself, not to mention thriving private studios headed by leading artists.[133]

Wandering in Ottoman Syria and Iraq

Ṭahmāsp's initiative to change the religio-political foundations of his polity as indicated by his edicts of sincere repentence as well as his at least partial abandonment of art patronage, marked a major turn in Ṣādiḳī's life. He left Qazvin (or Tabriz) and took to a dervish's lifestyle and joined those waves of artists and literati that left Persia for either the Ottoman Empire or Mughal India in search of patronage. This period from the late 1550s to ca. 1566-68 is extremely underdocumented. The little data we have, though fairly reliable, are not sufficient to come up with a detailed reconstruction of what might have happened to him in Ottoman lands. From the late Timurid era, i.e. the second half of the 15th century, through the mid-16th century, there was a huge wave of immigration of Iranian literati and artists to Ottoman lands. This changed when a new Ottoman ethos with its concomitant cultural, literary, pictorial, linguistic outlook was

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[131] Ḳāżī Aḥmad Ḳummī. *Gulistān-i hunar.* Ed. H̱ʷānsarī, Aḥmad Suhaylī. [Tehran]: Bunyād-i Farhang-i Īrān, [1973], p. 88; Minorsky, *Calligraphers and painters,* p. 135; *AAA*, vol. 1, pp. 122-23, 175; Vālih Iṣfahānī, Muḥammad Yūsuf. *Khuld-i barīn: Īrān dar rūzgār-i Ṣafavīyān.* Ed. Mīr Hāshim Muḥaddis̲. Tehran: Mawqūfāt-i Duktur Maḥmūd Afshār Yazdī, 1372 [1993], p. 467; Welch, *Artists for the Shah*, p. 5-6; Jābirī Anṣārī, Muḥammad Rafī'. *Dastur al-moluk: A Safavid State Manual.* Trans. Willem Floor and Mohammad H. Faghfoory. Mazda Publishers: Costa Mesa, California, 2007, pp. 281-2.

[132] Heger, Nomi. *The Status and the Image of the Persianate Artist.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 1997, pp. 100-105.

[133] Heger, p. 106-7, citing Dickson-Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*, vol. 1, p. 164.

solidified, and the need for Persian models (poetic or pictorial) was superseded by a need for things expressing Ottoman identity. While until the mid-sixteenth century, half of the artists' corpse (*ehl-i ḥiref*) at the Ottoman court had been made up of masters of 'Ajamī ('Iranian') origin, and half of it of masters of *devşirme* ('child levy') origins, by the end of the 16th century this distinction disappeared and most of the artists' corpse were palace trained.[134] We might conjecture that this might have been the context for why Ṣādiḳī did not settle in Ottoman lands, or why he did not move on to Istanbul and did not find a permanent source of patronage, though one needs to emphasize that this is mere speculation.

Be that as it may, we can safely conjecture that he took the Tabriz-Aleppo route, arriving in Aleppo. A notable acquaintance he made there was Bāḳī, one of the greatest Ottoman poets. Bāḳī was *ḳāżī nā'ibi* ('deputy judge') of Aleppo between December 966/1555 and July 967/1560, giving us the two dates between which they must have met.[135] Ṣādiḳī commemorates the encounter with an anecdote in the *Concourse*. Beyond the conventional theme of poetic rivalry and the alleged victory on the part of Ṣādiḳī, the story shows that he tried to get integrated in Ottoman literary circles; it has a self-congratulatory edge to it, not uncharacteristic of our hero:

> "He is held superior after the poet laureate of Rūm, Najātī. I was honored to meet him in the city of Aleppo. It was not rare but frequent that he would play a strange trick on my humble self. He had a son [*ḫʷājazāda*] by the name of Yūsuf Çelebi. The phrase "the Second Joseph" was a metaphor and widely held judgement about him [*maḥkūm ḥukmı,* 'enacted order']. He repeatedly said, "Tonight I have composed five ghazals." After his boasting went over excess, I said, "If I am not too bold, give me Yūsuf tonight. By morning I will have composed ten new ghazals; I will write them down and send them [with him] to get your noble corrections." He fell silent, revealing his displeasure.

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[134] Necipoğlu, Gülru. "A Kanun for the State, a Canon for the Arts: The Classical Synthesis in Ottoman Art and Architecture during the Age of Süleyman." In: *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps, Actes du Colloque de Paris Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, 7-10 mars 1990.* Ed. Gilles Veinstein. Paris: Documentation française, 1992, p. 205; Fetvacı, *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court,* p. 78.

[135] Çavuşoğlu, Mehmed. "Bâkî." *TDVİA,* vol. 4, pp. 537-540. For the story, cf. also: Sohrweide, Hanna. "Dichter und Gelehrte aus dem Osten im Osmanischen Reich." *Der Islam* 46 (1970), pp. 263–302, esp. pp. 273-275.

Nonetheless, he soon collected himself, shook hands with me and started behaving towards me in a friendly way."[136]

Ṣādiḳī then quotes a few Ottoman Turkish ghazals by Bāḳī, which, however, he does not imitate in his own Dīvān, unlike the poetry of Fużūlī, Najātī and ʿAlī Şīr Navāʾī, as we shall see later.[137] Significantly, he hears from Bāḳī the incipit verse of a Persian ghazal written by Sultan Süleymān the Lawgiver, which, along with further vignettes recorded about his poetic dealings in Ottoman territories as well as the poems he wrote for Ottoman patrons, suggests that he might have tried to pass himself off primarily as a Persian poet.[138] This would not be uncommon for Persophone emigrants in Ottoman lands; it is enough to recall the post of the *Şehnāmeci* at the Ottoman court, which in the beginning was filled by Iranians such as ʿĀrifī (in office from the early 1550s to 1561), Aflātūn (in office ca. 1562-69), Luḳmān (in office ca. 1569-96); or we can also think of the many other literati that offered their services to the Ottomans, such as Idrīs-i Bidlīsī, etc. They were welcome at the Ottoman court and bureaucracy which was in a continued need for Persophone literati, but they could not stay out of rivalries therein.[139]

The next time we see Ṣādiḳī is in Iraq. He seems to have managed to find potential patrons, for he became acquainted with two, probably even all the three sons of the governor of Baghdad, a hero of the Ottoman-Ṣafavid wars, the famous Çerkes Iskender Pasha (1494-1571). They followed their father when in 974-975/1566-68 he was governor (*vālī*) of Baghdad (and

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[136] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 115-117; Kuşoğlu, pp. 266-267.

[137] The quoted Bāḳī ghazals are the following: Baki. *Bâḳî Dîvânı*. Ed. Sabahattin Küçük et al. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1994, gazel #151, pp. 142-143; #376, p. 240; #492, p. 291; #58, pp. 98-99; #55, pp. 97.

[138] دیده از آتش دل غرقه آب است مرا

کار این چشمه ز سر چشمه خرابست مرا

Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 14-15; Kuşoğlu, pp. 166-7. The poem must have been well known in Ṣafavid literary circles, for it is also quoted in Vālih-i Dāġistānī's biographical anthology (Vālih Dāġistānī, *Taẕkira-yi riyāż al-şuʿarā*, vol. 2, p. 1002).

[139] Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual,* pp. 154-159; Woodhead, Christine. "Reading Ottoman 'Şehnames': Official Historiography int he Late Sixteenth Century." *Studia Islamica* 104/105 (2007), pp. 67-80.

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later Basra, too).[140] The youngest of his sons was Muḥammad Pasha (d. 1000/1591), with whom Ṣādiḳī held vigilance at the night of Ashura at Karbalā; they visited the shrine of Ḥusayn together and Muḥammad Pasha composed a forty-verse long ḳaṣīda impromptu in Persian in honor of Ḥusayn.[141] Later, Muḥammad pasha became *beylerbeyi* of Yerevan in Rabī' al-āḫir 1000/January-February 1592 and died as the *Sancakbeg* of Ruḫā (Urfa).[142] Iskender Pasha's other son Ṣādiḳī got to know was Aḥmed Pasha, to whom he dedicated a panegyric.[143] Although Ṣādiḳī does not mention him, it is potentially relevant for our discussion that Çerkes Iskender Pasha had a third son by the name of Dervīş Pasha (936-998/1529-1589). He was appointed *beglerbegi* of Syria in 976/1568-9 and that of Aleppo in 978/1570-71.[144] It was Dervīş Pasha who was ordered by Selim II in 977/1569 to arrange for the assassination of Ma'ṣūm Beg Ṣafavī, a powerful former Ṣafavid vizier and *vakīl*, whom the sultan feared to use the pilgrimage to Mecca as a façade to conceal propaganda activities among the Anatolian Qizilbash.[145] From the work of Fariba Zarinebaf and especially Ayfer Karakaya-Stump, we know that Iraq was the scene of

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[140] *Sicill*, p. 809. Iskender Pasha the Circassian (d. 979/1571) filled the position of Yemen beglerbegi between 1569 and 1571. His three sons, Aḥmed (d. 987/1579), Dervīş and Meḥmed, were all poets, too, living in various *sancak*s of the Ottoman Empire. (Özcan, Abdülkadir. "İskender Paşa." *TDVİA*; *Sicill*, p. 195). Remarkably, the *Sicill* has him die in 987/1579. See also: İskenderoğlu, Reşid. *Beğlerbeği Gazi İskender Paşa, 1492-1571.* Ankara: R. İskenderoğlu, 1989. On Iskender Pasha's charitable works, see: Winkelhane, Gerd and Schwarz, Klaus. *Der Osmanische Statthalter Iskender Pascha (gest. 1571) und seine Stiftungen in Ägypten und am Bosporus.* Bamberg: Aku, 1985.
[141] Kuşoğlu, p. 179; Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 33-34.
[142] *Sicill*, p. 1029; Winkelhane-Schwarz, *Der Osmanische Statthalter Iskender Pascha*, p. 51.
[143] *Kulliyāt*, foll. 51b-52b. The family line was continued by Aḥmed Pasha, who held the post of beglerbegi of Laḥsā (al-Aḥsā'), was wounded in a victorious battle at Tbilisi. He replaced his aging father as governor of Aleppo on 25 March 1581/19 Safar 989 (Fleischer, Cornell H. *Bureaucrat and intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: the historian Mustafa Âli (1541-1600).* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986, p. 90, n. 53 (citing Kâmil Kepeci Tasnifi, Ru'us Defterleri, Başbakanlık Arşivleri, 238, p. 308)). He was dismissed from his office in 990/1582 (ibid., p. 99). He was also the beglerbegi of Habash (Etyopia), took part in campaigns against the Ṣafavids and died as the Beglerbegi of Raqqa in North Syria (Winkelhane-Schwarz, *Der Osmanische Statthalter Iskender Pascha*, p. 50). According to İskenderoğlu, *Beğlerbeği Gazi İskender Paşa*, p. 73, he was with his father in Baghdad from 974/1566, and his military achievements earned him a promotion to the rank of *mīr-i mīrān*.
[144] *Sicill*, vol. 2, p. 418. He took part in the conquest of Cyprus (Hammer-Purgstall, Joseph von. *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches.* Graz: Akademische Druck-U. Verlagsanstalt, 1965, vol. 3, pp. 575, 580; Winkelhane-Schwarz, *Der Osmanische Statthalter Iskender Pascha*, p. 51), and in 983/1575 became the governor of Āmid (Diyarbakır); he was dismissed in 985/1577 and died soon thereafter.
[145] Zarinebaf-Shahr, Fariba. "Qizilbash "Heresy" and Rebellion in Ottoman Anatolia during the Sixteenth Century." *Anatolia Moderna = Yeni Anadolu* 7 (1997), p. 11, n. 46, where she references Amīn, Muḥammad. *Sifārat-nāmahā-yi Īrān.* Tehran: Intişārāt-i Ṭūs, 1989, p. 37. Unfortunately, I have had no access to Amīn's work.

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clandestine Ṣafavid activities in that they were in contact with their Anatolian adepts well into the 17th century, especially through the Bektashi convents in Iraq, particularly the ones attached to the shrine complexes of the Imams.[146] Therefore, it is, of course, tempting to see from a distance almost half a millennium long connections between Ṣādiḳī's involvement with Iskender Pasha's family, the ongoing Qizilbash unrest in Ottoman Anatolia and Ma'ṣūm Beg Ṣafavī's assassination, and consider Ṣādiḳī part of a clandestine network of Ṣafavid agents; or it may also be imagined that Ṣādiḳī's departure from Iraq was precipitated by the murder of Ma'ṣūm Beg, but there is no direct evidence for either of these hypotheses. It is equally possible that he tried hard to obtain Ottoman patronage but did not succeed to the extent he hoped for. Perhaps because Ṣādiḳī was a Shiite, it was not that easy for him to find the right contacts in Iraq or Syria that would have helped him to move on to Istanbul. Even the great Fużūlī (d. 963/1556) did not manage to achieve that until he died just about a decade before Ṣādiḳī's stay in Iraq. But perhaps his (and Fużūlī's, for that matter) failure to find satisfactory patronage there has less to do with their confessional identity under their Sunni overlords than with the fact that Iraq had been a theater of devastating wars for decades and had therefore probably too meager resources for the litterateur and painter to find affluent and willing patrons with ease.[147]

Be that as it may, in Baghdad, there seems to have been a lively literary circle around Iskender Pasha and/or his sons, who themselves had received proper Ottoman education and were thus capable of composing and appreciating verse in Persian and Turkic and enter *ad hoc* poetic

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[146] Zarinebaf-Shahr, Fariba, *ibid*; Karakaya Stump, Ayfer. *Subjects of the Sultan, Disciples of the Shah: Formation and Transformation of the Kizilbash/Alevi Communities in Ottoman Anatolia* (unpublished PhD thesis). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University, 2008. I am deeply grateful to her for giving me access to her yet unpublished dissertation. See also her "The Forgotten Dervishes: The Bektashi Convents in Iraq and their Kizilbash Clients." *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 16:1-2 (2010), pp. 1-24, esp. pp. 20-21; Imber, Colin H. "The Persecution of the Ottoman Shi'ites according o the Mühimme Defterleri, 1565-1585." *Islam* 56 (1979), pp. 245-273.

[147] İnalcık, Halil. *Şâir Ve Patron: Patrimonyal Devlet ve Sanat Üzerinde Sosyolojik Bir Inceleme*. Ankara: Doğu Batı, 2003; "The Poet and the Patron: A Sociological Treatise upon the Patrimonial State and the Arts." *Journal of Turkish Literature* 2 (2005), pp. 9-70.

competition at gatherings, as is memorialized in ʿAhdī's (d. 1002/1593) biographical anthology of poets. It was almost certainly in this circle that Ṣādiḳī first met this important Ottoman biographer of poets, for the Qizilbash litterateur claims he was in close association [*maḫṣūṣ va marbūṭ*] with him for years. ʿAhdī must have influenced Ṣādiḳī in some unknown but important ways, for he is characterized as "good mannered and good natured" [*yaḫşı ṭavrlıḳ ve nīkū-ḫisāllıḳ*] in the *Concourse*, and the Qizilbash poet used for his own collection of biographies of poets ʿAhdī's biographical anthology entitled *Gulşan-i Şuʿarā*, which includes poets who lived between 926/1520 and 971/1563.[148] ʿAhdī had left Baghdad for Istanbul in 1552 and returned there in 971/1563-64.[149] He started writing his biographical dictionary in 971/1563-4 and continued to expand it at least until 1001/1592-3.[150] Significantly, Ṣādiḳī only quotes Persian verses from him, which might be characteristic as much of the Baghdad literary scene as of the image Ṣādiḳī might have tried to project about himself. ʿAhdī had by this time probably been done with or was just about to finish at least one redaction of his biographical anthology of poets. For Ṣādiḳī, it must have served as an important source of knowledge about Ottoman poets, because, as we shall see later, it is probably this *taẕkira* from which he adopted many biographical vignettes into the supposedly autograph copy of the *Concourse*. These poets include ones that were at some point or another in the company of the Iskender Pasha family, but we do not know if Ṣādiḳī also met them.[151]

One of the other important litterateurs that Ṣādiḳī mentions to have met in Iraq is Saḥābī.

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[148] Ḫayyāmpūr, p. 281; Kuşoğlu, pp. 463-464. The work has been published: *Ahdî ve Gülşen-i Şu'arâsı (İnceleme – Metin).* Ed. Süleyman Solmaz. Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayınları, 2005.

[149] Solmaz, Süleyman. "Giriş." In: *Ahdî ve Gülşen-i Şu'arâsı (İnceleme – Metin).* Ed. Süleyman Solmaz. Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayınları, 2005, p. 12; Akün, Ömer Faruk. "Ahdi." *TDVİA,* vol. 1, pp. 509-514.

[150] Akün, "Ahdi," p. 511.

[151] E.g. ʿIẕārī (Solmaz, *Ahdî ve Gülşen-i Şu'arâsı*, pp. 230-31; *Kulliyāt*, foll. 354a-b) and perhaps Lisānī (Solmaz, *Ahdî ve Gülşen-i Şu'arâsı*, pp. 266-7; *Kulliyāt*, fol. 357a-b).

"In the garment of asceticism and retirement he lived in the Sublime Shrines, in Najaf in particular. For seventeen years at the Threshold he conducted himself in such a hypocritical austerity that most of the servants became his followers and disciples. Since this state of his was hypocritical, when I visited the Shrines, so many nasty, moreover, satanic things were displayed by him that all his followers renounced him. He follows the same conduct again but probably does not commit those nasty things. Anyway, he is outwardly dervishlike."[152]

Ṣādiḳī's encounter with Saḥābī and the fact that he quotes Persian verses from him shows that the latter was in the crowd of Shiite dervishes making the pilgrimage to Najaf, many of whom with Ṣādiḳī among them, came from Ṣafavid territories and could speak and versify in Persian. Saḥābī (d. 1010/1601-02) was one of the most important poets during the reign of Ṭahmāsp. He was known by the *nisba* "Astarābādī," because of his father's place of origin, though he himself came from Shushtar. He had moved to Najaf towards 970/1562-3, where he taught as a jurist. As a poet, he was chiefly remembered for his *rubā'ī*s.[153]

In Iraq, it is likely but not entirely certain that Ṣādiḳī tried to get acquainted with artists, too, although we only know of one such instance. He met one Ḳivām al-Dīn Baġdādī, the father of the famous, or rather infamous, illuminator and painter, Ḥasan-i Muẕahhib ('Ḥasan the Illuminator'), although the encounter with the son may have taken place later when both of them were in Qazvin. Later, in 983/1575 Ṭahmāsp would appoint Ḥasan-i Muẕahhib head of the artists at Tabriz.[154] His infamy derived from the accusation that he had forged the royal seal. According to the *Concourse,* Ṣādiḳī knows of other mischiefs committed by Ḥasan Muẕahhib, for example,

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[152] Kuşoğlu, p. 485.
[153] Awḥadī, #1363, vol. 3, pp. 1730-1737. About him, see also: Rahman, Munibur. "Saḥābī Astarābādī." EI²; Riyāż, Muḥammad. "Saḥābī Astarābādī." *Ma'ārif-i Islāmī (Sāzmān-i Awḳāf)* 22 (1354 pāyīz), pp. 36-44. As we will see in Chapter Five, there is a Ṣaḥābī of 'Ajam mentioned in Ottoman biographical anthologies, but he died in 971/1563, so he cannot be the one Ṣādiḳī talks about.
[154] There is a decree issued by Shah Ṭahmāsp to this effect. (Navā'ī, 'Abd al-Ḥusayn. *Shāh Ṭahmāsib Ṣafavī, majmū'a-yi asnād va makātabāt tārīḫī hamrāh bā yāddāshthā-yi tafṣīlī.* [Tehran, 1350/1971], pp. 24-26, mentioned also in Simpson, Marianna Shreve. "The Making of Manuscripts and the Workings of the *Kitabkhana* in Safavid Iran." In: *The Artist's Workshop.* Ed. Peter M. Lukehart. Washington: National Gallery of Art; Hanover, N.H.: Distributed by the University Press of New England, 1993, p. 120, n. 37. His *rubā'ī*s and ghazals have been published: Saḥābī Astarābādī. *Dīvān-i ġazaliyāt.* Ed. Akbar Bihdārvand. Tehran: Zavār, 1388/1968; *Rubā'iyāt.* Aligarh Maṭbū'a-yi Darguẕasht Press, 1931.

that the latter forged a seal of Shah Ismā'īl II but got away with it; the ruler only forgave him because Ḥasan had worked on the illumination of the Mausoleum of Ḥusayn in Najaf, completed in 980/1572-3. Ṣādiḳī must have heard this years after he had been to Baghdad.[155]

Of course, it is not only Persian poetry that he was exposed to in Baghdad. He met one Ḳılıç Beg, who treated Ṣādiḳī when he fell ill during his visit to Najaf and Karbala. Ḳılıç Beg was the nephew of an otherwise unknown high-ranking divan secretary by the name of Farahşād Çelebi and was, according to Ṣādiḳī, an accomplished poet in Ottoman Turkish.[156]

It was most probably through 'Ahdī and the circle patronized by the Iskender Pasha family that Ṣādiḳī became familiar with the works of one of the greatest Turkophone poets of the 16th century, Fużūlī. 'Ahdī certainly greatly praises him and is intimately familiar with Fużūlī's works. Ṣādiḳī also dedicates to him a relatively sizable entry in the *Concourse*, citing from him extensively.[157] Even more interestingly, he paraphrases a few Fużūlī ghazals and includes them in his *Kulliyāt*. Although it would be impossible to prove it with all certainty, it is not unlikely that Ṣādiḳī's Fużūlī imitations date from the time he spent in Baghdad, Najaf or Karbalā, though he may also have composed them in Aleppo or after he returned to Persia.[158]

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[155] Ḥayyāmpūr, pp. 256-258; Kuşoğlu, pp. 439-440. Ever after juicy stories, Ṣādiḳī relates that Ḥasan-i Muẕahhib was once caught in flagranti with a Ḳāsim Beg-i Ṣaḥḥāf's Circassian concubine when he was invited to the latter's home in Tabriz. Ṣādiḳī also tells the story he heard from Ḥasan's father, Ḳivām al-Dīn, that Ḥasan had once almost killed him by hitting him with a stone. Ḳāzī Aḥmad, *Gulistān-i hunar*, p. 188; Minorsky, *Calligraphers and Painters,* p. 189; *AAA,* vol. 1, p. 177; *AAA Eng.*, p. 274. According to Iskandar Munşī, it was actually Ṭahmāsp's seal that this mischievous illuminator forged, but it is probably the same event that Ṣādiḳī refers to. Cf. also: Heger, *The Status and the Image of the Persianate Artist,* p. 139.

[156] *Ṭab'ı rūmī iṣṭilāḥı birle muvāfiḳdur,* 'His nature agrees with the Ottoman expression' (Ḥayyāmpūr, p. 127; Kuşoğlu, pp. 277).

[157] Solmaz, *Ahdî ve Gülşen-i Şu'arâsı*, pp. 241-43; Ḥayyāmpūr, pp. 102-105; Kuşoğlu, pp. 245-251. This entry is probably the longest one in the entire work. Interestingly, Ṣādiḳī only quotes from Fużūlī's Turkish poetry. This is in stark contrast with Awḥadī (#2361, vol. 5, pp. 2944-2945), who only quotes from Fużūlī's Persian poetry. Interestingly, Awḥadī claims that the Baghdadis excelled in Arabic, Turkish and Persian as well: "Verily, most Baghdadis have excelled in pursuing these three languages (*va al-ḥaḳḳ aḳṣar-i baġdādiyān tatabbu'-i īn sa zabān bar vajh-i aḥsan karda'and*).

[158] *Kulliyāt*, foll. 452a-454b, 456a, 457a, 458a-b, 459a-b. About these imitations and Ṣādiḳī's Turkic poetry, see the next chapter.

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However, on the Baghdad literary and artistic scene, there were other figures, too, who had emigrated there from Ṣafavid territories but whom Ṣādiḳī does not mention. They included Ḳuṭb-i Kātib, a calligrapher from Yazd;[159] and Hamdamī-yi ʿAjam from Tabriz, who with his prodigious memory memorized so much past and contemporary poetry that he earned the nickname "Walking Anthology" (*Ayaḵlu Junk*).[160] Of course, they may not have been in Baghdad when Ṣādiḳī was living there, or they were excluded from the *Concourse* for other unknown reasons. Since all the literati and artists whom Ṣādiḳī mentions to have met in Ottoman territories and whom he includes not in the later omitted all-Ottoman chapter of the *Concourse* but in the section on Turkic poets are figures of some literary or political significance, it is not unlikely that Ṣādiḳī included them less for biographical correctness than in order to increase his own prestige.

Back in Persia: Amīr Khan Mawṣillū's court in Hamadan

The next time we see Ṣādiḳī, he is back in Persia, his approximately decade-long stay in Ottoman Iraq and Syria being glossed over in the biographies about him. As we might recall from the previous discussion, for example, Iskandar Munṣī indicates in a subtle way that at some point Ṣādiḳī had to quit painting due to low ebb in patronage, but the noted chronicler knows nothing about his Ottoman sojourn:

> "Because of his haughty soul and rebellious character, when there was no demand for painting and things did not turn out the way he wanted them he gave it up, shed the clothes of love of the external world and went around with the group of the *qalandar* dervish."

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[159] ʿAhdī, p. 255.
[160] ʿAhdī, pp. 309-310.

He lived as a wandering dervish until he was taken by Amīr Khan Mawṣillū under his tutelage. But when did this happen? Anthony Welch dates Ṣādiḳī's tenure in Amīr Khan Mawṣillū's service to the first two years of Muḥammad Ḥudābanda's reign (985-995/1577-1587), i.e. after he had been on the staff of Shah Ismāʿīl II's atelier and participated in the latter ruler's new but never finished *Ṣāhnāma* project, and before Amīr Khan was appointed governor of Tabriz in 1579. Welch thinks that it was Muḥammad Ḥudābanda's disinterest in patronizing the *Ṣāhnāma* project that made Ṣādiḳī take his leave.[161] However, this analysis is problematic. On the one hand, when Iskandar Munšī mentions Ṣādiḳī's *Wanderjahre*, he seems to refer to a period that was significantly longer than a couple of months between the end of Shah Ismāʿīl II's death in 985/1578 and the start of Amīr Khan's tenure in Tabriz in 1579. The text suggests that it must have been several years.

More importantly, references in the sources to the exact start and end date of Amīr Khan's Hamadan governorship, as well as circumstantial evidence found in them, suggest a date much earlier than Anthony Welch surmises. Ḳāżī Aḥmad of Qom, whose *taẕkira* of painters and calligraphers we have already discussed, in his chronicle entitled *Ḫulāṣat al-tavārīḫ* gives quite a detailed account of Amīr Khan and his ancestors, suggesting a completely different date for Amīr Khan's stint in Hamadan. From Ḳāżī Aḥmad we can learn that Amīr Khan Mawṣillū inherited Hamadan from his father Muḥammadī Beg and held it for some 10-12 years, but it was taken away from him by Shah Ṭahmāsp some time before the ruler's death in 984/1576.[162] Relating the

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[161] Welch, *Artists for the Shah*, pp. 58-60.
[162] Amīr Khan Turkmen Mawṣillū came from an illustrious family. His great-great grandfather was Amīr Beg Turkmen, who was *amīr al-umarā* under Uzun Ḥasan the Aqqoyunlu (d. 1473; Woods, *The Aqquyunlu,* pp. 115-6, 192, 193). His grandfather Amīr Khan b. Gulābī Beg ruled Diyarbakir and joined Shah Ismāʿīl I in 913/1507 when the latter moved against the ẕū al-Ḳadar. Shah Ismāʿīl first appointed him seal-keeper (*muhr-dār*), and in 921/1515, elevating him to the rank of khan, he appointed him tutor (*lālā*) to his son, the crown-prince, the future Shah Ṭahmāsp, when the latter was sent off to Herat as nominal governor of Khorasan. He died in 928/1522. One of his sons, Muḥammadī Beg was a child at his death. He was taken into the custody of Mantaṣā Khan Ustājlū, tutor and *amīr-i dīvān* to Shah Ṭahmāsp, who married his daughter to him. He was among the chief leaders (*rīş-safīdān*) of the

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events of 972/1564-65 and 975/1567-68, Ḳāżī Aḥmad refers to Amīr Khan as the governor of Hamadan; and he claims that Ṭahmāsp dismissed him in 980/1572, giving him the governorship of Ḫʷār, which, according to Ḳāżī Aḥmad, was a sort of punishment, because Ḫʷār had an unpleasant climate.[163] Ḳāżī Aḥmad also states that Amīr Khan was dismissed from the position of governor of Hamadan after twenty years, which would give ca. 960/1553-4 as the date when he succeeded his father, Muḥammadī Beg, as governor of Hamadan. Other sources yield further dates. We know that Hamadan was given to Bahrām Mīrzā, one of Ṭahmāsp's brothers probably in 953/1546, which Bahrām Mīrzā held until his death in 957/1549.[164] Būdāḳ Munšī Ḳazvīnī in his *Javāhir al-abrār* refers to Amīr Khan's father, Muḥammadī, as khan, first when he participated in the campaign against Ṭahmāsp's rebellious brother, Alḳāṣ Mīrzā in 954/1547-48 and then when he fought against the Ottoman Iskandar Pasha under Ṭahmāsp's son, Ismāʿīl Mīrzā, the future Shah Ismāʿīl II, in 960/1553. However, the chronicler makes no reference to where he was assigned land, and therefore we do not know whether he already held the Hamadan governorship or not.[165] In a diploma of victory [*fatḥnāma*] that Ṭahmāsp sent in Muḥarram 956/February-March 1549 to Malik Gayūmars̱ (r. 950-963/1543-56), the Bāduṣpandid ruler of

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Turkmen tribe and was awarded with the district (*ulkā*) of Hamadan. We do not know when he died but Ḳāżī Aḥmad informs us that his son, Amīr Khan inherited Hamadan from him. He kept it for approximately ten to twelve years until Shah Ṭahmāsp dismissed him due to complaints about the abusive behavior of his tribe against the sedentary population. Amīr Khan's career reached its zenith when he was appointed governor of Azerbaijan by Muḥammad Ḫudābanda in 985/1577-8, right at his enthronement, perhaps as a reward for Amīr Khan's possible participation in the murder of Shah Ismāʿīl II. However, Ḥamza Mīrzā dismissed and imprisoned him in Qahqaha in 992/1584, having him executed the following years during the ensuing Turkmen-Takkalū revolt. (Ḳāżī Aḥmad. *Ḫulāṣat al-tavārīḫ*. [Tehran]: Dānišgāh-i Tehran, 1359-1363 [1980-1984], vol. 2, pp. 764-773; *AAA,* vol. 1, p. 139; *AAA Eng,* pp. 338, 434. Cf. also: Saʿīdiyān, Ġulām-Ḥusayn. "Manāṣib va ʿamal-kard-i Amīr Khan Turkmān dar dawra-yi ṣafaviyya va sar-anjām-i kār-i ū." *Pizhūhišnāma-yi Tārīḫ* (1385/2006), pp. 20-61; Savory, Roger. "The *Qizilbāsh,* Education and the Arts." *Turcica* 6 (1976), p. 171, n. 24; Reid. James J. *Tribalism and Society in Islamic Iran, 1500-1629.* Malibu, California: Undena, 1983, pp. 101-103, 161-162). Remarkably, his son, Abū al-Maʿṣūm Mīrzā Mawṣillū Turkman was, too, a noted patron who also practiced painting and other crafts (Heger, Nomi. *The Status and the Image of the Persianate Artist.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 1997, pp. 130-131, n. 327, citing Ḳāżī Aḥmad, *Gulistān-i hunar*, p. 149; Minorsky, *Calligraphers*, pp. 190-191).

[163] Ḳāżī Aḥmad. *Ḫulāṣat al-tavārīḫ*, pp. 448, 471, 579. Cf. also: Mirza Naqi Nasiri, *Titles and Emoluments*, p. 197.
[164] Soucek, Priscilla. "Bahrām Mīrzā." *EIr.*
[165] Būdāḳ Munšī Ḳazvīnī. *Javāhir al-abrār. Baḫš-i tārīḫ-i Īrān az Ḳarāḳuyūnlū tā sāl-i 984 h.ḳ.* Ed. Muḥsin Bahrām-nizhād. Tehran: Āyīna-yi Mīrās, 2000, pp. 201-202; cf. also: *AAA*, vol. 1, p. 76.

Kujūr, celebrating his defeat of Alḳāṣ Mīrzā, the shah refers to Muḥammadī Beg as the father of Amīr Khan Mawṣillū. Regrettably, there is again no mention of whether either the father or the son was holding any governorate at that point.[166] At another place, Būdāḳ Munšī lists Amīr Khan Mawṣillū as the governor of Hamadan among the emirs that participated in a campaign headed by Ibrāhīm Mīrzā in 972/1564-5 to suppress Ḳazāḳ Khan Takkalū's revolt in Khorasan.[167] Further, a diploma (manšūr) that Ṭahmāsp issued on 7 Ṣafar 975/12 September 1567 for Khan Aḥmad Khan, appointing him governor of Gīlān, refers to Amīr Khan Mawṣillū as the current governor of Hamadan.[168] Additional data can be found in Šaraf Khan Bidlisī's Šarafnāma (commenced in 1005/1596-7) about the date when Muḥammadī Beg and his son, Amīr Khan Mawṣillū, held Hamadan. The author, a notable Kurdish emir and chronicler who was brought up under Shah Ṭahmāsp's protection, knew both of them well, since his mother was the daughter of Amīr Khan Mawṣillū the Elder (i.e. Muḥammadī Beg's father and Amīr Khan's paternal grandfather), and he spent the years 964-967/1556-60 at his uncle Muḥammadī Beg's court, whom he refers to as governor of Hamadan at the time. However, detailing events around Lorestan in the year 974/1566-7, it is already Amīr Khan Mawṣillū whom he calls governor of Hamadan, and he still refers to him as such when relating affairs 10 years later, ca. 984/1576.[169] Incidentally, this corresponds to Ḳāżī Aḥmad's aforementioned claim that Amīr Khan held Hamadan for approximtely 10-12 years. Finally, we should remark that according to the *Tārīḫ-i alfī*, a monumental universal history compiled for Akbar, the Mughal emperor, by a team of scholars, including Aḥmad Tattavī and Āṣaf Khan Ḳazvīnī, with a final volume that covered the history of

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[166] Navā'ī, 'Abd al-Ḥusayn. *Shah Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī: Majmū'a-yi asnād va mukātabāt-i tārīḫī hamrāh bā yād-dāšthā-yi tafṣīlī.* Tehran: Intišārāt-i Bunyād-i Farhang-i Iran, 1350/1971, p. 178. The document (or the edition) refers to Muḥammadī Beg as the son [*valad*] of Amīr Khan Mawṣillū, but it must be a typo, and the word should be emended as *vālid,* 'father.'
[167] Būdāḳ Munšī, *ibid*, p. 223.
[168] Navā'ī, *Shah Tahmāsp Ṣafavī*, p. 122.
[169] Bidlisī, Šaraf Khan. *Šarafnāma: tārīḫ-i mufaṣṣal-i Kurdistān.* 2nd ed. Ed. Muḥammad 'Abbāsī. Tehran: 'Alī Akbar-i 'Ilmī, 1985, pp. 577-8, 56, 79.

Iran from the Qaraqoyunlu to the year 997/1588-89, Amīr Khan was only dismissed from the governorship of Hamadan in 982/1574-5, which is two years later than the date given above by Ḳāżī Aḥmad.[170] Amīr Khan's stint at Hamadan can thus be dated as follows: he must have succeeded his father, Muḥammadī Beg (or Khan) sometime between 967 and 972/1560 and 1564 or 1565, and he was dismissed from this office in either 980/1572 or 982/1574-7.

Coming back to Ṣādiḳī Beg, the latter date must have been when his relationship with Amīr Khan ended. Apparently he did not follow his disgraced patron to H̱ʷār. By the following year, 981/1573 he had transferred to Qazvin, as is attested by a copy of Asadī Ṭūsī's *Garşāspnāma,* to which he contributed with a painting. The calligrapher is the celebrated Mīr ʿImād, and the other two painters in the team were Ṣādiḳī's mentor, Muẓaffar ʿAlī, and another prominent artist of the period, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn.[171] There is no evidence as to who the patron of the painting was.[172] During the short reign of Shah Ismāʿīl II, we find Ṣādiḳī in the royal atelier in Qazvin.

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[170] Aḥmad Tattavī and Āṣaf Khan Ḳazvīnī. *Tārīḫ-i alfī: tārīḫ-i hazār-sāla-yi islām.* Tehran: Intişārāt-i ʿIlmī va Farhangī, 1382/2003 or 2004, vol. 8, p. 5896. Incidentally, the *Tārīḫ-i alfī* refers to Amīr Khan as the governor of Hamadan and H̱ʷār in the year 984/1576-77, apparently forgetting about its own assertion that he was dismissed from Hamadan earlier (p. 5923). It is probably this that misleads Willem Floor to refer to him as the governor of both places. Incidentally, however, relying on Tattavī and Mullā Jalāl (Jalāl al-Dīn Munajjim. *Tārīḫ-i ʿAbbāsī yā Rūznāma-yi Mullā Jalāl.* Tehran: Intişārāt-i Vaḥīd, 1366/1987, p. 41), he claims that he held these two governorships in 985/1577, which is probably a mistake in the sources (Mirza Naqi Nasiri, *Titles and Emoluments*, p. 197). About the *Tārīḫ-i alfī,* cf. Storey-Bregel, vol. 1, pp. 416-422.

[171] British Museum, Or. 12985. Cf. Titley, Norah M. "A Manuscript of the *Garshāspnāmeh.*" *British Museum Quarterly* 31 (1967), pp. 27-32; Robinson Basil W. *Persian Miniature Painting from Collections in the British Isles.* London: H.M.S.O., 1967, no. 48 and plates 22-24; Welch, *Artists for the Shah,* p. 75.

[172] Welch suggests that the patron of the painting may have been Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, Ṭahmāsp's nephew and former governor of Mashhad, the greatest connoisseur after his uncle at the time, who revived the arts to a certain extent when he was back in Qazvin. In the *Concourse* Ṣādiḳī indicates that he knew the prince in person. However, after his Mashhad stint Ibrāhīm Mīrzā was transferred to Sabzavār, whence he only came back in Ramażān 982/December 1574. He actively participated in the power struggles following Ṭahmāsp's death, supporting the succession of Shah Ismāʿīl II, but he was murdered along with other members of the dynasty on the order of Ismāʿīl on 5 ẕū al-Ḥijja 984/23 February 1577 (H̱ayyāmpūr, pp. 148-150; Kuşoğlu, pp. 305-308; Welch, *Artists for the Shah,* p. 158; Simpson, Marianna S. "Ebrāhīm Mīrzā." *EIr*; Simpson, Marianna Shreve. *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's Haft Awrang: A princely manuscript from sixteenth-century Iran.* New Haven [Conn.]: Yale University Press, 1997.

The chronology of Ṣādiḳī's life Welch proposes thus has to be modified.[173] If the above data found in the sources are correct, it is clear that the relationship between Amīr Khan and Ṣādiḳī Beg predated Shah Ismā'īl II's reign and that Ṣādiḳī's dervish career Iskandar Beg refers to was precipitated by his inability to find patronage during Ṭahmāsp's rule and not during that of Muḥammad Ḫudābanda. Amīr Khan was sent off to govern Simnān and Ḫᵂār along the Khorasan road, a position he kept until the accession of Shah Ismā'īl II. Thence he first proceeded to Varāmīn and then to Qazvin, the capital, where, according to Ḳāẓī Aḥmad, he did not have very good relations with the new ruler and fell ill. Ṣādiḳī probably returned from Iraq to Persia after 1566 or 1568, arriving in Hamadan shortly thereafter and staying there until 980/1572-73.

At Hamadan, Ṣādiḳī dedicated eight Persian panegyrics to Amīr Khan.[174] The relationship between him and Amīr Khan Mawsillū must have been a complex one, though we know about it nothing aside from Iskandar Munṣī's account and what we can find in these poems. As always, however, if we want to use ḳaṣīdas for the poet's biography, we have to be careful with the information in them due to the highly conventional nature of the genre. The first ḳaṣīda has the Persianate bi-partite structure identified by Stefan Seprl, with a lengthy nasīb 'amatory or descriptory introduction' and madḥ 'praise' connected through a single couplet long gurīzgāh, 'transitory couplet,' which in this case names the patron, Amīr Khan Mawṣillū.[175] The descriptive introduction is about the lush of summer giving way to the cold and frost in winter, which is later made parallel to the departure of the patron. Remarkably, in the second part of the poem, the obsequious tone of the beginning of the madḥ, which emphasizes primarily the dedicatee's military prowess, gives way to an almost ironic admonition that the patron should make sure of

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[173] Welch, *Artists for the Shah,* p. 208. As we shall see below, the modified chronology better fits other data about Ṣādiḳī Beg's life at our disposal.

[174] *Kulliyāt*, foll. 51a-b; 52b-53a; 53a-54a; 56a-57a; 57a-b.

[175] Sperl, Stefan M. "Islamic Kingship and Arabic Panegyric Poetry in the Early 9th Century." *Journal of Arabic Literature* 8 (1979), pp. 20-35; Lewis, Franklin D. "Qaṣīda." In: *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics: Fourth Edition.* Ed. Roland Greene. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012, p. 1136.

the well-being of his protégés while he is away. There is even a hint at blackmailing Amīr Khan that Ṣādiḳī might spread the news about the scarcity of patronage for future protégés.

> Now there is a new mode of joy. How should I put it shortly?
> There was no mirth in the rose garden of Hamadan without you.
>
> But I have an entreaty, which, God be proximate,
> is incumbent that I tell to the Khan.
>
> When the lofty-stationed and sky-conquering Khan
> Departed from Hamadan in good fortune,
>
> Such a scarcity of bread appeared in this land
> That it would be impossible to describe with the tongue.
>
> Whoever sought for wine in exchange for his life
> Did not get a morsel of bread after breakfast.
>
> Why should world-trotters tell everywhere
> about this secret of your land?[176]

In another panegyric Ṣādiḳī praises Amīr Khan's generosity and warns him against evil-doers, and specifically mentions Amīr Khan's patronage given to artists.[177] At any rate, it is also possible that Ṣādiḳī does not want to mention Amīr Khan too frequently in the autograph copy of his literary works, because Amīr Khan was one of the heads of the Turkmen-Takkalū coalition that stood by Shah Muḥammad Ḫudābanda when ʿAlī Ḳulı Khan and his Ṣāmlū-Ustājlū coalition tried unsuccessfully to put the young ʿAbbās Mīrzā on the throne in 989/1581. And anyway, when he was compiling his *Kulliyāt* in 1010/1601-02, Amīr Khan had been long gone, along with the heyday of the Qizilbash before Shah ʿAbbās.

It would probably be an exaggeration to say that there was an extremely vibrant cultural or literary life around Amīr Khan in Hamadan. At least it was probably not comparable with the

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[176] *Kulliyāt,* fol. 52a.
[177] *Kulliyāt, foll.* 52b-53a.

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brilliance of the days when Bahrām Mīrzā had been the governor with his own circle of poets and artists of the book and Çarāġ Sultan Garāmpā Ustājlū as his guardian between ca. 953/1556 and 957/1549.[178] However, Ṣādiḳī mentions several poets in the *Concourse* whom he met during the four-five years he resided there, who came from all walks of life and who may have received support from the governor; and there are also traces of the pictorial arts receiving patronage there. For example, Ṣādiḳī claims to have taught painting and poetry to one Mīr Ibrāhīm "Dardī".[179] He was also friends with one Mīr Fażāyī, who was his teacher in riddles;[180] Ḫwāja Aḳa Mīr, the scion of a local family of notables who would always ask Ṣādiḳī to be the first to listen to the Persian *rubāʿī*s Ḫwāja Aḳa Mīr was especially talented in;[181] Mawlānā Asad "Jānī", an agreeable poet given to the writing of riddles and talented in various styles of calligraphy;[182] Mawlānā Bīdilī, a simple man who was content with his poor lifestyle, working at a local dyeworks;[183] Mawlānā Anīsī, a prayer reader, who was apparently also a guest at poetic contests and whom Ṣādiḳī memorialized as improvising poetry, using a line from Jāmī;[184] Mawlānā Panāhī, the son of a local *kalāntar,* 'district or town head', by the name of Ḫwāja Mīrim Beg, who was a great patron of talent and men of learning, and whom even the great Lisānī praised in his poetry;[185] Mīr Muġīs̱, the son of a local sayyid, who used the penname Maḥvī;[186] Mawlānā Żamīrī, a geomancer by trade who had made an unsuccessful attempt at entering the court of Ṭahmāsp with his poetry, spent the rest of his days in Hamadan and had a son, also a poet, by the name of Mawlānā

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[178] de Bruijin, J.T.P. "Ṣafawids III. Literature." *EI*[2]. Soucek, Priscilla. "Bahrām Mīrzā." *EIr.*
[179] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 91-92; Kuşoğlu, pp. 236-237.
[180] Ḫayyāmpūr, p. 247; Kuşoğlu, pp. 430-431. Ḫayyāmpūr only has "He was my teacher."
[181] Ḫayyāmpūr, p. 252; Kuşoğlu, pp. 435-436.
[182] Ḫayyāmpūr, p. 273; Kuşoğlu, pp. 456-457.
[183] Ḫayyāmpūr, p. 274; Kuşoğlu, p. 457.
[184] Ḫayyāmpūr, p. 275; Kuşoğlu, p. 458.
[185] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 275-276; Kuşoğlu, pp. 458-459; Awḥadī, #565, vol. 2, pp. 802-803. According to Awḥadī, his name is Mīr Ismāʿīl Panāhī, who used the penname *Hamadānī* and died in 1001/1592-3.
[186] Ḫayyāmpūr, p. 91; Kuşoğlu, pp. 235-6. He was actually from Artimā, a village of Hamadan, but I assume him to have held office in Hamadan.

Dāʿī;[187] or Mīr Shah Murtażá, the local *şayḫ al-islām,* whom, despite his solemn vocation, Ṣādiḳī describes as a jocular youth.[188] Our poet-painter would also listen with tongue in cheek to what he describes as the gibberish rhyming of the self-assertive amateur bumpkin, Mawlānā Ṣayrafī:

> "He worked as a shroff in Hamadan. He was brave, able-bodied and valiant. He was not without some craziness, because he imitated the divans of Mīr Ṣāhī and the *ḳaṣīda*s of Mawlānā Kātibī, but not a single verse of his made sense. He would read out his poems with such vigor and grandeur that the listeners thought it was by Amīr Ḫusraw. He never felt ashamed."[189]

Of course, there was also intrigue and rivalry at the court of Amīr Khan. Ṣādiḳī had a dispute with Mīr ʿAzīz Kamānçaʾī, the scion of a family of musicians, the best known among them being his brother, Zaytūn Çahārtārī, 'Olive of the four-string violin'.[190] The subject of the quarrel was the favors of a young boy, and the Khan found Ṣādiḳī in the right. Later at some point Mīr ʿAzīz set out for Isfahan but was killed on the way there. Falsely or not, it is difficult to tell, but Ṣādiḳī was accused of his murder; however, he managed to convince everyone that Mīr ʿAzīz had been killed by bandits.[191] Be that as it may, the suspicion that Ṣādiḳī may have been behind Mīr ʿAzīz's murder was probably increased by a lampoon Ṣādiḳī had written against him in which, after ridiculing Mīr ʿAzīz's allegedly feminine character, lack of talent, arrogance and hypocrisy, he mortally threatens him:

> "I am not alone to desire to shed your blood.

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[187] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 135-7, 277; Kuşoğlu, pp. 288-9, 460.

[188] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 94-5; Kuşoğlu, pp. 238-9.

[189] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 247-248; Kuşoğlu, p. 431.

[190] On Ustād Zaytūn, see: Awḥadi, p. 568; Mayṯamī, Ḥusayn. "Nigāhī bi mūsīḳī-yi dawra-yi ṣafavī (905-1135ḳ)." *Gulistān-i Hunar* (pāyīz va zamastān 1384):2, pp. 141-147, on. 143. He was a musician under Ṭahmāsp, and following his second repentance in 1556, that of Khan Aḥmad until the latter lost his power to Ṭahmāsp in 975/1567-68 and was imprisoned in Ḳahḳaha. Ustād Zaytūn died in captivity.

[191] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 285-286; Kuşoğlu, p. 468. Cf. also: Welch, *Artists for the Shah,* pp. 59-60.

Is there anyone with burning lips that do not thirst for your blood?"[192]

Ṣādiḳī accuses him that he could only advance with the help of his brother, Zaytūn Çahārtārī:[193]

"I have heard that you hid behind your brother;
you are a black-faced servant, for the Olive has made your face black [i.e. disgraced you].[194]

Ṣādiḳī also knew Sūsanī Beg, an unruly, disgraced Qizilbash and former member of the *ḳūrçī* guard during the reign of Shah Ismāʿīl I, who spent in Hamadan the last days of a life of wine, opium and dice. While Ṣādiḳī calls him an imitator of Mīr ʿAlī Şīr Navāʾī, Sām Mīrzā greatly ridicules him for plagirizing the great Timurid poet as well as other Persian poets.[195] Nevertheless, Sūsanī wrote in both Persian and Chaghatay Turkic, and Ṣādiḳī was commissioned by Amīr Khan to complete Sūsanī Beg's unfinished dīvān after the latter's demise.[196] On the basis of this vignette about him and the one found in Sām Mīrzā, it is probable that the majority or at least a significant portion of Sūsanī Beg's Dīvān was in Turkic. Ṣādiḳī already had the reputation of being an accomplished poet in Chaghatay Turkic, which, as suggested by this entry, was cultivated at the court of Amīr Khan in Hamadan. More about this in the next chapter.

Ṣādiḳī also had contacts with Mawlānā Hūşī, a learned satirist originally from Sunġur in Persian Iraq, making a living as a school master [*maktab-dā*r] in Hamadan. Ṣādiḳī is not sparing with vitriol: "He was so obedient to his mother that he did not rebel even when she prevented him

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[192] *Kulliyāt*, fol. 539a.
[193] On Ustād Zaytūn, see: Awḥadi, p. 568; May<u>s</u>amī, Ḥusayn. "Nigāhī bi mūsīḳī-yi dawra-yi ṣafavī (905-1135ḳ)." *Gulistān-i Hunar* (pāyīz va zamastān 1384), no. 2, pp. 141-147, on. 143. He was a musician under Ṭahmāsp, and following the shah's second repentance in 1556, that of Khan Aḥmad until the latter lost his power to Ṭahmāsp in 975/1567-68 and was imprisoned in Ḳahḳaha. Ustād Zaytūn died in captivity.
[194] Untranslatable wordpun; *siyah-rūy* means 'black face, black servant;' *rū-siyāh* means 'disgrace'; Zaytūn means 'olive', but it is also the name of Mīr ʿAzīz's more famous brother.
[195] Sām Mīrzā, pp. 358–360. It might be worthy of remark that Sām Mīrzā refers to Sūsanī Beg as coming from the Qaraqoyunlu tribe, whereas Ṣādiḳī refers to him as a Turkmen.
[196] Kuşoğlu, pp. 268-9; Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 118-119.

from performing his [religious] duties." Hūṣī was a Sufi, well known for his Sunni proclivities, which was also a source for jokes:

> "One day Sūsanī Beg Türkmen, who is mentioned in this *taẕkira*, asked him at a feast: 'How long would it take you to turn me into a Sunni?' Hūṣī replied, 'If you are suitable, in a week I will make you grow a tail an *ārṣūn* long, or even longer.'"[197]

Hūṣī wrote a very famous couplet parodying Ḳara Beg Ẕū al-Ḳadr, which, according to the *Concourse*, even Shah Ṭahmāsp committed to memory and would recite. Remarkably, this was in Turkic, although Hūṣī was a Persian:

> şimdi Ḳara Beg gar ḥajar al-asvad olursa
> ṭawf etmänäm ol gawharı kim taşa dönüptür
>
> *Even if Ḳara Beg should turn into the Kaaba*
> *I will not circumambulate the pearl that has turned into a stone.*[198]

Of course, it was not only artists and poets whose company Ṣādiḳī sought in Hamadan. One should mention Mīrzā Ibrāhīm of Hamadan (d. 1026/1617), a prominent *sayyid* who for a time—probably when Ṣādiḳī was in Hamadan—held the hereditary post of *ḳāżī* of the city. Their relationship probably continued later in Isfahan, too, on the several occasions when Mīrzā Ibrāhīm visited the court of 'Abbās. Either in Hamadan or later in Isfahan, Ṣādiḳī praised Mīrzā Ibrāhīm in a *ḳaṣīda*.[199] Moreover, at some point—either in Hamadan or even earlier, perhaps in Tabriz— Ṣādiḳī was in the service of Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's brother, one Mīrzā Ḫalīl, who chose a military career and had to leave for Mughal India due to some unbecoming act.[200]

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[197] Untranslatable word-pun, *sunnī* meaning both 'Sunni' and 'a wild bull'.
[198] Ḥayyāmpūr, p. 248; Kuşoğlu, pp. 432-433; Awḥadī, #3439, vol. 6, pp. 4170-4172. According to Awḥadī, who also alludes to his excellent lampoons, he died in Hamadan in 990/1582-3.
[199] *AAA*, vol. 1, pp. 149-150; *AAA Eng*, vol. 1, p. 239; *Kulliyāt*, foll. 48a-49a.
[200] "Today the people of learning consider him the most learned of scholars. He has musical compositions. As opposed to his aforementioned brother, he [i.e. Mīrzā Ḫalīl] studied soldiering. He was indeed brave and of a noble

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The last poet to be mentioned in the network around Ṣādiḳī in Hamadan is Mawlānā Halākī-yi Hamadānī. According to the *Concourse,* he was a protégé of Bahrām Mīrzā. He composed a piece entitled *Şawḳ va zawḳ,* which, however, did not find fame.[201] Iskandar Munşī also mentions Halākī among the poets still alive at the death of Shah Ṭahmāsp. He claims that Halākī was ascetic and illiterate, and that he had people in the bazaar write down his poetry for him. Aside from his lyrics, Iskandar Munşī notes him for the ode he composed on the accession of Shah Ismāʿīl II, for which he was generously rewarded by the new monarch.[202] Aside from what he says about him in the *Concourse,* Ṣādiḳī has a lampoon about Halākī.[203] The poem is difficult to date but on the basis of Ṣādiḳī's puns on Halākī's white hair and beard, the latter must have been an old man by the time of Ḫudābanda and even more certainly by the reign of ʿAbbās.[204] Be that as it may, Ṣādiḳī concurs with Iskandar Munşī's account in that he ridicules Halākī; moreover he accuses him of pedophilia, incest, and adds that Halākī's praise of the shah is only hypocrisy and lacks sincerity, which, Ṣādiḳī says, is only natural for someone whose forefathers served the Ottomans.

I have given this lengthy description of the literary circle affiliated with Amīr Khan Mawṣillū's Hamadan court, in order to illustrate the type of bilingual and bicultural milieu in Ṣafavid Iran where Ṣādiḳī tried to make a name for himself. As can be seen from the list of poets above, Ṣādiḳī associated with members of the Qizilbash elite but even more with Persian literati. It seems Amīr Khan contributed with his patronage to the cultivation of the intellectual and artistic resources of his seat, supposedly as part of his efforts to increase his legitimacy in the

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character. In my very young age I served the Mīrzā. Because of some unworthy and arrogant deeds, the autumn wind blew on his way to India, disheveling the meadow of his life" (Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 93-94; Kuşoğlu, p. 238).
[201] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 172-174; Kuşoğlu, pp. 338-339.
[202] *AAA,* vol. 1, p. 187; *AAA English,* p. 279. About Halākī, cf. also Awḥadī, pp. 549, 2190, 4168.
[203] The poem cannot be found in the Tabriz *Kulliyāt* but in the Malik copy: Malik 6325, foll. 50a-b.
[204] Browne mentions him squarely amongst the poets of the time of Shah ʿAbbās, but this is not borne out by the sources (Browne, vol. 4, p. 110).

eyes of the local Tajik elite, as well as part of the cultural rivalry between various Qizilbash courts and, implicitely, perhaps even with the capital. At least he was in a position to hire such a then middleweight artistic and literary talent as Ṣādiḳī, whom we can suppose to have used his stint at Amīr Khan's court for boosting his network, prestige and leverage and to have found new employment soon after his master was dismissed from Hamadan.

A royal painter: Ṣādiḳī in Qazvin

Iskandar Munṣī claims that Ṣādiḳī Beg was on the staff of the royal atelier during Shah Ismāʿīl II's short reign. This is attested by both Ṣādiḳī's paintings and his account of Shah Ismāʿīl II in the *Concourse*.[205] The royal workshop was reactivated by the new monarch with a clear intention to match the lavish art production of the early years of Shah Ṭahmāsp's reign. Most significantly, Shah Ismāʿīl II hired for a new ambitious *Şāhnāma* manuscript project Muẓaffar ʿAlī and a team of painters that included two students of the latter, Ṣādiḳī and Siyāvuş the Georgian, as well as other prominent masters including Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, Naḳdī beg, Murād Daylamī, ʿAlī Aşġar, Mihrāb, Burjī and probably ʿAbd Allāh Şirāzī. Ṣādiḳī contributed six paintings to it, but Siyāvuş seems to have been the most active artist on the project.[206]

We do not know exactly when exactly after Shah Ismāʿīl II's death Ṣādiḳī left Qazvin. The *Şāhnāma*-project that had commenced under Shah Ismāʿīl II was abandoned under the new shah, Muḥammad Ḫudābanda. However, our painter-poet still found patronage in Qazvin and stayed there for a while, as is attested by the fact that together with Siyāvuş he contributed paintings to a copy of Ḫʷāndamīr's *Ḥabīb al-siyar* in 987/1579-80, commissioned by a Tajik

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[205] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 10-12; Kuşoğlu, pp. 163-165.
[206] Welch thinks it is even possible that the director of Shah Ismāʿīl's *Şāhnāma* project was Ṣādiḳī (Welch, *Artists for the Shah*, pp. 120-128, 78, 162).

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patron, one Abū Ṭālib b. Mīrzā ʿAlá al-Dawla.[207] Welch suggests that it was the murder of Shah Muḥammad Ḫudābanda's wife, Ḫayr al-Nisā ("Mahd-i ʿUlyā") the same year and the ensuing troubes as well as the dominanance of a Takkalū-Mawṣillū-Turkmen tribal alliance at Qazvin that made Ṣādiḳī leave Qazvin.[208] While this is certainly possible, I think it is difficult to tell on the basis of the available data to what extent Ṣādiḳī was part of Qizilbash factionalism in Qazvin; moreover, the leader of the Mawṣillū clan, Amīr Khan, was his former patron. However, it is tempting to connect his flight hence with the events that a couple of years later landed him in the entourage of one of the Qizilbash notables, Badr Khan Afşār, who joined the revolt that managed to put the young ʿAbbās Mīrzā on the throne. Be that as it may, in the next seven or eight years, Ṣādiḳī would spend unknown amounts of time in Gilan, Astarabad and Yazd. While his visit of the former two places may have been motivated by the political events of the time, particularly the tribal factionalism that characterized the reign of Muḥammad Ḫudābanda, Ṣādiḳī's stay in Yazd is difficult to contextualize with a degree of absolute certainty, though he may have been following there his then patron, Badr Khan Afşār, making friends with other patrons and other poets.

On the road again: Gīlān, Māzandarān

While most probably it was after his employment in Qazvin that Ṣādiḳī hit the road to the province of Gilan, it would be difficult to produce a chronological sequence for his individual stations in the region. As a matter of fact, we might even surmise that he was mainly based at Qazvin, maintaining contacts with members of the household of his former patron, Amīr Khan Mawṣillū, who had in the meantime reached the pinnacle of his career as governor of Tabriz from

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[207] Welch, *Artists for the Shah,* pp. 60-61, 85.
[208] Welch, *Artists for the Shah*, p. 58; for a more detailed and accurate account of these troubled years and the nascent and shifting tribal alliances, see: Newman, *Safavid Iran*, pp. 42-43.

985/1577 to his fall from power in 992/1584. Ṣādiḳī's itineraries I am about to discuss on the following pages are just as uncertain as the ones during his *Wanderjahren* earlier.

Be that as it may, we are unsure of exactly which courts there gave him patronage and under what conditions. The fact that he mentions someone in the *Concourse* does not necessarily mean that he knew him in person, too. For example, Ṣādiḳī mentions Jamšīd Khan (r. 975-987/1567-1580), a vassal ruler of Western Gilan:[209]

> "He was not a bad ruler. Suffice it to say about him that he did not become as infamous as his peers and affiliates. He had poetic talent."[210]

On the basis of this vignette and another one about a Ḫalīl-i Zargar ('Ḫalīl the Goldsmith') who was in Jamšīd Khan's service in Rasht, was commissioned by him to write a presumably narrative work praising him with the title *Jamšīdnāma*, and whom Ṣādiḳī met in person, Welch thinks that Ṣādiḳī personally knew Jamšīd Khan.[211] Were this true, it would follow that Ṣādiḳī must have left Qazvin shortly after the 987/1579-80 execution of the abovementioned *Ḥabīb al-siyar* copy, for Jamšīd Khan was killed in 988/1580-81.[212] However, while Welch's reconstruction is likely, it is still not entirely convincing, as Ṣādiḳī's wording does not necessarily suggest personal acquaintance with Jamšīd Khan, and, as we will see in the next chapter, he had various sources of information and did not by any means always and exclusively rely on his personal experience.[213]

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[209] 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Fūmanī Gīlānī. *Tārīḫ-i Gīlān dar vaḳāyi'-i sālhā-yi 923-1038 hijrī ḳamarī*. Ed. Manūçihr Sutūda. [Tehran?]: Intişārāt-i Bunyād-i Farhang-i Īrān, 1349/1970, p. 53, passim.
[210] Ḫayyāpūr, pp. 18-19; Kuşoğlu, p. 170.
[211] Ḫayyāpūr, p. 236; Kuşoğlu, p. 418.
[212] *AAA*, vol. 1, pp. 265-269; *AAA Eng*, vol. 1, p. 392.
[213] For example, Welch thinks that Ṣādiḳī must have been acquainted with the last Ki'āī ruler of Gīlān, Khan Aḥmad (r. 944-1000/1538-92). However, while the wording of the vignette on him does suggest that Ṣādiḳī knew relatively a lot about him, it is obvious that he relied on indirect sources (Ḫayyāpūr, pp. 12-3; Kuşoğlu, p. 165).

However, it is certain that he did meet two sons of the famous Ustājlū amir, Timur Khan, who had been the tutor of Badī' al-Zamān Mīrzā b. Bahrām Mīrzā, the nominal governor of Sīstān.[214] One of these sons was Murād Khan:

> "Murād Khan "Figārī" is the son of Timur Khan. At first he was a favorite of the shah whose abode is heaven [i.e. Ṭahmāsp], but due to some unbecoming act he was expelled from the honor of that bliss. He was very young and headstrong. Therefore, this emir was afflicted with eye decease [ṭurfe-yi çeşm zaḥmı ol imārat-panāhġa yetişdi]. It is hoped that his esoteric eyes will be shining with the light of bliss. He has a good talent in various genres of poetry."[215]

According to Iskandar Munşī, Murād Khan was Ṭahmāsp's *sufraçi*, 'table master', at the time of the ruler's death. He also reports, along with Ḳāżī Aḥmad and Natanzī, that Murād Khan was blinded at the order of Shah Ismā'īl II as part of the purge of officers of the Ustājlū tribe for their support of Ḥaydar Mīrzā against Ismā'īl during the two brothers' jockeying for the throne in 984/1576.[216]

It is likely that Ṣādiḳī met the blind Murād Khan at the court of his brother, 'Alī Khān Mīrzā Ustājlū, who composed in both Persian and Turkic, using the penname "Ṣādiḳ":

> "He is the younger brother of Murād Khan. As much as possible, he is reserved [nā-murād], modest and informal. He is so much given to love and is such an epicure that were it not for necessity, he would deal with nothing but entertainment [maẕāḳ] even if it was rulership. When I was in ruins [pozuḳluḳda] I ended up in Gīlān. He was also there. He behaved humanly with me and as hospitably as he could. May God Most High procure for him all his wishes and desires! He versifies in various poetic genres in Turkic and Persian.[217]

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[214] Badī' al-Zamān Mīrzā was killed along with his better known brother, Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, on the orders of Shah Ismā'īl II in 978/1570-71 (Soucek. "Bahrām Mīrzā." *EIr*).

[215] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 30-31; Kuşoğlu, pp. 177-8. Cf. Also: Welch, *Artists for the Shah*, p. 61.

[216] *AAA*, vol. 1, p. 503; *AAA Eng*, vol. 2, p. 678; Ḳāżī Aḥmad, *Ḫulāṣat al-tavārīḫ*, vol. 2, p. 618; Natanzī, *Nuḳāvat al-āṣār*, p. 27. It is difficult to know the reason why Ṣādiḳī says that Murād Khan was left blind by an illness. In his otherwise well-researched book, Anthony Welch mistakenly identifies Murād Khan Ustājlū with Murād Khan, a member of a local dynasty and governor of Māzandarān under Ṭahmāsp, who was an important patron for one of the most important calligraphers of the age, Aḥmad Mashhadī (Welch, *Artists for the Shah*, pp. 61-2).

[217] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 30-31; Kuşoğlu, pp. 209-210.

Dating Ṣādiḳī's sojourn at the court of the two Ustājlū brothers is not easy at all. We only know that in 1001/1592-3 'Alī Khān was appointed governor of western Gīlān by Shah 'Abbās, when the former had already been governor of Rasht and Fūmin.[218] Two years later, in 1003/1594-95, he revolted and was consequently deposed by Farhād Khān.[219] However, these latter events can be unrelated to Ṣādiḳī's visit there, which might have occurred sometime in the early 1580s. This dating of his visit to Gīlān is confirmed by Ṣādiḳī's letter to Pīra Muḥammad Ustājlū, in which he politely declines the khan's offer of secretaryship at his court. Pīra Muḥammad Ustājlū was appointed governor of Gīlān in 979/1572, was confirmed in his post by Shah Ismā'īl II in 984/1576 and died in 988/1580-81, the latter date marking the *terminus quem* for Ṣādiḳī's communication with Pīra Muḥammad.[220]

There were only a few poets whom or of whom Ṣādiḳī got to know in Gīlān. In the *Concourse*, he has a funny account of one Mawlānā Ṭawfī, who tried to test him on alchemy, in which he himself had composed a treatise but which in fact he was utterly ignorant of.[221] Further, Ṣādiḳī claims that when he was in Lāhijān, he was hosted by Mawlānā 'Abd al-Ġāfūr, a young poet and musician who was in the service of the sipāhsālārs of Gīlān.[222] And, finally, he has a sarcastic account of one Ḳāmatī-i Gīlānī:

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[218] *AAA*, vol. 1, pp. 449-450; *AAA Eng*, pp. 622-23; Natanzī, p. 483; while Mullā Jalāl, pp. 118-119 refers to another 'Alī Khān. At this point, it would be difficult to solve this contradiction.

[219] *AAA*, vol. 1, pp. 494-495; *AAA Eng*, vol. 2, pp. 670-671; Natanzī, p. 544, who says that 'Abbās eventually pardoned him.

[220] *Kulliyāt*, foll. 517a-517b; Malik, 6325, foll. 75a; *AAA*, vol. 1, p. 113, 264; *AAA Eng*, vol. 1, pp. 188, 388; Mitchell, *The Practice of Politics*, p. 251, n. 64.

[221] Ḥayyāmpūr, pp. 169-170; Kuşoğlu, pp. 335-337; Awḥadī, #1824, vol. 4, pp. 2263-2265. According to Awḥadī, Ṭawfī was from among the poets of Ṭahmāsp's reign and was still alive at the time Awḥadī was composing his biographical dictionary. The latter describes Ṭawfī as a mediocre poet, adding that he was originally from Ardabil despite his better known *nisba*.

[222] Ḥayyāmpūr, pp, 233-234; Kuşoğlu, p. 416.

"He is of a dervishlike and wretched disposition. He does not mingle with people. His penname is very much connected to him: despite my many travels, in no province have I seen such a tall character. The pious tradition of His Excellency the Prophet (Peace be upon Him!) "Every tall man is foolish" is greatly evident in him, as is apparent from the following incipit verse:

Ḳāmatī, run speedily after that gazelle no more,
For he will be terrified if he just beholds your miserable stature."[223]

Prospects for patronage were probably bleak in Gīlān, and according to a letter Ṣādiḳī wrote in Chaghatay Turkic, even revenues allotted to him from the province were at times difficult to collect, although it is difficult to date this missive. [224]

In the service of 'Abbās Mīrzā the pretender: Herat

The fact that Ṣādiḳī was appointed head of the royal atelier soon after 'Abbās's succession to the throne leads Anthony Welch think that prior to that, the artist must have been in the service of 'Alī Ḳulı Khan Şāmlū, the monarch's ward in his early years.[225] In fact, it was 'Alī Ḳulı Khan Şāmlū (d. 987/1588-89) who had been ordered by Shah Ismā'īl II in 1576 to kill 'Abbās as part of the ruler's move to eliminate his potential rivals to the throne. 'Alī Ḳulı Khan, however, abided his time until he received word that Shah Ismā'īl II had been killed; and in 989/1581, he made a botched attempt at installing 'Abbās on the throne. In 996/1583, the young 'Abbās was abducted by 'Alī Ḳulı Khan's former ally, Murşid Ḳulı Khan Turkmen, the governor of Mashhad, and managed to dethrone his father Muḥammad Ḫudābanda not as 'Alī Ḳulı Khan's but as Murşid Ḳulı Khan's protégé. Welch also correctly surmises that Ṣādiḳī entered the service of Badr Khan and Iskandar Khan Afşār around the days when they became part of the conspiracy masterminded by Murşid Ḳulı Khan Turkmen that propelled 'Abbās onto the throne.

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[223] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 236-237; Kuşoğlu, pp. 419-420.
[224] *Kulliyāt*, foll. 518b-519b; Malik 6325, foll. 76a-77a.
[225] Welch, *Artists for the Shah*, p. 66.

Be that as it may, certain entries in the *Concourse* do corroborate Welch's hypothesis that Ṣādiḳī was in some way or another affiliated with 'Alī Ḳulı Khan's court in Herat. He seems to have personally known Yolḳulı Beg Ṣāmlū, another artist-turned Qizilbash, who was the head of 'Alī Ḳulı Khan's atelier and wrote poetry under the penname "Anīsī";[226] Mawlānā Ṣakībī, a Tajik from Isfahan, whose ambition was to make a career in Mughal India but who claimed to be the poet laureate in Herat;[227] Mavālī Türkmen, a lowborn member of the Türkmen tribe whose ambition and talent in Turkic and Persian elevated him to the service of Sulṭān Ḥamza Mīrzā;[228] and Ḳāsim Beg Raġmī, a Qizilbash of unspecified tribal affiliation who wrote in Persian and was the brother of one of 'Alī Ḳulı Khan's wives.[229]

A brave soldier of the Afşār: Ṣādiḳī in Astarābād

As has already been alluded to, Iskandar Munşī claims that Ṣādiḳī entered the service of two Afşār chiefs, Iskandar Khan and Badr Khan, two brothers, during the reign of Shah Muḥammad Ḫudābanda (985/1578-996/1588). There was some strong association between the two brothers, for Badr Khan is several times referred to in the sources as "the brother of Iskandar Khan Afşār."

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[226] Ḥayyāmpūr, pp. 106-108; Kuşoğlu, pp. 253-256. He also features in Awḥadī (#426, vol. 1, pp. 654-657; here his name is written, probably erroneously, as *Yorḳulı*), according to whose account, after the death of 'Alī Ḳulı Khan Ṣāmlū (d. 1588) and the fall of Herat to 'Abd Allāh Khan Uzbek [in 1588], Awḥadī fled to Mughal India and joined the service of Akbar along with other poets, including Ṣakībī Isfahanī (cf. the following note), Naw'ī Ḫabūṣānī, Kufrī and a mediocre poet, Ḥasan Beg Ṣāmlū-yi Girāmī, the son of Döre (Dūra?) Beg Sufrāçī (Awḥadī, #291, vol. 2, pp. 1162-1164). He died of drinking tobacco tisane in 1017/1608-9. In contrast with Ṣādiḳī, Awḥadī claims Anīsī's *Maḥmūd va Ayāz* was quite famous.

[227] Ḥayyāmpūr, pp. 205-6; Kuşoğlu, pp. 380-82. According to Awḥadī, Ṣakībī came from an illustrious Isfahan family, being a nephew to one Amīr Rūzbihān Ṣabrī. After his stay at Herat, Ṣakībī first spent some five-six years in Shiraz and emigrated to Mughal India ca. 993/1585, and found patronage at the court of both Akbar and Jahāngīr. He died in 1023/1614 (Awḥadī, #1600, pp. 2033-39).

[228] Ḥayyāmpūr, pp. 129-30; Kuşoğlu, pp. 279-80.

[229] Kuşoğlu, pp. 272-273. Ṣādiḳī also knew one Mawlānā 'Ayānī, a Tajik from Herat associated with the Takkalū *oymaḳ* and one of the survivors after they were massacred at the order of 'Abbās in 1005/1596-97, but 'Ayānī's acquaintance with Ṣādiḳī probably dates to a decade later then his stay in Herat (Ḥayyāmpūr, pp. 230-31; Kuşoğlu, pp. 413-414).

Not much is known about Iskandar Khan Afşar, but it seems that he was a protégé of Shah Muḥammad Ḫudābanda. At some point during the reign of this ruler, Iskandar Khan Afşar was based in Hazār Jarīb until he succeeded his uncle Ḫalīl Khan as governor of Kūh Gīlūya in 989/1580-81 after the latter was killed; and he took a leading role in the suppression of the messianic revolt of the impostor Ḵalandar, the fake Shah Imā'īl II, in the same year.[230] It was also in this year, i.e. 989/1581 that, joining the Takkalū-Mawsillū collation supporting Ḥamza Mīrzā as heir apparent, he answered the call of Muḥammad Ḫudābanda and participated in the campaign to suppress the Ustājlū-Şāmlū coalition in Khorasan that jockeyed to put the young 'Abbās Mīrzā on the throne.[231] He was probably killed that year or the following, ca. 990/1581-1582, after he had revolted under unspecified circumstances.[232]

Information about Badr Khan is also scant. On the basis of Iskandar Munşī's account, it was probably during the failed military operations headed by Badr Khan to take control of Astarābād as governor and suppress revolt there that Şādiḵī became famous for his bravery in 996/1587, the last year of the reign of Muḥammad Ḫudābanda. Apparently, Badr Khan switched sides, for in the same year we find him among the emirs who took part in the revolt of Murşid Ḵulı Khan Ustājlū and his young protégé, 'Abbās Mīrzā in Mashhad in 996/1587, which

[230] *AAA,* vol. 1, p. 274, 281; *AAA Eng,* vol. 1, p. 404. Ḵāẕī Aḥmad, *Ḫulāṣat,* vol. 1, p. 477, vol. 2, p. 991; Natanzī, Āfuşta'ī. *Nuḵāvat al-āṯār fī ẕikr al-aḫyār.* Tehran: Intişārāt-i 'Ilmī va Farhangī, 1994, pp. 119-120. However, Ḵāẕī Aḥmad (p. 695) lists Iskandar Khan's appointment among the events of the year 987/1579-80. On Iskandar Khan's tenure at Hazār Jarīb, cf. Vālih Işfahānī, *Ḫuld-i barīn,* p. 411; Mirza Naqi Nasiri. *Titles and Emoluments in Safavid Iran: A Third Manual of Safavid Administration.* Trans. Willem Floor. Washington, D.C.: Mage Publishers, 2008, p. 200.

[231] Mullā Jalāl, *Tārīḫ-i 'abbāsī,* pp. 55-56. On the revolt, see: Roemer, H.R. "The Şafavid Period", p. 261; Newman, *Safavid Iran*, pp. 42-43; McChesney, Robert D. "The Conquest of Herat 995-6/1587-8: Sources for the Study of Şafavid/Qizilbāsh-Shībānīd/Ūzbak Relations." In: *Etudes safavides.* Ed. Jean Calmard. Paris: Institut français de recherche en Iran; Louvain: Diffusion, Peeters, 1993, p. 77.

[232] *AAA*, vol. 1, 274. This passage is missing from Savory's English translation. It is also worth mentioning that Şādiḵī also met Amīr Khan Beg, one of Iskandar Khan's relatives. Amīr Khan was an opium-eater, who died in Yazd, and whom Şādiḵī claims to have been his companion on the (perhaps Sufi) path (Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 119-120; Kuşoğlu, pp. 269-270).

managed to put the young prince on the throne of the Ṣafavid realm.[233] After his accession, ‘Abbās I rewarded the services of Badr Khan by first appointing him *ḳurçıbaşı,* ‘head of the royal guard,’ an office he held for a year in 996-7/1587-88, after which the ruler designated him governor (*beglerbegi*) of Astarābād in 997/1589-90.[234] We do not know exactly when Badr Khan had lost his position, but it seems that he was among the disgruntled emirs who were implicated in a plot headed by Şāhverdi Khan Ḳaradāġlū and consequently put to death in 1001/1592-3.[235]

It is unknown when exactly Ṣādiḳī entered the service of either of the two Afşār, but it must have happened after 987/1579-80 when he contributed paintings to the *Ḥabīb al-siyar* mentioned above and left Qazvin. Ṣādiḳī’s own writings have no indication of a visit on his part to Kūh-i Gīlūya or Hazār Jarīb in Fars province, i.e. the two positions Iskandar Khan Afşār is associated with in the sources. He was in their service sometime in the years after his time in Gīlān ca. 987/1580 and the enthronement of ‘Abbās I in 996/1588. We may speculate that his association with them might be in one way or another related to the coup of Murşid Ḳulı Khan and ‘Abbās, but there is no evidence for that.

Ṣādiḳī may have had little time or few opportunities for cultural pursuits in Astarābād; he lists only two poets in the *Concourse* whom he met there: Mawlānā Ġiyās̱, with whom he claims to have spent most of his time while there,[236] and one Ḫʷaš-ṭabʿ-i Bālī. The latter was from the Takkalū and was also in the service of Badr Khan, but was killed in battle while Ṣādiḳī was

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[233] Ḳāẓī Aḥmad, *Ḫulāṣat*, vol. 2, p. 859.

[234] *AAA* vol. 1, pp. 140, 384, 402, 580; *AAA Eng,* vol. 2, p. 554; Ḳāẓī Aḥmad, *Ḫulāṣat,* vol. 2, pp. 859, 884; Sümer, *Safevi Devletinin Kuruluşu,* pp. 188, 189, 191, 193; Floor, Willem. *Safavid Government Institutions.* Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda Publishers, 2001, pp. 141-142. About the revolts, cf. Reid, James J. “Rebellion and Social Change in Astarābād, 1537-1744.” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 13 (1981), pp. 35-53, especially 42-46.

[235] Natanzī, *Nuḳāvāt,* p. 411; *AAA,* vol. 1, p. 457; *AAA Eng,* vol. 2, p. 630. Pertaining to this locus, the text and indices of Īraj Afşār’s edition of the *‘Ālamārā* refer to one *Nadr* Khan Afşār. This is obviously an error, as is also attested by another manuscript of the work (Majlis, no. 8707, fol. 275a). Savory’s translation inherited this error. Badr Khan is mixed up with Nadr Khan, who was later seal keeper at the court of ‘Abbās (*AAA*, vol. 1, p. 501 (this sentence is missing from Majlis 8707, fol. 292a), vol. 2, pp. 620, 660, 836, 899). On his appointment to Astarābād, see also: Mirza Naqi Nasiri, *Titles and Emoluments*, p. 152; *AAA*, vol. 1, p. 402; *AAA Eng*, vol. 2, p. 579.

[236] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 250-251; Kuşoğlu, pp. 433-434.

there.[237] Ṣādiḳī has a ḳaṣīda which is most probably dedicated to Badr Khan. In the headings of his ḳaṣīdas in the *Kulliyāt*, he mostly names the dedicatee of the panegyric; this one, however, has a more general title: *In praise of a sultan and his own life*.[238] The reason might be that when Ṣādiḳī was editing his *Kulliyāt*, Badr Khan had already become *persona non grata* at the court and, as has already been noted, been executed by Shah 'Abbās for involvement in a plot to revolt against the Shah with Ottoman help in 1001/1592-3. The text of the poem is interesting, for it names the patron in the second couplet:

> O, lofty starred axis of the sky,
> O, compass to the center of beings!
>
> You are the moon [*Badr*] who through the honor of its existence
> Lights the candle for stagnant and moving stars alike.

Of course, calling the Beloved/Patron moon in a panegyric is greatly conventional and thus could be merely a trope, corresponding to no real person. However, on the basis of the following couplet, the dedicatee of the poem is undoubtedly Badr Khan and can be dated to the time when he was governor of Astarābād in 997/1589-90:

> "The youths of Astarābād are like
> the moles of the face and roses of the cheeks."[239]

My identification of Badr Khan as the dedicatee of this poem is further corroborated by two other couplets of the same poem, where Ṣādiḳī refers to him as the protector of the Afṣār tribe:

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[237] Ḫayyāmpūr, p. 124; Kuşoğlu, pp. 274-275.

[238] *Kulliyāt,* foll. 43a-44b. In addition, there is a letter in Chaghatay Turkic written by Ṣādiḳī, in which a reference to Astarābād suggests that it was probably addressed to Badr Khan. The letter is a description of the medicament called *çūb-i çīnī*, the China Root or smilax, which was considered an antidote for syphillis (*Kulliyāt*, foll. 507a-b; Malik 6325, foll. 65b-66b).

[239] *Kulliyāt*, fol. 44b.

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If the sun-like firmness of your shield
Did not protect the Afşār,

This would be the time for bad luck, coming from the enemy,
This would be the time for fruitless affairs.[240]

Yazd

As has been indicated above, we do not know whether Ṣādiḳī first went to Yazd and then to Gīlān, or *vice versa*, he first stayed in Gīlān and then in Yazd. Be that as it may, he most probably was there in the retinue of Badr Khan Afşār, who was appointed *ḳurçıbaşı* in 996/1587-88 and sent to Abarkūh in Fārs against Yūsuf Khan Afşār.[241] Significantly, Ṣādiḳī sought and apparently received patronage from both Qizilbash Turkmen and Iranian dignitaries of the city, which had a fairly vibrant cultural life. The former included the governor Muḥammad Beg of the Bayburtlu tribe, who was a poet of some significance in Turkic under the *nom de plume* "Amānī."[242]

> "He is a Bayburtlu. He has the character of a Turk, [but] he is devoted, pious and sober. Despite his Turkishness, he has an inclination for the study of the past, and he also composes poetry, assuming the penname "Amānī". He was governor of Yazd the House of Worship. Sometimes he showed his benevolence by inviting my humble self to his parties to listen to the poems he composed. I have benefited from his compositions. His poems are like this:
>
> *Sāyeng başımdın ey şeyḫ-i ḫūbān kem olmasun*
> *Vaṣlıngdın ayru ʿömr manga bir dem olmasun*
>
> May your shadow over my head never disappear!

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[240] *sipar-i ḫarm-i āftāb-vaş-at / gar nimī-gaşt ḫāmī-yi Afşār*
īn zamān būd az şaʾāmat-i ḫaşm / īn zamān būd az niyāmad-i kār (*Kulliyāt*, fol. 43b).
[241] *AAA*, vol. 1, p. 384; *AAA Eng*, vol. 2, p. 554.
[242] Ḥayyāmpūr, p. 37; Kuşoğlu, p. 182. The unique manuscript of Amānī's *dīvān* is housed at the British Library (Or. 2872; cf. Rieu, *Turkish*, pp. 301-302. Regrettably but typically, only his Turkic poems have been published: Səfərli, Əlyar. *Məhəmmad Əmani əsərləri*. Baku: Şərk-Gərb, 2005; Erbay, Fatih. "Muhammed Beg (Emânî)'in Şiilik İnancına Ait Manzumeleri." *Türk Kültürü ve Haci Bektaş Veli Araştırma Dergisi* 71 (2014), pp. 111-126.

May my life not extend beyond union with you!"[243]

Another Qizilbash poet he met in Yazd was Amīr Khan Beg, an interesting but little known character from the Bekişlü (or Bekeşlü) branch of the Afşār:

"He is from the clans [aḳvām] of Iskandar Khan Bekişlü (May his sins be pardoned!). He was of such a pure and good-natured character that although from the early years of his life to the end of it he was a constant opium-eater, he never revealed a single Turkic melody/expression. He was so brave and caring that he would never feel troubled by his companions and friends. He is a companion of my humble person on the path. May God Most High make his end and the hereafter flourish for him! He left this world in the Abode of Worship, Yazd. His tomb is interred in the cemetery of a tower."[244]

Ṣādiḳī claims that Amīr Khan Beg was his companion on the path. It is difficult to determine what exactly that means, but it probably refers to the days when Ṣādiḳī was a wandering dervish in the 1550s-1560s. Similar to our hero, Amīr Khan Beg also seems to have abandoned his Turkic habitus, or at least he was probably conflicted about it.

In Yazd, Ṣādiḳī became acquainted with other Tajik litterateurs, too. They included one Ṭahmāsp Ḳulı Beg:

"He is a foster brother in the family of Shah Ḫalīl Allāh, the son of the Mīr-i Mīrān.[245] He is very gentlemanly and refined. He is a youth who likes the hammam and the juice of the orange. This is not a sin for someone living in Yazd. He is convinced that poetry is founded upon these. As it would be inappropriate to say more, it will suffice to say his penname. He uses the penname 'Arşī."[246]

Ṣādiḳī met in Ṭahmāsp Ḳulı Beg a product of the marriage policies of House Ṣafavid, who sought to strengthen their credentials by marrying off their scions not only to members of

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[243] Rieu cannot identify the poet, but the quoted poem can be found in Amānī's dīvān. Cf. Səfərli, Məhəmmad Əmani əsərləri, pp. 93-94.
[244] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 119-120; Kuşoğlu, pp. 269-270. According to Awḥadī, one of his protégés was Dervish Muḥammad ḳıṣṣa-ḫʷān, 'reciter of popular stories,' whom he often made fun of (Awḥadī, #1050, vol. 2, p. 1325).
[245] Newman, Safavid Iran, pp. 45, 54, 169 n. 52.
[246] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 61-62; Kuşoğlu, pp. 205-6.

other Qizilbash houses but also to powerful Tajik clans. Ṭahmāsp Ḳulı Beg's mother was Şahzāda Ḫānum, one of the daughters of Shah Ismāʿīl II, and his father was Ḫalīl Allāh (d. 1607-8), hereditary head of the Niʿmatallāhī dervish order and son of the powerful Shah Ġiyāṯ al-Dīn Mīr-i Mīrān (d. 997/1589-90). The Niʿmatullāhī were great patrons, particularly strong in Yazd, supporting such poets as Vaḥşī and building palaces in that city. On the basis of his biographical vignette about him, Ṣādiḳī may have stayed with Ṭahmāsp Ḳulı Beg after the succession of Ḫalīl Allāh as head of the order, i.e. 997/1589-90.[247] Ṭahmāsp Ḳulı Beg was a poet in his own right, leaving a hitherto unpublished divan of Persian poetry behind.[248]

He met other Tajik litterateurs with local pedigrees, such as one Mawlānā Muʾmin Ḥusayn, a learned Sufi who was also affiliated with the Niʾmatullāhīs, in that his father was librarian at the scriptorium [daftarḫāna] of Shah Niʾmat Allāh Bāḳī;[249] Mīr Najdī, who was from a noble family in Yazd and who had traveled extensively, especially to India;[250] Mawlānā Ġubārī, who was an expert calligrapher of the ġubār script;[251] Mīr Ḥazīnī and Faṣīḥī, two merchants by trade, who were also poets;[252] another Mīr Ḥazīnī, who was the son of a local preacher (vāʿiẓ);[253] Rāmī-yi Urdūbādī, a follower of the abovementioned Vaḥşī, who chose this *nom de plume* because he had managed to tame [rām ḳılduġıdın] his master's ghazals, i.e. he wrote successful

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[247] Though it is probable, we should take this dating with the caveat that Ṣādiḳī sometimes designates figures not with the titles they held at the time of the events he describes but with titles they have received by the time he writes his anthology or with ones they were most famous for. For example, he refers to Iskender Pasha as the beglerbegi of Yemen, a title and post that he received years after the two of them met. Therefore, it is only probable but not entirely certain that Ṣādiḳī knew Ṭahmāsp Ḳulı Beg when the latter was alredy in the service of Ḫalīl Allāh b. Mīr-i Mīrān.

[248] *Dīvān-i ʿArşī-yi Yazdī*, Malik, no. 5568. On him, see: Awḥadī, #2090, pp. 2624-26; Yalmahā, Aḥmad Riżā. "Do şāʿir bā yak taḫalluṣ: ʿArşī-yi Yazdī va ʿArşī-yi Ābādī." *Funūn-i adabī (ʿIlmī-pizhūhaşī)* 6:1 (Bahār va tābistān 1393), pp. 71-80. Awḥadī met him personally, when he spent a year in Yazd after the plague in Isfahan in 1000/1591/92.

[249] Ḫayyāmpūr, p. 58; Kuşoğlu, pp. 203-204.

[250] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 98-99; Kuşoğlu, pp. 241-242.

[251] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 298-299; Kuşoğlu, p. 479.

[252] On Mīr Ḥazīnī, cf. Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 88-89; Kuşoğlu, pp. 232-233; on Faṣīḥī, cf. Ḫayyāmpūr, p. 263; Kuşoğlu, p. 445.

[253] *Kulliyāt*, fol. 336a.

*javāb*s, 'response poems' or imitations for them.[254] Ṣādiḳī may also have met in Yazd the aforesaid Vaḥšī-yi Bāfḳī (ca. 1532-1583), one of the most prominent Persian poets of the time who spent the last years of his life in Yazd. If the two of them did meet and if their encounter did indeed take place in Yazd, it would firmly date Ṣādiḳī's visit there between 987/1579-80 when he left Qazvin and the death of Vaḥšī in 1583. However, this dating would need further evidence.[255] Finally, we must mention his association with Ḫʷāja Ġiyās̱-i Naḳšband, the most notable textile-designer of the time:

> He is from Shiraz. He is a descendent of Sheikh Saʿdī (May his Mystery be blessed!). He is adorned with many capabilities. It is possible to say that first he was a rarity of the age and uniquity of the time in painting and silk-weaving. The kings and princes of Iran and Turan sought and desired the objects he made. There is no [other] such strong and able-bodied and powerful and archer-like sheikh as he. After the defeat at Astarābād I was honored to serve him in Yazd the House of Worship. Morever, I had the honor to be his companion and, in addition, to live in his house. If there was a day when he had no guests in his house, this master could not digest food or drink. In order not to be drowned in his praise, I will limit myself to [describing] his poetry, worship and devotion. He composes in various genres of poetry. He can improvise so fast that the listener has no clue he is listening to improvisation. He prays and is vigilant at nights."[256]

A wealthy Shirazi textile manufacturer with a sizable workshop in Yazd and later, probably under Shah ʿAbbās, another one in Isfahan, Ġiyās̱-i Naḳšband is known to have been involved in designing and producing woven silk cloths.[257] Most famously, either at this time or

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[254] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 232-233; Kuşoğlu, pp. 415-416.

[255] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 140-144; Kuşoğlu, pp. 296-300. On him, see: Losensky, Paul. "Vaḥši Bāfqi." *EIr*.

[256] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 186-188; Kuşoğlu, pp. 354-356. According to Awḥadī, he was from Yazd. He was very good at improvisation in poetry. His divan contains approximately 3-4,000 couplets; he has many lampoons and parodies [*hijv* and *hazl*]; he has strange jests (Awḥadī, #2225, vol. 4, pp. 2729-2732). That it was in Yazd and not elsewhere that they met is also confirmed by a panegyric *ḳaṣīda* Ṣādiḳī dedicated to Ġiyās̱: "You are right that I am seeking Yazd, / I will not deny that I am impatient" (*Kulliyāt*, foll. 41b-43a). See also: Bāfḳī, Muḥammad Mufīd b. Maḥmūd. *Jāmiʿ-i mufīdī*. Ed. Īraj Afšār. Tehran: Asāṭīr, 2007, pp. 426-431.

[257] His silk brocades are among the finest produced in Ṣafavid lands, seven of them surviving with a signature, which is a good sign of his significance.

[257] Spuehler, F. "Textiles." *CHI*, vol. VI, p. 723. Ackerman, Phyllis. "A Biography of Ghiyath the Weaver." *Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archeology* 7 (Dec. 1934); Spuehler, F. "Textiles." *CHI*, vol. VI, p.

later when Ṣādiḳī was at the royal atelier in Isfahan, H̱ʷāja Ġiyās̱-i Naḳṣband commissioned him to produce a painting in emulation of a Dutch engraving, perhaps the first Iranian artwork imitating a western piece of art.[258]

Mashhad

On the basis of a letter Ṣādiḳī wrote in Chaghatay Turkic to some unnamed courtiers of ʿAbbās, the painter-poet visited the Shiite holy city on more than one occasion. The letter can be dated between 1001/1593 and 1006/1597-8, for in it, Ṣādiḳī seems to be heading the library staff on a mission to Mashhad and he refers, albeit in a highly sarcastic tone, to ʿAlī Riżā-yi ʿAbbāsī as being on the library staff. He mentions that when the late Sultan Ḥamza Mīrzā visited the Mashhad shrine—probably in 989/1582-3, when the prince participated in his father Muḥammad H̱udābanda's campaign to put down the rebellion of ʿAlī Ḳulı Khan Ṣāmlū and Murṣid Ḳulı Khan Ustājlū, who tried to put the young ʿAbbās Mīrzā on the throne—the prince proposed to renovate its roof and walls. Certain nobles thwarted the plan; and in the end, Ṣādiḳī was sent presumably to Qazvin, in order to raise the necessary funds, but this also came to nought. Ṣādiḳī now pleads with ʿAbbās to realize his brother, the late Ḥamza's pledge and asks to be appointed the director of the project.[259]

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723. His silk brocades are among the finest produced in Ṣafavid lands, seven of them surviving with a signature, which is a good sign that the artist was becoming important.

[258] Skelton, Robert. "Ghiyath al-Din ʿAli-yi Naqshband and an episode in the life of Sadiqi Beg." In: *Persian Painting from the Mongols to the Qajars: Studies in honour of Basil W. Robinson.* Ed. Robert Hillenbrand. London; New York: I.B. Tauris in association with The Centre of Middle Eastern Studies, University of Cambridge, 2000, pp. 249-263; Bailey, Gauvin Alexander. "Supplement: The Sins of Sadiqi's Old Age." In: *ibid.*, pp. 264-265.

[259] *Kulliyāt*, foll. 508b-509b; Malik 6325, foll. 67a-68a. The letter also refers to one Malik Sultan Ḥasan, who lent him a horse and money in Isfarāyīn on the way to Mashhad. It is unclear who he is. There was a Malik Sultan Ḥusayn Lavāsānī, who was a scion of the Bādushpandid family, but his identity with the Malik Sultan Ḥasan in Ṣādiḳī's letter needs further evidence. He was governor of Nūr (a district in Māzandarān situated between Kujūr and Āmul) in 997/1589 (Mirza Naqi Nasiri, *Titles and Emoluments,* p. 251, citing Ṣāmlū, Valīḳulī b. Dāʾūdḳulī. *Ḳiṣaṣ al-ḫāḳānī.* Ed. Ḥasan Sādāt Nāṣirī. Tehran: Sāzmān-i Çāp va Intiṣārāt-i Vizārat-i Farhang-i, Irṣād-i Islāmī, vol, 1, p. 167). He sided with Shah ʿAbbās in 1005/1596-97 during his capture of Lārījān (*AAA* pp. 521-22, 535; *AAA Eng*, vol. 2, pp. 696-98, 714; cf. also: Calmard, Jean. "Lār and Lārīdjān." *EI²*).

Ṣādiḳī at the zenith: head of the young Shah ‘Abbās's royal atelier in Qazvin

Ṣādiḳī spent most or all of his last twenty-two years between 996/1588 and 1018/1609-10 at the court of Shah ‘Abbās. Of course, ‘Abbās was quite a peripatetic ruler very often on the move in his vast realm; according to Nomi Heger and Willem Floor, painters, like other court retainers, followed the court on campaigns, the studio getting special funding for that purpose, but more concrete data about this are few.[260] In 1006/1597-8, Shah ‘Abbās transferred his capital from Qazvin to Isfahan.[261] Although in the first redaction of his biographical work completed in 1005/1596-7, Ḳāżī Aḥmad still refers to Ṣādiḳī as the current library director, Mullā Jalāl refers to him in 1006/1597-8 as the former librarian who was replaced with ‘Alī Riżā-yi ‘Abbāsī, a real favorite with the ruler.[262] Originating in Tabriz, ‘Alī Riżā-yi ‘Abbāsī was first a protégé of Farhād Khan Ḳaramānlū from 999/1590-91 until Shah ‘Abbās ordered him to join his entourage in 1001/1593. His influence and intimacy with the ruler was such that shortly after the capital was transferred to Isfahan in 1597, he replaced Ṣādiḳī at the head of the royal atelier, perhaps by accusing him of planning to immigrate to India, as evidenced by a lampoon Ṣādiḳī wrote against him, vehemently denying such charges.[263] Ṣādiḳī may well not have been the only victim of ‘Alī Riżā-yi ‘Abbāsī's unbridled ambition; many contemporaries thought the latter to have a hand in the murder of the other prominent calligrapher of the age, Mīr ‘Imād, though there is no clear evidence. ‘Abbās commissioned ‘Alī Riżā-yi ‘Abbāsī with the designation of inscriptions of the

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[260] Heger, *The Status and the Image of the Persianate Artist*, p. 214. Willem Floor suggests that Ṣādiḳī participated in military campaigns as a member of ‘Abbās's *‘amala* or court staff, which was organized along military lines (Floor, *Safavid Government Institutions*, p. 128). For Shah ‘Abbās's itineraries, see: Melville, Charles. "From Qars to Qandahar: The Itineraries of Shah ʿAbbas I (995-1038 /1587-1629)." In: *Etudes Safavides*. Ed. Jean Calmard. Paris and Tehran: Institut Français de Recherche en Iran, 1993, pp. 195-224.

[261] *AAA*, vol. 1, p. 544; *AAA Eng*, vol. 2, p. 724; Jalāl al-Dīn Munajjim, *Rūznāma*, p. 161. Stepehen P. Blake suggests 1590 for the date of the transfer of the capital, which has been convincingly refuted by Susan Babaie (Blake, Stephen P. In: Newman, Andrew J. *Society and Culture in the Early Modern Middle East: Studies On Iran in the Safavid Period*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2003, pp. 146-47; idem. *Half the World: The Social Architecture of Safavid Isfahan, 1590-1722*. Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda, 1999; see its review by Babaie, Sussan. *Iranian Studies* 33: 3/4 (2000), pp. 478-82; Haneda, Masashi and Matthee, Rudi. "Isfahan vii. Safavid Period." *EIr*.

[262] Mullā Jalāl, *Tārīḫ-i ‘abbāsī*, p. 170.

[263] *Kulliyāt*, foll. 535b-538a.

most architecturally symbolic projects of his: in Isfahan, the Sheikh Luṭf Allāh Mosque in 1012/1603-04 and the Royal Mosque in 1026/1617-8, and in Mashhad, the shrine of Imam Riżā and the tomb of Ḫʷāja Rabī' in 1024/1615-16 and 1026/1617-18, respectively.[264]

However, the rivalry between Ṣādiḳī and 'Alī Riżā-yi 'Abbāsī did not end there, and Ṣādiḳī later tried everything in his power to undermine his successor in the eyes of the monarch. According to the account of the court astrologer, Mullā Jalāl's diary, 'Alī Riżā was commissioned by 'Abbās to create a great *muraḳḳa,* 'album of paintings and calligraphies', entitled the *Ḫarḳanāma*, a task that may originally have been given to Ṣādiḳī before his dismissal. As 'Alī Riżā seems to have been slow with the completion of the project, Ṣādiḳī moved against him, charging him of dereliction. Welch suggests that another reason for Ṣādiḳī's step was that after his dismissal, 'Alī Riżā prevented him from obtaining major pictorial commissions. Although on military campaign, 'Abbās ordered 'Alī Riżā to immediately proceed to his camp along with all the staff working on the project, painters, gilders and binders. 'Alī Riżā succeeded in averting the charges, and completed the project in 1008/1599-1600.[265]

If it had not been enough, Ṣādiḳī's name was further besmirched even after his death. According to the Memoirs of Jahāngīr, the Mughal emperor, in 1027/1618, his envoy by the name of Khan 'Ālam acquired in Isfahan a 15th-century Timurid painting painted by Ḫalīl Mīrzā Ṣāhruḫī. When 'Abbās heard of the envoy's stroke of luck, he asked him to show him the painting. When the envoy reluctantly obeyed, it turned out that it had been stolen from the royal atelier and sold by Ṣādiḳī presumably during his tenure there.[266]

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[264] Soucek, Priscilla P. "Alī-Reżā Abbāsī." *EIr*.
[265] *ibid*.; Welch, *Artists for the Shah*, pp. 69-70; *idem.* "Art in Iran ix. Safavid To Qajar Periods." *EIr*.
[266] Welch, *Artists for the Shah*, pp. 68-9, where he quotes: Jahangir. *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*. Transl. Alexander Rogers. Ed. Henry Beveridge. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1909-14, vol. 2, p. 116.

While at Qazvin, Ṣādiḳī sought out new patrons for his art. For example, in a letter he wrote in Chaghatay Turkic, he offers drawings and his services to the Arabshahid Uzbek ruler of Khwarazm, Ḥājim Khan via Muḥammad Ḳulı Sultan, one of the latter's sons who was brought up at the Ṣafavid court between 983/1575-6 and 1001/1592-3 and at whose parties in Qazvin Ṣādiḳī had been a frequent guest.[267] He claims that if there are some slips of the pen in the drawings, the Khan should attribute such errors to the toils suffered on the Khorasan campaign, which dates the letter between 1007/1598-9 when Ḥājim Khan had already regained his territories from the Abulkhayrids with Ṣafavid aid and Ṣādiḳī had lost his position at ʿAbbās's library, and 1011/1603, when Ḥājim Khan died.

But perhaps Ḥājim Khan was not the only Uzbek notable Ṣādiḳī applied to for patronage. He has a letter to one Kāmrān Mīrzā written in Chaghatay Turkic. In it, Ṣādiḳī mentions that Kāmrān Mīrzā commissioned him to make a painting but left hastily before he could have carried out the task. Therefore, Ṣādiḳī entrusts it along with a copy of the *Canon* to some folks who are from Khorezm and are on their way there, asking Kāmrān, whom he depicts as well versed in painting and oil-varnish, for further commissions and even permanent employment.[268] The dedicatee of the epistle is difficult to identify with certainty. The most famous Kāmrān Mīrzā was the son of Bābur, the founder of the Mughal Empire, who was a notable poet in Chaghatay. However, Kāmrān Mīrzā was blinded in 1553 and died in 1557 on pilgrimage in Mecca; equally

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[267] *Kulliyāt*, foll. 515a-515b; Malik 6325, foll. 73a-73b. The heading of the letter is *bi-ḫidmat-i Muḥammad Ḳulı Mīrzā maḥdūmzāda-yi Ḥājim Khan nivişta şud*, which would suggest Muḥammad Ḳulı Mīrzā as the addressee, but the content reveals that the letter is in fact addressed to his father, Ḥājim Khan (965-1011/1558-1602). Belonging to the Yādgārid/Şaybānid (ʿArabşāhid) line of the Chingisids, Ḥājim Khan was the ruler of Khwarazm, and was in a rivalry with the Abū al-Ḫayrid/Şaybānids of Bukhara and Balkh, who once expelled him from Merv and the Lower Amu Darya region, making him ally with the Ṣafavids. Between 1002/1593 and 1007/1598-9, he was a guest of ʿAbbās in Qazvin and participated in his Khorasan campaigns in 1004/1595-6 and 1007/1598-9, the latter date marking the end of Abulkhayrid Uzbek rule in Khorasan and the reestablishment of Ḥājim Khan's rule in Khwarazm (McChesney, Robert. "Four Sources on Shah ʿAbbās's Building of Isfahan." *Muqarnas* 5 (1988), pp. 103-134, n. 22 on p. 126; *AAA*, vol. 1, pp. 109, 452, 523; *AAA Eng*, vol. 1, pp. 181-2, vol. 2, pp. 646, 598-9, 748-9; Bregel, Yuri. "Arabšāhī." *EIr*).
[268] *Kulliyāt*, foll. 515b-516a; Malik 6325, foll. 73b-74a.

important, we do not know that he had ever ventured into Iran beyond Qandahar. There is one Mīrzā Kāmrān of Kūhdom, who played a leading role in the power struggles in Gīlān at the very beginning of the 1580s.[269] Ṣādiķī could certainly entrust the letter to people going to Khorezm, who could drop it in Gīlān on the way. However, there is no mention in the sources of Kāmrān Mīrzā of Kūhdom ever leaving Gīlān. Another possibility is that our Kāmrān Mīrzā was a yet unidentifiable notable from Khorezm, but this would need further evidence, which I have not been able to find.[270]

Fall from power but not from grace: Ṣādiķī's last years in Isfahan

Ṣādiķī lived about a dozen years after his dismissal from the directorship of ʿAbbās's atelier. Ironically, we know very little about this last period of his life, although he was most probably almost always at the capital. Most likely, he spent this time in the new capital, Isfahan; as is attested by its colophon, he definitely produced the autograph copy of his collected works there in 1010/1601-2. It has been widely discussed in scholarship that the transfer of the capital from Qazvin to Isfahan was part of a larger new political, economic and cultural centralization program that the rule of ʿAbbās brought. His new vision meant centralization on multiple levels: in the military, he greatly increased the ratio of the so-called *ġulām* troops to counterbalance the military dominance of the Qizilbash; he financed this and other projects by imposing state monopolies on the production and trade of silk, the most important mercantile commodity of the age; he tried to block the outflow of species and monopolized coinage; he extended royal land tenure (*ḫāṣṣa*) at the expense of state lands (*mamālik*) previously used for revenue assignments;

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[269] *AAA*, vol. 1, pp. 111-114; *AAA Eng*, vol. 1, pp. 391-95.
[270] Martin Dickson and Stuart Cary Welch date the *Canon*, which is mentioned in the letter, to the early 1590s, when Ṣādiķī was chief librarian under ʿAbbās. Although their suggestion is plausible, it would need further evidence, for there is no reference to ʿAbbās in the poem and it has no date (Dickson-Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*, vol. 1, p. 276).

he conquered and added to his royal domains outlying semi-indpendent territories, such as Gīlān; he substituted Qizilbash tribal chieftains with loyal state slaves called *ġulām* in key administrative and governmental positions; he cracked down on religious dissent, most notably the *Nuḳtavī* movement, which posed a messianic challenge to the Ṣafavids' own messianic charisma. Corollary to these policies was his fundamental refashioning of his new capital, Isfahan: on one hand, he forcibly resettled here Armenians from Julfa, in order to protect and tap into, their commercial activities; on the other hand, he gave Isfahan a new architectural landscape that symbolized the novel political, religious and economic orientation of the realm.

We cannot dismiss either Ṣādiḳī's character or court rivalry and intrigue as possible chief causes for his dismissal, as Iskandar Munṣī and Awḥadī would respectively have us believe. We might recall that Iskandar Munṣī features him among the artists of the reign of Ṭahmāsp, and Awḥadī presents him as a follower of Lisānī, a prominent poet of the incidentalist style in the first half of the 16th century. It is also possible to hypothetically connect Ṣādiḳī's declining fortunes at 'Abbās's court to the fact that he came from the patronage networks that marked the last part of Ṭahmāsp's and the decade of Muḥammad Ḫudābanda's respective reigns. We can arguably read the *Concourse* as a document of the literary life perpetuated by those very networks of poets and patrons; it definitely does not give an 'Abbās-centered view of the elite, having been written in the early years of that monarch. 'Abbās may also have been following the old maxim, "A new sweeper sweeps well" when he substituted Ṣādiḳī with 'Alī Riżā-yi 'Abbāsī. It probably happened at the same time or closely thereabout as the transfer of the capital. While the lack of positive textual evidence should make us careful when connecting Ṣādiḳī's dismissal and the new dispensation under 'Abbās, it is safe to conjecture that our hero's removal from office fits the new cultural-political atmosphere outlined above.

If we go along this line of thought, we can hypothetize that it was especially because of this new dispensation under 'Abbās that Ṣādiḵī is depicted as a cantankerous fellow by Iskandar Beg. Although the artist was probably in the service of the monarch from the very beginning of his rule and possibly even before that, with the passage of time Ṣādiḵī may have become regarded as a man of yesterday. It does not mean that his art was lagging behind the new developments of the age: quite the contrary, as we shall see shortly; but the increasingly apparent new patterns in the patronage of art and literature may have been challenging for him to follow. Be that as it may have been, at least financially he was secure, for if we are to believe Iskandar Beg's account cited above, despite his loss of office, he retained his rank (*manṣab*) and continued to receive his salary until his death, which shows that he still enjoyed the favors of 'Abbās and that perhaps the monarch still saw in him the potential for outstanding work.

Ṣādiḵī the Painter

It is here that giving a very brief sketch of Ṣādiḵī's pictorial work with a focus on patronage and the possible relationship of this patronage to the patronage behind and the audience for literature is in order. His painting is given masterful analysis in Anthony Welch's study of late 16th and early 17th century Ṣafavid painting, and other details of it have also been discussed in scholarship, giving sufficient basis for this section.[271]

Trained by one of the most important painters of 16th-century Persia, Muẓaffar 'Alī, Ṣādiḵī was heir to an artistic tradition that was and was considered to be, the continuation of the grand arts of the book that came to full flourish under the Timurids in the 15th century and was perpetuated by the Aqqoyunlu, too. Accordingly, art historians traditionally distinguish between

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[271] Welch, *Artists for the Shah*; idem. "Art in Iran ix. Safavid to Qajar Periods." *EIr.*

the various periods and styles of 15th-16th century Iranian painting in keeping with the successive and often mutually competing centers of art patronage with the caveat that the differences between the various shools are not always clear-cut. The Ṣafavids inherited the painters of the so-called "Tabriz School" or "Turkmen style," which had been patronized by the Aqqoyunlu, and they took over the artists of the "Herat School," which produced a new synthesis in the pictorial arts. Continuity with the "Tabriz school" was embodied most prominently in Sulṭān Muḥammad, while Ṣādiḳī's mentor, Muẓaffar 'Alī, was a nephew to and student of the greatest master of Timurid painting, Bihzād, the most paradigmatic figure of the so-called "Herat school." Bihzād brought this style to Tabriz when in 928/1522 he accompanied the eight-year old crown prince Ṭahmāsp on his way from Herat, where the latter had been nominal governor, to Tabriz, at the behest of his father, Shah Ismā'īl I. In the first half of the reign of Ṭahmāsp, the arts of the book gained unprecedented patronage, which is usually attributed to the young monarch's personal tastes but, as I hypothetized above, can also be linked to his policies after 1533 of trying to steer away power from the Qizilbash houses and base his rule more on sharia-centered justice, Persian notions of kingship and Tajik administrators. Be that as it may, Ṣādiḳī's master, Muẓaffar 'Alī was at the very center of Ṭahmāsp's art patronage, which can be illustrated by the fact that, aside from Mīrzā 'Alī, Muẓaffar 'Alī was the only painter to have worked on all the three largest book-illustrating projects of Ṭahmāsp's reign, the Houghton *Shahnāma*, the British Museum *Ḫamsa* of Niẓāmī and the Freer Gallery *Haft awrang* of Jāmī.[272] As has already been referred to, Ṭahmāsp discontinued patronizing painting in 1556, and artists with Ṣādiḳī among them had to find new maecenases either at princely courts or abroad, in Mughal India or Ottoman lands.

Ṣādiḳī was almost forty when, after a promising beginning, many years of vagabonding and over half a decade of service to Amīr Khan Mawṣillū, he was hired on a major book painting

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[272] Welch, *Artists for the Shah*, p. 50.

project. He must have had commissions prior to this but those paintings have not survived. His first known and signed works can be found in the already mentioned British Museum *Garşāspnāma* dated 981/1573. The calligraphy was executed by the young Mīr ʿImād, while the two other known painters on the project were his master Muẓaffar ʿAlī and Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn.[273]

As has already been referred to, Şādiķī was on the staff of the royal atelier during Shah Ismāʿīl II's short reign, who intended to reinvigorate royal patronage of painting neglected in the last decades of Ţahmāsp's rule. The new monarch employed Şādiķī along with several other prominent artists in the production of a new *Shahnāma* copy, clearly in an effort to emulate the great achievements of the arts of the book under Ţahmāsp. Although the project was shortly discontinued after Shah Ismāʿīl II's death and due to Muḥammad Ḫudābanda's apparent disinclination to keep the painters' crew together and support the pictorial arts, Şādiķī had apparently accumulated enough prestige and networking capital to land him a number of further commissions for paintings or drawings, even though only his contributions to the already mentioned *Ḥabīb al-siyar* from 987/1579-80 are extant.

When ʿAbbās came to the throne in 996/1588 and appointed Şādiķī head of the royal *Kitābḫāna*, as an art patron he first treaded the path of Ţahmāsp and the two Shah Ismāʿīls in commissioning a *Shahnāma*.[274] The completion of the project, only sixteen paintings from which have survived, was largely the work of its director, Şādiķī, and a new rising star, the young Riżā-yi ʿAbbāsī, the son of another important painter from Qazvin, ʿAlī Aşġar. Riżā's original genious, in the opinion of Anthony Welch, strongly influenced the also phenomenal but more traditional

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[273] British Museum, Or. 12985. Cf. Titley, Norah M. "A Manuscript of the "Garshāspnāmeh"." *The British Museum Quarterly* 31 (1966), pp. 27-32; Welch, *Artists for the Shah*, pp. 74-79.

[274] Arberry, A.J. et al. *The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts and Miniatures.* Dublin: Hodges Figgis, 1959-1962, vol. 3, ms. 277; Welch, *Artists for the Shah*, pp. 106-129; Robinson Basil W. *Persian Miniature Painting from Collections in the British Isles.* London: H.M.S.O., 1967, no. 60; Welch, Anthony. "Painting and Patronage under Shah ʿAbbas I." idem. "Painting and Patronage under Shah ʿAbbas I". *Iranian Studies* 7 (1974), (Studies on Isfahan: Proceedings of the Isfahan Colloquium, Part II), pp. 473-477.

Ṣādiḳī. The latter's office was so rewarding financially that he could commission a copy of Kāṣifī's *Anvār-i Suhaylī*, dated 13 Safar 1002/8 November 1593, which is comprised of 363 folios of elegant calligraphy and 107 miniatures ostensibly painted by Ṣādiḳī himself. One of the most remarkable features of these paintings is the novelty of their themes. The genre-naturalistic elements in some of the paintings, including scenes from the market, as well as village and home life are in stark contrast with the allegorical world present in the great book illustration projects of the previous epoch.[275]

The new subject matter ties in with the artistic changes which were increasingly visible from the latter half of the 16th century and which reflected changes in audience and patronage, which, in turn, were arguably connected to cultural and social processes. Provincial centers of art had existed for a long time before the emergence of the Ṣafavids and had recognizable local features. However, due to the cultural hegemony of the center by the end of the 16th century, local centers of patronage had either disappeared or become indistinguishable from the center.

> "The remarkable unity which the Safavis fostered in the religious, social, and political life of Iran was reflected in the arts as well. Thus, in comparison with the preceding Timurid period, Safavi art is relatively meager in provincial styles."[276]

Parallel to this, there was now a broader social base of consumers of art and the royal court was not the only center for art patronage any more. Urban notables, officials, *ġulām*, professionals, as well as merchants were also interested in acquiring art; however, their financial resources could not match those of the court. It is probably this development that is behind the proliferation of single-sheet paintings, drawings and calligraphies in the age, while the larger manuscript projects employing a range of artists from calligraphers to painters to book-binders,

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[275] Welch, *Artists for the Shah*, pp. 125-142.
[276] Welch, *Artists for the Shah*, p. 175; cf. also: idem. "Art in Iran ix. Safavid to Qajar Periods." *EIr.*

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etc., continued to be produced at the court. There was a less affluent, urban "middle class" as new connoisseurs of art, and only the wealthiest could afford to have single-sheet pieces collected in an album called *muraḳḳaʻ*. In fact, Ṣādiḳī is very well-known today for his drawings, and Riżā also had many drawings as well as single-sheet paintings. The new audience, setting and the rising importance of single-sheet works can also be illustrated by the already quoted anecdote about Ṣādiḳī from Naṣrābādī's biographical anthology from 1083-1091/1672-1680, the *locus classicus* as narrative evidence for the changing art patronage scene.

"Ṣādiḳ Beg. He is from the nobles of the Afşār. He was an intimate in the service of Shah ʻAbbās II such that in the end he was honored with the position of librarianship. He had no match either in the art of painting or in valor and prowess. He was always disheveled because of his excess of ambition. I have heard the following from the late Mulla Ġurūrī, who was a truthful man [ṣidḳ-andīş]: "Once I wrote a qasida in praise of him. I presented it at the café. When I reached the following couplet which praises his literary discourse:

> çūn ʻarṣa-yi zang u ṣadā-yi zang ast
> ṣīt-i suḫan-aş dar jahān-i imkān

> The fame of his discourse in the incidental world
> Is like a rusty surface and cry [or rust] of rust.

He took the copy from me, saying, 'My patience cannot take more of hearing this', and left. A minute later he came back and gave me 5 tumans wrapped in a cloth together with 2 pages which he had drawn on with black ink. He said, "Merchants buy my drawings for 3 tumans apiece, so they can take them to India. God forbid that you sell cheap." And he apologized. Put shortly, he was unique in his time in every field."[277]

The encounter takes place not at the court but at the tavern, a highly civic setting. We see here an exchange of gifts: an occasional poem rewarded with five tumans and two drawings of an even higher market value. Ṣādiḳī encourages Mulla Ġurūrī to sell his art produced impromptu, signifying that he considers it as a commodity. He does not feature as the anonymous artist but as

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[277] Naṣrābādī, *Taẕkira-yi Naṣrābādī*. Ed. Vaḥīd Dastgirdī. Tihrān: Kitābʼfurūshī-yi Furūghī, [1352/1973], pp. 39-41, 290-291; *idem.* Ed. Muḥsin Nājī Naṣrābādī. Tehran: Intishārāt-i Asāṭir, 1378, pp. 56-7.

the self-conscious craftsman who is aware that his work sells on an international level. All in all, the high number of patrons whom Ṣādiḳī had or at least from whom he hoped to receive patronage remarkably correlates with the anecdote found in Naṣrābādī's biographical dictionary.

New clientele, new themes, new media - these were matched by a nascent new aesthetics. In the passage from the *Canon* cited above, Ṣādiḳī idealizes his mentor, Muẓaffar 'Alī, for portraying humans based on direct observation, as opposed to relying on stock-in-trade topoi:

> When he gave face to a form,
> It counted as astonishing wizardry.
>
> When he set about portraying someone,
> He created his ideal on the basis of his form.
>
> No one could distinguish it [from the real]
> Except for his movements and stoppages.
>
> When he chose a damsel [*ra'nā*] to depict,
> The legs of desire went shaking.
>
> When he gave the form of depiction to a brave one,
> His [i.e. the brave one's - *F.Cs.*] rashness was mummified by the mind.[278]

The painting should reveal the inner form of its subject which is based on real observation. "Within these canons idealized images coexist with those which appear more inclined toward naturalism, both perhaps views of the same inner reality of which Ṣādeqī speaks."[279]

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[278] *Canon* (Baku ed.), pp. 27-28.
[279] Welch, "Art in Iran ix. Safavid to Qajar Periods." *EIr*.

The new clientele and new aesthetics can perhaps be best illustrated by Ṣādiḳī's contribution to the adaptation of Western forms, motives and themes in Ṣafavid painting.[280] Probably in Yazd, he was commissioned by the aforesaid textile-designer, Ġiyās al-Dīn Naḳṣband, to produce a painting based on a 15ᵗʰ- or 16ᵗʰ-century Dutch engraving which depicted the Virgin Mary holding the infant Jesus.[281]

> "This unusual group of drawings represents Sadiqi's last great experiment, an attempt to introduce elements of the 'Frankish style' into Persian painting. At first he adapted images directly from engravings, although, always infusing them with his own personality. His next step was bolder; he imposed Western techniques of modeling and perspective upon the quintessentially linear style of Riza-yi 'Abbasi."[282]

Due to the fact that, unlike before, the artist was now working alone on a single painting and not in a team on a large manuscript project, and that he was working for a heterogenous audience with a variety of different demands, it came to be all important for him that his work bear his signature. Indeed, in the age the number of signed manuscripts increased, and some were, rightly or wrongly, assigned later. While there was certainly no copyright or individualism in the modern sense of the word, the emphasis on the presentation of the artist as an individual as opposed to the almost complete anonimity in painting in earlier times does suggest that a new understanding of the self was in the making.[283]

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[280] The adaptation of Western forms, motifs and subject matter in painting would have a long career in Ṣafavid Persia. Cf. Landau, Amy. *Farangī-sāzī at Isfahan: the Court Painter Muhammad Zamān, the Armenians of New Julfa and Shāh Sulaymān (1666-1694).* Oxford: Somerville College, 2007 (unpublished PhD thesis).

[281] Skelton, Robert. "Ghiyath al-Din 'Ali-yi Naqshband and an Episode in the Life of Sadiqi Beg." In: *Persian Painting from the Mongols to the Qajars: Studies in honour of Basil W. Robinson.* Ed. Robert Hillenbrand. London; New York: I.B. Tauris in association with The Centre of Middle Eastern Studies, University of Cambridge, 2000, pp. 249-263; Bailey, Gauvin Alexander. "Supplement: The Sins of Sadiqi's Old Age." In: *idem*, pp. 264-265.

[282] Bailey, "Supplement: The Sins of Sadiqi's Old Age," p. 265.

[283] In her dissertation, Nomi Heger is at variance with this view. She argues that the attribution of paintings was more for the cognoscenti than a sign of individualism, which is also shown by the fact that the *nisba* of the artist could change over time (Heger, *The Status and the Image of the Persianate Artist*, pp. 159-160).

Such changes in the clientele, subject matter, media and style in painting found their parallel in poetry, too, particularly in the emergence of the *tāza-gū'ī,* 'the Fresh Style,' better known as the *Sabk-i hindī,* 'the Indian Style,' of Persian poetry.

Ṣādiḳī as a Persian Litterateur

In the following few passages we will look at Ṣādiḳī's Persian poetry. The subject of the present dissertation and limitations of space do not allow us to present a detailed discussion of his extensive output in that language, even if it was more sizeable than what he wrote in Turkic. In this exposé, the focus will be on how Ṣādiḳī's Persian poetry could be situated in the changing scene of patronage and style in the 16th century.

Changes in patronage to poetry in the 15th-16th centuries

The anecdote in Naṣrābādī about Mullā Ġurūrī and Ṣādiḳī quoted above and the increase in the social basis for the arts can lead us now into a brief overview of the socio-cultural context in which Ṣādiḳī's Persian works were produced. This is an important issue, for the socio-cultural context of Persian markedly differed from that of Turkic. While the former was the language of power, an increasingly urbanized middle-class and the vehicle to convey Twelver Shiism to the population at large, Turkic had a far more marginal position, being practised by Turkmen tribes and Qizilbash households with decreasing political, economic and cultural power under 'Abbās, and, as we shall see in the following chapter, Turkic was far less used in the spread of official Twelver Shiism than Persian.

There was a true Republic of Letters in the Islamic world in both Arabic and Persian, in which both languages had a more or less distinct social and geographical distribution of socio-

cultural functions. This vast cosmopolis was based on the international madrasa system with a largely homogenous curriculum, an international body of scholars and men of letters, mutually competing courts sponsoring literature, and urban centers whose commercial, political, religious and cultural life were administered and sustained by a veritable class of patricians. This, along with increased literacy rates led to an increasing bulk of literary production in both Arabic and Persian.[284] As to Persian, already Dawlatşāh, the noted biographer of Timurid times in the second half of the 15th century complained about the proliferation of poets. He claims that in the past, poets were greatly appreciated by rulers, quite in contrast with his own times when poets are not so much valued

> "because of unworthy and undeserving claimants of this profession. Wherever you listen there is a poet murmuring, wherever you look there is a Laṭīfī ["wit-man"] or a Ẓarīfī ["joker"], but they do not know the difference between poetry [şi'r] and barley [şa'īr] or posterior [ridf] and refrain [radīf]. As the saying goes, 'Whatever is too many is inferior.'"[285]

Dawlatshāh says he has written his work because poetry can embellish and bring to the fore, inner meaning; however, recently, poetry has not been given its true value because there are many bad poets. Poetry is now the commodity of laymen, too, i.e. commoners who have not been trained in Arabic grammar and, implicitly, the *adab* culture that came down to the Timurids.

> "The 9th/15th century witnessed profound changes in the social situation and function of poetry, its authors and audiences. Poetry written according to the rules and conventions originally established under court patronage spread throughout all the urban classes of society, from wealthy merchants to lowly craftsmen. Even within the court, poetry increasingly became one of the expected accomplishments of every gentleman and less

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[284] For the increasing literary production in Arabic, see: al-Musawi, *The Medieval Islamic Republic of Letters*; for that in Persian, see: Losensky, *Welcoming Fighānī*, p. 136.

[285] Dawlatshāh. *The Tadhkiratu 'sh-Shu'ará ("Memoirs of the poets") of Dawlatsháh bin 'Alá'u 'd-Dawla Bakhtísháh al-Ghází of Samarqand.* Ed. Edward G. Browne. London: Luzac, 1901, p. 10.

the prerogative of the specialized, professional poet. Fluency in the poetic tradition gained a new importance, not only as a sign of breeding and education, but as a prerequisite for participation in the court's cultural life."[286]

Poetry was less expensive and thus affordable to many more people of more modest social background; at the same time it could easily lure the support of a whole array of patrons from the Timurid dynasty, several of whom were either practicing poets themselves, or sought to immortalize their name through the patronage they provided to poets who, in turn, would express their gratitude by dedicating their works to them or by just being around and contributing to the cultural radiance of the court. Not only the number of potential poets, but also that of potential patrons increased greatly. Indeed, with the Timurids' intention to boost their legitimacy by patronizing Persian letters – a policy also pursued in their wake by the Turkmen and Uzbek dynasties, as well as the Ṣafavids – and the spread of literacy in the late Middle Period of Islam, being able to versify or at least appreciate poetry was increasingly a marker of elite society membership, not only for the courtly but also for the mercantile elite.

Everyone writing poetry used a penname, which they would put in the (usually last or the penultimate) singnatory verse of a poem. It seems that most bilingual poets of Turkic and Persian (or, like Fuẓūlī, trilingual ones writing in these two plus Arabic) used the same poetic penname regardless of what language they wrote a given piece in. Ṣādiḳī was no exception; in fact, we only find him under this name in the sources, at times also bearing his title (*Beg*) and tribal *nisba*. We can conclude, therefore, that, similar to most other bilingual poets in Ṣafavid Persia, such as

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[286] Lentz, Thomas W. and Lowry, Glenn D. *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century.* Washington, D.C.; Los Angeles: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institute, and Los Angeles Museum of Art, 1989, p. 162; quoted also in Losensky, *Welcoming Fighānī*, p. 136.

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Ṣā'ib, Ṣānī Takkalū or Vā'iż-i Ḳazvīnī, he did not want to consciously separate his Persian and Turkic poetic personas with different pennames.[287]

The poetic and artistic networks were decidedly Tajik. Ṣādiḳī can be considered a first-generation litterateur and artist whose life had a different trajectory from that of, say, Riżā, who came from a well-estaablished Tajik family and whose father had also been a painter. It must have taken Ṣādiḳī some time to become well-connected in the Persian literary and artistic scene.

A poet of two styles

As has been mentioned above, of his Persian literary works, it is Ṣādiḳī's *'Abbāsnāma*, a historical narrative poem or epic that seems to have been best known to his biographers. Unfortunately, the historical epic in general and this piece by Ṣādiḳī in particular, has received little attention in scholarship. Its occurrence in the biographical literature is somewhat surprising, because this apparent popularity is not matched by the extant manuscript evidence; as of now, the work is known to be preserved only in the Tabriz *Kulliyāt*. Ṣādiḳī never completed the *'Abbāsnāma*; it lacks the conventional ending, otherwise required of a narrative poem.[288] One can surmise that he might have abandoned this project after his dismissal from his position as director of 'Abbās's *kitābḫāna*. The work presents the life of 'Abbās from the time when he almost fell victim to Shah Ismā'īl II's purge of the Ṣafavid family in 984-985/1576-77 to 1007/1598, the

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[287] This is in sharp contrast with Mīr 'Alī Şīr, who used the *nom de plume* Navā'ī in his Turkic, and Fānī in his Persian poetry. We can argue that such a conscious assumption on the part of the Timurid poet of two different poetic personas differentiated by language ties in with his literary-cultural program of creating an emphatically Persianized Turkic *adab* outlined in Chapter One. Similar to Navā'ī, the famous Ṣafavid prince, patron, artist and poet Ibrāhīm Mīrzā b. Bahrām Mīrzā b. Shah Ismā'īl (1540-1577) also had a different penname for his Persian and Turkic poetry, using the nom de plume *Jāhī* in the former and *Ibrāhīm* in the latter. That the choice of a poetic penname could be important in positioning the would-be poet in the various lobbies and networks of patronage can also be illustrated by the abovementioned anecdote in Muḥammad Ḳudrat Allāh Gūpāmavī's *Taẕkira-yi natā'ij al-afkār* about how Abū Turāb Firḳatī Jūşḳānī assumed the penname "Firḳatī" in consultation with Ṣādiḳī.

[288] Kulliyāt, foll. 238b-305b.

death of Farhād Khan Ḳaramānlū, an important step in the definite shift in the power structure of the Ṣafavid polity from the dominance of the Qizilbash to ʿAbbās's absolutism.

We learn more about Ṣādiḳī's poetry if we look at his ghazals, the dominant poetic genre of the time and the vehicle of considerable experimentation in the 16th-17th centuries. Based on the assumption of a parallel relationship between macro- and microcosm, the imagery in Persian poetry as it had crystallied by the 14th century was governed by the concept of *tanāsub*, 'proportional relationship,' which meant that there were concerete points of contact in the objects compared in a trope.

> "The ideas underlying this system were partly inherited from earlier traditions of rhetoric, but also had analogues in the ideas of cosmic similitude that were widespread in contemporary Europe. These ideas fetured several clearly articulated modes of cosmic similitude, particularly convenientia, aemulatio, analogy, and sympathy, by means of which the diverse phenomena of the universe revealed their deep mutual relationships."[289]

It is the poetics of this "cosmic similitude" that continued to inform Persian poetry down to the end of the 16th century. In the framework of the gazal, the poet would operate with a certain set of images and tropes, within a given semantic field; s/he did not intend to broaden this scheme with radically new motifs and themes. The good poet was able to come up with an appealing combination of these elements and present them with a refined phraseology. Persian poetry in the 16th-17th centuries continued the tradition of the Timurid-Turkmen age when, according to Paul Losensky, the Timurid-Turkmen age in the 15th century did not bring major innovations in the poetic language per se but was an important period because of its consolidation, codification, inventorying and revision of the Persian literary tradition, as

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[289] Feldman, Walter. "The Celestial Fortune, the Wheel of Fortune, and Fate in the Gazels of Naili and Baki." *IJMES* 28 (1996), pp. 193-194. See also: Meisami, Julie Scott. *Medieval Persian Court Poetry.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987, pp. 33-34, 137.

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evidenced by the broad spread and prestige of poetic imitations or paraphrases, the emergence of the genre of biographical anthologies of poets, bibliophilism and the cult of the illustrated book.[290] The late 15th-16th century brought new experimentation in the poetic language, particularly the ghazal, in the form of the so-called *vuḳū'-gūyī*, or 'incidentalist style' as it came to be known, with such poets as Bābā Fiġānī (d. 925/1519) and Şahīdī of the late Timurid-Aqqoyunlu period, and Lisānī of Shiraz (d. 942/1535-1536), Vaḥşī of Bāfḳ (d. 991/1583), Mīrzā Şaraf-i Jahān of Qazvin, Maylī Haravī (d. 983/1575) or Muḥtaşam of Kashan (d. 995/1587-88), etc., of the Ṣafavid period, the latter five featuring in Şādiḳī's *Concourse*, too.[291] As analyzed by Sheila Sheereen Akbar in her dissertation, the main thematic and stylistic innovations this ecole brought to the Persian ghazal include the following: the relationship between the Beloved and the Lover is described through their plausible though also conventional and stylized encounter; the Beloved becomes earthly and flawed; the speaker has a tendency to interpret the communication between himself and the Beloved; the speaker is prone to self-reflection and self-awareness; and the fictional event depicted in the poem is presented through multiple voices and perspectives.[292]

Let us now examine two characteristic ghazals by Şādiḳī, to illustrate that his Persian poetry was in the vein of the "Classical" style as inherited from the Timurid period and it also had elements of the Incidenalist or *vuḳū'* style that was particularly in vogue until the 16th century.

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[290] Losenksy, *Welcoming Fighānī*, pp. 134-192.

[291] Losensky, Paul. "Shāhidī Qumi: Poet Laureate of the Aqqoyunlu Court." In: *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East: Studies in honor of John E. Woods.* Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 2006, pp. 282-300.

[292] Akbar, Sheila Sheereen. *Reading the Wound: Obsession, Ambivalence, and Authenticity in the Ghazals of the Sixteenth-Century Maktab-e Voqu'* (Ph.D. thesis). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University, 2014. I thank her for giving me access to her yet unpublished dissertation.

The first ghazal is an interesting mixture of the praise of the beauty of the Beloved-cum-Patron, imitation of a famous Ḥāfiẓ ghazal, and an interesting reflection on Ṣādiḳī's own poetics. Here is, first, the Ḥāfiẓ poem:

به خال هندویش بخشم سمرقند و بخارا را	١. اگر آن ترک شیرازی به دست آرد دل ما را
کنار آب رکن آباد و گلگشت مصلا را	٢. بده ساقی می باقی که در جنت نخواهی یافت
چنان بردند صبر از دل که ترکان خوان یغما را	٣. فغان کاین لولیان شوخ شیرین کار شهرآشوب
به آب و رنگ و خال و خط چه حاجت روی زیبا را	٤. ز عشق ناتمام ما جمال یار مستغنی است
که عشق از پرده عصمت برون آرد زلیخا را	٥. من از آن حسن روزافزون که یوسف داشت دانستم
جواب تلخ می‌زیبد لب لعل شکرخا را	٦. اگر دشنام فرمایی و گر نفرین دعا گویم
جوانان سعادتمند پند پیر دانا را	٧. نصیحت گوش کن جانا که از جان دوستتر دارند
که کس نگشود و نگشاید به حکمت این معما را	٨. حدیث از مطرب و می گو و راز دهر کمتر جو
که بر نظم تو افشاند فلک عقد ثریا را	٩. غزل گفتی و در سفتی بیا و خوش بخوان حافظ

1. If the Turk from Shiraz would take my heart in the hand,
   I would give up Samarqand and Bukhara for his Hindu black mole.

2. O, cupbearer, grant me the eternal wine, for not even in heaven will you find
   The bank of the Ruknabad or the rosy promenade of the Muṣallá.

3. Alas, these witty, sweet youths who drive the city crazy
   Have captivated my heart like Turks a table of booty.[293]

4. The beauty of the Beloved has no need for my imperfect love,
   Why would his beautiful face need water, color, mole or lines?

5. Seeing Yūsuf's august face, I was sure
   That love will bring Zulayḫā forth from behind the veil.

6. Should you taunt me, should you reproach me,
   The bitter reply will suit the sugary ruby of your lips.

7. O, my soul, listen to my advice: the happy youths
   Will value the advice of the old sage more than their lives.

8. Tell me something new about the musician and wine, and do not seek the mystery of the world so much,
   For this riddle has never been and will never be solved [only] with wisdom.

9. Ḥāfiẓ, you have sung your ghazal, strung pearls. Come, sing something pleasant!

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[293] A table of feast offered from booty.

So that heaven will scatter the league of the Pleiades on your verse.

And here is Ṣādiḳī response poem:

ببستر افگند بیماری چشمت مسیحارا	۱. ستون سر کند اعجاز حسنت دست موسی را
درآورد از در دلداری یوسف زلیخارا	۲. محبت با وجود آن همه آلودگی آخر
که باشد از دورئی سرزنش گلهای رعنارا	۳. مزن گلهای رعنائی بسر با خار وخس منشین
پی عذر گنه از گریه تر سازی مصلّارا	۴. خوش آن مستی که یاد از کردهای ناصواب آید
که از روز ازل منصور باشد دار دنیارا	۵. درین ره مفردی لاف انا الحق میتواند زد
اگر سر رشتهٔ ایمان کنی زلف چلیپارا	۶. عزازیل از خم طوق اطاعت سر نپیچاند
کنار آب رکناباد وگلگشت مصلّارا	۷. نه زانسان بستهٔ خوبان شیرازم که یاد آرم
بکش در دیده خاك راه رندان تهی پارا	۸. بساط قرب شاهی صادقی گرد فنا دارد

1. Your beauty turns Moses' hand into a pillar [to hold his] head.
   Your half-closed eyes cast Jesus on the pillow.

2. Finally, despite all that filth, love
   Brought Zuleykha through the door of love for Joseph.

3. Do not put two-colored roses on your head while sitting in the company of thorns and twigs,
   For even the two-colored roses are rebuked for their hypocrisy.

4. Happy the drunkenness that comes to mind when remembering your evil deeds;
   In remorse for your sins you should dampen the Muṣallā.

5. On this path anyone can say the phrase, "I am the Truth,"
   For Manṣūr has been on the gibbet of the world since eternity without beginning.

6. ʿAzāzīl will not turn his head from the noose of the collar of servitude,
   if you tie up your faith with curls and tresses.

7. I am not bound to the beauties of Shiraz that I should
   Remember the bank of the Ruknābād river and the rosy fields of the Muṣallā.

8. Ṣādiḳī considers the carpet of royal proximity the dust of self-effacement.
   Scatter in my eyes the dust from the path of the barefooted dervishes.[294]

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[294] *Kulliyāt*, fol. 68a.

Ṣādiḳī's ghazal is a conscious reflection on the model: as a *javāb*, 'paraphrase,' it uses identical rhyme and meter, and similar to Ḥāfiẓ's, his poem is also the third among the Persian ghazals in the *dīvān*. In addition, he paraphrases two couplets from Ḥāfiẓ and makes a meta-reference to him.

This ghazal was written according to the requirements of the genre as they had crystallized in Persian poetry by the 14th century. Such poems follow a conventional pattern and use a conventional set of images and formal requirements. The ghazal is built on a scene in which the Lover, usually depicted as a nightingale, is longing in vain for the Beloved, often described as a rose. This pattern of the language of love can stand for the relationship between the poet and the patron, the subject and the king, the Sufi disciple and his master, or the believer and God, too. It is always a matter of emphasis and careful calibration on the part of the poet and is influenced by the context which of these, if any, he chooses to put into the forefront of his poem. This can lead to ambiguity; for example it is often difficult to decide whether a given poem is about a drinking party or the *unio mystica*, an encomium on the ruler or on the Sufi sheikh, etc. The ghazal proved highly flexible, which made it the primary genre of choice for a broad range of topics ranging from the strictly religious to the highly frivolous. Further, as argued by Paul Losensky, the conventionality of the ghazal makes it extremely connected with its context. Due to this conventional character, the immediate occasion for the poem is usually difficult to reconstruct without further clues, such as copy date or other codicological or philological evidence; however, if a given poem is a paraphrase of another poem or poems, it can shed light on much of the literary and cultural context.[295]

Paraphrasing or imitating, the practice of what is referred to as *javāb*, 'response (poem)', *naẓīra*, 'parallel or counter-poem,' or *istiḳbāl*, 'welcoming (poem)' in the sources has obviously a

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[295] Losensky, *Imitating Fighānī*, pp. 310-312.

playful edge to it.[296] The poet composes a new poem, keeping the rhyme, meter, and often the main motif or theme of at least the first verse of the poem he wishes to paraphrase. By doing this, he points at the poem he is paraphrasing and at the same time he shows off his attempt to outdo it. The dialogue and tension between the model and the paraphrase, i.e. the tradition and the new poem, is essential to the poetic effect. In other words, the poet evokes the tradition he paraphrases, and also puts his own skills on display; it is thus a statement about the paraphrasing poet's aesthetic values and poetic power as well as the poetic tradition. Paraphrasing was also a communal exercise, serving communal entertaining or homiletic purposes at, for example, gatherings of literati at the shah's or a Qizilbash emir's court, or in a Sufi community. The paraphrasing poet assumed that his audience was aware of the poem he was paraphrasing; the effect of his paraphrase was greatly dependent on that. Paraphrasing is thus highly context- and audience-bound; the choice of the model is a conscious act on the part of the paraphrasing poet, and he also has to make sure that his audience knows what he is paraphrasing.

In Ṣādiḳī's poem, the couplets follow a loose thematic order. Verse 1 is a fine praise of the beauty and implicitly, power, of the Beloved, which surpasses that of two prophets: his hands are whiter than Moses', although, according to Koran 20:17, the latter's hands were turned white by God as a sign of prophethood; and, as a sign of bewilderment, they have to hold Moses's head under the chin like a pillar. In the second hemistich of the same verse, the sickness of the Beloved's eyes, which actually means that he keeps them conquettishly half-shut, renders even Jesus, who is otherwise capable to revive the dead, powerless.

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[296] Up until recently, the poetics of imitation, or the writing of *javāb*, *istiḳbāl* or *naẓīra*, was subject in modern Orientalist and nationalist scholarship to rejection as the sign of the lack of creative talent, based on the premise that the past literary tradition influences the present in a one-sided fashion. Scholars of Persian literature, however, have recently started to appreciate imitation more, largely in the wake of Paul Losensky, who, himself partly in the wake of Thomas M. Greene's work on European Renaissance poetry, convincingly claims just the opposite, saying that imitation is a conscious, purposive and creative reflection on the literary past. Losensky, *Welcoming Fighānī*, pp. 106-107, passim.

Verse 2 is a rephrasing of verse 5 in Ḥāfiẓ with little modification, as the first explicit evocation of the model: based on Koran 12:23-54, Zulaykha removes the veil of chastity for Joseph as the symbol of divine love in Ḥāfiẓ, and she does the same in Ṣādiḳī, except that the latter emphasizes the sinful character of her desire. Verse 3 is about the conventional double-nature of the rose: its beauty and the scathing cruelty of its thorns. Verse 4 is again a clever allusion to Ḥāfiẓ's verse 2. The poet of Shiraz strikes an epicurean tone: drink wine, for not even in heaven will there be such beautiful places as the Muṣallá or the bank of the Ruknābād in Shiraz, supposedly the loci of the wine symposium. However, the verse can also be read as a conventional Sufi statement: the beauty reachable through the ecstasy of the mystical wine surpasses Paradise. Ṣādiḳī's corresponding verse 4, however, focuses on penitence as a continuation of the motif of punishment in verse 3 of his poem. Remarkably, penitence in Ṣādiḳī is drunkenness; and the red wine makes the penitent one dampen the Muṣallá with his bloody tears—the latter a conventional image. In addition, Ṣādiḳī manages to rephrase the conceit in Ḥāfiẓ based on the opposition between drinking wine and Paradise, which he renders as the opposition between wine and the Muṣallá. Verses 5 and 6 are elaborations of two ideas that go back to the paradigmatical antinomian Sufi, al-Ḥallāj (d. 922), and thus are only indirectly related to this poem by Ḥāfiẓ. These two verses might be paraphrases of a yet unidentified poem, and can at this point be only interpreted in the context of Ṣādiḳī's ghazal. Verse 5 quotes al-Ḥallāj's famous utterance about mystical union with the Divine, perhaps saying that after al-Ḥallāj, there is no point in boasting to have experienced it. Verse 6 refers to the well-known paradox put forth by al-Ḥallāj: Iblīs, the archetypal mystic, disobeyed God by not bowing before Adam because of his perfect devotion to and love for God. Ṣādiḳī here brings back the image of the Beloved: the Godhead that ʿAzāzīl (Iblīs) will obey to is identical with the ringlets of the Beloved. Verses 7 and 8 can be read together. Verse 7 is an ironic meta-reference to Ḥāfiẓ with the aim to distance

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himself from him: it is not Ḥāfiẓ's Shiraz beauties that Ṣādiḳī is devoted to but the Shah, the latter term meaning ambiguously the king ('Abbās), 'Alī or the Sufi master.

To sum up our analysis of this ghazal, Ṣādiḳī's ghazal uses the topoi and imagery of 15-16th century Persian poetry, the poet carefully positioning himself in a competitive dialogue with Ḥāfiẓ.

In the second ghazal to be discussed now, we encounter features of the Incidentalist Style:

۱. در آمد از درم آن ماه بی نقاب امشب	فرو بخانهٔ من رفت آفتاب امشب
۲. زبیم هجر گران بود بار دل ور نه	زسیل وصل مرا می ربود آب امشب
۳. زره زنان نظر پاس حسن خود می داشت	نرفت نرگس مستانه اش بخواب امشب
۴. طپانچهای حیا سرخ داشت چهرهٔ دل	چه زهره داشت که بر رو دود شراب امشب
۵. نگه ذخیره نکردم چه جای بوس وکنار	چها نکرد بجان ودلم حجاب امشب
۶. در خزانهٔ امید می گشودم اگر	نمی درید بدل پرده اضطراب امشب
۷. خراب کرد بطوفان اشك عالم را	چکرد صادقی خان ومان خراب امشب

1. Tonight that moon-like beauty came through my door and wore no veil,
   Tonight the sun descended on my house.

2. My heart was heavy with my fear of getting separated from him, otherwise
   The water would have carried me away with the flood of union tonight.

3. He guarded his beauty from those who wanted to steal a glance at him,
   but tonight this tipsy narcissus did not go to sleep with them.

4. His cheeks had a flick of red blush,
   How spirited he was! Wine rushed into her cheeks tonight!

5. I did not even look at the delicacies. No kisses, no embrace!
   There was hardly anything his modesty did not do to my heart and soul tonight!

6. If I had opened the door of hope,
   Perplexity would not have torn the veil off my heart.

7. Tears destroyed the world in a tempest,
   While Ṣādiḳī destroyed his household tonight.[297]

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[297] *Kulliyāt*, fol. 86a.

The ghazal depicts an imaginary encounter when the Beloved visits the speaker and they spend the night together. It sets out with the paradoxical depiction of the Beloved as both the moon and the sun at the same time, whose beauty is revealed by his removal of the veil, the contrast strengthened by having *niḵāb*, 'veil,' rhyme with *āftāb*, 'sun.' The speaker is, nevertheless, conflicted, and in verse 2 continues to worry that the rendezvous will be over, which anxiety is the only thing that prevents him from total absorbtion into ecstasy, possibly sustained by the wine referred to as *sayl-i vaṣl*, 'the flood of union.' However, we can also take the second hemistich to refer to sobriety (*āb* 'water') as preventing the speaker from completing or enjoying the union with the Beloved. In verse 3 we have a glimpse of the rivals (*rah-zanān-i naẓar*, 'those who want to steal a glance at him') who are now far away, for the coquettish Beloved (*nargis-i mastāna*, 'tipsy narcissus,') will neglect them tonight, which, of course, implies that there have been and probably will be occasions when he will not. Drinking goes on in verse 4, where with a poetic etiology the heart-shaped (and therefore, red) cheeks of the Beloved are depicted as red because of his obligatory coquettish modesty, but with another poetic etiology in the second hemistich we learn that he was actually so bold in his manners that the red wine rushed into her face, turning it red. According to verse 5, however, the Lover does not even touch the wine or food, for the coquettish modesty of the Beloved continues tormenting him. Verse 6 reveals the reason for the continued sorrow of the Lover, despite the fact that tonight the Beloved has favored him with a visit. If he had fallen for the Beloved's coquettishness and tried to take advantage of the situation, the veil over his heart would have remained in place. It is only through bewilderment and a disheveled state of mind that the Beloved can be truly seen. In the coda to the ghazal, the tears of the Beloved metamorphose into a much grander, universal image: the Flood was actually made up of tears that destroyed the physical world, which is shown parallel to the poet demolishing his own household. The cycle is complete: the enthusiasm of the first verse

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over the Beloved visiting the Lover at his own house now turns into the destruction of that house, meaning perhaps the speaker's physical and social entanglements.

In this both frivolous and mystical poem, we see traits of the Incidentalist Style as analyzed by Sheila Akbar cited above. There is a narrative structure to the poem: it depicts the progress of a night the Lover and the Beloved spend together. There is also an emphasis on communication between them: the Beloved is behaving frivolously, apparently trying to seduce the Lover, but the Lover, correctly interpreting this behavior, remains adamant.

As I have tried to illustrate it with these two poems, Ṣādiḳī was a practitioner of two poetic styles in Persian, the highly allegorical, mystical Timurid-Turkmen ghazal with its tendency to reflect on the literary past by way of paraphrasing and imitation on the one hand, and the so-called Incidentalist Style, with its fictional structure and subtext, on the other hand. In the final chapter of this dissertation, we will see that his Turkic ghazals follow the "Classical" Timurid style. However, for the present let us turn to his later years, when he was exposed to a new poetic style in Persian, to which his attitude was markedly different.

A poetic debate: Ṣādiḳī and the Fresh Style

As alluded to in our discussion of Awḥadī's biographical entry on him, Ṣādiḳī was audacious enough to take on and write a vitriolic lampoon against the famed Fayżī, a prominent Mughal exponent of the *tāza-gūyī*, 'Fresh Speaking', or *şīva-yi tāza,* 'Fresh Style,' misnomered today as the "Indian Style" of poetry. As Ṣādiḳī refers to himself as *Kitābdār* in this work, he must have written the lampoon entitled *Risāla'ī dar bāb-i aş'ār-i Fayżī*, 'A treatise on Fayżī's poems,' after 'Abbās's succession to the throne and his appointment as head of the atelier in

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996/1588 on the one hand and before Fayżī's death in 1004/1595, on the other hand.[298] The occasion for the pamphlet is that Fayżī sent gifts and a selection of his poetry to the Ṣafavid court. Awḥadī opines that Ṣādiḳī took umbrage because the gifts were not sent to him but to other notables there, possibly with some of Ṣādiḳī's rivals, and he compares Ṣādiḳī's lampoon against Fayżī to Ṣarīf-i Tabrīzī's *Sahv al-lisānī* written against Ṣarīf's own mentor, Lisānī-yi Ṣīrāzī.[299] The reason for Awḥadī's comparison of Ṣādiḳī's lampoon against Fayżī to Ṣarīf's against Lisānī is the similar structure of the two works.[300] After a short introduction, both Ṣādiḳī and Ṣarīf cite verses from the respective subject of their satire and write *tażmīn*s, 'inclusions, embeddings,' for them, *tażmīn* being a special form of poetic imitation, when a piece by a poet (usually a line or half-line) is included in a poem by another poet. In this case, Ṣādiḳī "offers" his pieces to be included in Fayżī's poems, but these offerings are actually harsh, sardonically worded invectives against Fayżī. Since Ṣarīf's lampoon is against Lisānī, his master, its comparison by Awḥadī to Ṣādiḳī's piece might also suggests that Awḥadī assigned an inferior position to Ṣādiḳī vis-à-vis Fayżī as a poet, which is not at all surprising from Awḥadī, who seems to be an enthusiast of the "Fresh Style." While we do not know what impact the essay might have had in Iran, Awḥadī mentions it in a rather satirical tone, perhaps in order to establish his own credentials in the eyes of the Mughal court, to which he addresses his work and where Fayżī was popular.

What did Fayżī do to Ṣādiḳī that incurred his ire? Fayżī was a poet laureate at the distant court of Akbar in Delhi and was at an advanced age, not posing any real competition for patronage. As Ṣādiḳī also mentions whom he considers Fayżī's slavish followers in Iran, it

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[298] He reiterates the same sarcastic opinion about Fayżī and his poetry in the *Concourse* (H̱ayyāmpūr, pp. 52-53; Kuşoğlu, pp. 196-197).

[299] Ṣarīf's lampoon provoked another student of Lisānī, Ġaybī, to write a lampoon against Ṣarīf in defense of their common master, which, in turn, stirred Ṣādiḳī to compose a lampoon against Ġaybī, entitled *Hijv-i sālis*, 'the third lampoon.' For further references to the latter work, see Appendix I.

[300] This literary feud struck contemporaries so much that it even found its way into Sām Mīrzā's biogaprhical anthology of poets (Sām Mīrzā Ṣafavī. *Taẕkira-yi Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*. Ed. Rukn al-Dīn Humāyūn Farrukh. Tehran: 'Ilmī, 196?, pp. 179-182, 217-219).

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seems, rather, that he had in mind followers of Fayżī who resided in Iran, perhaps some members of the coterie of poets in Isfahan, as the real intended victims of his ridicule, intending to embarrass and intimidate them with his banter.

As we will see in our discussion of the *Concourse*, there is a certain personal and regional perspective to it. It presents poets who wrote under the aegis of the Ṣafavids; or rather, Ṣādiḳī lists mainly those members of the elite in Ṣafavid Iran who wrote poetry. From his praise of poets of the *vuḳū'-gūyī*, 'the incidentalist style,' in the *Concourse* and from the stance he takes against Fayżī, it seems he supports an older poetic style in Iran. It is perhaps this that Awḥadī alludes to when he depicts Ṣādiḳī to be Lisānī's student, Lisānī being one of the most prominent representatives of the incidentalist style.

Ṣādiḳī claims that Fayżī's poetry is abstruse:

جز فهم نارسای تو آنرا کلید نیست   فیضی دری که طبع بلند تو قفل زد
گوئی همان زکور دلی ره بدید نیست   آید عصا گر از ید بیضا بدست تو
اینها مگو که قابل گفت وشنید نیست   با این کمال این چه خیالات فاسد ست

Fayżī, the only key to the door
your lofty mind has locked is your imperfect understanding [*fahm-i nā-rasā-yi tū*].

Even if the White Hand gave a staff into your hand,
You would say the same thing because of the blindness of your heart: the path is invisible.

How can such a perfect one produce such putrid images [*ḫiyālāt-i fāsid*]?
Do not say that they cannot be heard or spoken.[301]

Ṣādiḳī also claims that Fayżī's style is empty jugglery:

بر سخنی که مطرب طعب تو ساز می دهد   فیضی اگر سخنوری صعنه زند مرنج ازو
زانکه ببوتهٔ سخن جان بگداز می دهد   نکته شناس نظم را خوار مدار در نظر
آری فریب مردمان شعبده ساز می دهد   شعبده ایست نظم تو بهر فریب ابلهان

Fayżī, do not get offended if a poet criticizes

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[301] *Kulliyāt*, fol. 467a; Malik 6325, fol. 38b.

The words that the musician of your talent is playing.

Do not look at the critic with contempt
When he is purifying your soul in the melting pot of discourse.

Your poetry is jugglery to fool the ignorant.
Indeed, the one who fools people is but a juggler.[302]

Ṣādiḳī also claims that Fayżī's poetry is overcomplicated, absurd (*nigūn*, 'upside-down'),

and thus difficult to understand:

<div dir="rtl">

کز نم نظم ز اندازه برون می بالد   فیضی اشعار تو در باغ لطافت نخلیست

زان سبب در چمن نظم نگون می بالد   لیك چون بید زر آثار ثمر بی بهره است

خود معنی ازین قافیه چون می بالد   عقل در وادی این بیت تو سرگردانست

</div>

"Fayżī, your poems are fruits from the garden of delicacies [*laṭāfat*],
such that they grow too enormous from the humidity of versification.

However, like the willow-tree, your poetry is barren of fruits,
Because it is growing upside down in the meadow of discourse.

The mind wanders lost in the desert of the following couplet of yours.
How could meaning grow in such a poem?[303]

Ṣādiḳī "offers" this last taẓmīn as a critique of a Fayżī poem, two verses of which will

now be used to illustrate the reasons for his harsh stance against the Mughal poet:

<div dir="rtl">

من و این شاخ ملامت که نگون می بالد   طعنۀ بوالهوسان میوۀ عشقست ایدل

که بسودا کدۀ مغز جنون می بالد   عشق در بادیه از ریگ روان آئین بست

</div>

Oh, heart, the fruit of love is the contumely of those possessed of lust,
Both I and this branch of scorn grow upside-down.

In the desert, love assumed the ways of quicksand,

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[302] *Kulliyāt*, fol. 467a; Malik 6325, fol. 39a.
[303] *Kulliyāt*, foll. 465b-466a; Malik 6325, fol. 37b.

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Such that insanity is growing inside the abode of passion.[304]

In the Mughal poet's first verse, the structural feature that keeps the two hemistiches together is called *muʿādala*, 'equilibrium,' which means that the second hemistich repeats the first but in a very different way, their relationship being on a highly abstract level.[305] The first hemistich is based on the opposition between *ṭaʿna*, 'contumely,' and *mīva*, 'fruit,' on the one hand, and *bū al-havasān*, 'those possessed of lust,' and *ʿişḳ*, 'love,' on the other hand. Love, a positive thing, results in something negative, the scorn of the unitiated, those possessed of sensuality and being able to comprehend only the exoteric aspects of love. The second hemistich also elaborates on the painful effects of the fruit of love. The branch of scorn or contumely is heavy with the fruit of love, weighing down the tree-branch, just as much as the lover's head is hanging down in sorrow. The verse evokes the story of Majnūn with its reference to ostracized mystical love and to the hanging branches of the willow, the latter called *bīd-i majnūn*, 'Majnūn's willow,' in Persian. While Fayżī's couplet is kept together by this highly complex, abstract conceit, Ṣādiḳī's entire parody of the verse is based on the well-known, stock-in-trade features of the allegory of the willow and its hanging branches. However, the Ṣafavid poet twists the image and says that it is Fayżī's lack of meaning that is weighing down the branches of the fruitless, barren willow tree of his poetry.

The relationship between the two hemistiches of the second Fayżī verse is also highly complex and abstract, and is based on the contrast between the desert as the visible image of mystical love, and its internal experience in the heart. Inasmuch as the verse also mentions desert, love and madness or possessed state of mind, it also evokes the Laylā and Majnūn story. Love is

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[304] Fayżī. *Dīvān*. Ed. E.D. Arşad. Tehran: Intişārāt-i Furūģī, 1362/1963-1964, #333, pp. 330-331.
[305] Shafīʿī Kadkanī, Muḥammad Riżā. "Persian Literature from the Time of Jâmi to the Present Day." In: History of Persian Literature from the Beginning of the Islamic Period to the Present Day, ed. George Morrison, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1981, pp. 150-152.

like quicksand or shifting dunes in the desert, refrerring to the troubled mind of the Lover. This might also evoke the story when, wandering in the desert, Majnūn beholds Laylā, the Beloved's image, but erases it quickly, claiming that they are one in a mystical sense. Love is therefore the annihilation of the self in the shifting dunes of the desert, which is made to stand parallel to love-madness taking over the heart.

The main characteristic of the Fresh Style is its constant search for "new meaning and old words," a constant reinterpretation and modification of the stock-in-trade of the poetic language. In the words of Paul Losensky,

> "With their emphasis on originality and *tāzah-gū'ī*, the fresh style poets writing between 978/1570 and 1087/1676 were loathe to let anything pass through their hands unchanged. The search for the new led many poets in many directions—to expressions and rhythms of colloquial speech, to startling conceits and displays of wit, to unprecedented images and metaphors. It also led them to a critical, interpretative reading of their literary past—sources for the new were found in the old."[306]

Ṣādiḳī's mockery of Fayżī is aimed at the entire poetics of the Fresh Style, as he followed models of the previous generation of Persian poetry. Of course, in our judgment we should not be too harsh on Ṣādiḳī. In his time, the Fresh Style was probably still a fledgling development, which would dominate the next two centuries as the cutting edge but by no means the only style, many poets continuing to write in older poetic modes. The fact that there was obvious competition between the Mughal and Ṣafavid courts must also have contributed to the zeal of the Ṣafavid painter-poet's critique. In the depiction in his lampoon of Fayżī's act of sending his poetry to Persia as a pompous, condescending gesture towards Ṣafavid poets whom he, Fayżī, supposedly considers ignorant and unrefined, Ṣādiḳī's sarcasm is difficult to miss.

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[306] Losenksy, *Welcoming Fighānī*, p. 249.

One of the reasons why Ṣādiḳī as a Persian poet never became part of the canon of Persian poetry may well be the position he took against the Fresh Style, which would dominate the poetic scene after his days. This is also borne out by the fact that his Persian ghazals, arguably the most important poetic genre of the times, are almost never cited in either contemporary or later biographical literature.

Conclusion to Chapter Four

We have seen Ṣādiḳī Beg in many shapes: Ṣādiḳī the soldier, the painter, the poet, the courtier, the biographer, the Sufi. We have seen that, at least in the compilation of his collected works, he was highly self-conscious in fashioning himself as a veritable poeta doctus and artist who is beyond all parochial conflicts. We have followed, to the extent possible, his sinuous path from a tribal environment to royal and provincial courts in Ṣafavid Persia and Ottoman Iraq and Syria. We have also seen how his image as it has come down to us was shaped both by people writing about him and by himself. I have also tried to show his progress as an intellectual and artist from the patronage networks of Qizilbash emirs to ʿAbbās's royal court, attempting to contextualize historically both his public image and some of the main events of his life.

I have paid particular attention to his tribal affiliation, arguing that his apparent lack of dedication to any particular tribal cause may have been the image of himself found in his works collected towards the end of his life, where he displays himself as a veritable self-made man joining the service of ʿAbbās's imperial project. I have hypothetized that Ṣādiḳī was elevated to the position of director of the royal atelier because ʿAbbās initially had ideas of patronage that were probably similar to those of Ṭahmāsp and Shah Ismāʿīl before him, and Ṣādiḳī, already well-respected as an artist and having been a protégé of Qizilbash emirs that had supported the young ʿAbbās's bid for the throne, was a good fit for the post. I have tried to contextualize his

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loss of that position after a decade not only against the background of court intrigue and his personality traits – although those must also have played a role – but also the new imperial vision signified most prominently by political and economic centralization and symbolically by the removal of the capital to Isfahan and the large-scale development of that city.

At the same time, we should by no means look at Ṣādiḳī as an artist, poet and belletrist exclusively in the service of the aristocratic culture perpetuated by the Ṣafavid House and Qizilbash courts. As a result of the changing system of art patronage, there was a broader audience for art with a smaller purse and accordingly different aesthetic expectations. Merchants and other city folks as well as less significant officials were a new audience for the pictorial arts; this resulted in a booming market for drawings and single-page paintings instead of the larger manuscripts projects of the previous period. A similar broadening of the social base of the audience can be witnessed in literature, too, a process that started before the Ṣafavids.

Ṣādiḳī thus served also Tajik patrons with his paintings and drawings; and it was in a considerable part a Tajik audience, too, which was the addresse of his Persian writings. As is known in scholarship, the new, non-aristocratic audience demanded new themes; in painting, there was an increasing demand for portraits and real-life subject matter, and in order to have a constant string of commissions, the artist now had to sign his works, shedding the anonymity he had usually assumed in the previous period. In Persian literature, particularly in the most popular, paradigmatic genre of the ghazal, various styles coexisted at the same time. Most importantly, there was a new sensitivity of the poetic self in the period: complementing the playful, allegorical and emphatically intertextual style of the Timurid and Turkmen periods, the Incidentalist Style experimented with presenting new, stylized "events" in fictional settings. Ṣādiḳī was a prolific ghazal-writer in both these styles, which were ultimately based on a system of allegories and images as reflective of a cosmic order. However, the emphasis laid on originality in the Fresh

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Style, which sought for new meanings and a refashioning of the poetic language, was largely alien to him, which can be explained by both personal tastes and his formation as an intellectual in a court environment that was heir to the culture of the Timurid-Turkmen period, i.e. styles dominant before the advent of the Fresh Style. Such connections between Timurid and Ṣafavid literary culture will also be important in the next chapter, when we are looking for historic continuities for the Turkic literary tradition in Persia.

Chapter Five

Sons of 'Alī: Turkic Literature in Persia and Ṣādiḳī's *Concourse of Nobilities*

In this chapter, we are turning back to the line of thought pursued in Chapters Two and Three, where we had a glimpse at the reception and partly oral-based context of popular Turkic messianic poetry. After a brief overview of the spread and use of Turkic in Ṣafavid Persia, I shall now proceed to present the major literary trends in Turkic there, first as shown through the prism of contemporary literary biographical compendia, particularly Ṣādiḳī's *Concourse*, which I will compare with Sām Mīrzā's *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī* and Ġarībī's *Taẕkira-yi Majālis-i Şu'arā-yi Rūm*; I shall then supplement the picture with further data gleaned from scholarly literature and unpublished manuscript material, giving also a broad view of Turkic literature during the rest of the Ṣafavids' tenure, i.e. down to the early 18th century.

I shall illustrate that Turkic was an integral part of Ṣafavid court culture and that Turkic literary practices never ceased in the period, albeit the position of the Turkophone segment of society in the 17th through the early 18th century was more politically marginal than it had been during the 16th. I shall argue, a point to be carried over to the next chapter, too, that the chief models for Turkic poetry were Navā'ī and Fużūlī, a state of affairs that remained essentially the same all through the period. In a related fashion, I will also suggest that Turkic literary practices were part of the continuation of Timurid cultural trends on the one hand, and Western Iranian, Anatolian traditions, on the other hand. I will also elaborate on a point suggested in Chapter One, namely, that with the passage of time under the Ṣafavids, it was not so much Turkic literary

practices that discontinued, but it was the role of Turkic as part of Ṣafavid ideology that diminished.

Turkic literacy and literature in Ṣafavid Persia had two main sources. In the 14th-15th centuries, there was a literary tradition that encompassed Anatolia, Western Iran, Iraq and Syria, which, for the lack of a better term, can be called the Western Oghuz literary tradition. It is from this idiom, i.e. the mutually overlapping popular mystic poetry cultivated by Sufi literati and courtly *adab* maintained at various courts in the region, that Ottoman Turkish departed from, beginning in the mid-15th to 16th centuries, and which Fużūlī, Shah Ismāʿīl and the Qizilbash perpetuated in their newly conquered territories. The other source, as has already been touched upon and will be elaborated on right away, was the Chaghatay Turkic tradition patronized by the Timurids and carried on by a great many literati under the Ṣafavids, including Ṣādiḳī, Raḥmatī Tabrīzī, Amānī, Mawjī Aharī.[1]

Turkic in Ṣafavid Iran and at the court

Tourkhan Gandjei, and in his wake, Willem Floor and Hasan Javadi collected many a reference made by contemporary travelers to Turkic as being a veritable *lingua franca* in Ṣafavid Persia.[2] Turkic was extremely important at the court as well as at those of Qizilbash clans. Moreover, Persians with ambitions for social and political advancement were also advised to learn Turkic. "The Turkish language of the court is more truly native to the royal line than to that

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[1] Kərimov, *XVII əsr anadilli Azərbaycan lirikası*, pp. 209-235. Of course, there was no clear-cut divide between emulators of the West Oghuz and the Timurid traditions. Many of the poets – including Ṣādiḳī, as we shall see in Chapter Six – wrote in both idioims.

[2] Gandjei, Tourkhan. "Turkish in the Safawid Court of Iran." *Turcica* 21-23 (1991), pp. 311–313, 315; Floor, Willem, and Javadi, Hasan. "The Role of Azerbaijani Turkish in Safavid Iran." *Iranian Studies* 46:4 (2013), pp. 569-581. See also: Perry, John R. "The Historical Relation of Turkish to Persian of Iran." *Iran and the Caucasus* 5 (2001), p. 194.

of the people", remarks the German scholar Engelbert Kaempfer who visited Persia in 1684 accompanying the Swedish ambassador and who later acted as physician to the Dutch squadron in the Persian gulf; and he adds that "from the court it [i.e. Turkic] spread to the leading families of the Persians to such an extent that it is now almost shameful in Persia for a man of distinction to be ignorant of Turkish".[3] Seventeenth-century Christian missionaries in the capital, Isfahan, produced a grammar of Turkish with elements of 'Ajamī Turkic in it and an extensive trilingual (Italian-Persian-Turkish) dictionary.[4] We can also note the case of Sīdī (or Saydī) 'Alī Ra'īs, admiral of the Ottoman fleet, who, after his disastrous defeat at Masqat in 1552 by the Portuguese, returned to the Ottoman Empire overland, passing through Ṣafavid territories as well. On his visit at the royal court in Qazvin, he won the favor of Shah Ṭahmāsp by quoting poetry in Turkish to him. Though not impossible, it is difficult to imagine that the language of conversation between them was Persian, from which the admiral would sometimes switch to Turkish verses. More probably it was a conversation in Turkish that the learned sailor would spice with poetry in that language.[5]

Of course, the linguistic scene in Iran was at least as colorful then as it is now, and the geographic distribution of Turkic was quite different from today. It had sufficient presence around Qizilbash courts, e.g. in Shiraz, where the Ẕū al-Ḳadar were governors until 1596, or in Isfahan, where the court moved under 'Abbās — two localities where it is hardly present today. However, Azeri Turkish was not present in many places where it is commonly spoken now. Suffice it to quote the noted Ottoman traveler, Evliyā Çelebi who in 1652 wrote about Naḫçivān as follows:

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[3] Gandjei, "Turkish in the Safawid Court of Iran," p. 315; Perry "The Historical Relation of Turkish to Persian of Iran," p. 194.

[4] Gandjei, Tourkhan. "Review of *Elenco dei manuscritti turchi della Biblioteca Vaticana* by Ettore Rossi." *Oriens* 8:2 (1955), p. 332; idem., "Turkish in the Safawid Court of Iran," pp. 314–315.

[5] Saydī 'Alī Ra'īs. *Mir'āt al-mamālik.* Dar Sa'ādat [Istanbul]: Iḳdām Maṭba'ası, 1313/1895, pp. 83-93.

"The people of this city speak the Dehqani language, but the learned poets and the refined boon companions speak the Pahlavi and Mongolian language in a refined and polished manner, which are old languages. The cities are old and the inhabitants use these languages. First, the Dehqani language, then the Dari language, the Farsi and Parsi language, the Ghazi language, and the Pahlavi language; when they speak them in their localities they are respected."[6]

With a somewhat confusing terminology, Evliyā contrasts the Dehqani (*dihḵānī*) language with Pahlavī; the former probably means dialectal Āẕarī (an Iranian language not to be mistaken for Azeri Turkish), and the latter, some more learned form of it.[7] *Fārsī*, *Pārsī* and *Darī* probably refer to Persian, while the term *Ghazi* likely derives from Gazi-Kumukh, the capital of the Gazikumukh Shamkhalate in present-day Dagestan, and by extension, the Kumyk language.[8] It is significant that Evliyā does not mention Azeri Turkish (he would probably have referred to it as *Turkī* or *Turkī-yi Qizilbash*), only Mongolian, the latter likely referring to Chaghatay Turkic, the literary prestige idiom in Turkophone circles. All in all, the passage is a good reminder that on a local, spoken level, Turkic was in competition with various other vernaculars and dialects, not only with Persian, though each of the vernaculars was in opposition to the latter being the language of power.[9]

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[6] *"Bu şehrin reâyâ vü berâyâsı lisân-ı Dihkan'ı kelimât ederler, ammâ ârif şâirleri ve nedîm ve zarîfleri, zarâfet ve nezâketle lisân-ı Pehlevî ve lisân-ı Moğolî kelimât ederler kim lisân-ı kadîmlerdir. Ve şehirleri dahi kadîmdir kim böyle kelimât ederler. Evvelâ lisân-ı Dehkanî ve lisân-ı Derî ve lisân-ı Fârisî ve Pârisî ve lisân-ı Gâzî ve lisân-ı Pehlevî kelimât etdikleri dahi mahalliyle terkîm olunur."* (Evliya Çelebi. *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi.* Ed. Orhan Şaik Gökyay, Robert Dankoff, Seyit Ali Kahraman, Yücel Dağlı, İsmet Sezgin. Beyoğlu, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları Ltd. Şti, 1996, vol. 2, p. 114); idem. *Travels in Iran & the Caucasus in 1647 & 1654.* Trans. Hasan Javadi, and Willem M. Floor. Washington, D.C.: Mage Publishers, 2010, p. 14; quoted also in: Floor, Willem, and Javadi, Hasan. "The Role of Azerbaijani Turkish in Safavid Iran." *Iranian Studies* 46:4 (2013), p. 571.
[7] We can see a similar usage in the inventory of Bāyazīd II's library.
[8] Floor and Javadi think *Pahlavī* refers to Tāt, an Iranian language spoken in Western Iran, but it being contrasted with Dehqani makes such an identification problematic. They suggest that Dehqani is not a language but refers to a the local peasants' vernacular. (Floor and Javadi, "The Role of Azerbaijani Turkish in Safavid Iran," p. 571.
[9] Hasan Javadi and Willem Floor's paper cited above is very rich in further details about the linguistic geography of the age. For example, on the basis of further travel accounts they show that Naḫçivān was predominantly Armenian-speaking, Maragha was dominated by Tat, etc. "They conclude that in the sixteenth century, Tabriz was inhabited by Persian speaking Moslems and Christians, while most of Azerbaijan and Nakhjevan was inhabited by Christians, but

Turkic scribes in Ṣafavid Iran

In order to understand the role of Turkic as a literary language in Early Modern Persia, we need to have a glimpse of who actually wrote it down, produced calligraphic (or less calligraphic) manuscripts and served as a potential audience. Tourkhan Gandjei claims that there were highly trained scribes in the Ṣafavid chancellery, able to produce letters in Turkish in an elaborate style.[10] Willem Floor and Hasan Javadi suggest that the necessity of the knowledge of Turkic in the *dīvān* was the continuation of Timurid practices, where there was a separate *dīvān* for the administration of the affairs of the Turkic military.[11] For example, Ḳāżī Aḥmad b. Mīr Munšī, in his biographical dictionary of painters and calligraphers, which he wrote in 1597-98, informs us of his own father, Şaraf al-Dīn Ḥusayn Ḳumī, also known as Mīr Munšī (d. 990/1582). The latter served in several important provincial administrative positions, and "was incomparable in drafting (letters) in Persian and in Turkish".[12] We can also mention the calligrapher Sulṭān-'Alī of Mashhad, who started his career in Herat, and after the Uzbek conquest of that city he moved to Mashhad, where he died in 1520. He is especially known for

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southeast of Tabriz no Christians were to be found. Here the population was Moslem: a mixture of Persians and Azerbaijani Turkish speakers […] In the seventeenth century, Turkish had apparently receded from Shiraz and Kashan, probably due to the fact that the Qizilbash no longer had an automatic claim on certain provinces as they had prior to 1590. However, whereas in Isfahan Turkish was not a major item in the sixteenth century, it was widely spoken there in the seventeenth century due to the presence of the royal court and the settlement of a large group of Azerbaijani Turkish speaking people from Tabriz in the Isfahani suburb of 'Abbasabad" (Floor and Javadi, "The Role of Azerbaijani Turkish in Safavid Iran," p. 572).

[10] Gandjei, "Turkish in the Safawid Court of Iran," p. 315.

[11] Naṣīrī, Muḥammad Riżā. *Farhang-i nāṣirī.* Ed. Hasan Javadi and Willem Floor. Tehran: Kitābḫāna-yi Majlis-i Şūrā-yi Islāmī, 2014, pp. 35-36.

[12] Minorsky, Vladimir. *Calligraphers and Painters. A treatise by Qādī Aḥmad, son of Mīr-Munshī, circa A.H. 1015/A.D. 1606.* Washington: [?], 1959, pp. 76-79.

the fine copies he made of Navā'ī's works.[13] Further, Ḳāżī Aḥmad describes another member of a scribal dynasty, Mawlānā Muḥammad-Amīn, who excelled, amongst others, in ornate episotolary prose in both Turkic and Persian:

"[He] was brought up in the capital, Qazvīn. He wrote excellent ta'līq and could write rapidly. He was an incomparable munshī, possessed taste, and for some time was employed in the Secretarial Office (*Dār al-inshā*). *He was entrusted with the greater part of such correspondence in Turkish and Persian in which Arabic expressions abounded* [my italics – F. Cs.]. For two years he was in charge of the correspondence in that department (*inṣā al-mamālik*) under the lord of the slaves, most exalted Abū al-Muzaffar Shah 'Abbās—may God prolong his reign. He died in the year of the Dragon, 1001/1592-93."[14]

Of course, Mīr Munṣī's son, Aḥmad b. Mīr Munṣī Ḳumī, from whose biographical collection this quotation comes, also wrote in Turkic, beside Persian. Further, he informs us of Ḳāżī 'Abd Allāh of Khoy (d. 1002/1583), a *munṣī* at the court of Ṭahmāsp, whose special duties included the composition of

"[…] epistles in Turkish and Persian, which were sent to Turkey (Rūm) and the sultans of India. In Turkish he compiled a treatise on religious duties and dedicated it to Shah Ṭahmāsp. He was a learned man and wrote quite good verse."[15]

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[13] Minorsky, *Calligraphers and Painters*, pp. 101–103. We can mention a copy of Navā'ī's *Ġarā'ib al-siġar* Sultan 'Alī penned in Herat, 958/1551-52; (Ayasofya 3981) and his *Ḥamsa* dated 900 (Topkapı, Revan 810) (Levend, Agah Sırrı. "Türkiye Kitaplıklarında Nevai Yazmaları." *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı (Belleten)* 1958, pp. 165, 187).

[14] Minorsky, *Calligraphers and Painters,* pp. 96-97.

[15] Minorsky, *Calligraphers and Painters*, pp. 94–95. Ḳāżī Aḥmad illustrates Ḳāżī 'Abd Allāh's Turkic poetry with a *rubā'ī*:

Ḳāżī ne yaman şikasta ḥāl olmış sen
Bir badr-i fırāḳdan hilāl olmış sen
Sen bulbul aydın gulundın ayrı düşdün
Dilin dutulub görünjä lāl olmış sen
(Tarbiyat, *Dānişmandān*, p. 266).
Minorsky's translation:
"O ḳāżī, in what a bad state you have got!
Separation from a full moon has turned you into a crescent.
A nightingale, you have been separated from the rose,
And feeling your tongue tied you have become mute."
For more information on him, see: Mitchell, *The Practice of Politics in Safavid Iran*, p. 112.

In this era, much of the popularity of works depended on copyists and calligraphers, whose income in turn depended on the market. With the caveat that there is a lot of research to be carried out on Turkophone scribes and especially on calligraphers, we can safely surmise that there was not a wide market for Turkic manuscripts in Ṣafavid territories. In Aḥmad b. Mīr Munşī's biographical dictionary, there are but a few calligraphers that could and did produce manuscripts in Turkic. The most notable of them was Mawlānā Sulṭān-ʿAlī Maşhadī mentioned above, who is especially known for the fine copies he made of Navāʾī's works; and we can recall the calligraphers, too, who executed copies of Shah Ismāʿīl's *Dīvān*, such as Shah Maḥmūd al-Nişābūrī (d. 972/1564-65?), Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abū Turāb-i Işfahānī (d. 1104/1693-4), ʿAyşī (d. 980/1572-73) and Yārī Haravī (d. 980/1572-3).[16] We also know of a few calligraphers with Turkic skills from the late phase of the Ṣafavid period. For example, Munşī of Tabriz (born 1094/1683 in Isfahan), aside from being an acknowledged calligrapher and excelling in *inşāʾ,* is said to have spoken and written in, Turkic, Persian, Afġānī (probably meaning Pashtun), Arabic, and Hindī (the latter probably standing for some unspecified Indian language, perhaps Urdu).[17] The most important locale, however, for the production of illuminated Turkic manuscripts in the Ṣafavid domains was Shiraz until the late 16th century. At that time the governors of the province were from the Ẕū al-Ḳadar tribe, under whose patronage a special Shiraz style of painting evolved. As we shall see below, aside from Persian, they commissioned copies of Turkic literary works as well, such as those of Navāʾī, Aḥmedī, Şayḫī or Fużūlī. Many of the manuscripts found their way to the Ottoman realm either as diplomatic gifts or as luxurious commodities made

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[16] For copyists of Shah Ismāʿīl's *Dīvān*, see: Chapter Two.
[17] Dawlatābādī, ʿAzīz. *Suḫanvarān-i Āzarbayjān: az Ḳaṭrān tā Şahriyār.* Tabriz: Sutūda, 1377/1998, pp. 674–675.

specifically with the Ottoman market in mind.[18] Of course, it can be argued that so many manuscripts came out of Shiraz workshops that statistically speaking, there is nothing to be surprised at that they included Turkic ones, too.[19]

It is noteworthy that in the sources only a few calligraphers are mentioned with Turkic skills. Although the matter awaits further research, at present it seems that illuminated, calligraphically written Persian manuscripts had a much wider market than Turkic ones. Persian remained the language of administration throughout the entire period and later as well. It is apparent that in the Ṣafavid realm there was little demand for richly illuminated Turkic manuscripts. One might also argue that the potential audience for Turkic literature was limited, for it included the Turkic court elite and Qizilbash tribal courts, but only a very small segment of the bureaucracy or literate city groups, most of whom were made up of "Tajiks" (i.e. ethnic Persians). On the other hand, some of the potential Turkic audience, particularly Turks closely related to the court, were probably bilingual; they did not necessarily need poetry in Turkic, be it in their mother tongue; or better put, it would seem that in such a context literary products in Turkic tended to have at least a broad political motivation behind them, and that was different from the motivation to write in Persian. Poetry could be conveyed orally; for example, the *majlis* was a usual forum for literature, and there were indeed such occasions when Turkic poetry was presented, but the majority of city-dwellers, an already important market for literature in the epoch, were probably "Tajiks".

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[18] Uluç, Lale. *Turkman Governors, Shiraz Artisans and Ottoman Collectors: Sixteenth-Century Shiraz Manuscripts.* Istanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2006, pp. 471, 474. See also: Çağman, Filiz, and Tanındı, Zeynep. "Manuscript Production at the Kāzarūnī Orders in Safavid Shiraz." In: *Safavid Art and Architecture.* Ed. Sheila R. Canby. London: The British Museum Press, 2002, pp. 43-48; Szántó, Iván. "An Illustrated 'Iskendernāme' of Ahmedī at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences." In: *Thirteenth International Congress of Turkish Art: Proceedings.* Ed. Géza Dávid and Ibolya Gerelyes. Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2009, pp. 651-666.
[19] Personal communication with Iván Szántó, for which I thank him very much.

To a moderate extent, Turkic was used in diplomacy; several samples of diplomatic missives written in Turkic and issued by the Ṣafavids have survived. We know of one letter each in Turkic sent by Shah Ismāʿīl and Ṭahmāsp, respectively. Shah Ṣafī (r. 1629–1642) addressed a letter in Turkic to Ferdinand II, Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary, while Shah Sultan Ḥusayn (r. 1694–1722) sent one to Frederick Augustus, Duke of Saxony and King of Poland.[20] Firīdūn Beg's diplomatic collection from 1575 contains four letters in Turkic produced at the Ṣafavid chancellery and sent to the Ottoman sultans. The letters include Ṭahmāsp's reply to an inquiry from Sultan Sulaymān, pertaining to prince Bāyazīd,[21] Ṭahmāsp's congratulatory letter to Sulaymān on the completion of the Sulaymāniyya mosque from 1557,[22] a treaty (ʿahd-nāma) sent by Shah Ṣafī (r. 1629–1642) along with presents,[23] and a letter of intercession from Ṭahmāsp to Sulaymān on behalf of prince Bāyazīd probably from 1562.[24] And there is also an Ottoman-Ṣafavid treaty from 1052/1643, which is in Ottoman Turkish.[25]

There are instances when Turkic was used in missives addressed to subjects or other inferiors. For example, Shah Ismāʿīl addressed a letter to an emir by the name of Mūsá Durġut Oġlı in 918/1512-13, and Ṭahmāsp, to two Sufi communities in Anatolia in 943/1536-37.[26] We also know of a safe-conduct personally issued by ʿAbbās II (r. 1642–1666) in Turkic to Ḥājjī Mānūçihr Khan, the *beglerbegi* of Şirvān, when two Anatolian dervishes wanted to return to

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[20] Fekete, Lajos. "İran şahlarının iki Türkçe mektubu." *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 5–6 (1934-36), pp. 269–274; Gandjei, "Turkish in the Safavid Court of Iran," p. 315.

[21] Firīdūn Beg. *Munşaʿāt al-salāṭīn*, Istanbul, vol. I, pp. 516-18.

[22] Firīdūn Beg, *Munşaʿāt*, vol. I, pp. 524-27.

[23] Firīdūn Beg, *Munşaʿāt*, vol. II pp. 216–217. This letter is obviously a later insertion of a collator.

[24] Firīdūn Beg, *Munşaʿāt*, vol. II, pp. 242–244.

[25] Muḥammad Ṭāhir Vaḥīd Ḳazvīnī. *ʿAbbās-nāma yā şarḥ-i zindigānī-yi 22 sāla-yi Shah ʿAbbās-i Sānī (1052-1073)*. Ed. Ibrāhīm Dahgān. Arāk: Kitābfurūşī-yi Dāvudī, 1329sh/1961, pp. 50-54.

[26] Fekete, Lajos. "İlk Sefevi şahlarının Türkçe çıkartılmış iki senedi." *Aġmosavluri p'ilologia* (=Vostochnaja Filologija/Philologia Orientalis) 3 (1973), pp. 290-293. Fekete observes that the missive addressed to western rulers had a floral, ornate style similar to that of Ottoman epistles, while the one sent to subjects was simple, less floral.

their homeland.[27] A 19ᵗʰ-century *inşā'* (model epistle) collection preserved at the Oriental Institute in Tashkent contains unpublished copies of letters in Turkic issued by Sulaymān I (r. 1667–1694) and Shah Sultan Ḥusayn (r. 1694–1722), the scribes of which were Muḥammad Ṭāhir Vaḥīd-i Ḳazvīnī and Mullah Zāhid Munşī, respectively.[28] From as late as the last phase of the Ṣafavid dynasty, there is a letter in Turkic probably from around 1722, which was written by the well-known lexicographer and historian Mīrzā Mahdī Khan (more about whom further below) on behalf of a certain Ibrāhīm Āḵā and addressed to Ḥasan pasha, the Ottoman governor of Baghdad.[29] As will later be alluded to, three members of a bureaucratic family in the late 17ᵗʰ century, Muḥammad Riżā Naṣīrī, appointed *munşī al-mamālik* in 1079/1678-69, and his two sons 'Abd al-Jalīl Naṣīrī, and Abū al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad Riżā Naṣīrī, produced a comprehensive lexical work partly in order to facilitate the translation of Turkic letters received by the Ṣafavids.[30] In addition, there are also traces of non-royal correspondence in Turkic. For example, a collection (*majmū'a*) of epistles housed at the Malik Library in Tehran contains not only the copies of diplomatic missives sent to or by Ottoman sultans, but also exchanges of letters probably between Qizilbash notables and their subordinates, some of them written in Azeri, some in Chaghatay Turkic.[31] Finally, we should mention that Ṣādiḳī himself wrote a number of letters and included them in his *Kulliyāt*.

Although there may well be other unpublished documents in Turkic from the Ṣafavid realm, the vast majority of state correspondence and administration was undebatably conducted

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[27] Vaḥīd Ḳazvīnī. *'Abbās-nāma*, p. 255; Gandjei, "Turkish in the Safavid Court of Iran," p. 315.

[28] Semenov, A.A. *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopiseĭ Akademii nauk Uzbekskoĭ SSR*. Tashkent: Akademya nauk UzSSR, 1952-, p. 157, no. 374 (289).

[29] Gandjei, Tourkhan. "Review of Sanglāx: A Persian Guide to the Turkish Language written by Muḥammad Mahdī Khān." ed. Gerard Clauson, *BSOAS* 24:2 (1961), p. 354; *idem*. "Turkish in the Safavid Court of Iran," pp. 315-316.

[30] Naṣīrī, *Farhang*; cf. also Gandjei, "Turkish in the Safavid Court of Iran," p. 316.

[31] *Majmū'a*. Kitābḵāna-yi Millī-yi Malik, Tehran, no. 3846, letters #115-124. The volume bears no date when it was compiled, but a note at the beginning of the collection as well as the table of contents reveal that the majority of the letters in it date from the reign of Shah 'Abbās, with some coming from the time of the Ṣafavid rulers who preceded him.

in Persian. Further, looking at the extremely complex, floral style produced by Arabo-Persian tropes and formulae in some of the letters that the Ṣafavid chancellery wrote in Turkic, one might have the impression that to be able to write or even to understand such epistles takes long years of training in the Persian chancellery language but merely an hour in Turkic, for only the second member of complex verbs and some nominal case suffixes are in Turkic. Indeed, the scribes in the era probably received little or no training in Turkic; therefore, even the ones whose mother tongue was Turkic had to rely on their training in chancellery Arabo-Persian when they were writing in Turkic. Of course, while Arabic and Persian orthography is stable, the inconsistencies in spelling almost exlusively pertain to Turkic words.[32] Aside from the scarcity of manuscripts in Turkic, the fact that Turkic and its orthography was not taught at *madrasas* must also have posed impediments. Though the issue needs further research, it is probably not accidental that the spelling of vowels in Turkic words often varies.[33]

Whether there was a continuous and solid tradition of state correspondence in Turkic is difficult to tell. After the collapse of Ṣafavid rule, the independent khanates in the Caucasus corresponded with the Ottomans in Turkish, which could be a result of the convenience of writing in Turkish to the Turkophone Ottomans, but also the decreasing significance on the part

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[32] When the scribe was inexperienced or knew little or no Turkic, such inconsistencies were aggravated. The same phenomenon can often be seen in modern Iranian or Indian publications, where the original spelling of Turkic words is further corrupted. The main difference between the Western Turkish and Eastern Turkic orthographic traditions was that the former tended to elide the spelling of vowels, whereas the latter, probably going back ultimately to Uyghur orthography, preferred their plêne spelling (Mansuroğlu, Mecdut. "Das Karachanidische." In: *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta.* Ed. Louis Bazin et al. Wiesbaden: Aquis Mattiacis & Francis Steiner, 1959, vol. 1, pp. 87-108; Vásáry, "Two Patterns of Acculturation to Islam: The Qarakhanids versus the Ghaznavids and Seljuqs," p. 19).
[33] This idea was suggested to me by Kurcz Ágnes. *Lovagi kultúra Magyarországon a 13–14. században*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988. p. 232 (cited also in: Zemplényi Ferenc. *Az európai udvari kultúra és a magyar irodalom.* Budapest: Universitas Könyvkiadó, 1998. p. 44).

of such Caucasian khanates of feeling the need to follow the bureaucratic practices of Ṣafavid administration.[34]

It is generally accepted in Azeri and Turkish scholarship that the *official language* of the Ṣafavids or their *language at the palace* was Turkish. But what significance does this have when it comes to writing something down? As we have just seen, although the Ṣafavid and the Qizilbash elite did use Turkic, the "official" language, i.e. the language of the administration and diplomacy (as well as most creative literature) was Persian and not Turkic, a situation not different at all from what had been current since Seljuk times. The idea of an official language seems to be related to the idea of a centralized *state* with a centralized administration and educational system, things we can hardly speak of regarding the early Ṣafavids.

Ṣafavid Turkic Poets and Biographical Dictionaries

While the majority of the Persian biographical literature produced in both Iran and India gives references to Turkic literary pieces in a sporadic fashion, there are two biographical anthologies that devote a separate section to Turkic poets in the Ṣafavid realm, signifying its special status. One of them is Sām Mīrzā Ṣafavī's (1517-1566) *Tuḥfa-yi sāmī* completed in Persian between 955/1548-49 and 1566;[35] the other is Ṣādiḳī's *Concourse* written in Chaghatay Turkic sometime in the last decade of the 16th and the first few years of the 17th century.[36] We will also take a brief look at a lesser known biographical anthology of poets written by one

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[34] Binark, İsmet. *Osmanlı Devleti ile Azerbaycan Türk Hanlıkları Arasındaki Münâsebetlere dâir Arşiv Belgeleri. Karabağ-Şuşa, Nahçıvan, Bakü, Gence, Şirvan, Şeki, Revan, Kuba, Hoy I (1578–1914)*. Ankara: Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 1992.

[35] Storey, vol. 1, part. 2, pp. 797-800; Kazi, I. "Sam Mirza and His "Tuḥfa-i-Sami"." *Indo-Iranica* 13:2 (1960), p. 89; Sām Mīrzā Ṣafavī. *Taẕkira-yi Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*. Ed. Rukn al-Dīn Humāyūn-Farruḫ. Tehran: ʻIlmī, 196?, pp. 334-360

[36] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 102-130.

Ġarībī some time toward the middle of the 16th century. Both the *Tuḥfa* and the *Concourse* are similar in how they structure their biographical material, in that they both claim to be the continuation of the previous biographical tradition of poets that emerged under the Timurids with the paradigmatical works of Dawlatṣāh and Navā'ī. However, unlike these two works, which categorize their biographical vignettes according to generations, or more exactly, according to where a given poet stands chronologically vis-à-vis the biographer, the *Tuḥfa* and the *Concourse* categorize the biographies of poets according to social estates.[37] The chronological arrangement used by the Timurid biographers is a tool to connect their own epoch to the grand Persianate literary tradition; for these two Ṣafavids biographers, i. e. Sām Mīrzā and Ṣādiḳī, this connection is implicit or rather, self-evident.[38] As we shall shortly see in what follows, if they sought connection to anything, it was the Timurid paradigm; and they are just as much concerned with presenting the literary life of Ṣafavid Persia as the fruit of the joint venture of the various social estates.

As to the works of most Turkophone poets listed in these *taẕkira*s, we usually know next to nothing about their poetry other than a few lines recorded in these biographical anthologies, likely because the majority of them did not collect their poetry in a *Dīvān* and because of the lower prestige of Turkic in lettered circles. However, as most of them were not poets *per se* but practitioners of poetry as befitted gentlemen of erudition and members of the "Old Boys' Club," the data at hand can shed light on Turkic as part of Ṣafavid court culture, particularly on the audience for which it was written and, one might wish to add, performed. Persian poetry may also have been a means to facilitate courtly conversation. Inasmuch as the Ṣafavid dynasty was

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[37] In the Ottoman context, it is Sehī Bey's biographical anthology (945/1538-1539) of poets that follows a similar arrangement of the biographical material; later Ottoman *taẕkira*s are arranged alphabetically.

[38] Logically, therefore, the arrangement according to *ṭabaḳāt*, 'generations,' in Sām Mīrzā and Ṣādiḳī is assumed, in that they conceive of their work as an appendix (*ẕayl*) to their model anthologies.

in contact with Turkmen nomads prior to its political ascent, there is evidence of Turkophone poetic activity on the part of at least one of its followers prior to the 16th century. In Chapter Two, we have already encountered Ḳāsim-i Anvār and the few poetic specimens he wrote in Turkic.[39]

Turkic poets in Sām Mīrzā's *Tuḥfa-yi sāmī*

His long time tenure as nominal governor of Herat (1522–29 and 1534–35) must have added to Sām Mīrzā's admiration for the Timurid legacy. Aside from its commercial, strategic and political importance, Herat was a key city in a cultural and symbolic sense. Under powerful Qizilbash guardians, the heir apparent to the Ṣafavid throne during the first century of the dynasty's reign would always be raised as nominal provincial governor in Herat, the center of Khorasan and former Timurid capital – a practice only terminated by 'Abbās I. Colin Mitchell argues convincingly that the designation of Herat as the seat of the heir apparent is "[…] a careful acknowledgement of the long-standing Turco-Mongolian practice of appointing a male heir to this particular province," and also of the city's strategic, political and symbolic importance.[40] As is mentioned in Chapter Two in relation to Muḥammad Khan b. Ṣaraf al-Dīn

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[39] There are a few poems in Turkic that have been attributed to the founder of the dynasty Şayḫ Ṣafī al-Dīn (1252–1334; Dawlatābādī, *Suḫanvarān*, p. 48 cites Rawşan-żamīr, Mahdī. *Yād-i yārān*. Tehran: Intişārāt-i Kitābkhana-yi Mustawfī, 1371sh/1992, p. 49). E.g.
Çaġururdum ḳatı āvāz ile Laylā Laylā
Daġ ses verdi javābımda ki Majnūn Majnūn
Bu ne vīrāna gönüldür Ṣafī ayvā-yi ayvāy
Sarvlar var idi bu bāġda mawzūn mawzūn
In fact, these verses were written by a late 17th century Qizilbash official poet by the name of Ṣafī Ḳulı Khan Şāmlū, who used the penname "Ṣafī" (Mümtaz, Salman. "Ṣəfī." In: idem. *Azərbajcan ədəbiyyatının qaynaqları*. Baku: Yazıçı, 1986. pp. 330-333; Kərimov, *XVII əsr anadilli Azərbaycan lirikası*, p. 87).
[40] Mitchell, *The Practice of Politics*, p. 59. We might also recall the relationship between Ṭahmāsp's upbringing during his nominal governorship at Herat and his connoisseurship which, as suggested by Stuart Car Welch and Martin Dickson, synthesized the Herat and Tabriz schools of painting (Dickson and Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*, p. 34).

Takkalū (d. 1557), governor of Herat from 1536 to 964/1557 and tutor (*lala*) to Muḥammad Mīrzā, Shah Ṭahmāsp's eldest son, the future Shah Muḥammad Ḫudābanda (r. 1578-1587), these guardians could and did tap into the abundant cultural and intellectual resources of Herat.[41] It was Sām Mīrzā's *lālā* ('guardian') Durmış Khan Şāmlū who in 928/1521-22 commissioned Sultan Muḥammad Faḫrī of Herat to translate into Persian Navā'ī's biographical dictionary of poets, the *Majālis al-nafā'is*.[42] Another sign of Durmış Khan's respect for Navā'ī is that in 933/1526-1527 he commissioned the noted calligrapher 'Alī Hijrānī to make a copy of Navā'ī's complete works on expensive, fine paper, and had the famous painters, Şayḫzāda and Sulṭān Muḥammad to sumptuously adorn it with paintings.[43] One of Sām Mīrzā's intentions with his biographical dictionary or anthology, the *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī,* was undoubtedly to prove that poetry under the Ṣafavids equaled if not surpassed that in Ḥusayn Bayḳara and Navā'ī's Herat. By espousing the Timurid model, Sām Mīrzā clearly presents his realm to be on an equal footing with the splendid cultural life of the Timurids and argues for historic and cultural continuity with them:

> "Undoubtedly, the eloquent ones of this time have stolen the ball from the ancient poets in the polo game of finesse, and with the polisher of elegance and delicacy they have wiped the color of opaqueness off the hearts of the people of understanding. In the field of eloquence, everyone of them is a Ḫusraw [i.e. Amīr Ḫusraw], a Sa'dī, an Anvarī; and in the land of wisdom everyone of them is a model for Firdawsī and Sanā'ī. But there is no trace of treatises and records about this group and company, such as the *Bahāristān* [by Jāmī], the *Majālis al-nafā'is* [by Navā'ī], or the *Taẕkirat al-şu'arā* [by Dawlatşāh], that would eloquently record the characteristics of the life and sayings and tunes of this group of many honors, although since the compilation of those [i.e. the abovementioned biographical dictionaries] and since the commencement of the rise of the world-

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[41] We could also adduce the example of 'Alī Ḳulı Khan Şāmlū, who was 'Abbās's ward in his early years (see: Chapter Four).

[42] Faḫrī Haravī, Sulṭān Muḥammad. *Laṭā'if-nāma*. In: *The Majalis-un-nafa'is, "Galaxy of Poets" of Mir 'Ali Shir Nava'i.* Ed. Ali Asghar Hekmat. Tehran: Kitābfurūşī-yi Manūçihrī, 1363/1984. p. 3.

[43] Dickson, Martin Bernard – Welch, Stuart Bernard. *The Houghton Shahnameh.* Cambridge, MA & London, England, Harvard University Press, 1981, pp. 36-37. The manuscript is in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Blochet, Edgar. *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs.* Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1932-33, Supp. pp. 316-317). XXX

illuminating sun of this powerful polity [*dawlat*] down to our days, this party of illustrious value has lifted the banner of eloquence and left *dīvān*s of elegance among their equals."[44]

While Sām Mīrzā refers to Jāmī, Navā'ī and Dawlatşāh's respective biographical anthologies of poets as the tradition he intends his own work to tie in with, it is Dawlatşāh that he follows in his choice of Persian as well as in the structure of his work, in that he also has seven chapters.[45] Dawlatşāh's work has a lengthy preface with a biographical notice about the author; a preamble on ten poets of Arabic; seven chapters (like the seven spheres) on poets who composed in Persian, from Rūdakī to Dawlatşāh's contemporaries; and an epilogue on six great men of letters who were the author's contemporaries (e.g. Jāmī and Navā'ī) with a biographical sketch on the ruler Sultan Ḥusayn Bayḳara. It is clear that Dawlatşāh intends to present poets and letters sponsored by the Timurid venture as part of the great literary tradition of Arabic and Persian seen as an historical unit. Keeping the division of seven, Sām Mīrzā, however, divides his anthology into seven *ṣaḥīfa*s, 'pages,' not according to generations but the seven "estates" of Iranian society:

1. A sniff from the blessed life of the late Lord of the Auspicious Conjunction and his sons and relations of the rulers who were his contemporaries
2. Great sayyids and scholars who deal in propagating the message
3. Honorable viziers and other "Men of the Pen"
4. The names of persons of distinction who were not poets but sometimes opened their mouth to compose poetry
5. Established poets and eloquent versifiers[46]
6. The estate [*ṭabaḳa*] of the Turks and their poems that are ascertained
7. Other folks

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[44] Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, pp. 3-4.
[45] On Dawlatşāh, see: Ṣafā, Zabīḥ Allāh. "Dawlatšāh Samarqandī." *EIr*.
[46] In other manuscripts, "Poets best known by their pennames" (*şā'irānī ki bi-taḥalluṣ maşhūrand*). Cf. Storey, vol. 1, part 2, p. 799.

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[45] On Dawlatşāh, see: Ṣafā, Zabīḥ Allāh. "Dawlatšāh Samarqandī." *EIr*.
[46] In other manuscripts, "Poets best known by their pennames" (*şā'irānī ki bi-taḥalluṣ maşhūrand*). Cf. Storey, vol. 1, part 2, p. 799.

Sām Mīrzā includes Persian poets who had been active under the Timurids, such as Jāmī,[47] Hātifī (d. 927/1521),[48] Hilālī Çaġatāyī (d. 1529),[49] Āṣafī (d. 1517),[50] Banā'ī (1453-1512),[51] Niẓām al-Dīn Astarābādī "Niẓām" (d. 921/1515-6), [52] or Ḳāsimī Junābādī.[53] However, here we are more concerned with Turkic poets. The Turkophone poets Sām Mīrzā lists are of a heterogenous background, most of them coming either from the tribal aristocracy that had backed the Timurids or from the Qizilbash tribal following of the Ṣafavids, but some of them had formerly been in Aqqoyunlu service or led a mendicant dervish lifestyle. The ex-Timurid poets are especially significant because of Sām Mīrzā's great admiration for the Timurids and, more importantly, because of his intention that the Ṣafavid poetical landscape emulate the Timurid tradition. Accordingly, the chapter on the Turkic poets of the Ṣafavid realm starts with Navā'ī,[54] followed by emirs who started their career under the Timurids and later served the Ṣafavids, such as Amīr Ḥusayn 'Alī Jalāyir "Ṭufaylī" (d. 925), the latter having been one of the emirs of Sultan Ḥusayn Bayḳara and later served Najm-i Ṣānī, the vizier of Shah Ismā'īl I;[55] Mawlānā Mīr Āhī, a jolly character with Sufi inclinations (*'āşiq-pīşa va lavand va ḫ^waş-maşrab*) who was probably a

[47] Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, pp. 143-152.
[48] Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, pp. 160-164; Bernardini, Michele. "Hātifī's Tīmūrnāma and Qāsimī's Shāhnameh-yi Ismā'īl: Considerations towards a Double Critical Edition." In: *Society and culture in the early modern Middle East: studies on Iran in the Safavid period.* Ed. Andrew J. Newman. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2003, pp. 3-18.
[49] Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, pp. 152-160.
[50] Rajā'ī, A 'A. "Āṣafī Herāvī." *EIr,* vol. II, Fasc. 7, pp. 700-701.
[51] Safa, Z. "Banā'ī Heravī." *EIr,*
[52] Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, pp. 171-172. It is remarkable, however, that he does not include Hātifī, although the latter had not only been Jāmī's nephew, and a Timurid poet who then received patronage from the Ṣafavids, but he also wrote a heroic narrative in praise of Shah Ismā'īl.
[53] Abrahams, Simin. "The career of Mirzâ Qâsem Jonâbâdi in the light of Afzal al-tavârix." *Annali (Istituto Universitario Orientale)* 59 (1999), pp. 1-17; Wood, Barry D. *The Shahnama-i Ismā'īl: Art and Cultural Memory in Sixteenth-Century Iran.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 2002 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis).
[54] Of course, he also includes Jāmī, the most outstanding Persian poet of the Timurid period, dedicating to him probably the lengthiest entry of the *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī* (pp. 143–152). The importance of Navā'ī as both a Turko-Persian litterateur and a paradigmatic Maecenas is emphasized by his entry on Mīrzā Shah Ḥusayn of Isfahan, who was vizier under Shah Ismā'īl: "Of a mild character who behaves tenderly, he imitated Mīr 'Alī Şīr in terms of fine talent and elegance" (*Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, pp. 89-91).
"Of a mild character who behaves tenderly, he imitated Mīr 'Alī Shīr in terms of fine talent and elegance"
[55] Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, pp. 342-343; Alî-Şîr Nevâyî. *Mecâlisü'n-nefâyis. Giriş ve metin.* Ankara: Atatür Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 2001, vol. 1, pp. 167-168.

seal-keeper on the council of the emirs (*dar jarga-yi umarā' muhr mīzad*, lit. 'he handled the seal in the gathering of the emirs') during the reign of Sultan Ḥusayn Bayḳara;[56] Mīr Shah 'Alī (938/1531-2), the son of a high-ranking Chaghatay emir, who, aside from his military skills, particularly in archery, was an accomplished poet, calligrapher, riddle-composer and prosodist;[57] and Amīr Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad "Suhaylī" (d. 918/1512-3), who was an emir first under Sultan Abū Saʿīd and then under Sultan Ḥusayn Bayḳara, and who was also the dedicatee of Ḥusayn Vāʿiẓ Kāṣifī's *Anvār-i Suhaylī*. Descending from one of the Chaghatay clans, Suhaylī has two *dīvān*s, one in Turkic and another one in Persian.[58]

As can be seen from this list, several emirs of what Sām Mīrzā refers to as Chaghatay descent or affiliation were practitioners of Turkic verse. At this point it is difficult to determine in each case what such a designation exactly means. In the broadest sense, it refers to tribal affiliates of what had been the Chaghatay *Ulus*, i.e. the Chingisid appanage state that had originally included roughly Transoxiana and East Turkestan; Timur himself ruled in the name of a Chingisid-Chaghatayid puppet khan. The term might in some cases, however, also refer to the Eastern part of the Chaghatayid appanage, which was finally separated from Transoxiana after the death of Timur and, called Moġulistān in the sources, was ruled by various Chaghatayid rulers.[59] Be that as it may, aside from the aforesaid Mīr Shah 'Alī and Suhaylī, Sām Mīrzā lists as Chaghatayid Mawlānā Mīr Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, who was son to Amīr Nūr Saʿīd, one of the Chaghatay emirs and grandson to Amīr Shah Malik, a prominent emir under Timur;[60] Yūsuf Beg

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[56] Sām Mīrzā pp. 340-343.
[57] Sām Mīrzā, p. 349.
[58] Sām Mīrzā pp. 338-9. For Suhaylī's *Dīvān*, see Süleymaniye, Esad Efendi 3422. Subtelny, Maria E. Socioeconomic Bases of Cultural Patronage under the Later Timurids." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 20:4 (1988), p. 492. See also: Awḥadī, #1342, pp. 1712-1714.
[59] Biran, Michal. "The Mongols in Central Asia from Chinggis Khan's invasion to the rise of Temür: the Ögödeid and Chaghadaid realms." In: *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age*. Ed. Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank, and Peter B. Golden. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, pp. 46-66.
[60] Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, pp. 339-340.

Tūşmāl from the *Evoğlı* tribe, originally a Chaghatay tribe, who was *parvānaçī* under Shah Ismāʿīl I and *tūşmāl* ('supervisor of the royal kitchen') under Ṭahmāsp, and who was learned in fiqh and hadith as well as calligraphy, recitation and poetry in both Turkic and Persian;[61] Mīr Dūst Ṭārimī, who also came from a Chaghatay princely clan and held a high rank at the court of Bābur, but after some ten years in Mashhad, allegedly following the instruction of ʿAlī in a dream to resign and take up service at the shrine of Imām ʿAlī b. Mūsá al-Riżā, he took up service at the court of Ṭahmāsp;[62] and Nigāhī Çaġatāyī, who also descended from the Chaghatay Turks, spent his youth as a dervish and was talented in the arts, particularly seal-engraving and painting, as well as poetry.[63]

The other main audience for Turkic literary endeavors was quite naturally the Qizilbash aristocracy, who had come from Anatolia, Syria, Iraq and Western Iran. Sām Mīrzā notes that some of them had poetic ambitions, too, such as Ḥusayn Ḳulı Mīrzā Şāmlū, the son of Shah Ismāʿīl's *amīrāḫūr* ('chief equerry'), who entered the service of the Mughal Humāyūn due to some court intrigue during the reign of Ṭahmāsp;[64] Ayġut Mīrzā, son of Bāyazīd Sultan and grandson of Jānān Sultan Ustājlū, whose grandfather was the *amīr al-umarā* under Shah Ismāʿīl;[65] the aforesaid Yūsuf Beg from the Çāvuşlū branch (*şuʿba*) of the Ustājlū, whom Sām Mīrzā describes to be pious despite his Qizilbash background;[66] Būdāḳ Beg, who succeeded his father Ḥiṣār Beg Bahārlū in the office of chief equerry (*mīrāḫūr*) under Ṭahmāsp;[67] Mawlānā Yırtılmış from the Çemişkezek Turks, a geomancer and boon companion of a "heretic" (perhaps

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[61] Sām Mīrzā, p. 351.
[62] Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi sāmī*, pp. 348-349.
[63] Sām Mīrzā, p. 354.
[64] Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi sāmī*, p. 343; see also: Awḥadī, #896, pp. 1165-1166.
[65] Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, p. 344.
[66] Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, pp. 344-5; Awḥadī, #3489, pp. 4213-4214. He also features in Ṣādiḳī's *Concourse*, but only in *Kulliyāt* 219b-220a, and not in the manuscripts the two existing editions are based on.
[67] Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi sāmī* p. 352.

Nuḳtavī) affiliation who also indulged in alchemy and occultism;[68] Ṭufaylī Abdāl "from among the Turks of Khurāsān", who was a dervish before becoming the companion of a Qizilbash emir and was known for his corpulence and convivial temperament;[69] and Sūsanī from the Qaraqoyunlu tribe, who was a member of the *ḳurçi* guard under Ṭahmāsp, but due to some unbecoming act fell out of favor, and who was infamous for his propensity for plagiarism and, as reported by Ṣādiḳī in the *Concourse*, wrote in Chaghatay Turkic, following Navā'ī.[70]

There are also Turkophone poets in Sām Mīrzā who were in Aqqoyunlu service before joining the Ṣafavids. These figures include Mawlānā Ḫayālī (951/1544-45), one of Shah Ismā'īl's intimates (*az jumla-yi maḫṣūṣān*) who had a dervish disposition, whom Sām Mīrzā depicts as an excellent poet with a *dīvān* of ghazals and *ḳaṣīda*s, and an imitation (*javāb*) of the *Gūy u çawgān* by 'Ārifī, and who, probably on account of his Shiite piety, died in Qazvin but was transferred to Mashhad for burial;[71] Mīr Maḳbūl Ḳumī, originally a Turk in the military service of Sultan Ya'ḳūb Aqqoyunlu, who later settled in Qom and became famous for his love of food, drinking and young men, celebrating the latter with ghazals and amorous language (*ġazal-pardāzī va 'işḳ-bāzī*);[72] Mawlānā Jadīdī, who also joined the Ṣafavids after the Aqqoyunlu collapse and became a companion (*muṣāhib*) of Amīr Najm-i S̱ānī, the vizier of Shah Ismā'īl I, and died in 939/1532-3[73]; and Mawlānā Ḥabībī-yi Barguşādī, who, after serving Sultan Ya'ḳūb Aqqoyunlu, also joined Shah Ismā'īl I's court, becoming his poet laureate and gaining the

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[68] Sām Mīrza, *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, p. 356. Köprülü reads his name as *Yerilmiş,* which is probably a mistake (Köprülü, Mehmet Fuat. "Âzeri." *İslam Ansiklopedisi,* vol. I, p. 135).

[69] Sām Mīrzā, pp. 352–353.

[70] Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi sāmī*, pp. 358–360; see also: Awḥadī, #1340, pp. 1711-1712. According to Reid, James J. *Tribalism and Society in Islamic Iran, 1500-1629*. Malibu, Calif.: Undena Publications, 1983, p. 54, Sūsanī Beg was a Mawsillū, which is clearly a mistake. As has been already mentioned in Chapter Four, he also features in Ṣādiḳī's *Concourse*.

[71] Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi sāmī*, pp. 347–349.

[72] Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi sāmī*, pp. 349-350.

[73] Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi sāmī*, pp. 356–357.

nickname Gurz al-Dīn Beg ('the mace of faith') from the ruler.[74] About Ḥabībī, Sām Mīrzā neglects to mention that he emigrated to Ottoman lands, and was known in learned circles.[75]

In the roster of the Turkic poets of the realm, Sām Mīrzā includes also figures for whom Turkic was likely a second language, which is a clear indication that the term Turkic had social instead of ethnic connotations. He lists Nāranjī Sultan Arasbārī Khan, probably a Kurdish notable from Arasbār, one of the dependencies (a'māl) of Kurdistān, who was first in the service of Keyik [?] Sultan, one of the emirs of Ṭahmāsp, and then in that of Bahrām Mīrzā (1517–1549), probably in Hamadan, and whom Ṭahmāsp appointed to the office of superintendent of nomads (sar-kārī-yi namad-pūşān);[76] Ḥājī Āḵālār, a Lur notable, who was first mihmāndār ('host of envoys and allowance') under Ṭahmāsp, then became yüzbaşı ('master of a hundred') and then the ḵalīfa of the Kurdish ḵurçīs, and who was known for being an exceedingly unskillful poet;[77] and Mūsá Beg, another Kurd who was born in Tabriz, and was well versed in accountancy and calculation ['ilm-i siyāḵ va ḥisāb], as well as calligraphy, earning the office of court secretary (munşī).[78]

Remarkably, the learned prince mainly gives samples of Persian poetry, even in the case of Navā'ī, the importance of whose Turkic poetry he acknowledges, as well as in the case of several other Turkophone poets who have Turkic poems beside Persian.[79] In the fifth ṣaḥīfa, dedicated to established poets, Sām Mīrzā mentions the aforesaid Hilālī Çaġatāyī, but he only

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[74] Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi sāmī*, pp. 357-358.
[75] On Ḥabībī, see also: Sadıkoğlu, Sasni Çingiz. "Habîbî." *TDVİA*; Köprülüzade, Mehmet Fuat. "Habîbî." *Darü'l-Fünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası* VI/1 (1925), pp. 71-77; VIII/5 (1932), pp. 86-133; Āşiḵ Çelebi. *Meşā'ir Üş-şu'arā; Or, Tezkere of 'Āşik Çelebi*. Ed. G. M. (Glyn Munro) Meredith-Owens London: Luzac, 1971, fol. 86a; Kınalızade, Hasan Çelebi. *Tezkiretü'ş-şuarâ*. Ed. İbrahim Kutluk. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1989 (2nd ed), vol. I, pp. 279-280; Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, p. 195. See also: Həbibi. *Şeirlər*. Baku: Şərq-Qərb, 2006.
[76] Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi sāmī*, pp. 346–347.
[77] Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi sāmī*, pp. 353-354.
[78] Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi sāmī*, pp. 355-6.
[79] Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, pp. 334-338.

refers to his Persian poetry, although he knew him personally and heard from him stories about Mīr ʿAlī Şīr.[80] Even more remarkably, he does not quote from the Turkic poetry of his own father, Shah Ismāʿīl I, but quotes instead a few Persian verses from him. His only mention of Shah Ismāʿīl's Turkic poetry is his remark that Shah Ismāʿīl used the penname Ḫaṭāʾī in both his Persian and Turkic poems.[81] Perhaps this was due to some personal predilection on the part of Sām Mīrzā for Persians, as evidenced, for example, by his entry on a certain Yūsuf Beg of the Çāvuşlū branch of the Ustājlū tribe: "Although he is a Turk, he has humane manners," and "nowdays there are few Turks and even Tajiks like him."[82] He depicts Yūsuf Beg as a pious person and a good soldier, who has been in his service for twelve years and who has a talent in Persian and Turkic verse as well.[83] As shown above, the designation *Turk* carried more sociological than ethnic connotations, and indeed, Sām Mīrzā's classification of literati along the lines of social strata does not emphasize linguistic differences, as is also indicated by the fact that he lists the aforesaid Kuridsh Nāranjī Sultan Arasbārī Khan and Mūsá Beg, as well as the Lur Ḥājī Āḳālar among the Turkic poets. This is not different from the attitude of other biographical dictionaries produced in the period, were they under Ottoman, Uzbek or Mughal patronage; nevertheless, the relatively small number of Turkic poets whose Turkic output is quoted in Sām Mīrzā is in marked contrast with Ṣādiḳī, the biographer of poets of the next generation. Aside from acknowledging the importance of personal preferences and taste on the part of the princely biographer in neglecting to quote his father's Turkic poetry, it is possible to hypothetically see this attitude to Turkic reflected in the lack of eschatological imagery in his presentation of his

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[80] Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, pp. 152-160. About Hilālī Çaġatāyī, see: Bernardini, Michele. "Helāli Astarābādi Jagatāʾi". *EIr*. According to Mīr ʿAlī Şīr Navāʾi's *Majālis*, he also wrote in Turkic.
[81] Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, p. 11.
[82] Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, pp. 344-345; about him, see also: Reid, *Tribalism and Society in Islamic Iran*, p. 174.
[83] He died at the defense of Kashan in 1584, during the Takkalū-Turkmen rebellion (*AAA*, vol. 1, p. 301; *AAA Eng*, p. 434).

father. Sām Mīrzā describes Shah Ismā'īl with a rhetoric very much in line with Persianate *adab*,

in which Jamshed, the mythical Iranian king, is a metaphor for just rule:

> "Verily, when Jamshed[-like], this brave sun cast the lasso of universal conquest on the top of the quicksilver sky, in a single instance he conveyed the impact of the splendor of his world-illuminating sword from the eastern horizon to the far west."[84]

The context for such a presentation of Shah Ismā'īl may well be the refashioning of

Ṣafavid legimacy under Ṭahmāsp along the lines of Iranian kingship and to the detriment,

although, as has been referred to in Chapter Two, by no means the complete elimination, of the

"Mahdistic tenet." It would seem that in the polyphony of Ṣafavid cultural-political discourse,

Sām Mīrzā's attitude is in congruence with the shift in Ṣafavid political rhetoric from

eschatology towards notions and images of Iranian kingship, as is also reflected in Persian

epistolary prose at court in the mid-16th century.[85]

Another issue worth mentioning with regard to Shah Ismā'īl is Caferoğlu's supposition of

a Turkic literary circle at his court and of his special concern for Turkic literary activity. This

surmise fits Caferoğlu's nationalist line of thought referred to above, but is not supported by

enough evidence. His list of poets at Ismā'īl's court is made up of a few names, Ṭufaylī, Surūrī,

Ḥabībī, Shah Ḳulı Beg, Parī Paykar, and Sūsanī, all coming from Sām Mīrzā's anthology, which

poses several problems: first, this number is very small for Shah Ismā'īl's almost a quarter of a

century long rule, especially if we compare it to, say, the far greater number of the poets who

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[84] Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, p. 9.
[85] Mitchell, Colin P. *The Practice of Politics in Safavid Iran: Power, Religion and Rhetoric*. London: Tauris Academic Studies; New York: distributed in the United States and Canada exclusively by Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

received rewards for their poetry from Ismāʿīl's contemporary, the Ottoman sultan Bāyazīd II.[86] Second, we do not know when these poets were present at Shah Ismāʿīl's court, and we are unsure if they, or at least some of them, were there at the same time; not to speak of the fact that both Surūrī and Ḥabībī eventually wound up in Istanbul.[87] Third, we know some but by no means of all their poetry; although Republican Turkish and Azeri historiography emphasizes what they wrote in Turkic, we do not know how much they wrote in Persian and how this Persian output was received at the Ṣafavid court.

Sām Mīrzā mentions several other Turkic poets who shifted language. The lack of further data makes it difficult to give an exact explanation of the phenomenon of language change in a poetic career; nevertheless, in some cases it was probably related to a change in patronage. Interesting is the example of a certain Mawlānā Humāʾī, who abandoned Turkic as a youth. He became an excellent poet in Persian and died in Isfahan.[88] Another such fellow was one Allāh Ḳulı, originally a Turk, but "he is more like a Tajik, because in Isfahan he deals with Turks with astringency."[89] Further Persianized Turks that Sām Mīrzā mentions include, for example, Mawlānā Muṭīʿī Beg, Mawlānā Vafāʾī, or Mīrzā Budaḳ.[90] Although the phenomenon of language change in a poetic career would need further research, in the case of poets in Ṣafavid Persia the abandonment of Turkic in favor of Persian can be compared to cases in the Ottoman context. One may recall the example of Fużūlī, whose Turkish output supposedly increased considerably after the Ottoman conquest of Baghdad,[91] or the Ottoman poet Niṣārī from the time

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[86] Erünsal, İsmail. "Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinin Arşiv Kaynakları I. II. Bayezid Devrine Ait bir İnamat Defteri." *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Enstitüsi Dergisi* 10-11 (1981), pp. 303–342.

[87] Caferoğlu, "Die Azerbaidschanische Literatur," pp. 641–643.

[88] Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, p. 351.

[89] *bar turkān dar Iṣfahān bi ḳābiżī iştiġāl dārad* (Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, p. 302). About him, see also: Awḥadī, #398, p. 636, where he is referred to as Ḫʷāja Allāh Ḳulı Fāyiż-i Ṣifāhānī.

[90] Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, pp. 353–354.

[91] The question begs further investigation; he did address panegyric *qasida*s to Ṣafavid governors of Baghdad, two to Ibrāhīm Sultan Mawṣillū (d. 935/1528-29), and also two to Muḥammad Ṣaraf al-Dīn Takkalū; we may also note that

of Sulaymān the Lawgiver, who gave up Turkish in favor of Arabic and Persian.[92] Be that as it may, as we shall see it in Chapter Six, language change or the perception of a literary language, in this case, Turkic, was at times also related to the assimilation of the Qizilbash elite into Persianate court culture.

The learned prince had nothing against Turkic as a language for poetry; he simply knew more Persian poets, and there were indeed fewer Turkic ones around. He may also have abided by the time-honored prestige of Persian as a language of culture. The only poet composing in Turkic whom he puts in the chapter on the "great poets" of his age is Fużūlī (1480?–1556), from whom he quotes a single couplet in Turkic;[93] and the only person with Turkic poetry who features in the chapter on amateur poets and rhymesters of a lowly social background—which is also an indicator of the broad social basis of poetry—is a certain Kalīmī Panbadūzoġlı of Tabriz, a scion of a poor cotton carding family.[94] Put shortly, the "great" poets have in their ranks only one poet writing in Turkic; the amateurs also but one, and by far not all the other Turkic poets are reported to have written in their mother tongue, although Köprülü's surmise that the other poets of the section on Turkic poets in the *Tuḥfa-yi sāmī* may also have written in Turkic is probably correct.[95]

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he did not cease to write Persian verses as an Ottoman subject (Fuzûlî. *Türkçe Divan*. Ed. Kenan Akyüz et al. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1958, #XXII, XXIII, XXVI, XXVII, pp. 78-80, 87-91).

[92] Kim, *Minding the Shop*, p. 185, citing 'Āşıḳ Çelebi. *Meşā'ir üş-Şu'arā*. Ed. G.M. Meredith-Owens. London: Luzac and Company Ltd, 1971, fol. 129b, ll. 14–19.

[93] Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, pp. 245–246. The chapter is entitled *Dar z̲ikr-i şā'irānī ki bi taḥalluṣ maşhūr-and*, 'On the poets who are famous by penname'. Sām Mīrzā illustrates the entry on Fużūlī with a Persian and a Turkic couplet. Interestingly, the Turkic one is written in a style or dialect which has Eastern Turkic, i.e. Čaġatay, and not 'Ajamī Turkic features: *ay muṣavvir yār timsālına ṣūrat bermädün / zülf ü yüz çektüng valī tāb ü tarāvat bermadün*. The critical edition of the poet's Turkish dīvān, relying on manuscripts stored in Turkish collections has *virmedüng* in the *radīf* (Fuzûlî. *Türkçe Divan*. Ed. Kenan Akyüz et al. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1958, p. 288). The phenomenon can probably be put down to the scribes; it needs further research if Fużūlī's woks had a circulation in the Chaghatay orthographic tradition.

[94] Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, p. 366.

[95] Köprülü, "Âzeri," p. 136.

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It is remarkable how the nascent Sunni-Shii sectarian antagony surfaces in Sām Mīrzā. The princely biographer feels the need to explain in a separate nota bene remark [*tanbīh*] why he includes in his biographical compendium poets who are "opponents of the religion of the polity" (*muḫālifān-i dīn-i dawlat*); in this case this refers to Sunni, practically speaking, Ottoman and Uzbek rulers, such as Yaʿḳūb Beg Aḳḳoyunlu, Sultan Selim, Muḥammad Şaybānī, ʿUbaydullāh Khan Uzbek, etc., and poets like Jāmī.[96] Sām Mīrzā appeals to the judgement of impartial critics (*bar rāy-i fażīlat-ārā-yi sālikān-i masālik-i inṣāf*, lit. 'to the judgement of those who are adorned with excellence and walk the path of equity') and those who are free of fanaticism and haphazardness (*nāhijān-i manāhij-i dūr az taʿaṣṣub va iʿtisāf*, lit. 'those who follow a course that is far from fanaticism and injustice'). He claims that it is historical comprehensiveness and not the praise of their qualities that demands their inclusion.[97]

Such an inclusive attitude is quite in contrast with most Ottoman biographical dictionaries, which avowedly concentrate on poets coming from Ottoman territories, fashioning a literary identity for Rūm.[98] In its inclusivity, Sām Mīrzā's attitude resembles more that of his Timurid models, Navāʾī, Dawlatşāh and Jāmī, whose vision of the literary past was less territorial and suited well the ethos of Persianate cosmopolitanism. As we saw in Chapter One, it is this ethos that Navāʾī sought Turkic poetry to adapt to, as does Sām Mīzā, presenting the Turkophone segment of his biographical anthology as an integral part of the Ṣafavid venture, but

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[96] This inclusive attitude to the literary past across sectarian boundaries is particularly interesting if we bear in mind that Jāmī's shrine was desecrated when the Ṣafavids conquered Herat. Aside from his entry on him, Sām Mīrzā even mentions Jāmī prominently at the very beginning of his *Tuḥfa*, quoting from his *Yūsuf va Zulayḫā* in support of his argument that poetry is a means to attain unto the divine (Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, pp. 2-3). About the desecration of Jāmī's shrine as part of sectarian violence under the Ṣafavids, see: Vāṣifī, Zayn al-Dīn Maḥmūd. *Badāyiʿ al-vaḳāyiʿ*. 2nd ed. Tehran: Bunyād-i Farhang-i Īrān, 1349-1350 [1970-1972], vol. 2, p. 250; Dickson, Martin. B. *Sháh Ṭahmásb and the Úzbeks: the Duel for Khurásán with ʿUbayd Khán, 930-940 (1524-1540)*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 1958 (unpublished Ph.D.-thesis), p. 190; Stanfield-Johnson, Rosemary. "The Tabarra'iyan and the Early Safavids." *Iranian Studies* 37/1 (2004), p. 55, n. 33.
[97] Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, pp. 4-5.
[98] Kuru, Selim S. "The literature of Rum: The making of a literary tradition (1450–1600)." In: *The Cambridge History of Turkey. Volume 2: The Ottoman Empire as a World Power, 1453-1603*. Ed. Suraiya N. Faroqhi and Kate Fleet. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 548-592.

seeing the same Ṣafavid venture also as part of the larger Persianate cosmopolis that for him included Sunni rulers and poets, too.

Ṣādiḳī's Concourse of Nobilities

The other most important source for Turkic poetry in the Ṣafavid period is Ṣādiḳī Kitābdār's biographical dictionary of poets, the *Majma' al-khavāṣṣ*, the 'Concourse of Nobilities,' which we have already used in the previous chapter to reconstruct his biography.[99] At the moment, only an approximate date can be given for its composition. One of the reasons for this is that I have not managed to consult all of its manuscripts and therefore it is impossible to see the relationship between the individual copies or when they were executed. The *Concourse* seems to have different recensions that may have been produced at different times. Indeed, the composition of such a biographical anthology needed a sufficient amount of investment in terms of time, resources, as well as networking among patrons and poets.[100] Evidently, it must have taken Ṣādiḳī quite a few years to collect the biographical material for his work. This is suggested not only by the amount of the material he collated but also by his method of collecting, which included not only personal access to poetry and personal communication, Ṣādiḳī having traveled widely and then being at the center of cultural activities in Abbās's Isfahan, but also soliciting literary works via correspondence, as can be ascertained from a letter

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[99] For a full list of the Turkic poets in the *Concourse*, see the Appendices.

[100] On the process of the composition of a biographical anthology in the Persianate world, see: Szuppe, Maria. "A Glorious Past and an Outstanding Present: Writing a Collection of Biographies in Late Persianate Central Asia." In: *The Rhetoric of Biography: Narrating Lives in Persianate Societies.* Ed. Louise Marlow. Ilex Foundation: Boston, Mass. - Center for Hellenic Studies: Harvard University, Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass., 2011 (Ilex Foundation Series 4), pp. 41-88.

Ṣādiḳī wrote to Musayyib Khan Takkalū, asking for his support as well as for specimens of his poetry to be inserted in Ṣādiḳī's biographical anthology. The process of composing such an anthology gave its author the opportunity to reach out to various segments of the Ṣafavid social, religious and cultural elite. It was probably an honor to get into the who's who of Ṣafavid poets. Soliciting material was obviously a form of seeking patronage, too, but it also made the composition a communal affair. For example, in the aforesaid letter addressed by Ṣādiḳī in Turkic to Musayyib Khan, he asks him to send some of his poetry to him for inclusion in the *Concourse*. Ṣādiḳī claims that he wishes to compose the *Concourse*, because

> "There is no remedy for being far away from the company of such friends except for their good memory [*z̲ikr-i ḫayrı*]. Thus, I have set out to compile a biographic anthology of poetry."[101]

Martin Dickson and Stuart Cary Welch suggest that Ṣādiḳī composed the *Concourse* in the early 1590s, when he was heading the royal atelier.[102] However, internal evidence suggests a slightly earlier date. The first known copy of the *Concourse*, preserved in the Tabriz *Kulliyāt* of Ṣādiḳī's oeuvre, dates from 1010/1602, but he must have written his biographical collection more than a decade earlier. The following data put the composition of the work squarely before 1590: Ṣādiḳī speaks about Musayyib Khan Takkalū as still alive, and the latter was executed on royal order in 998/1590-1591;[103] Ṣādiḳī does not mention that Ḥakīm Raknā, a physician and

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[101] Ṣādiḳī, *Kulliyāt*, foll. 511b- 512a; Ṣādiḳī, Malik, fol. 70a. The letter can be dated between 984 or 985/1576 or 1577, i.e. the accession of Shah Ismā'īl II when Musayyib Khan was elevated to the rank of khan of the Takkalū and given the governorship of Ray, and late 998/1590 when he was killed on a royal order issued by Shah 'Abbās I. He was a noted patron of the arts, as well as a calligrapher, musician and painter (Newman, *Safavid Iran*, p. 35, n. 77).
[102] Dickson and Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*, vol. 1, p. 259-260.
[103] One of the copies of the *Concourse* (İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, Hâlis Efendi Türkçe Yazmalar Bölümü, no. 4085, C 6, 278), with the copy date 1016/1607-8 in the colophon, contains a chronogram that commemorates the circumcision of 'Abbās's eldest son, Muḥammad Bāḳir Ṣafī Mīrzā (1587-1614):

شد غنچه بسرخ بید شادی پیوند   در ختنهٔ شاهزادهٔ قدر بلند
هم غنچهٔ تاریخ کله دور افکند   هم لالهٔ عمر پیرهن کرد قبا

later poet laureate fell out of favor and emigrated to India in 1006/1597;[104] he speaks of Mīr Ḥużūrī-i Ḳumī as alive, while according to Awḥadī, who claims to have met Mīr Ḥużūrī in Shiraz and Isfahan, he died at the end of 1000/1592;[105] Ṣādiḳī does not know that Yolḳulı Beg Ṣāmlū "Anīsī", head of the atelier in Herat under ʿAlī Ḳulı Khan, left for Akbar's court after the fall of Herat to the Uzbeks in 1588;[106] and he speaks of Junūnī-i Ḳālī-pūş, an excentric Sufi from Kandahar, in the past tense, and we know from Awḥadī, who claims to have personally known Junūnī, that he died in 999/1591-92.[107] Therefore, we can conclude that Ṣādiḳī had probably been working on the *Concourse* by 996/1588 or at least slightly earlier; i.e. even if it was not a royal commission coming directly from ʿAbbās, it ended up as a gift to the new ruler. As we shall see it shortly, the *Concourse* presents the who's who of the literary segments of Iranian society from the latter part of Ṭahmāsp's rule through the first couple of years of ʿAbbās reign. It is thus arguably a vision of the literary, and by extension, political, landscape that ʿAbbās's absolutism would render as yesterday in a decade.

If my reading is correct, the chronogram yields the date 1014/1605-1606, which is too late for the circumcision of Ṣafī Mīrzā and is later than the date given in the colophon of the manuscript. Remarkably, the Tabriz *Kulliyāt* dated 1010/1601-1602, to my knowledge the oldest copy of Ṣādiḳī's works, does not contain the chronogram. The chronogram might also pertain not to Muḥammad Bāḳir Mīrzā b. ʿAbbās, but to his son, Sām Mīrzā b. Muḥammad Bāḳir Mīrzā b. ʿAbbās, who succeeded his grandfather as shah with the throne-name Ṣafī in 1629. He was born in 1611; age 6 is probably a better age for circumcision. For the sake of comparison, we can adduce that among the Timurids, Muḥammad-Jūkī b. Şāhruḫ was 7; his brother Baysunġur, 12; Ibrāhīm-Sultan b. ʿAlá al-Dawla, 9; and Sultan-Maḥmūd b. Sultan-Abū Saʿīd, 13, when this procedure was performed (John E. Woods, personal communication, March 23, 2016). Of course, my argument is weakened by the fact that Sām Mīrzā b. Muḥammad Bāḳir Mīrzā b. ʿAbbās only assumed this throne-name on his enthronement. The colophon of the Istanbul University copy that contains this chronogram has the date 1016/1607-8, i.e 20 years before his succession. Be that as it may, we need either a better reading of the chronogram or access to more manuscript evidence for its occurrence (For the chronogram, see: Ḥayyāpūr, p. 316; Kuşoğlu, p. 498).

[104] Kuşoğlu, pp. 197-201; Ḥayyāmpūr, pp. 53-54. For Ṣādiḳī's poem about him, see: Malik 6325, fol. 57b; Tehran University 7395, foll. 83a-b. About him, see also: Awḥadī, pp. 856, 1488, 1744, 3220, 3223, 3639, 3669. He died in 1066/1655 or 1070/1659.

[105] Kuşoğlu, pp. 220-221. See also Awḥadī, #902, vol. 2, pp. 1068-1170.

[106] Ḥayyāmpūr, pp. 106-108; Kuşoğlu, pp. 253-256. He also features in Awḥadī (#426, vol. 1, pp. 654-657; here his name is written, probably erroneously, as *Yorḳulı*), according to whose account, after the death of ʿAlī Ḳulı Khan Ṣāmlū (d. 1588) and the fall of Herat to ʿAbd Allāh Khan Uzbek [in 1588], Awḥadī fled to Mughal India and joined the service of Akbar along with other poets, including Şaḳībī of Isfahanī, Nawʿī Ḫabūşānī, Kufrī and a mediocre poet, Ḥasan Beg Ṣāmlū-yi Girāmī, the son of Döre (Dūra?) Beg Sufrāçī (Awḥadī, #291, vol. 2, pp. 1162-1164). He died of drinking tobacco tisane in 1017/1608-9. Awḥadī claims Anīsī's narrative poem entitled *Maḥmūd va Ayāz* is famous.

[107] Kuşoğlu, pp. 468-469; Awḥadī, #742, vol. 2, pp. 1018-1020.

One of the most striking features of the *Concourse* is that it is written neither in Persian, the prestige idiom of choice in Iran, Central Asia and India at the time, nor in ʿAjamī or Azeri Turkic, likely the dialect which was Ṣādiḳī's mother tongue and which he also cultivated, but in Chaghatay Turkic. In order to get closer to the problem, let us look at a letter Sadiḳī wrote to Shah ʿAbbās in Chaghatay Turkic.[108] Relating to his commission already mentioned to translate Rūmī's *Maṯnavī*, Ṣādiḳī claims to be able to write it in any of these three idioms,

> "were it decided in which idiom it has to be written, in the mode of the eloquent of Çaġatay, or in the style of the rhetors of Rūm, or in the pattern of Qizilbash orators."[109]

The passage clearly shows that Ṣādiḳī distinguished between the three modes of literary Turkic available at the time: Chaghatay Turkic, the prestige-language related to the Timurid tradition; Ottoman Turkish, the vehicle of a booming imperial culture of which Ṣādiḳī had first-hand knowledge; and Qizilbash Turkic, i.e. Azerbaijani Turkish. This linguistic state of affairs, according to Gerhard Doerfer and Ildikó Bellér-Hahn, started to become clear in the mid-15th century, with Ottoman Turkish splitting from what is usually called Old Anatolian or Western Oghuz; Navāʾī also refers to this in his hagiographical work entitled *Nasāʾim al-maḥabba min ṣamāʾim al-futuvva,* claiming that Nasīmī " […] is from a land in the vicinity of Iraq and Rūm. He wrote verse in Rūmī and Türkmänī."[110] Ṣādiḳī's passage arguably emphasizes both the

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[108] Turkic. Ṣādiḳī, Tabriz, foll. 512a-512b; Ṣādiḳī, Malik, foll. 70a-71a.
[109] *Muḳarrar bolsa ḳaysı istilāḥ bilā bitilsā çaġatay fuṣaḥāları ravişidä yā Rūm bulaġāları uslūbıda yā ḳızılbaş mutakallımları ṭawrıda* (*Kulliyāt*, foll. 512a-512b; Malik, no. 6325, foll. 70a-71a; Gandjei, Tourkhan. "Sâdikî-i Afšar'ın Türkçe şiirleri." *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 16 (1971), p. 21).
[110] Bellér-Hann, Ildikó. "The Oghuz Split: The Emergence of Turc Ajami as a Written Idiom." *Materiala Turcica* 16 (1993), pp. 114–129; Alî Şîr Nevâyî. *Nesâyimü'l-mahabbe min Şemâyimi'l-fütüvve.* Ed. Kemal Eraslan. İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1979, #732, p. 437). We might also adduce that the noted Ottoman biographer, Laṭīfī, who finished his *taẕkira* in 1546, also senses the difference between the three Turkic literary traditions, for he distances Fużūlī both from the Ottoman and the Chaghatay traditions: "He has a heart-ravishing style and a curious manner which is close to Navāʾī's style, but he is an inventor in his style and an innovator in his

distinctness of these three literary idioms, as well as the continuity between them. He uses the words *raviş, uşlūb and ṭarz* for them, each of which is within the semantic range of mode, fashion, method. While it is obvious that Ṣādiḳī poses here as a supercompetent Turkophopone litterateur, versed in all three Turkic literary idioms, one wonders whether and why 'Abbās could have commissioned an Ottoman Turkish translation from Ṣādiḳī. It is not known whether Ṣādiḳī actually carried out the commission or not, but he did write poems in all the three styles.[111] These three literary idioms were linguistically not as far from each other as to render any serious difficulty for the poet. This is shown by Ṣādiḳī's "fake" Chaghatay: in some of his epistles, Western Oġuz and Chaghatay elements are mixed.[112] On the other hand, this statement also shows that the choice of either of these three literary idioms is a gesture that can most probably be related to real, potential or hoped-for patronage.

Similar to Sām Mīrzā, Ṣādiḳī lays great emphasis on continuity between the Timurid and Ṣafavid traditions, alluding to Navā'ī on multiple levels. First, his aforesaid choice of language for his work cannot have been random. As has been noted above, writing poems in Chaghatay, i.e. Navā'ī's style, was, for Ottoman poets, first a paradigmatic model in the late 15th century, which later became a poetic pastime, feat or exercise of virtuosity;[113] in like fashion, for Turkophone poets in Ṣafavid Iran, Chaghatay Turkic was the prestige idiom available in Turkic, in that it immediately evoked the Timurid paradigm, fitting the cultural ideals of the Turkophone court elite of Ṣafavid Iran and the Qizilbash at large. Ṣādiḳī claims to have conceived the *Concourse* as the continuation of Sām Mīrzā's *Tuḥfa* and the three models for the latter—i.e.

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special mode" (Latîfî. *Tezkiretü'ş-Şuarâ ve Tabsıratu'n-Nuzamâ.* Ed. Rıdvan Canım. Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 2000, p. 435).

[111] Gandjei, "Sâdikî-i Afşar'ın Türkçe şiirleri", pp. 21–26.

[112] Of course, there is always the possibility that such mistakes actually go back to the copyist.

[113] Birnbaum, Eleazar. "The Ottomans and Chagatay Literature (An Early 16th Century Manuscript of Navā'ī's Dīvān in Ottoman Orthography)." *Central Asiatic Journal* 20 (1976), pp. 164–174.

Jāmī's *Bahāristān*, Dawlatşāh's *Taẕkirat al-şuʿarā* and Navā'ī's *Majālis al-nafā'is*—and he presents biographical vignettes along with samples of poetry from the second half of the 16th century. The choice of language, Chaghatay, connected the Qizilbash elite symbolically to the prestige of the Navā'ī tradition, who, as we have seen it in Chapter One, continued to be considered *the* paradigmatical Turkophone litterateur in the entire Persianate world. Indeed, Ṣādiḳī expressly states that his biographical anthology is a continuation of Navā'ī's own contribution to the genre, the *Majālīs al-nafā'is*. On the other hand, Ṣādiḳī's choice of Chaghatay as the language of his *taẕkira* also fits the Renaissance of Timurid cultural forms at the court of Shah ʿAbbās, which made themselves felt in such diverse fields as painting, architecture or historiography.[114]

Ṣādiḳī seeks connections with the Timurid past in a highly conscious manner and perhaps even more intensely than Sām Mīrzā, implicitly claiming that Persian and Turkic poets and biographers are equal. He claims to have composed his work so that the tradition extending from Jāmī, Navā'ī, Dawlatşāh and Sām Mīrzā does not get lost.

> "Although in the market of beings, the finesse of the silk cloth of discourse is [like that of] filth, there are many who buy of the commodity of discourse. With regard to the ranks of discourse, our Lord, the son of Adam, Muḥammad (Peace be upon Him and his family!) said: "In some poetry there is wisdom [ḥikma], and in some discourse there is [illicit] magic [siḥr]."[115] By the authority of this, the lords of verse and the men of poetry occupy prime of place in the palace of discourse and hold meditation in the hostel of rhetoric. Thus, to put order into the disheveledness of this group and because of the disheveledness of the composure of this lot, Persian versifiers of good expression and Turkic poets of beloved speech composed appropriate gatherings and befitting parties. The first one is one chapter of the *Bahāristān* by the sheikh of Islam, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, then the *Majālis al-nafā'is* by the great emir ʿAlī Şīr Navā'ī, Dawlatşāh's *Taẕkira*, and the *Tuḥfa-i Sāmī* by the Prince of the World and of those who inhabit it. In order for the links in this chain not to be disjoined from each other and in order for the thread of

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[114] Welch, *Artists for the Shah*, p. 129; Quinn, Sholeh Alysia. *Historical Writing during the Reign of Shah ʿAbbas: Ideology, Imitation, and Legitimacy in Safavid Chronicles.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2000.
[115] Ar. *Inna min al-şiʿr la-ḥikmatᵃⁿ wa inna min al-bayān la-siḥrᵃⁿ*

these biographical anthologies not to be broken […], the smallest of all slaves, this penniless, vile wretch, Ṣādiḳī the Librarian, wishes to report a few of the words of the talented, sweet-speaking ones of this age and of the magicians with incapacitating verses of the present time, who, despite the dearth of patronage and abundance of the scarcity of wages, emulated poets of the past well, did not go astray and followed foregone versifiers in a straightforward manner without lagging behind; therefore, in order to cast the desert walkers [of our time] to the highway of those travelers [i.e. the poets of the past] and to tie their camels to the caravan of those intoxicated ones, [I have decided] to report the words from and paint a few pages [in the manner of], His Excellency Navā'ī, as well as to arrange eight subtle concourses corresponding to the refined gatherings this great one in the Mongolian style [*Moġol uslūbıda*],[116] who was dressed in the upper-garment of eloquence and was the choicest of the noblest ones wearing the lower garment of elocution; [who was] the-sugar eating parrot of the garden of discourse, who, with the tip of his rock-piercing reed disheveled his sweet-speaking beloveds' locks of hair and brought them forth from behind the veil of the secret of the world to the brilliance of the imagination, and sent his students, who have the strength of Farhād, from the mountain of speech to the Behistun of poetry. He [i.e. Ṣādiḳī] wishes to entitle it the *Concourse of Nobilities* […]."[117]

As we saw before, in his *Muḥākamat* composed in the late 15th century, Navā'ī describes Turkic as part of the Timurid cultural project which he perceives as the continuation of the Chingisid legacy. Remarkably, Ṣādiḳī follows suit: in the quote above and the one below, he describes Navā'ī as a poet writing in the "Mongolian" tongue. Moreover, Ṣādiḳī suggests that Navā'ī's poetry was heir to the Arabic and Persian literary traditions, even superceding them:

He who made the Mongol idiom famous
Took away the patent from the language of the Arabs and Persians.
No wonder that it is mentioned by the tongue of the world
That no one [else] is predestined to such things.[118]

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[116] Cf. Ḫayyāmpūr p. 3, n. 4. Kuşoğlu reads *maḳal* instead of *moġol*, which is erroneous.

[117] Ḫayyāmpūr, p. 3; Kuşoğlu, pp. 157-158.

[118] Cf. Ḫayyāmpūr p. 3, n. 4; Kuşoğlu, p. 158. It is probably this very *ḳiṭ'a* written by Ṣādiḳī about Navā'ī that Köprülü refers to when he observes that "the Azerbaijanis called Chaghatay 'Moghul'" (Köprülü, Fuad. *Türk Eedebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar.* 3rd ed. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1976, p. 176, n. 16; translation: *Early Mystic in Turkish Literature.* Tr. Gary Leiser. London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2006, p. 185, n. 20). A similar usage can be seen under the Ottomans who, as we have seen in the example of the Bayazid inventory, also referred to the Chaghatay literary tradition as Mongolian; such terminology also ties in with the phenomeno of the Oğuz ideology adopted under the Ottomans in opposition to the Timurids' concocted Chingisid ideology, which we have seen in Chapter One of the present dissertation, the best known example of which is Yazıcızāde' s *Tevārīḫ*.

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In addition, Ṣādiḳī matches his choice of style with the structure of his biographical dictionary: his *taẕkira* also has eight chapters ("Concourses"), avowedly in order to follow Navāʾī's *Majālis al-nafāʾis*; at the same time, Ṣādiḳī, similarly to Sām Mīrzā, distributes poets according to social categories:

1. Contemporary rulers,
2. Princes,
3. Turkish ministers (*atrāk-i rukn al-salṭanaları*),
4. "Tajik" ministers (*tāzīkīya arkān-i davlat*),
5. The children of Turkish and "Tajik" ministers,
6. "About the children of the saying "I am the most eloquent speaker" whose heads are exalted with the headgear of the charsima [carried by the saying], "The pious belong to God, and the wicked, to me" and whose stature is honored with the robe of [the saying] "The lord of the tribe is the servant of the poor". May God have mercy on all of them,"[119]
7. "Fine spirited Turks who with the force of their capacity subjugated the Turkish, Persian and Arabic languages, and became famous in the Arab lands and *ʿAjam* for their refinedness of character and finesse of intellect,"
8. Contemporary "Tajik" poets.

In the title of the seventh concurse, Ṣādiḳī claims that Turkic poets versify in Persian, while Persians do not usually versify in Turkic. Sümer suggests that this is a very strong statement of Qizilbash identity,[120] to which we might also want to add that it is very similar to Navāʾī's views of asserting the cultural-political supremacy of the Turkic segment as put forth in his *Muḥākamat al-luġatayn*, which has been quoted in Chapter One:

"There cannot be a clearer and more brilliant proof of the superiority of the Turks than that social intercourse between the youth and elders, the notables and common people of

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[119] *Ol anā afṣaḥ al-mutakallimīn awlādı ẕikridä kim başları tāj-i karāmat-i al-ṣāliḥūn li-llāh va al-ṭāliḥūn lī birlä sar-afrāz bolub va ḳāmatları sayyid al-ḳawm ḫādim al-faḳr ḫirḳası birlä muṣarraf erür raḥmat allāh ʿalayhim ajmaʿīn* (Kulliyāt, fol. 334a). Instead of the sentence *sayyid al-ḳawm ḫādim al-faḳr*, the textual tradition consulted by the two editors of the *Concourse* has *sayyid al-ḳawm ḫādimuhum*, "The lord of the tribe is their servant" (Ḫayyāmpūr, p. 74; Kuşoğlu, p. 217).
[120] Sümer, *Safevi*, p. 175.

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these two nations is of the same degree. They do not differ in their ability to conduct trade and business and to ponder and resolve difficiulties. There are more literates among the Persians. But although that is true, Turks from notables to commoners and from slaves to lords are acquainted with the Persian language and speak it according to their particular stations. Turkish poets even write beautiful poems in Persian. In contrast, not one member of the Persian nation, be he brigand or notable or scholar, can speak Turkish or understand anyone who does. If one in a hundred or even in a thousand learns and speaks this language, everyone who hears him knows he is a Persian. With his own tongue he makes himself an object of ridicule."[121]

Ṣādiḳī's emphasis on Turkic poets is clearly a reflection of Navā'ī's influence and of his own personal aspirations; and it is also apparent that Turkic poets and Turkic poetry carried far more prestige for Ṣādiḳī than for Sām Mīrzā. For example, in the case of Fużūlī, dedicating to him the probably longest enrtry in the *Concourse*, Ṣādiḳī only quotes from his Turkic poetry, although he mentions that he had poetry in Arabic and Persian as well.[122] This is not at all strange for Ṣādiḳī as a litterateur an important part of whose ouvre is in Turkic and who professes to be versatile in writing in the three Turkic literary styles, but this attitude is unique among biographers east of Ottoman lands.

There may well have been personal reasons, too, for Ṣādiḳī's emancipation of Turkic: he may have stressed the importance of Turkic literature in order to further his own career as a poet in both Persian and Turkic, which is what is perhaps reflected in his inclusion of his own poetry in the coda to his work (ḫātima) – as a matter of fact, not unusual for literary biographers – as well as in his boast that, as we have seen it in the previous chapter, in Aleppo he made friends

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[121] Mīr 'Alī Shīr, *Muḥākamat al-lughatain*, p. 6; Nevāyī, Mīr 'Alī Şīr. *Muḥākemetü'l-luġateyn.* Ed. F. Sema Barutçu Özönder, Ankara, Türk Dil Kurumu, 1996, p. 169.

[122] Kuşoğlu, pp. 245-251. This attitude is in stark contrast with Awḥadī (#2361, vol. 5, pp. 2944-2945), who only quotes from Fużūlī's Persian poetry. Interestingly, Awḥadī claims that the Baghdadis excelled in Arabic, Turkish and Persian as well: "Verily, most Baghdadis have excelled in pursuing these three languages (*va al-ḥaḳḳ aksar-i baġdādiyān tatabbu'-i īn sa zaban bar vajh-i aḥsan karda'and*).

with Bāḳī (1526–1600), one of the greatest Ottoman poets, and that he also personally knew 'Ahdī of Baghdad, the noted Ottoman biographer.[123]

Another interesting feature of the *Concourse* is that Ṣādiḳī has entries on "Tajik" poets who had poetry in Turkic as well. For example, Mawlānā Şarīf of Tabriz was known for his satires and reckless behavior towards his master, Lisānī, as mentioned in the previous chapter;[124] Mawlānā Ṣaḥīfī of Shiraz was a panegyrist and an excellent improviser;[125] Mawlānā Kalb-i 'Alī of Tabriz (1020/1611-12) also had poems in both Persian and Turkic, and ended his career in Mughal India, although we do not know where he composed his Turkic poetry;[126] Mawlānā Hūşī of Sunġur, a schoolmaster in Hamadan and already mentioned in Ṣādiḳī's biography, was known for his riddles and Sunnism;[127] Ḥakīm Badī'ī of Tabriz and Ḳāżī Lang "A'rajī" of Marāġa were well-known figures at convivial gatherings;[128] and 'Atīḳī-yi Şirvānī came from Shamakhi and was of a Sufi disposition.[129] Except for Şarīf's, we know but very little of their poetry, and they are greatly outnumbered by the "Tajik" poets who only wrote in Persian and sometimes also in Arabic. Despite their small number, however, they indicate that there were city-dwellers who practised Turkic poetry and who sought an audience for it. This is further confirmed by Gandjei's conclusion that Turkic was useful in advancement at Qizilbash and royal courts, on one hand, and by Floor and Javadi's observation, on the other hand, that cities with Qizilbash governance as well as the capital, be it Tabriz, Qazvin or Isfahan, were loci where Turkic was practised.

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[123] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 314–317; 115–117, 281.
[124] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 144–147; Kuşoğlu, pp. 301-304.
[125] Ḫayyāmpūr, p. 218, Kuşoğlu, pp. 397-398.
[126] Ḫayyāmpūr, p. 235, Kuşoğlu, pp. 417-418.
[127] Ḫayyāmpūr, p. 248; Kuşoğlu, pp. 432-433.
[128] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 260, 291–292; Kuşoğlu, pp. 441-442, 473.
[129] Ḫayyāmpūr, p. 243; Kuşoğlu, p. 426. According to Awḥadī (#2083, vol. 4, pp. 2083-2084), 'Atīḳī was from the Bektashi and was living in Baghdad a few years before the composition of Awḥadī's biographical dictionary.

While it is obvious that the main audience and poets of Turkic were the Qizilbash emirs, a closer look at them might reveal some important details about the milieu.[130] Remarkably, Ṣādiḳī rarely gives Turkic quotations when listing in the 5ᵗʰ Concourse the Turkic poets who were the sons of Turkic notables; only in the cases of 'Alī Khan Mīrzā Ustājlū and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Mīrzā Mawṣillū Turkmen does he cite from their Turkic poetry. In case of the former, Ṣādiḳī's personal acquaintance with him must have made him better informed. By no means does this mean that these sons of prominent Qizilbash emirs had no Turkic poetry, but it signifies that their Turkic oeuvre was probably not too significant, at least not significant enough for the biographer. Be that as it may, the scarcity or probable insignificance of the Turkic poetry of these figures, many of whom were relatively young when Ṣādiḳī was writing his anthology, might be indicative of the decreasing prestige of a literature closely associated with the Qizilbash elite.

Not counting the ethnic Persians mentioned above who at times versified in Turkic, too, of the altogether almost 50 Turkic poets Ṣādiḳī mentions in the *Concourse*, there are only seven, to wit, Sūsanī Beg Turkmen (or Qaraqoyunlu),[131] Dūra Beg-i Kirāmī Şāmlū,[132] Yūsuf Beg Çavuşlu Ustājlū,[133] Pīr Ḳulı Beg Ustājlū,[134] Ḳāsım Beg Ḥālatī Turkmen,[135] Şānī Takkalū,[136] and Fużūlī from the Bayātlı (tribe) who collected their verses in a *dīvān*, and of these, only Fużūlī had a separate Turkic *dīvān*.[137] Almost without exception, the poets included in the *Concourse* are either monolingual Persian or bilingual poets of Turkic and Persian; no mention is made of

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[130] Appendix III contains a list of the Turkic elite whom Ṣādiḳī mentions in the *Concourse* as poets with their tribal affiliation.

[131] Ḥayyāmpūr, pp. 118–119; Kuşoğlu, pp. 268-269; Sām Mīrzā, pp. 358–360.

[132] Ḥayyāmpūr, pp. 122-123; Kuşoğlu, pp. 273-274. According to Awḥadī (#891, vol. 2, pp. 1162-1164), who was in Dūra Beg-i Kirāmī's company in Aḥmadābād in 1028/1618-1619, the latter was the son of Döre (Dūra?) Beg Sūfrāçī Şāmlū and was especially famous for his musical compositions. He claims he was a mediocre poet who had a *dīvān* of poetry, now not extant. He spent a lot of time with Anīsī and Şakībī.

[133] Only in *Kulliyāt* 219b-220a.

[134] Ḥayyāmpūr, pp. 128-129; Kuşoğlu, pp. 278-279.

[135] Ḥayyāmpūr, pp. 108-110; Kuşoğlu, pp. 256-257.

[136] Ḥayyāmpūr, pp. 112-114; Kuşoğlu, pp. 261-263; Awḥadī #1557, vol. 3, pp. 1970-1977.

[137] Ḥayyāmpūr, pp. 102-105; Kuşoğlu, pp. 245-251.

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monolingual Turks. As we shall see in the following chapter, this does not at all mean that every Turk was bilingual under the Ṣafavids; on the contrary. However, it signifies that those literate members of the Turkophone aristocracy who Ṣādiḳī chose to mention in the *Concourse* were bilingual, access to Persian high culture being key to their membership in the literary elite as envisioned in the *Concourse*.[138]

Of the Qizilbash *oymaḳ*s in the late 16th century, the majority of Turkic poets Ṣādiḳī lists come from the Takkalū, Turkmen, the Afşār, the Ustājlū and the Şāmlū, which were arguably the most prominent *oymaḳ*s.[139] Because of the laconicity of the majority of the biographical vignettes in the *Concourse*, in fact, a given in the genre, it is difficult to see clear-cut tribal networks behind Turkic literary activities or tribal parochial *oymaḳ* ideologies championing Turkic as a literary language. It is probably more correct to say that where there was a truly broad paletta of patronage, it could include patronage to Turkic, too. In addition, one has the impression that the *Concourse* is a highly subjective, personal picture of literary life coming from a sometimes highly eccentric figure, Ṣādiḳī, who seems to include in it, at least as far as Qizilbash poets are concerned, mainly people whom he personally knew or was in some other way affiliated with. For example, Ṣādiḳī seems to be personally acquainted with some of the Afşār and Ustājlū that he includes in the *Concourse*. And for some unknown reason, he does not mention that Sultan Ibrāhīm Mīrzā composed in Turkic, too.[140] Further, the highest number of Turkic poets, eleven, Ṣādiḳī mentions are from the Turkmen Mawṣillū, in the service of whose chief, Amīr Khan Mawṣillū, he spent a long time.

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[138] The single poet for whom Ṣādiḳī only quotes from his Turkic poetry is Tanhā'ī Beg of unknown tribal affiliation from Arasbār; however, this does not mean that Tanhā'ī Beg did not write in Persian, only that the biographer either did not know of his Persian verses or he did not think it important to quote them.
[139] See Appendix III.
[140] See further below.

As far as the Takkalū were concerned, Musayyib Khan Takkalū was the son of Muḥammad Khan Şaraf al-Dīn, whom we encountered in Chapter Two as the sponsor of a major Shah Ismāʿīl manuscript in Herat, the Sultan Ḳurrāʾī copy, which, as was suggested there, might be contextualized against the background of Muḥammad Khan Şaraf al-Dīn's city development and patronage acitivities in Herat. Muḥammad Khan Şaraf al-Dīn receptivity to Turkic literary products can also be illustrated by two Turkic *qasida*s Fuẓūli wrote in praise of him.[141] Although Şādiḳī, curiously enough, only quotes from Musayyib Khan's Persian poetry, from Iskandar Munşī we know that he composed in Turkic, too.[142] Musayyib Khan was also an important patron; as has already been mentioned, Şādiḳī wrote him a letter asking for samples of his poetry to be included in the *Concourse*, and implicitly asking for patronage, too. As we will see in the following chapter, Şādiḳī visited Musayyib Khan's seat in Ray; although it would be difficult to date the sojourn and tell exactly whether it took place during Musayyib Khan's tenure in Ray, it might still be significant that Şādiḳī could hope for patronage there.

As to the Şāmlū, three of the four poets Şādiḳī mentions, to wit, Yolḳulı Beg, Ḳāsım Beg Raġmī and Dūra Beg-i Kirāmī "Karīmī," were in the service of ʿAlī Ḳulı Khan Şāmlū, the governor of Herat and the warden of ʿAbbās in his early years. As has been alreday mentioned, Herat was a very import city both strategically, as the key to Khorasan, and symbolically, as former Timurid capital and seat of the heir apparent of the day.

One wonders how significant it is that, according to the *Concourse*, the Ẕū al-Ḳadar had so few members who were versifiers in Turkic. As is discussed in several instances in the present

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[141] Fuzûlî. *Türkçe Divan*. Ed. Kenan Akyüz et al. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1958, #XXII, XXIII, pp. 78-82.

[142] Iskandar Beg quotes a Turkic *rubāʿī* from Musayyib Khan, which the latter allegedly recited in 988/1580-81, addressing Shah Muḥammad Ḫudābanda over his disappointmment that he could not secure for himself marriage with Fāṭima Sultan Begum, a daughter of Ṭahmāsp, who was instead married off to Amīr Khan Mawşillū (*AAA*, vol. 1, p. 260, *AAA Eng*, vol. 1, pp. 383-384, but the poetry cannot be found in Savory's translation). On Musayyib Khan Takkalū's patronage activities, see: Szuppe, "Kinship Ties Between the Safavids and the Qizilbash Amirs in Late-Sixteenth Century Iran," pp. 88, 101, n. 42).

dissertation, the khans of this *oymaḳ* were governors of Shiraz and Fars province down to 1004/1595-1596, when, as part of the new tide brought by 'Abbās's centralizing policies that curtailed the power of the Qizilbash, they were supplanted by *ġulām* governors. Until that time they had been major patrons of the arts; and, as will be discussed further below, even a number of Turkic works came out of the workshops under their patronage.

Fluid Literary Borders and a Philological Problem

Interestingly, both Ṣādiḳī and Sām Mīrzā's biographical dictionaries contain poets from Anatolia and Central Asia, as well as Mughal India, though in the case of Sām Mīrzā, their number is limited to the most famous ones (Bāḳī, Najātī) or rulers known for their poetry as well, while in the case of Ṣādiḳī, as has been cursorily mentioned in the previous chapter, there is a whole chapter on Ottoman poets. This section, however, poses some serious philological problems, as we are to see shortly. While there is certainly a huge emphasis in both Sām Mīrzā and Ṣādiḳī on the achievements of the Ṣafavid dynasty, they also acknowledge that all these regions and polities were heir to the same Persianate poetic tradition. Indeed, as Mana Kia has already observed in relation to Āẕar's *Ātaşkada* written in the 18th century,

> "The genealogy of these lands, as once united and then ruled by brothers, however bitterly they may have fought, creates a picture of related regions springing from one origin […] In the eighteenth century, Azar's valorization of Iran was unable to separate its society, culture and geography from neighboring Persianate lands. It is only within this shared Persianate geocultural context that Iran as a land could be distinguished, distinctions that defied the exclusivities of nationalism."[143]

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[143] Kia, Mana. "Imagining Iran before Nationalism: Geocultural Meanings of Land in Azar's Atashkadeh." In: *Rethinking Iranian Nationalism and Modernity: Histories, Historiographies*. Ed. Kamran Aghaie and Afshin Marashi. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011, pp. 98, 104-105.

Similar to Sām Mīrzā, Ṣādiḳī's dedication of a separate section in the *Concourse* to the Turkophone poets of Ṣafavid lands signifies his intention to show that they had an important niche in the Ṣafavid cultural venture. Moreover, there is even a section in the work that includes, as has already been alluded to, the biographical vignettes of 138 Ottoman Turkish poets. However, in contrast with the manuscripts, the two existing editions, those of Ḫayyāmpūr and Kuşoğlu were based on this section, can only be found in the copy of the *Concourse* in the sole manuscript of Ṣādiḳī's complete works, i.e. the Tabriz *kulliyāt*, which was, according to the colophon, executed in 1010/1601-2 in Isfahan either by Ṣādiḳī himself or, more likely, by a scribe under his supervision.

This particular piece of information has been presented by Əkrəm Bağırov in his Azeri Turkic edition of the work, but he makes no attempt at interpreting the phenomenon.[144] While we will probably never know what exactly led to the omission of the Ottoman section from later copies of the *Concourse*, speculating about the problem will shed light on some important aspects of how Turkic as a literary language featured in the Ṣafavid enterprise, what ways there were for the Turkophone literary elite to fashion itself in the new arrangement brought by the absolutist turn of the Ṣafavid venture under Shah 'Abbāṣ I in the late sixteenth-early seventeenth century, and what the confessional, political, cultural and social separation of the Ottoman and Ṣafavid worlds meant in the realm of literary language.

Evidently, Ṣādiḳī had Ottoman biographical sources for this "Ottoman" section. The biographical vignettes in it are arranged in alphabetical order, a sure sign that the section was adopted from or ultimately went back to an Ottoman *taẕkira*. Indeed, Ṣādiḳī's sources for this section probably included two Ottoman biographical anthologies, Ḳınalızāde Ḥasan Çelebi's *Tezkiretü'ş-şu'arā* completed in 994/1586-7 and the *Gülşen-i şu'arā* by 'Ahdī (d. 1002/1593-

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[144] Sadiq Bəy Əfşar. *Məcməül-xəvas*. Ed. Əkrəm Bağırov. Bakı: Elm, 2008, pp. 359-60.

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4).[145] However, the exact relationship between this particular section of the *Concourse* and these two Ottoman biographical anthologies is difficult to fully ascertain. It seems that 'Ahdī continued to expand his *taẕkira* after its first redaction in 971/1563-4 at least until 1001/1592-3, which means that the individual copies of his biographical dictionary might significantly differ from each other in terms of both the poets included and the poetic samples presented, making it difficult to exactly pinpoint the connection between it and Ṣādiḳī's *Concourse*.[146] Moreover, 'Ahdī's biographical dictionary has several overlaps with Ḳınalızāde Ḥasan Çelebi's *Teẕkere*, too, which is to be expected from two contemporaries that deal with largely common biographical material. Thus, in certain cases, a poet in Ṣādiḳī's list can be found in both 'Ahdī and Ḳınalızāde, but in other cases only in one or the other, or neither. Be that as it may, Ṣādiḳī used both of them, and he may have had other Ottoman biographical sources at his disposal, too. However, when compared to the floral, verbose style of both 'Ahdī and Ḳınalızāde, or indeed, to the lucid, often sarcastic style Ṣādiḳī himself uses elsewhere in his own biographical anthology, the vignettes in this section of the *Concourse* dedicated to Ottoman poets stand out with their utter laconicity. Indeed, in the vignettes of this section, all we get is a name, a *laḳab* or a poetic penname, profession and place of origin, plus a few couplets from the poet, and we can find neither illustrating stories and anecdotes nor criticism related to them. We do not know in what form and by what means Ṣādiḳī had access to either of the aforesaid Ottoman biographical anthologies. As I have already indicated, he visited Baghdad probably in 974-975/1566-68, where he was associated with the governor, Çerkes Iskender Pasha's sons and likely the pasha himself. It was here that he met 'Ahdī and had access to one of the redactions of the latter's biographical anthology.

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[145] Solmaz, Süleyman. "Giriş." In: *Ahdî ve Gülşen-i Şu'arâsı (İnceleme – Metin)*. Ed. Süleyman Solmaz. Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayınları, 2005, p. 12; Akün, Ömer Faruk. "Ahdi." *TDVİA*, vol. 1, pp. 509-514.
[146] Akün, p. 511.

It seems that either the copyist of the Tabriz *kulliyāt* or Ṣādiḳī himself had some reservations about this section. On fol. 345a in the Tabriz copy of Ṣādiḳī's collected works where, in the 6th "Concourse" on respectable notables, after a biographical vignette on a Ṣafavid official by the name of Mīr Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad, the vizier of Kirmān, who can be found in the other manuscripts of the *Concourse* as well, comes a vignette on Aḥmed Pasha, the grand vizier of the Ottoman sultan Meḥmed II (1453-1481), starting the section on Ottoman poets that is exclusive to the Tabriz copy. This section runs 15 folios, and on fol. 360a, after a vignette on Yaḥyā Çelebi, the Ottoman poet, the "concourse" ends with a Ṣafavid poet, Mawlānā Ṭabʿī-yi Yazdī. All in all, the section on the 138 Ottoman poets is not separately marked in the manuscript; it is almost smuggled there.

As has already been suggested, Ṣādiḳī or his copyist may have produced more than one redaction over time. Remarkably, either he or the later copyists of the work eliminated the aforesaid Ottoman section. At least, to the best of our knowledge, none of the following manuscripts contain them, although, as I have already indicated, without access to all the existing manuscripts of the work, we are forced to make do with temporary conclusions. Here are the copies that are known to contain the "Ottoman section:"

İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, Hâlis Efendi Türkçe Yazmalar Bölümü, no. 4085, C 6, 278, copied in 1016/1607-8.

Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Nuruosmaniye Koleksiyonu, no, 34 Nk 3721/1, copied in 1037/1627-8.

İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphane ve Dokümentasyon Daire Başkanlığı Nadir Eserler, no. T 4097, foll. 240b-267a. The copy follows a work entitled *Taẕkirat al-awliyā* in the manuscript which was executed in 1016/1627-8.

Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Nuruosmaniye Koleksiyonu, no. 34 Nk 3720, copied in 1021/1612.

Istanbul, Yapı Kredi Sermet Çifter Araştırma Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmaları. 17th century. Dağlı, Yücel. *Yapı Kredi Sermet Çifter Araştırma Kkütüphanesi Yazmalar Kataloğu.* Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001, p. 81.

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Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, suppl. 1002 (Blochet, E. *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs.* Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1932-33, vol. II, p. 126. Copied by Ḥasan Tabrīzī in 1247/1831.

Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Millī-yi Malik, no. 4077. Perhaps from the 17th century. Possessorial note dated 1272/1855-6; dedication from Jamāl al-Dīn Mīrzā Āḳā Jamālī to Niẓām al-Salṭana, the governor (*vālī*) of Fārs.[147]

And yet, the picture is even more complex. In the next chapter of the *Concourse*, dedicated to Turkophone versifiers, Ṣādiḳī includes, in addition to Ṣafavid poets, biographical vignettes for three prominent Ottoman literati: two poets, Najātī Beg (d. 1506)[148] and Bāḳī (1526-1600)[149], boasting that he personally knew them, and quoting from five ghazals of Bāḳī, a quantity that shows Ṣādiḳī's appreciation; and he includes 'Ahdī,[150] the aforesaid Ottoman anthologist in the last chapter, which is on Persian poets. Remarkably, however, the vignettes on these poets are missing from none of the later manuscripts. One could say that Ṣādiḳī includes these three figures, because Najātī and Bāḳī were poets laureate and were perceived to be representatives of an increasingly choate Ottoman literary style, and because he (Ṣādiḳī) was personally acquainted with Bāḳī and 'Ahdī.

Nevertheless, there are such further problems with this quasi-section as have a bearing on the provenance of the Tabriz copy of Ṣādiḳī's collected works. In a recent article, Vüsalə Musalı suggests that the section is a separate biographical anthology of poets and that it comes from almost a hundred years after what we propose here or even later.[151] She bases this information on the vignette about one Fetḥī, of whom the section only lets us know that he was a *mudarris*, 'teacher', from Istanbul. She identifies this Fetḥī with the one who features in both Ṣafāyī and Sālim Efendi's Ottoman biographical anthologies written in 1132/1720 and 1134/1721,

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[147] For a full list of the copies of the *Concourse*, see: Appendices.
[148] Kuşoğlu, p. 265.
[149] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 115-117; Kuşoğlu, pp. 266-267.
[150] Kuşoğlu, pp. 463-464; Ḫayyāmpūr, p. 281.
[151] I thank Namıq Musalı for drawing my attention to the article.

respectively, both claiming that he died in 1106 or 1107/1695.[152] If Vüsalə Musalı is right and the poet mentioned in the *Concourse* is identical with the abovementioned Fetḥī from the end of the 17th century, we would have to reconsider the provenance of not only the "Ottoman section" of the *Concourse* but also the copy date of the Tabriz *kulliyāt* itself. The problem with Vüsalə Musalı's identification is, however, that the verse quoted in the *Concourse* as illustrative of Fetḥī's poetry cannot be found in either Ṣafāyī or Sālim Efendi's respective biographical compilation, and I do not know if Fetḥī has a *dīvān* of poetry. True, Fetḥī cannot be located in 16th century Ottoman biographical works, either, but in this he is not dissimilar from many other poets quoted in the Ottoman section of the *Concourse*. He could be a Fetḥī who is not mentioned in any of the extant biographical works, just as much as many of the poets in the Ottoman section of the *Concourse* are not mentioned in any other *taẕkira*. In addition, the fact that the poets who can be dated in the incriminated section all lived in the 16th century further weakens Vüsalə Musalı's argument. If the inserted section of Ottoman poets in the *Concourse* is from the 18th century, why would this section contain vignettes for all these many 16th-century poets, who in fact constitute the majority of its biographical material? It is also interesting that in many cases the *nisba*, 'place or group of origin', beside a poet's name is *Rūmī*, that is, coming from the Ottoman Empire, which suggests that the author of the section may well have come from outside of Ottoman lands. Nevertheless, the problem awaits more investigation of the biographical literature than can here be undertaken. Without a comprehensive survey of the poets in Ottoman *taẕkira*s and a complete familiarity with all the existing manuscripts of the *Concourse*, including

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[152] Ṣafāyī. *Teẕkire-i Ṣafāyī: (Nuḫbetü'l-ās̱ār Min Fevā'idi'l-eş'ār): Inceleme, Metin, Indeks.* Ed. Pervin Çapan Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 2005, p. 461; Sâlim Efendi. *Tezkiretü'ş-Şu'arâ.* Ed. Adnan İnce. Ankara: AKM Yayınları, 2005, p. 541; Musalı, Vüsale. "Türk Tezkireciliğin Araştırılmamış bir Sayfası." *Bilig* 72 (Kış 2015), pp. 73-92.

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their material features such as paper quality and paper origin, this philological problem cannot, if at all, be solved.

However, either Vüsalə Musalı is right or myself, to wit, should the Tabriz *kulliyāt* be either an 18th century copy with the "Ottoman section" being a later insertion, or a copy made in 1010/1602, the "Ottoman section" of which having been edited out of later copies, we can also think that the larger historical context might actually relativize the importance of the problem of the lack of sufficient data. As we shall discuss it later, the emergence of early modern imperial projects and imperial cultures at the time had a heavy linguistic component. In the Ottoman Empire, especially from the mid-16th century, Ottoman Turkish was conceived of as the rightful heir to the ethos of the Persianate Islamic tradition, while in Ṣafavid Iran, administration was in the hands of the Persian urban element, increasingly complemented by the *ġulām* from the 17th century, who used Persian as the language of power.[153] Indeed, Ṣādiḳī himself was a highly self-aware poet of Persian. As we shall see in the following chapter, in other places of his oeuvre, he poses as the learned courtier who looks down on the uncouth Qizilbash for their perceived ignorance of Persian and lack of refined urban culture. We could speculate that, first, the linguistic and poetic relations between the Ottoman and Ṣafavid Turkic traditions were blatantly obvious to the anthology compiler; second, while the Ottoman Turkish language was a key identifying feature for the Ottoman elite, no such thing could be said about the Azeri Turkic of the Turkophone literati in Ṣafavid Persia; and third, at least the status of Ṣafavid Turkic was not such that should entice an exclusivist attitude on the part of its practitioners and utterly exclude the incorporation of Ottoman Turkish as belonging to the same Persianate tradition Ṣafavid Turkic itself was also conceived as belonging to.

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[153] For the Ottoman case, see: Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual,* p. 22; Kim, *Minding the Shop*, and the discussion below, particularly in the Conlusion to the present dissertation.

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Of course, in the period under discussion, language was central to the intellectual's self-presentation but it did not assume the exclusive nature that it did with the rise of ethno-nationalism in the modern era. Ṣādiḳī's biographical anthology of poets is a veritable who's who of Ṣafavid literary life from the middle to the end of the 16th century, conceived in a Timurid fashion. It presents the various social estates as all contributing to the Ṣafavid enterprise and its cultural ethos with Turkophone literati among them. Along with the abovementioned passage, the inclusion of a set of Ottoman poets preserved only in the Tabriz copy (at least according to my present knowledge) is perhaps not solely a souvenir from Ṣādiḳī's *Wanderjahren* in Ottoman Iraq and Syria, but also a sign of an awareness on the part of the Ṣafavid litterateur of continuities and porous boundaries between the Ṣafavid and the Ottoman intellectual milieus. If my hypothesis is correct and the Tabriz *kulliyāt* does date from 1010/1602 and this section was indeed edited out of later copies either by later copyists or Ṣādiḳī himself, such omission of the "Ottoman section" can be a sign of a perceived increasing cultural distinctness and prestige of the Ṣafavid project under Shah 'Abbās, which was still in the making when Ṣādiḳī wrote his *taẕkira*.[154]

The 'Ajamī or Azeri Turkish literary tradition can be viewed as a bridge between the Chaghatay and the Ottoman Turkish traditions. Both of the latter two had been and continued to be in contact with the 'Ajamī tradition; in fact, as noted above, the Ottoman and 'Ajamī literary idioms had bifurcated in the 15th century. There was an ongoing exchange of poets and other literati between the Ottomans and the Ṣafavids, which in all probability never ceased, though we know more about it in the 15–16th century than afterwards. As is well-known, many literati left Ṣafavid lands for Ottoman Istanbul and Mughal Delhi, although to depict this process as a "brain

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[154] In the case of those copies of the *Concourse* that were executed with Ottoman sponsorship, the copyists' ommission of the "Ottoman section" are easier to understand: they may not have wanted to include it with its laconic, very sketchy vignettes about poets they knew more about from the Ottoman biographical tradition.

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drain" due to the Ṣafavids' persecution of Sufis is something of an exaggeration. Of course, the three literary idioms were not strictly separated from each other; most probably depending on the patron, Ṣafavid Turkish poets would sometimes write in Chaghatay and Ottoman, while Ottomans also wrote in Chaghatay.

A Qizilbash Reading of Literary History: Ġarībī's Taẕkira

We have touched on Ġarībī in this dissertation several times, referring to his paraphrases of Shah Ismāʿīl's poems and a scene in his biographical anthology of poets in which the Shah Ismāʿīl's poetry was used for prozelytization; and further below we will refer to his prose works, too. It is now worth looking at briefly the aforesaid anthology itself, its importance for the present discussion lying mainly in the fact that it offers a religio-poetic milieu in which Shah Ismāʿīl's poetry was written. Sām Mīrzā and Ṣādiḵī's biographical dictionaries are of the ṭabaḵāt type, as they both list poets of the generation coming after their model and they arrange their material according to social estates; Ġarībī, on the other hand, enumerates poets in a specific order mixing the following principles: chronology, family relationship, master-disciple and mentor-protégé relationship, women.[155]

We know very little about the author, for he is mentioned neither in Ṣafavid nor in Ottoman sources.[156] On the basis of information contained in his own works, it can be concluded that he was from Menteshe, present-day Muğla, became a follower of the Ṣafavids some time in the early 16th century, and was alive up to some point during the reign of Ṭahmāsp, whom he praises in his poetry. He was a learned man in both Persian and Arabic, as is attested by his frequent display of his erudition in Arabic either in the form of Koranic quotes or Arabic poetry

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[155] Babacan, Garîbî tezkiresi, p. 25.
[156] The single manuscript of his collected works: Dīvān-i Ġarībī. Kitābḵāna-yi Majlis-i Ṣūrā-yi Islāmī, Tehran, no. 7012, copied in 998/1590 by one Muḵtār b. Mīrzā Zakī Marāġī.

of his own, and by the short introduction to his work, in which he claims to have written it because Persian poets have been commemorated in *tazkira*s, but Turkish ones have not. Probably before he became associated with the Ṣafavids, he had been affiliated with the Mevlevīs, for he claims to have studied Rūmī's *Masnavī* in his youth in his patria with the well-known Mevlevī litterateur, Şāhidī Dede (d. 957/1550).[157] In its present state, Ġarībī's biographical anthology is fragmentary, for there are parts that were either left out by the copyist or were planned by the author but never completed.[158]

The geographical scope of Ġarībī's work is markedly different from that of Sām Mīrzā or Ṣādiḳī's respective biographical collections, in that it presents vignettes of the life of poets from Ottoman territories while the former concentrate on Ṣafavid lands. Reflecting the confessional ambiguity that was referred to in Chapter One, Ġarībī describes many Turkish poets of Anatolia as Shiites, or at least lovers of the household of the Prophet. It is also remarkable that the quantity of Turkic poetry he quotes is far greater than the Persian. For example, he quotes otherwise unknown Turkic poetry from Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, such as the following in which the poet pledges his Alid loyalism:

> Olar kim bende-i ḫāṣṣ-i Ḫudā'dur
> Muḥibb-i ḫānedān-i Muṣṭafā'dur
>
> Ḥaḳīḳat Ḳaʿbesinüng ḳiblegāhı
> İmām ü pīşvāmız Murtażá'dur
>
>
> *Those who are the noble servants of God*
> *Are lovers of the House of the Prophet.*
>
> *The qibla of the Ḳaʿba of God*

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[157] Babacan, *Garîbî tezkiresi*, p. 95-96.
[158] Babacan, *Garîbî tezkiresi*, p. 25.

And our imam and leader is ʿAlī.[159]

Regardless of the authenticity of the poetry just cited, it is plain that Ġarībī was writing for a Qizilbash audience in Anatolia, connecting this milieu also with the Mevlevī tradition. Accordingly, he positions most of the poets in their relation to the House of the Prophet or in their following the Sufi path. For example, he depicts the late 15th-century Ottoman poet and statesman Aḥmed Pasha as a sayyid, and he speaks of Şayḫī as "a noble son of a Sufi and a morally upright lover of the House of the Prophet."[160] On the other end of the scale, he criticizes poets whom he does not consider to be in this group. For example, about Najātī, one of the most important early 16th-century poet, he claims that

> "He is remembered as a friend to Sufis but was overcome by egotism. Therefore, his metaphoric images remained exterior, he had no access to the esoteric meanings of the Truth, and, similar to Navāʾī, he was wondering in the streets of the Sunnis. Even his grave in Istanbul is in the Jewish quarter."[161]

In its presentation of Anatolian confessional ambiguities, Ġarībī paints a religio-poetic landscape in which Ibrāhīm Gülşanī (ca. 1442-1534), whom he claims to have met in Istanbul, as affiliated with the Ṣafavids through his mentor, Rūşanī.[162] Ġarībī reports on the persecution against the followers of the Ṣafavids in Anatolia; in this regard he refers to one Islām Oġlı Süleymān Bey, who used the penname Jadīdī in his poetry, whose oymaḳ dwelt in Karaman in the vicinity of Kayseri, and whose son by the name of ʿAlī Beg served as the castellan of Bayat

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[159] Babacan, *Garîbî tezkiresi*, p. 67.
[160] *Ṣūfī-zāde-i mevālī-meşreb ve muḥibb-i ḫānedān-i ḫūb-sīret* (Babacan, *Garîbî tezkiresi*, p. 67).
[161] Babacan, *Garîbî tezkiresi*, pp. 83-84.
[162] Babacan, *Garîbî tezkiresi*, p. 87. Their encounter must have taken place in 935/1528 (Emre, Side. *İbrahim-i Gülşeni (ca. 1442-1534): Itinerant Saint and Cairene Ruler.* Chicago: The University of Chicago, 2009 (unpublished Ph.D.-thesis), p. 459).

appointed by Shah Ismāʿīl until he was killed there.[163] He also mentions among those persecuted as followers of the Ṣafavids one Mawlānā Ḥasan Ḫalīfa "Jamīlī" of Kayseri.[164]

Turkophone Ṣafavid poets of the 17th through the early 18th century

Even if on a seemingly marginal level, Turkic literature never disappeared from Ṣafavid Iran. Similar to the majority of the cases listed above, most of the following litterateurs wrote primarily in Persian, leaving behind but a handful of Turkic specimens. It is therefore that analysis that only compares the Turkic poetry of such authors is problematic.[165] Further, there are poets whom we know merely or almost exclusively by name; in such instances it is impossible to tell with certainty if they also wrote in Turkic. For example, Evliyā Çelebi reports that when he visited Tabriz in the mid-17th century, he encountered 78 poets in the city, but, characteristically, we do not know what language the poets he mentions spoke or wrote in, although it is safe to surmise that some and perhaps most of them spoke Turkic at least as a second language. In the list Evliyā gives, it is only Kalb ʿAlī of Tabriz (d. AH 1020/1611-12) of whom we concretely know that his literary output included Turkic verse, too.[166] It is also significant that, aside from Shah Ismāʿīl, Evliyā Çelebi mentions no Ṣafavid author with Turkic poetry, and even in his case he does not refer to it, either. But why would he? Turkic was never part of the imperial image the Ṣafavids presented of themselves, and the Ottoman traveler was naturally not specifically targeting exposure to Turkic poetry on his travels in Persia, even if he could probably use his

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[163] Babacan, *Garîbî tezkiresi*, pp. 92-93.
[164] Babacan, *Garîbî tezkiresi*, p. 95.
[165] This is the case in most of the relevant secondary literature.
[166] Gulçīn-i Maʿānī, Aḥmad. *Kārvān-i Hind: dar aḥvāl va āsār-i šāʿirān-i ʿaṣr-i ṣafavī ki bi Hindūstān rafta and.* Mashhad: Āstān-i Ḳuds-i Rażavī, 1369/1990-91, p. 1074; Péri, Benedek. *Az indiai timuridák és a török nyelv. A török írás- és szóbeliség a mogul-kori Indiában.* Piliscsaba: Avicenna Közel-Kelet Kutatások Intézete, 2005 (Documenta et Monographiae III), p. 121.

Turkish mother tongue some of the time, in the same way as Turkish travelers in Iran can today. In addition, the sheer amount of written Turkic that he encountered was in all probability not statistically sufficient or significant enough for him to encounter it to the extent that he would have felt compelled to mention it in his travelogue.[167]

In fact, several members of the Ṣafavid dynasty are known to have written in Turkic. As we have mentioned in the previous chapter, Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā b. Bahrām Mīrzā b. Shah Ismāʿīl used the penname "Jāhī" for his Persian, and Ibrāhīm for his Turkic poetry, the latter being primarily made up of *varsaġı*s, a popular genre;[168] and a handful of poems survive that were written by Shah ʿAbbās I under the penname ʿAbbās or Shah ʿAbbās, and by Shah ʿAbbās II (r. 1642–1666), who used the penname S̲ānī.[169] The former wrote poetry in both *arūż* and syllabic meter.

The 17th century also produced many poets who wielded their pen in Turkic: Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ of Tabriz was the *şayḫ al-islām* of that city and used the penname "Mawjī";[170] Malik Beg Avjı has a *dīvān* which has been published, but the only thing known about him is that he lived under the reign of Shah Sulaymān (1666–1694);[171] Muḥammad Ṭāhir Vaḥīdī of Qazvin, a prominent bureaucrat and the author of the Persian chronicle *ʿAbbāsnāma,* which is about the reign of

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[167] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi,* vol. 2, p. 122; idem. *Travels in Iran & the Caucasus in 1647 & 1654,* p. XXX. He mentions a couple of antinomian (*majẕūb*) dervishes, such as Dede Şurīmī, Shah Kand ve Şûḫ Jān and Dede Jān, who were poets, too, but we do not know in what language they composed poetry, either.

[168] His hitherto unpublished *Dīvān* has two illuminated copies: 1) Gulistān Palace Library, Tehran, 2183, copied in 989/1581-62; his Turkic poetry can be found on foll. 50a-63a (Ātābāy, Badrī. *Fihrist-i Dīvānhā-yi Khaṭṭī-i Kitābḫāna-yi Salṭanatī.* Tihrān: Chāpkhāna-yi Zībā, 2535 [1976], vol. 1, pp. 337-339); 2) Geneva, collection of Sadruddin Aga Khan, MS 33. See also: Minorsky, *Calligraphers and Painters,* p. 157; Simpson, Marianna Shreve. "Ebrāhīm Mīrzā." *EIr.*

[169] Kərimov, Paşa. *XVII əsr Azərbaycan lirikası (Antologiya).* Baku: Nurlan, 2008, pp. 118-119; 173; Hay'at, *Āẕarbayjān adabiyāt tārīḫina bir baḫış,* p. 61.

[170] Naṣrābādī, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṭāhir. *Taẕkira-yi Naṣrābādī.* Ed. Vaḥīd Dastgirdī. Tihrān: Kitāb'furūshī-yi Furūghī, [1352/1973], pp. 103–104; Tarbiyat, *Dānişmandān,* pp. 215–216; Dawlatābādī, *Suḫanvarān-i Āẕarbayjān,* pp. 215–216). His *dīvān* has a late-17th century manuscript in the Majlis Library in Tehran (no. 1010; cf. also: Iʿtisāmī – Şīrāzī 1933-, pp. 331–332). http://aghabozorg.ir/showbookdetail.aspx?bookid=87934, last accessed on March 18, 2016.

[171] Caferoğlu, Ahmet. *XVII-inci Asırda Azeri Şairi Melik Bey Avcı.* Istanbul: Bürhaneddin Matbaası, 1933, p. 5.

'Abbās II (1642–1666), has a *dīvān* and an *inşā'*-collection in Persian and Turkic.[172] 'Abbās II had at least one other litterateur in the high echelons of the administration in the person of Murtażá Ḳulı Khan Şāmlū "Ẓafar" who composed in Turkic besides Persian and held the office of *ḳurçıbaşı* and later governor of Kerman under that monarch.[173] The poet Darūnī probably also lived in the 17th century, but all we know about him is that Şā'ib preserved two couplets from him.[174] Junūn-i Ardabīlī, who is reported to be alive in 1107/1695-66, has a *masnavī* by the title *Jangnāma-yi turkī*.[175] In some cases, if the poet collected his works into a *dīvān*, the Turkic poetry can be found in a separate section, sometimes under the heading *Turkiyāt*, 'Turkic writings;' such was the way how Şādiḳī inserted his Turkic poetry into his *Kulliyāt*, and we could also adduce the aforesaid Sultan Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, whose Turkic verses are also under a separate section in his *dīvān*. In other cases, for example, in the dīvān of an otherwise little known late-17th century poet who used the penname "Vālī," however, the Turkic poetry is simply mixed into the alphabetical arrangement of the poet's Persian poems and is not given its own section;[176] or it is copied on the margins, such as Junūnī-yi Ardabīlī's *Jangnāma*. It would require a more extensive investigation, but at present it seems that in the 17th century, the number of high quality manuscripts with Turkic poetry in them was significantly lower than in the 16th

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[172] Köprülü and, in his wake, Hay'at, give the *nisba* Tabrīzī, which is probably a mistake. Hay'at claims his dīvān was published in Lucknow and Calcutta, but I have not been able to verify this information. (Köprülü, "Âzeri," p. 138; Hay'at, *Āẕarbayjān adabiyāt tārīḫina bir baḫış*, p. 63). A manuscript of his dīvān can be found in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (Ms. or. fol. 3314) copied in 1119/1707, also available digitally at: http://orient-digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/receive/SBBMSBook_islamhs_00016375, last accessed on May 3, 2016.

[173] Floor, *Safavid Government Institutions*, p. 142; Kərimov, *XVII. əsr Azərbaycan lirikası*, 37, 64, passim. Mürtəzaqulu Xan Şamlu. *Divan*. Baku: Azərbaycan Milli Elmlər Akademiyası Məhəmməd Füzuli adına Əyazmalar İnstitutu, 2006.

[174] Tarbiyat, *Dānişmandān*, pp. 146–147.

[175] *Dīvān-i Junūnī-yi Ardabīlī*. Majlis, no. 7801, foll. 72a-80b (on the margin). http://aghabozorg.ir/showbookdetail.aspx?bookid=104911, last accessed on March 18, 2016. See also: Baḫşāyişī, 'Aḳīḳī. *Mafāḫir-i Āẕarbayjān*.Tabrīz: Naṣr-i Āẕarbayjān, 1375/1996, p. 1400; Āḳā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, Muḥammad Muḥsin. *Al-Ẕarī'a ilá taşānīf al-şī'a*. Tihrān: Dānişgāh, 1964, vol. 9, pp. 206-7.

[176] *Dīvān-i Vālī*. Kitābḫāna-yi Majlis-i Şūrā-yi Islāmī, no. 44516.

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century; and in the majority of cases, even when a manuscript does contain Turkic poetry, too, it does not assign it prime of place.

According to Paşa Kərimov, one of the most important developments in the Turkic poetry of 17th-century Persia was the proliferation of popular genres side by side with genres originally belonging to the high Persian tradition. When discussing Nasīmī, Shah Ismā'īl and the Alevi-Bektashi poets who wrote in his mode, we have already mentioned that aside from the *arūż*, syllabic meter and popular strophic structures were also utilized. In addition to the *koşma*s deriving from this popular Sufi context we have already touched on the occurrence of the so-called *varsaġı* genre constituting the majority of Sultan Ibrāhīm Mīrzā's Turkic poetry. Poets whose oeuvre comes from such orally based context include 'Abbāṣ Tufarḳanlı, Sarı 'Aşiḳ or 'Azīzī. Here we do not have the space to explore the veracity of Kərimov's observation. It is worth noting, however, that this Azeri scholar presents it as part of his thesis of Azeri Turkic poetry in the 17th century going through a transitory period towards what he considers "realism," "closeness to the people," simpler forms and individual creativity.[177] While I find it difficult to accept his Marxism-inspired framework of base vs. superstructure, the expansion of popular forms, genres and style does suggest that Turkic had a broad popular basis, and that it probably had a trajectory that was greatly different from that of Persian in the age of the *tāza-gū'ī* with its complexity.

As we saw in Chapter Two, Ṣā'ib (ca. 1592–1676) himself, the best-known, most influential Persian poet of the 17th century and one of the chief representatives of the so-called *tāza-gū'ī*, or 'Indian style,' has 23 extant Turkic poems.[178] True, this number is a minuscule drop

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[177] Kərimov, *XVII. əsr Azərbaycan lirikası*, pp. 198-199 passim.
[178] Saib Tabrizi, Muhammad 'Ali. *Saib Təbrizi seçilmiş əsərləri*. Ed. Balaş Azəroğlu. Baku: Öndər Nəşriyyat, 2004, pp. 23–31. For an Italian translation, see: Bellingeri, Giampiero. "Il Ṣā'eb turco." In: *Majmū'e-ye Bahāriye*. Rome: Instituto Culturale della Republica Islamica D'Iran in Italia, 1989, pp. 45-66.

in the ocean of Şā'ib's vast poetic oeuvre, but we can remark that most of this Turkic poetry is made up of imitations of poems by Navā'ī, Fużūlī (perhaps also Ḥabībī), and, as will be briefly discussed in Chapter Six, Ḫaṭāyī. It is also remarkable, that some of the Turkic poetry written by Şā'ib along with that of Vā'iż-i Ḳazvīnī bears features associated with the *tāza-gū'ī* or the Fresh Style of poetry which was in vogue from the late 16th to the 18th century.[179] Both of them were important representatives of this style, which, unlike in the Ottoman Empire, does not seem to have been followed by other Turkophone poets in Ṣafavid Persia. At the current stage of research, it would be difficult to evaluate the pieces they produced in this style with certainty, but it seems these poets were quite exceptional with such stylistic experimentation in Turkic and that these experiments were the offshoot of their sizable Persian output, probably playful exercises on rare occasions.

For example, the poem the initial couplet of which is

Eldän çıḫaram zülf-i parīşānını görgäç
İşdän gedäräm sarv-i ḫurāmānını görgäç

I am out of control when I see your disheveled locks
I am done for when I see your cypress figure strutting[180]

is undoubtedly a *javāb* or *naẕīra* 'poetic imitation or paraphrase' of a ghazal by Fużūlī, whose first couplet is

gönlüm açılur zülf-i parīşānını görgäç
nutḳum dutulur ġunja-yi ḫandānungı görgäç

My heart cracks open when I see your disheveled locks
My speech is tied up when I see your laughing bud.[181]

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[179] Kərimov, *XVII əsr Azərbaycan lirikası*, pp. 241-253. .
[180]Saib Tabrizi, *Saib Təbrizi seçilmiş əsərləri*, p. 24; Bellingeri, "Il Şā'eb turco," pp. 48-49.

Ṣā'ib's Turkic imitations need further analysis; for the present, suffice it to say that he was a highly experimenting poet, trying out various styles; a considerable part of his Persian oeuvre is made up of such poetic imitations, the model of which he often acknowledges.[182]

Perhaps the three most important poets of the 17th century are Masīḥī, Ta'sīrī and Ḳawsī. Masīḥī's Turkic output is far more voluminous than Ṣā'ib's, but only his *maṣnavī* entitled *Varḳa va Gulşāh,* which he wrote in 1038/1628-29, is extant.[183] The oeuvre of Ta'sīr of Tabriz (1655–1717), who was for a time the vizier of Yazd, is even more extensive. His *kulliyāt* includes a *dīvān* and seven *maṣnavī*s in Persian, as well as several poems in Turkic, a selection of which have been published.[184] About Ḳawsī of Tabriz we know that he lived in the second half of the 17th century; his dīvān has been published.[185]

Ṭarzī-yi Afşār occupies an interesting place in Ṣafavid Turkic poetry. Flourishing under the reign of Ṣafī (1629–1642) and 'Abbās II (1642–1666), he wrote nonsense poetry called *tarzīḳ*. Köprülü refers to him as having nonsense verse in Turkic, which is something of an exaggeration.[186] Most of his poems are written entirely in twisted Persian; even the ones that

[181] Fuzûlî. *Türkçe Divan*. Ed. Kenan Akyüz et al. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1958, p. 177. Hay'at *Āzarbayjān adabiyāt tārīḫina bir baḫış*, p. 59 also draws attention to the connection between Fużūlī and Sā'ib, but the Fużūlī poem he gives as model for this ghazal of Sā'ib is actually in a different meter and has a different rhyme. Therefore it cannot have served as a model for Sā'ib. Other correspondences between Fużūlī and Sā'ib's ghazals include the following: Fużūlī p. 201 (ghazal LXXVII)–Sā'ib p. 51; Fużūlī p. 236 (gh. CXII) – Ṣā'ib p. 53; Fużūlī p. 412 (ghazal CCLXXXVIII) – Ṣā'ib p. 64.
[182] Losensky, Paul E. "Ṣā'eb of Tabriz." *EIr*.
[183] Məsihi. *Vərqə va Gülşa*. Ed. Əlyar Səfərli. Baku: Şərq-Qərb, 2005.
[184] Gandjei, Tourkhan. "Tebrizli Te'sir'in Türkçe Şiirleri." *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Degisi* 3 (1949). Manuscripts of Ta'sīr's kulliyāt include: Majlis, no. 7672 (copied in 1102/1690-1691); no. 7780; Tehran University, no. 3628. For his *Dīvān*, see: Majmūʻa-yi Ṣadr al-Dīn Maḥallātī, Shiraz, copied in 1300/1882-1883; for his manual on riddles, see: *Mu'ammā*, Kitābḫāna-yi Siḳḳat al-Islām, Tabriz, copied in 1125/1713-1714.
[185] Hay'at, *Āzarbayjān adabiyāt tārīḫina bir baḫış*, p. 63; Dawlatābādī, *Suḫanvarān-i Āzarbayjān*, pp. 602–604; Qövsi Tabrizi. *Divan*. Ed. Paşa Karimov. Baku: Nurlan, 2005.
[186] Köprülü, "Âzeri," p. 137. For a stylistic analysis of his poetry, see: Anzābī-Nizhād, Riżā. "Ṭarzī Afşār, şāʻirī yigāna, şīvayī yigāna." *Faṣlnāma-yi Farhangistān-i zabān u adab-i fārsī* 4/3 (Pā'iz 1377sh/1998), pp. 96–103; Bertel's, Yevgenii Eduardovich. "Tarzi Afshar i ego tvorchestvo." In: idem. *Istoriya literatury i kul'tury Irana (Izabrannye trudy, vol. 5)*. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka," 1988, pp. 446–467.

have Turkic elements are best described as *mulamma'*s, i.e. 'macaronic poems', in which one part of the verse is in Persian and the other is in Turkic.[187] For example, in the following poem only the third person singular finite copula (*-dIr*) is in Turkic.

> Kār-at ay dūst bī-vafāyī-dir
> Hama mayl-at sū-yi judāyī-dir
>
> Bāz bīgāna-vār mīguẕarī
> Īn çi tartīb āşināyī-dir
>
> *Your conduct, o, beloved, is infidelity*
> *All you desire is separation*
>
> *Again you will pass by me like a stranger*
> *What kind of an acquaintanceship is this?*[188]

In his Persian *tarzīḵ* poems, the most typical device Ṭarzī employs is the extreme and humorously extended use of the denominal verbal suffix *–īdan.* For example, in the following ġazal it is applied in order to make place names into verbs:[189]

> Dil-am girift zi-jāhā çirā na-tabrīzam
> Guşāda dil buvad ānjā çirā na-tabrīzam
>
> 'alā al-ḫuṣūṣ yaḫīdam zi-ardabīlīdan
> barā-yi juẕva-yi Mūsā çirā na-tabrīzam
>
> *My heart is sick of [foreign] lands, why should I not Tabrizide?*
> *My heart would open up [i.e. be delighted] there, why should I not Tabrizide?*
>
> *I especially became be-iced from Ardabiling*
> *For the fire of Moses, why should not I Tabrizide?*[190]

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[187] These are the following: ghazals: pp. 11, 87, 153-154, 191–192; ḵaṣīdas: 247–248, 249–250, 279–281; Arabic-Persian: 139–141 (Ṭarzī Afşār. *Dīvān*. Tehran: Çāpḫāna-yi Tajaddud-i Īrān, 1338sh/1959-60). It seems only two of his *rubā'ī*s are written according to what can be considered as Turkish grammar *rubā'ī*s (pp. 208/4, 209/3).
[188] Ṭarzī Afşār, *Dīvān*, p. 87.
[189] My translation tries to follow the twisted grammar of the original.
[190] Ṭarzī Afşār, *Dīvān*, p. 139.

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It is interesting to compare this poem with another one which employs the same device but in Turkic. Here Ṭarzī uses the denominal verbal suffix *-lAn-* in its infinitive form and in the dative case, giving the meaning 'in order to.'

<blockquote>

Parvāzlandı dil yinä baġdādlanmaġa
Ol burj-i avliyāya qonub şādlanmaġa

The heart has taken off for baghdading
It alighted on the tower of saints for some happying[191]

</blockquote>

The parallel structure was probably not lost on Ṭarzī's audience at the Ṣafavid court. He wrote it for an audience that was surely bilingual or at least knew Turkic besides Persian well enough to understand the linguistic puns in such poetry.

From the first quarter of the 18th century we also know of Turkic poets who lived in Ṣafavid lands. For example, there were three poets by the name of Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ whose identity is uncertain but they used the penname "Naṣʾa" and definitely wrote in Turkic; and we also know of one Sayyid Fattāḥ of Marāġa with the penname "Işrāḳ" (d. 1175/1761-62).[192]

Learned Prose

Most telling of the status of Turkic in the Ṣafavid realm is the scarcity of works in the high prose genres of the Persianate tradition written in Turkic vis-à-vis the abundance of

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[191] Ṭarzī Afşār, *Dīvān*, p. 247.
[192] Dawlatābādī, *Suḫanvarān-i Āzarbayjān*, 690–693, 878–880; Hayʾat, *Āẕarbayjān adabiyāt tārīḫina bir baḫış*, p. 65.

historical, biographical or theological works in Persian. It seems that in the period under discussion, learned prose was practised in but a few genres in Turkic and even in these genres their number was limited. Some of the works that are extant can be considered as part of the cultural policies of the Ṣafavid dynasty to promote Shiite learning in the form of establishing institutions of religious education, primarily madrasas that employed Shiite doctors propagating Imamite teachings on a popular level. As argued by Said Arjomand and Rula Abisaab, it was this need to teach and maintain orthopraxy among the populace that produced many a popular rendition of Shiite religious textbooks in Persian, although certain works had been translated early on at the time of the establishment of the dynasty.[193] As examples, one could adduce Bahā al-Dīn Āmilī's *Jāmiʻ-i abbāsī* or one of the first books of Majlisī's *Biḥār al-anvār* translated by his nephew.[194] Majlisī also produced independent works in Persian, such as the *Ḥaḳḳ al-yaḳīn*. The subject of the popularization of Twelver Shiism in the form of popular theology needs further research.[195]

It is the latter context that produced hagiographical works in Turkic, such as the translation of the *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā,* the later several times modified official history of the Ṣafavid order, which was originally written in Persian by Tavakkulī b. Ismāʻīl b. Bazzāz in 735/1358. The Turkic translation itself was made in 949/1542 in Shiraz by a certain Muḥammad al-Kātib Naṣātī under the patronage of Şāhḳulı Ḫalīfa of the Ḳāvūrġālū *oba* of the Ẕū al-Ḳadarlu tribe.[196]

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[193] Abisaab, Rula Jurdi. *Converting Persia. Religion and Power in the Safavid Empire.* London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2004, pp. 27-28.

[194] Arjomand, *The Shadow of God*, p. 166; Gevorgyan, Narine. *Jamiʻ-i abbasi: Baha al-Din al-ʻAmili's Manual of Religious Instruction in the Context of State- and Confession-Building in Safavid Iran and Beyond*. Budapest: Central European University, 2013 (unpublished M.A.-thesis).

[195] ʻĀmilī, Bahāʼ al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn. *Kitāb-i Jāmiʻ-i ʻabbāsī.* Bombay: Gulzār, 1905; Gevorgyan, Narine. *Jamiʻ-i abbasi: Baha al-Din al-ʻAmili's Manual of Religious Instruction in the Context of State- and Confession-Building in Safavid Iran and Beyond*. Budapest: Central European University, 2013 (M.A.-thesis).

[196] British Library, Add. 18,548. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum.* p. 281; Gandjei, "Turcica Agemica," p. 119. According to Sümer, the office of sealkeeper was for a time hereditary among members of the Ḳāvurġālū *oba*. Succeeding in 939/1532-3 Maḥmūd Beg, Şāh Ḳulı Ḫalīfa was sealkeeper until his

Rieu, the cataloger of the manuscript of the work preserved in the British Museum, described it as Chaghatay. As was convincingly pointed out by the late Tourkhan Gandjei, the noted cataloger had based this view on the orthography of the manuscript, which is truly influenced by the Chaghatay Turkic tradition, as well as on the statement of the translator that he translated the *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā* to benefit Turks in "Turkistan":

> "It is in Persian. Turkish disciples and Sufis do not understand the Persian language and because they do not comprehend it, they are deprived of its [i.e. the *Ṣafvat al-ṣafā*'s] benefit. Were it translated into Turkic, all the Turkish disciples as well as all the people of Turkistān may have a share in it."[197]

Gandjei and in his wake, Bellér-Hann, provide ample evidence that there are several correspondences between the Chaghatay and the 'Ajamī orthographic traditions.[198] It is tempting to think that the relatively small number of known prose texts in the 'Ajamī Turkish language and its partial similarity to Chaghatay led many catalogers to classify 'Ajamī Turkish texts as Chaghatay, and that many 'Ajamī Turkish manuscripts in libraries might be disguised under the designation Chaghatay.[199] It is also possible that Rieu was misled by the term *Turkistān*, which does not at all necessarily refer to the Eastern part of the former Chaghatay ulus.[200]

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death in 965/1558. (Sümer, *Safevi Devletinin Kuruluşu ve Gelişmesinde Anadolu Türkmenlerinin Rolü*, pp. 94-95). There is another manuscript of the work in St. Petersburg (Dorn, B. "Die vordem Chanykov'sche, jetzt der Kaiserl. Öffentlichen Bibliothek zugehörige Sammlung von Morgenländischen Handschriften." *Mélanges Asiatique Tirés du Bulletin de L'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersburg* V (1864–1868), p. 249, item 91).

[197] *fārsī ilän dür türk ṭāliblär ilä ṣūfīlär pārsī dili anglamazlar va ma'lūm etmädükindin fāydasından maḥrūm ḳalurlar agar türkīyä dönsä ḳamu türk murīdlär balki bitün türkistān ādamları andın bahramand olurlar* (British Library, Add. 18,548, f. 4b; see also Gandjei 1986, p. 119. The fourth chapter of the *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā* has an Ottoman Turkish translation from 1457, which I have not been able to consult (British Library, Or. 7576; Gandjei 1986, p. 121), but it is quite certain that its author was in some way or another affiliated with the Ṣafavids.

[198] Gandjei, "Turcica Agemica," pp. 119–120; Bellér-Hann, Ildikó. *A History of Cathay: A Translation and Linguistic Analysis of a Fifteenth-Century Turkic Manuscript*. Bloomington: Indiana University, Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 1995. pp. 45–50.

[199] Bellér-Hann, *A History of Cathay*, p. 28;

[200] Gandjei, "Turcica Agemica," p. 122.

Naşātī translated at least one other prose piece as well. Penned in 945/1538 and now kept in the Library of the Azerbaijani Academy in Baku, the work, entitled *Şuhadānāma*, is the translation of Kāşifī's Alid martyrology with the title *Rawżat al-şuhadā*.[201] This is not the only Turkic rendition of Kāşifī's work; Fużūlī's version, entitled *Ḥādīḳat al-suʿadā*, is much better known.[202] It seems that Shiraz, an important center for manuscript production and illustration, was a locale where there was demand for Turkic poetry. Aside from Naşātī's works, we know of 7 illustrated copies of Aḥmadī's *Iskandarnāma* from between 1519 and 1561, and of 2 copies of Navāʾī's *Dīvān* from 932/1525 and 972/1564, respectively. Furthermore, it is probably the same Naşātī who in ca. 932/1525-26 in Shiraz at the *āsitāna* 'shrine' of a saint by the name of Mawlānā Ḥusām al-Mulk va al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, copied the Ottoman poet Şayḫī's *Ḫusraw u Şīrīn* for one Amīr Şayḫ Dāniş al-Dīn Mawsillū; and the same shrine produced another copy of Aḥmadī's *Iskandarnāma*.[203] Since several of these manuscripts found their way to Istanbul, there is reason to think that some of them may well have been produced with the Ottoman market in mind.

We know of two figures from Ardabil who each composed a work in Turkic on the tenets of Twelver Shiism. One was Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn al-Ilāhī al-Ardabīlī (d. 950/1543-44), who was first a protégé of Ḥaydar Ṣafavī (d. 1488), then went to Shiraz and Khurasan, where he studied with Jalāl al-Dīn Davānī (1426/7–1502), Amīr Ġiyāṣ al-Dīn al-Daştakī and Amīr Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAṭā Allāh b. Fażl Allāh.[204] Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn al-Ilāhī al-Ardabīlī spent some time in

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[201] Sultanov, M.S. *Alyazmalary katalogu, vol. 1 (Tarikh, joġrafya, adabiyyat nazariyyasi, tazkiralar, badii adabiyyat va münshaat).* Baku: Azarbayjan SSR Elmlar Akademiyasi Našriyyati, 1963, pp. 277–278, no. 775; Nağısyolu, Möhsün. *XVI asr Azərbaycan tərcümə abidəsi «Şühədanamə» (paleografiya, ortografiya va tərcümə məsələləri.* Baku: Nurlan, 2003. Consisting of 338 folios, the manuscript of the *Şuhadānāma* (catalog number M-259/13659) contains the introduction of the translator as well as some additions.

[202] Fuzulî. *Hadikatü's-Süʿeda.* Ed. Şeyma Güngör. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1987.

[203] Uluç, *Turkmen Governors, Shiraz Artisans and Ottoman Collectors*, p. 505, n. 125; pp. 98-99.

[204] Also known as Jamāl al-Ḥusaynī, who was a divine and historian who flourished in Herat and died probably in 1520 (Savory, Roger. "Djamāl al-Ḥusaynī. *EI²*).

Herat and was well received by Navā'ī and prince Ġarīb Mīrzā b. Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayḳara. After the death of his Timurid patron he returned to Iraq and Azerbaijan (902/1496-7), became an instructor in the Ṣafavid order and died in 950/1543-44 at the age of over 70. He was a prolific author with a divan of over 2,000 verses and over 30 books, treatises, and commentaries in Persian and Arabic; and he wrote a treatise on the Imamate in Turkic and then translated it into Persian.[205] Another prose work we know to have come from the ranks of religious scholars from Ardabil who joined the Ṣafavids is the *'Aḳā'id al-islām* written by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Muḥaḳḳiḳ Ardabīlī (d. 993/1585), an influential Shiite scholar from the latter half of the 16th century.[206]

Here we should also mention Ġarībī again. Aside from Ḫaṭāyī imitations, a *dīvān* of Turkish ghazals and his biographical anthology of poets that have already been touched on, he wrote two hitherto neglected prose works in Turkic. One of them is a catechism in defense of Shiism, entitled *Ḥikāyat-i Yūḥannā takẕīb va muẕammat-i munāfiḳān va taṣdīḳ-i yaḳīn-i ahl-i īmān*. The Turkic version of an otherwise well-known work by an unknown author with various renditions in both Arabic and Persian, the piece features a Jewish convert to Shiism who interviews four scholars, each representing the four Sunni legal schools, and becomes convinced

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[205] Pourjavady, Reza. *Philosophy in Early Safavid Iran: Najm Al-Dīn Maḥmūd Al-Nayrīzī and His Writings*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011, pp. 41-44; Āḳā Buzurg, *Ẕarī'a*, vol. 2, p. 324; Tarbiyat, *Dānişmandān*, pp. 47-49; Baḫşāyişī, 'Aḳīḳī. *Mafāḫir-i Āẕarbayjān*. Tabriz: Naṣr-i Āẕarbayjān, 1375/1996, pp. 690–693. I thank Reza Pourjavady for this reference.

[206] There has been some controversy over the authorship of the work. It was attributed by some to another Aḥmad Ardabīlī from the beginning of the 16th century. Cf. Āḳā Buzurg, *Ẕarī'a*, vol. 15, p. 281. For a modern edition of the work, see: Muḳaddas Ardabīlī. *Aḳā'id al-islām*. Ed. Mīrzā Rasūl Ismā'īlzāda. Qum: Kārḫāna-yi Āstāna-yi Muḳaddas-i Ḥażrat-i Fāṭima Ma'ṣūma, 1380sh/2001-2002, cited in Cavanşir-Necef, *Şah İsmail Hatâ'î Külliyatı*, p. 117. For the unique manuscript of the work, which is preserved in Qom, see: http://www.aghabozorg.ir/showbookdetail.aspx?bookid=157278, last accessed on March 19, 2016. On Muḳaddas Ardabīlī, see: Arjomand, Said Amir. "The Clerical Estate and the Emergence of a Shiite Hierocracy in Safavid Iran: A Study in Historical Sociology." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 28 (1985), p. 192; Madelung, Wilfred. "Ardabīlī." *EIr*; Baḫşāyişī, 'Aḳīḳī. *Mafāḫir-i Āẕarbayjān*. Tabriz: Naṣr-i Āẕarbayjān, 1375/1996, pp. 75–82). The other theological work in Turkic which has been attributed to him but which is not extant bears the title *Risālat al-aḫlāḳ*. See also: Musalı, Namıq. "XVI əsr Azərbaycan alimi Əhmad İbn Məhəmməd Ərdəbili və onun "Əkaidül-İslam" adlı risaləsi." *Tarix və onun problemləri*, 2013, 3, pp. 297-305.

of the superiority of Twelver Shiism.[207] The prose is interspersed with poems, and so is Ġarībī's

other shorter prose works, which are arranged as allegorical encomia dedicated to Ṭahmāsp.'[208]

Another interesting *summa* of the basic tenets of Shiism in Turkic is the *Isbāt-i imāmat*,

composed by the otherwise unknown Ḫudāverdi Āhārī Tabrīzī.[209] The work survives in a single

copy, which does not contain the usual lengthy introductory sections, only a very short one, and

was executed by the copyist in a casual hand. According to the brief preface, the treatise was

intended to summarize the main teachings of Twelver Shiism for Şāhīn Girāy Khan. The latter

belonged to the dynasty that ruled Crimea, spent two lengthy sojourns at 'Abbās's court, first

taking refuge there between 1023/1614 and 1033/1623-1624, and for the second time between

1038/1629-30 and probably his death at an unknown date.[210] The possible political significance

of the work may have become more pronounced in the context of the early 1620s, when

members of the Girāy dynasty at the Crimean court were competing with each other for the

throne and sought outside help from the Ottoman Porte, Poland and Shah 'Abbās I.[211] The

Ṣafavids wished to use the Crimean Tatars to weaken their Ottoman adversaries; hence the

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[207] Ġarībī. *Dīvān*. Kitābḫāna-yi Majlis-i Şūrā-yi Islāmī, Tehran, no. 7012, foll. 16b-37a. The various Arabic and Persian versions under the title *Tarjama-yi kitāb-i ḫalīfa Yūḥannā-yi Isrāʾīlī Miṣrī* (e.g. Kitābkḫāna-yi Majlis-i Şūrā-yi Islāmī, no. 311592 (Persian) or *Kitāb Yūḥannā* (Arabic), Kitābkḫāna-yi Majlis-i Şūrā-yi Islāmī) still await analysis. The work is also known under the title *Tarjama-yi Ilzām al-navāṣib*, and is probably falsely attributed to Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāvūs. Cf. al-Kantūrī, Iʿjāz Ḥusayn. *Kaşf al-ḥujub wa al-astār ʿan asmāʾ al-kutub wa al-asfā*r. Calcutta: Printed at the Baptist Mission Press, pub. by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1935, #274, p. 58. See also: http://www.aghabozorg.ir/showbookdetail.aspx?bookid=88677, last accessed on April 24, 2016. Unfortunately, some of the folios of Ġarībī's work have been misbound. See also: Ṣiddīk, Ḥusayn Muḥammadzāda. *Dīvān-i aşʿār-i Ġarībī Tabrīzī*. Tabriz: Naṣr-i Aḫtar, 1389/2009, pp. 19-20.
[208] Ġarībī. *Dīvān*. Kitābḫāna-yi Majlis-i Şūrā-yi Islāmī, Tehran, no. 7012. Because of the aforesaid misbound state of the manuscript, at this point I am not giving folio numbers. For a fresh and insightful discussion of Ġarībī, see Zeynep Altok's dissertation currently in preparation at Bosphorus University, Istanbul.
[209] Āhārī Tabrīzī. *Isbāt-i imāmat.* Tehran University 4442. According to the colophon on 82a, the work was copied by one Ibn 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad Taḳī Sāva'ī in Şavvāl 1059/October-November 1649. It is followed in the manuscript by the first 3 folios (82b-83b) of a work entitled *Nasabnāma-yi 'Umar va 'Usmān va Abā Bakr*, executed by the same copyist, also in Turkic.
[210] *AAA*, vol. 2, pp. 881, 935, 1016; *AAA Eng*, vol. 2, pp. 1095, 1154, 1237-1238.
[211] Kołodziejczyk, Dariusz. *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania: International Diplomacy on the European Periphery (15th-18th Century): A Study of Peace Treaties Followed By Annotated Documents*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011, Chapter Two, esp. pp. 124-139; Ivanics, Mária. "Krími tatár - iráni kapcsolatok a 16-17. században." *Keletkutatás* (2014 ősz), pp. 91-99.

probable importance attached to the treatise: Shah 'Abbās commissioned Sheikh Bahā al-Dīn 'Amilī known as Sheikh Bahā'ī (953-1030/1547-1621), the most prominent Shiite theologian of the time; the latter, however, transferred the commission on to H̱udāverdi Āhārī Tabrīzī, about whom we only know that he was versed in theology, for he bore the title *āẖund*. The work must therefore have been composed between 1023/1614, i.e. the year of Şāhīn Girāy's arrival at the court of 'Abbās, and 1030/1621, i.e. Sheikh Bahā'ī's death.[212] The potential significance of the treatise is better seen in the light of reports that Şāhīn Girāy, as the most important representative of the Ṣafavid orientation at the Crimean court, had his prestige compromised in his Sunni homeland by the suspicion that he was a Shii. We know nothing about the circulation of the *Isॖbāt* – though it was probably not too significant – but for the present discussion it is significant that such a theological celebrity as Sheikh Bahā'ī could at all have been involved in the composition of such a work in Turkic and that the know-how and personnel was available to carry out the task.

Lexicography and historiography

One should also mention the tradition of Turco-Persian glossaries compiled in Persia. Kāshġarī's *Dīvān luġat al-turk* mentioned in Chapter One seems to have been almost all but forgotten. After that, the first lexicographical works dedicated to Turkic that we know of is Ḥusām al-Dīn H̱u'ī's rhyming Turko-Persian glossary entitled *Tuḥfa-yi Ḥisām* from the late 13th century, and Hindūşāh b. Sanjār Ṣāḥibī Naẖjivānī's (d. 730/1330) *Ṣiḥāḥ al-'ajam*, a bilingual

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[212] It is possible that the work is related to Sheikh Bahā'ī's *I'tiḳādāt*, also a summary of the tenets of Shiism, but I have regrettably had hitherto no access to this work (Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn 'Āmilī. *I'tiḳādāt-i Şayẖ Bahāyī: Matn-i 'arabī-i Risālat al-i'tiḳādāt-i Şayẖ Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad 'Āmilī (953-1030 H.Q.); Bi hamrāh-i si Tarjuma va şarḥ-i fārsī-yi ān*. Ed. Jūyā Jahānbakhsh. Tehran: Intishārāt-i Asāṭīr, 2008).

glossary from the beginning of the 14th.[213] Lexicography continued under the Ottomans; of Perso-Turkish vocabularies produced in their territories, it is enough to mention but a few, such as ʿAbd al-Majīd Firişteoğlu's Koran glossary entitled *Luġat-i firişta* from 1450, or Ibrāhīm Şāhidī Dede's Perso-Turkish rhyming glossary entitled *Tuḥfa-yi Şāhidī* from 921/1514. We could also adduce the so-called *Abuşḳa*, too, i.e. the first glossary dedicated primarily to the vocabulary of Navāʾī and to a lesser extent also to other Turkophone poets of Timurid times, too.

Compared to the Ottoman Empire or Mughal India, where there was a steady lexicographical tradition of Turkic, the number of such works is relatively meager in Ṣafavid Persia. In fact, we only know of two such glossaries. One of them is the *Farhang-i turkī* from ca. 1650 started by Muḥammad Riżā Naṣīrī (d. 1104/1693), *munşī al-mamālik* under ʿAbbās II, and completed by his son ʿAbd al-Jamīl Naṣīrī. They were scions of a prominent patrician family from Ordubad in Nakhchivan, who had held prominent positions in the Ṣafavid bureaucracy ever since the reign of Shah Ismāʿīl I, claimed descent from Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, and several of whom were themselves noted belletrists in Persian.[214] The work under discussion, the *Farhang-i naṣīrī*, is a glossary for Chaghatay, Ottoman, "Qizilbash" and Qipchaq Turkic, as well as Kalmyk, and was written with the practical aim to facilitate state correspondence. That such a work could be undertaken by Tajiks points to the importance the Ṣafavids attached to Turkic in international

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[213] Hindūşāh b. Sanjār Ṣāḥibī Naḫjivānī. *Ṣiḥāḥ al-ʿajam*. Tehran: Sitād-i Inḳilāb-i Farhangī, Markaz-i Naşr-i Danişgāhī, 1361/1982.

[214] On Turko-Persian glossaries produced in the era, particularly under the Ottomans and Uzbeks, see: Ṣafā, *Tārīḫ-i adabīyāt dar Īrān*, vol. 5/1, pp. 391-394; Kartal, Ahmet. "Türk-Fars Edebî İlişkileri." In: *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*. Ed. Talât Sait Halman. Istanbul: TC Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2006, vol. 1, p. 310; Naṣīrī, Muḥammad Riżā. *Farhang-i naṣīrī*. Ed. Hasan Javadi and Willem Floor. Tehran: Kitābḫāna-yi Majlis-i Şūrā-yi Islāmī, 2014. On the Naṣīrī family, see: Mitchell, *The Practice of Politics*, p. 166. The glossary in fact is untitled; the title *Farhang-i naṣīrī* has been given to it by its editors. Muḥammad Riżā Naṣīrī is better known for his epistolary collection enitled *Munşaʾāt-i sulaymānī*, which he could not finish, either, and which was completed by his other son, Abū al-Ḳāsim. Remarkably, one of the manuscripts of the *Munşaʾāt-i sulaymānī* contains the introductory part of the *Farhang* (Naṣīrī, *Farhang*, pp. 33-34).

relations and to the knowledge of Turkic among at least some of the members of the mostly Tajik bureaucracy.

The other dictionary for Turkic in the period was produced by the noted court secretary and historian, Mīrzā Mahdī Khan of Astarābād in the mid-18th century as an aid for reading Navā'ī's works. In fact, the work includes a grammar of Chaghatay Turkish entitled *Mabāni al-luġa*, and a lengthy glossary of Mīr 'Alī Şīr Navā'ī's vocabulary entitled *Sanglāḫ*, which Mahdī Khan dedicated to his patron Nādir Shah (r. 1148-1160/1736-1747). These works were probably not merely the result of a scholar's antiquarian interest in a language that had by than become obsolete for certain figures in a courtly milieu; and they were not only the natural products of a literary environment that was interested in the "Classics" of Turkic literature, either.[215] As we shall see further below, the glossary well fitted Nādir's political program and search for ideology as an alternative to Şafavid charisma.

The single chronicle in Turkic comes from the very last days of the Şafavids. Entitled *Şafaviyya pādişāhları* and written in 1146/1733 by one Mīrzā Sulaymān Dilmāj, this short work chronicles in an unadorned, straightforward fashion, without the stylistic features of Persianate epistolary prose, events from 1704, the start of the troubles with the Afghans and the appointment of Gurgīn Khan *beglerbegi* of Qandahar to 1729, when Tahmāsp Ḳulı Khan, the future Nādir Shah, recaptured Herat from the Afghans.[216]

As is shown by this list, the number of learned prose works written in Turkic in Şafavid Persia was relatively small. Even more significant, the *Şafaviyya pādişāhları* seems as yet to be the sole historical work written in Turkic in the period. Such a scarcity of chronicles in Turkic is

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[215] Muhammad Mahdī Xān. Sanglax. *A Persian Guide to the Turkish Language.* Ed. Gerard Clauson, London: Luzac & co., 1960 (E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series 20); Perry, John R. "Astarābādī, Mahdi Khan." *EIr.*

[216] Sultanov, *Alyazmalary katalogu*, p. 32, no. 52. This short work is 38 folios long and bears the catalog number A 422/11470. It has been published without commentary: Qəhrəmanov, Cahangir. *Praktiki transfoliterasiya işleri.* Baku: Azərbaycan Milli Elmlər Akademiyası Məhəmməd Füzuli Adına Əlzaymalar İnsititutu, 2007, pp. 257-274.

quite in contrast with the proliferation of various prose genres in Persian, including historiography, as well as with the number of Turkic works east and west of Ṣafavid Persia. While the Ottomans had already had a great tradition of historical literature in Ottoman Turkish, and the Şaybānids, in the wake of the Timurids, also patronized the writing of historical and other prose treatises in Chaghatay Turkic, nothing of a similar volume and significance existed under the Ṣafavids, although due to the inaccessibility of sources, this statement might in the future be somewhat modified. Yet if no significant amount of data is added to what is available at the present state of research, we can say that the Turkic literary output in prose treatises was extremely meager under the Ṣafavids. It is fairly safe to say that there were no or very few historiographical and other scholarly works in Turkic that were sponsored by the dynasty or other members of the elite. This type of literature was primarily intended for the learned echelons of society, and these groups knew Persian as well as Arabic. This status of scholarly literature in Turkic was therefore a continuation of the state of affairs under the Timurids, where Turkic treatises were also more of the exception than the rule.[217]

Turkic Poets of Ṣafavid Origins in the Ottoman Empire and Mughal India

A short discussion of Ṣafavid literati who immigrated to the Ottoman Empire or Mughal India is included here with the understanding that although most of the Turkic output of these poets and intellectuals was probably written for their Ottoman or Mughal patrons or at least with

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[217] See, for example, Navā'ī's *Mīzān al-awzān* or H̱udāydād Tarāzī's *Funūn al-balāġa*, both written on prosody (Ali Şîr Nevâyi. *Mîzânu'l-evzân: Vezinlerin terazisi*. Ed. Kemal Eraslan. Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 1993; DeWeese, Devin A. "The Predecessors of Navā'ī in the Funūn al-Balāghah of Shayḫ b. Aḥmad b. H̱udāydād Ṭarāzī: A Neglected Source in Central Asian Literary Culture from the Fifteenth Century." *Journal of Turkish Studies (Türklik Bilgisi Araştırmaları)* 20 (2005), pp. 73-163.). Further, the noted poet, Luṭfī (fl. early 14th century), is said to have rendered Yazdī's *Ẓafarnāma* from Persian to Chaghatay Turkic.

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such an audience in mind, the literati in question had been educated in Ṣafavid lands and some of them had already made their names there. The migration of Ṣafavid intellectuals into Anatolia and Mughal India is part of a longer historical process of elite migration. By the time of the advent of the Ṣafavids there had been at least since the beginning of Mongol rule in the mid-13th century a vast Persianate terrain in Muslim Eurasia which was open for movement of people and ideas.[218] The richness of Mughal India and the opportunities for government positions and patronage it promised was a huge pull on intellectuals and artists of Ṣafavid Persia.

The pride of place as an ex-Ṣafavid poet must be accorded to Fużūlī of Baghdad (1480?– 1556). He is undoubtedly one of the most outstanding poets in the entire Muslim Turkish literary tradition; a detailed discussion of this extremely prolific author would go far beyond the limits of this dissertation.[219] He never left the Iraq region, but his life spanned the end of the Aqqoyunlu period, the first three decades of Ṣafavid rule, and he stayed on after the Ottoman conquest of 1534. Indeed, his first known poem is a *ḳaṣīda* in Persian, dedicated to the Aqqoyunlu governor of Baghdad, Alvand Beg; and he sang encomia in Persian on Shah Ismāʿīl I after the latter captured Baghdad in 1508, and dedicated his first *maṣnavī*, the *Bang u bāda*, written in Turkic, to Ibrāhīm Khān Mawṣillū, the Ṣafavid governor of that city. A prolific author, Fużūlī was a

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[218] As a literary reflection on elite migration, one could adduce Kamāl al-Dīn Husayn Abīvardī's *Çār takht* 'four thrones', a poetic travelogue, in which the author discusses his visits to the four great Muslim polities of the late 15th century, the Aqqoyunlu, the Ottomans, the Mameluks and the Timurids. His presentation of the four polities as maintaining a similar Persianate culture is emblematic of the Weltanschauung of the epoch (Abīvardī, Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn. "Çār taḫt." Ed. Īraj Afšār. Farhang-i Īrān-zamīn 15 (1347sh/1969), pp. 5–84). On Iranian elites migrating to Ottoman lands, see: Sohrweide Hanna. "Dichter und Gelehrte aus dem Osten im Osmanischen Reich." *Der Islam* 46 (1970), pp. 263-302; Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, pp. 154-159; Kurnaz, Cemâl. *Türkiye-Orta Asya Edebî İlişkileri.* Kızılay, Ankara: Akçağ, 1999. On the migration of Iranians to Mughal India discussed in a broad historical context, see: Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. "Iranians Abroad: Intra-Asian Elite Migration and Early Modern State Formation." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 51:2 (May, 1992), pp. 340-363; idem. "Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia." *Modern Asian Studies* 31 (1997), pp. 735-62. For a discussion of the phenomenon based on Persian biographical sources, see: Gulçīn-i Maʿānī, Aḥmad. *Kārvān-i Hind: dar aḥvāl va āsār-i shāʿirān-i ʿasr-i Safavī ki bi Hindūstān rafta and.* Mashad: Āstān-i Ḳuds-i Rażavī, 1369/1990-91.
[219] No modern critical treatment of his oeuvre is available. For his life, see Karahan, Abdülkadir. *Fuzulî: Muhiti, hayatı ve şahsiyeti.* İstanbul: İbrahim Horoz Basımevi, 1949; for certain aspects of his poetry, reliable are Bertel's, Yevgenii Eduardovich. *Nizami i Fuzuli.* Moscow: Izdatel'stvo vostochnoi literatury, 1966-88 (Izabrannye trudy, vol. 2). and Mazıoğlu, Hasibe. *Fuzûli – Hafız. İki Şair Arasında bir Karşılaştırma.* Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1956.

truly trilingual poet who wrote in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, but he is mostly remembered for his Turkish achievements, the vast majority of which he most probably wrote under Ottoman rule. As has been shown in our discussion of Ṣādiḳī's *Concourse*, Fużūlī was very well known in Ṣafavid lands, and he would continue to be the most popular and most often paraphrased Turkophone poet in the entire period. Paşa Kərimov suggests that the two main trends in 17th Ṣafavid Turkic poetry were the "Navā'ī school" and the "Fużūlī school."[220] Indeed, as we will see in the following chapter, some of the Turkic poetry Ṣādiḳī wrote were *javāb*s, or paraphrases of Fużūlī's poems, the others responded to Navā'ī pieces.

Ottoman biographical dictionaries mention several Ṣafavid poets who made a career in Constantinople. One such figure was Saḫābī (d. 971/1563-64) from Hamadan, a Nurbaḫşī dervish who was commissioned to translate into Ottoman Turkish the *Kīmiyā-yi sa'ādat* by Ġazālī.[221] Another interesting figure was Aflāṭūn of Şīrvān (d. 977/1569). He had fled to the Ottoman Empire in the retinue of Alḳās Mīrzā (d. 1549), when his master rebelled in 954/1547-48 against his elder brother, Shah Ṭahmāsp. Although Aflātūn was acknowledged as an eminent poet in Persian and Turkic, he was also notorious for the unsuccessful intrigue he incited against 'Ārif Çelebi in order to snatch the office of *ṣāhnāmajı* (*şehnāmeci*) from him.[222] He used the penname Asīrī for his Persian, and Ḫazānī for his Turkic poetry.[223]

It would transcend the limits of this paper to try and list all the Ṣafavid poets and litterateurs who wrote in Turkic and ended up in Constantinople. Suffice it to say that Ṣafāyī

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[220] Kərimov, Paşa. *XVII. əsr Azərbaycan lirikası*. Baku: Nurlan, 2008.
[221] Latîfî. *Tezkiretü'ş-Şuarâ ve Tabsıratu'n-Nuzamâ*. Ed. Rıdvan Canım. Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 2000, p. 297; Mustafa 'Ālī. *Künhü'l-ahbâr'ın tezkire kısmı*. Ed. Mustafa İsen. Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 1994, pp. 226–227; Sohrweide Hanna. "Dichter und Gelehrte aus dem Osten im Osmanischen Reich." *Der Islam* 46 (1970), pp. 281–282.
[222] Mustafa 'Ālī. *Künhü'l-ahbâr'ın Tezkire Kısmı*. Ed. Mustafa İsen. Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 1994, p. 194; Sohrweide, "Dichter und Gelehrte," pp. 201-292.
[223] Eryılmaz Arenas-Vives, Fatma Sinem. *The Shehnamecis of Sultan Süleyman: 'Arif and Eflatun and their Dynastic Project*. Chicago: The University of Chicago, 2010 (unpublished Ph.D.-thesis).

Efendi's biographical dictionary from as late as 1720 mentions several literati who left the Ṣafavid realm during the 17th century and settled in the Ottoman Empire. 'Abbās "Tā'ib", also known by the sobriquet 'Ajam Pasha (d. 1102/1690/91), came to Anatolia, renouncing Shiism. He ingratiated himself with Meḥmed IV (1648–1687), who made him beglerbegi. After being governor in several *kaza*s, he retired to Edirne where he died.[224] Meḥmed "Rāzī" (d. 1072/1661-62) migrated to Constantinople from "'Ajam" at a young age and was educated there. He excelled in poetry and *inşā'*.[225] Fayżullāh "Fayżī" was a *qadi* who immigrated to the Ottoman Empire in the company of İncilik Çavuş, Ottoman envoy to the Ṣafavids. In 1007/1599-1600 he went to Jerusalem, being content with the qadiship of Aleppo and the *arpalık* of Mudurnu.[226] Meḥmed "Fā'iż" of Herat came to the Ottoman Empire to study. He is known to have dedicated a *ḳaṣīda* to the grand vezir 'Alī Pasha (probably Güzäljä 'Alī Pasha, grand vizier from 1619 to 1621), who rewarded him with a secretarial position in the grand *dīvān*.[227] 'Alī "Yaḳīn" was a poet from Isfahan. He came to Istanbul and spread among many people the *dīvān* of Ṣā'ib and 'Urfī. In 1007/1599-1600 he set out to go back to Isfahan, but died on the way there.[228] One might also mention the Iraq literary scene, which was a natural destination for Shiites and examples from which we have already seen in our discussion of Ṣādiḳī's sojourn there. The Ottoman literary biographer 'Ahdī's biographical dictionary mentions several poets who had emigrated to Ottoman lands. E.g. he refers to one Zīrakī from Hamadan, who was employed in the service of Ramażānzāde Pīrī Pasha and, learning Turkish, participated in poetic symposia.[229]

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[224] Muṣṭafa Ṣafāyī Efendi. *Tezkere-i Ṣafāyī (Nuḫbetü'l-āsār min fev'idi'l-eş'ār). İnceleme – Metin – İndeks*. Ed. Pervin Çapan. Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 2005, p. 113.
[225] Ṣafāyī, *Tezkere-i Ṣafāyī*, p. 204.
[226] Ṣafāyī, *Tezkere-i Ṣafāyī*, 448-449.
[227] Ṣafāyī, *Tezkere-i Ṣafāyī*, p. 493.
[228] Ṣafāyī, *Tezkere-i Ṣafāyī*, p. 737.
[229] 'Ahdī. *Ahdî ve Gülşen-i Şu'arâsı*, pp. 171-172.

It is well known that aside from Bābur, who is by far the best-known Turkophone litterateur of Mughal India, many others in the Mughal elite composed poetry in Turkic, a tradition that certain members of the dynasty perpetuated until as late as the early 19th century. In addition, the Mughals sponsored a veritable tradition of Chaghatay Turkic philology and lexicography.[230]

We know of a few Ṣafavid poets who composed in Turkic and made a career in Mughal India, which is, however, in marked contrast with the huge number of Ṣafavid poets who composed in Persian and became associated with the court of Delhi. This is little wonder, for the language of administration in the Mughal Empire was Persian, which was complemented by local languages and dialects. While Muslim administration was identified with Persian and that language was greatly important in Mughal political theology, the sphere of Turkic was reserved mainly for the military and even then but to a moderate extent.

The abovementioned Ṣā'ib, an emblematic figure of the so-called "Indian style" in Persian poetry, spent seven years in India.[231] Mention can also be made of 'Itābī Takkalū (d. cca. 1025/1616). At the beginning of his career as a poet he went to Isfahan and served 'Abbās I. He was commissioned to write a *masnavī* entitled *Manẓar al-abrār,* for which the shah gave him two villages.[232] 'Itābī served as a court poet at the court of Jahāngīr (1605–1627) as well. A prolific author, he has a *dīvān* and some nine *masnavī*s, one of which is in Turkic and bears the

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[230] Péri, Benedek. *Az indiai timuridák és a török nyelv. A török írás- és szóbeliség a mogul-kori Indiában*. Piliscsaba: Avicenna Közel-Kelet Kutatások Intézete, 2005 (Documenta et Monographiae III); *idem.* "Turks. III. 6. Turkish Literature in Muslim India." *EI*[2]; *idem.* "Bâbür İmparatorluğu'nda Türkçe." In: *Türkler Ansiklopedisi*. Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2002, vol. VIII, pp. 812-818.

[231] Losensky, "Ṣā'eb of Tabriz."

[232] According to the *Taẕkira-yi Mayḫāna*, a biographical dictionary written by 'Abd al-Nabī Faḫr al-Zamānī Ḳazvīnī, 'Itābī once got himself into trouble when he refused to accept 'Abbās's invitation to drink wine with him, whereupon one of his ill-wishers at the court said that 'Itābī did so because he claimed himself to be a *ḳuṭb* 'chief of the saints of the age'. Annoyed, 'Abbās ordered his bow and arrows to be brought to him so that he could test the validity of his *ḳuṭb*ness by shooting at him. Finally, when the poet composed a witty poem, the shah pardoned and rewarded him. The same poem brought him good fortune when someone else cited it before Jahāngīr. When the true provenance of the poem turned out, the Mughal ruler gave 'Itābī lavish gifts.

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title *Majma' al-baḥrayn,* which, together with its *ramal* meter, associates it with Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī.[233] The Mughal prince, 'Abd al-Raḥīm Ḫān (1556–1627) had at least two poets at his court who came from Ṣafavid lands and composed in Turkic. One of them was Siyānī Hamadānī who wrote in Persian, Turkic and Urdu; the other was one Darvīş Miṯlī.[234] Finally, we know of Kalb 'Alī of Tabriz mentioned above, who migrated to India (d. in AH 1020/1611-12).[235]

Turkic and Ṣafavid ideology

It is remarkable that while for Navā'ī under the Timurids, the use of Turkic was a political statement and part of a whole political theology, we do not find the latter in Ṣādiḳī. For him, the use of Turkic was to evoke the prestige that Navā'ī and the Timurid tradition meant, without, however, the political mythology. Indeed, as we saw in his biography, Ṣādiḳī greatly downplays the Chingisid, or more exactly, Öljeytüid, connections of his clan, the Ḫudābandalū. We might also adduce his *'Abbāsnāma* centered on the military exploits of 'Abbās down to the re-conquest of Khorasan from the Uzbeks. At some point in the narrative, 'Abbās receives a letter from 'Abdullāh Khan Uzbek, who wants to scare him off trying to regain Khorasan, because, so 'Abullāh Khan argues condescendingly, it belongs to him by right of Chingisid descent:

"Khorasan is my Chingisid heritage,
Coveting it amounts to bloodshed.

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[233] Ḥakīm Shah Muḥammad Ḳazvīnī. "Majālis al-nafā'is." In: *The Majalis-un-nafa'is, "Galaxy of Poets" of Mir 'Ali Shir Nava'i.* Ed. Ali Asghar Hekmat. Tehran: Kitābfurūşī-yi Manūçihrī, 1363/1984, pp. 437-452; Gulçīn-i Ma'ānī, *Kārvān-i hind*, pp. 865-871; Péri, *Az indiai timuridák*, p. 121.

[234] Gulçīn-i Ma'ānī, *Kārvān-i hind*, p. 1569; Péri, *Az indiai timuridák*, pp. 16, 122, 123.

[235] Gulçīn-i Ma'ānī, *Kārvān-i hind*, p. 1074; Péri, *Az indiai timuridák*, p. 121.

Although I am your enemy from the depth of my heart and soul,
[By saying] these words, I am your [true] friend."[236]

Ṣādiḳī, however, has his master and hero 'Abbās retort, mocking 'Abdullāh and instructing his secretary to write to him as follows:

"Tell him: O, khan of an excellent substance,
What is this talk about inheritance from your father?

Desiring heritage is a base thing,
It is like eating morsels off the table.

The warden can use the morsels
But no one tells the lion to eat morsels.

When the male falcon is hunting
He will not need to eat birdseed.

The boy that is worthless and giftless like his father
Will never become a mature youth.

If leadership came [only] through inheritance,
The peasant could also obtain rulership.

Of the sons of Adam, from small to big,
There have always been ones that knock on the gate of kingship.

If the subjects did not take refuge with the king,
There would be no difference between king and beggar.

Universal rule does not come with heritage,
There is no universal ruler but God.

Kingship has two fundamentals:
One is the sword, the other is generosity."[237]

While refuting the Uzbek Khan's claims of sovereignty based on Chingisid descent, 'Abbās substitutes it with the personal qualities of the ruler as ordained by God. Further, the

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[236] *Kulliyāt*, foll. 282b-283a.
[237] *Kulliyāt*, foll. 284 a-b.

Ṣafavids brought new notions of sovereignty, substituting Chingisid and Timurid principles with explicit 'Alid ones. We can cite as an example the scene in Ṣādiḳī's *'Abbāsnāma* in which 'Abbās appears before his army lined up on the occasion of a muster:

> "From his private secluded abode appeared
> The world of grace, the shah who is benevolent to the wretched.
>
> [He is] a hero on the day of the terrible battle,
> he the lord of fight, the ruler of rulers.
>
> He is the choicest pearl in the treasury full of hearts,
> He is the son born to the descendents of the family of 'Alī.
>
> He is the benevolent ruler, the khan of the Iranian army,
> The rose of the garden of good fortune, 'Abbās Shah."[238]

In the *Concourse*, Ṣādiḳī lays great emphasis on its Timurid antecedent. As we have seen, he adopts its structure, language, and poses as a perpetuator of the grand Timurid tradition. One thing, however, is missing conspicuously: the Japheth myth and its ideological purport that we find in Navā'ī. In fact, in Ṣādiḳī's entire oeuvre we find no trace of Turkic being part of the Japhetic political theology and having authority by virtue of that heritage, and neither do we find the Oġuz myth in it.

Arguably, this stance matches that assumed by the Ṣafavids in general. Instead of such Turkmen notions of authority as put forth in the Oġuz Khan narrative cycle, 'Abbās asserts his *sayyid* charisma, more particularly, his decent from 'Alī. For the courtier at his court as Ṣādiḳī

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[238] *Kulliyāt*, fol. 280b. In a related fashion, nomadic vs. Alid notions of authority are at play in one of Ṣādiḳī's Chaghatay Turkic ghazals. In its signatory penultimate verse, the poet claims that 'Abbās is such a great king that "at his feast, Chingis Khan and Ṣādiḳī the boozy mendicant, drink wine together" (*'Abbās Şāh bezmide yeksān içer ḳadeḥ / Çiŋgiz birle Ṣādiḳī-i rind-i mey-güsār* (*Kulliyāt*, fol. 456b; Yazıcı Şahin, "Sâdıkî Afşar'ın Doğu Türkçesinde Yazılmış Şiirleri," pp. 1660-1661)). The two implications of the verse are that, on the one hand, under 'Abbās, the differences in terms of genealogical prestige between Chingis Khan and Ṣādiḳī do not count any more, and, on the other hand, less importantly for our subject, Ṣādiḳī is such a great poet-courtier that he can drink together with Chingis Khan at 'Abbās's court.

was, the ideological clout of the Qizilbash cause was gone by that time, or rather, the political theology of the dynasty with its sayyid status came to be shared by the Qizilbash. Indeed, instead of the *Oġuznāma*, new notions of authority were in vogue. The Qizilbash brought with them a rich tradition of legendary history, the best-known representative of which is the so-called *Abū Muslimnāma*. Such narratives as "alternative versions of history" are foci for the community to re-live its conversion to the ʿAlīd cause, particularly in the context of listening to these stories in a communal setting.[239]

This is in stark contrast with what we find in the aforesaid Mīrzā Mahdī Khan's Chaghatay Turkic-Persian glossary entitled *Sanglāḫ* produced over a century later, during the reign of Nādir Shah. Most remarkably, the glossary contains the *Oġuznāma* in a truncated form.[240] While this could still be the intention on the part of Mīrzā Mahdi Khan that the sample material of his glossary be as comprehensive as possible, the ideological-political context of the time of Nādir's reign suggests something more. As has been convincingly shown by Ernest Tucker, Nādir wrote letters to the Ottoman Sultan and the Mughal ruler, in which he refers to themselves as belonging to a common *Īl-i jalīl-i turkmān*, 'the grand Turkmen tribe or nation', in which the Ottomans, Mughals and his own clan, the Afşār, would be mutually recognized as collateral branches. Further, imitating Timur, as argued by Tucker, Nādir named one of his sons Şāhruḫ after Timur's most successful son, and he married one of his grandsons off to a Şafavid prince, thus acquiring for him the (originally Mongol) rank of *göregen*, 'son-in-law,' of the Şafavids – the relationship Timur had had with the Chingisids. As part of his attempt at the creation of this new "imagined community" based on Chingisid and Timurid traditions, or rather, a common *ethnic* descent, Nādir tried to circumvent Şafavid (and ʿAlīd) legitimacy, by

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[239] Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs and Messiahs*, pp. 121-150.
[240] Muhammad Mahdī Xān, *Sanglax*, foll. 180r, line 1; 334v, line 16; Binbaş, "Oġuz Khan Narratives." *EIr*.

proposing that Twelver Shiism be accepted by Sunnis as the fifth law school, the Ja'farī *maẕhab*.[241] Even on the basis of these scant data, along with the reemergence of the Oġuz myth and the occurrence of the abovementioned anyonymous short Turkic chronicle entitled *Ṣafaviyya pādişāhları*, it is perhaps not too risky to hypothetize that Turkic as a literary language may well have been part of Nādir's quest for and experimentation with a new, supratribal and non-Shii ideology.

Conclusion to Chapter Five

A comparison of the Ṣafavid case with the Ottoman is instructive, for it reveals what made it possible for Turkish to emerge as a prestige language in the Ottoman Empire, and what prevented it from assuming a similar function in the Ṣafavid polity. Most importantly, Ottoman Turkish was the literary idiom of the Ottoman imperial elite, and was permeated with the erudition this elite received in the madrasas, whereas in the Ṣafavid realm Turkic remained primarily the language of a politically waning tribal elite, administration continuing to be managed by Persian-speaking "Tajiks". As formulated by Sooyong Kim, in the Ottoman case,

> "… [t]he emergence of a bureaucratic elite paralleled the growth of literature in Ottoman Turkish. And the ability to produce verse in Ottoman Turkish became not only the basic sign of education and refinement, but also served as a point of entry into the institutions of Ottoman cultural and intellectual life and as a means of identifying with the Ottoman way. Moreover, […] literary talent could lead to a rewarding career in government.
> The expansion of the bureaucracy and the consequent emergence of new elites at this time [i.e. in the mid-sixteenth century - *F.Cs*.] enabled the formation of the kind of group that was necessary to maintain the cultural grounding of Turkish poetry in the high style. The practice, appreciation, and patronage of Ottoman divan poetry did not revolve

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[241] Tucker, Ernest. "Nadir Shah and the Jaʿfari Madhhab Reconsidered," *Iranian Studies* 27 (1994), pp. 163-79; idem. "Nāder Shah." *EIr*; idem. *Nadir Shah's Quest for Legitimacy in Post-Safavid Iran*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2006.

solely around the imperial court, but rather flourished in a network of salons of varying degrees of social status. Groups of poets gathered no only at the imperial court in Istanbul, but also at literary salons cultivated by members of the ruling elite who presided in the capital."[242]

By the late sixteenth century, there was a disctinct, solid, variegated, self-conscious Ottoman canon, which, although ultimately it went back to the Persian literary tradition, could by now increasingly draw on its own models. The question whether there was a distinctly ʿAjamī or Azeri Turkish canon has not yet been properly investigated in scholarship; and at any rate, the issue is very difficult in the case of a non-prestige literary idiom with no institutional foundation. Remarkably, Navāʾī and Fużūlī continued to be important models, if not *the* models in the Ṣafavid period. As we have seen, Turkic literature did not have the resources behind it to nurture new paradigms, while Persian was undergoing the heavy experimentation of the *tāza-gūʾī*.

Parallel to the *Persophony* of the former "Eastern Caliphate", Turkophone literacy encompassed roughly the same area. Instead of competition, however, it had a complementary function. Far from intending Turkic literature to be as ethnic or "national" as possible, writers and poets writing in various Turkic idioms wanted it to be as Islamic, i.e. as Persian, as possible. Borrowing Fragner's views, one can claim that only such an "Islamized" language, i.e. one that was able to assume similar functions as Persian, could be viewed as "literature".[243]

The Ṣafavid realm comprised an integral part of this Turco-Persianate culture. There was a solid tradition of writing in Turkic in that polity, although there was no intention of challenge on the part of Turkic poets vis-à-vis Persian ones, which can be illustrated in several ways. The vast majority of the poets who wrote in Turkic wrote in Persian as well. For example, Ṣādiḳī, who in a quote already cited above seems very proud that he is able to write in the three Turkic

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[242] Kim, *Minding the Shop*, pp. 26–27.
[243] Fragner, *Die "Persophonie,"* pp. 26, 30 passim.

literary idioms, Chaghatay, 'Ajamī and Ottoman, is equally proud of his Persian literary achievements. Further, Turkic poets understood their role as conveyors of the ethos of the previous literary tradition they proudly felt themselves to be part of. This attitude is put forth in the conventional introductory part of several prose works as well as romances where the authors announce that they intend to acquaint Turks with the treasures of literature in Persian.[244]

Throughout the Ṣafavid era, there was a continuous tradition of Turkic literature. It seems it had the beginnings of a canon, represented, for example, by the poetry of Fużūlī, though this, in spite of being taken for granted in mainstream Azerbaijani and Turkish scholarship, awaits further investigation. In the case of Ṣā'ib's imitation of Fużūlī we see a conscious attitude to the Turkish literary tradition, but an extensive survey of, say, Fużūlī imitations would reveal more solid answers. Another venue for research could be the Ottoman influence on Ṣafavid Turkish poets. As have seen above, Shah Ismā'īl wrote in a poetic mode that was closely connected to the style and motif of popular Sufi poetry prevalent in 15-16th century Anatolia. Further, Ṣādiḳī and others maintained a tradition of writing in Ottoman Turkish, which is similar to writing in Chaghatay Turkish: both idioms carried great prestige; and Ṣādiḳī's acquaintance with Bāḳī, an important Ottoman poet, and his inclusion of Ottoman poets in the *Concourse*, was probably not a unique instance of the relation between the Ṣafavid and the Ottoman traditions.[245]

It seems the real motor behind Turkic literary activity in the Ṣafavid realm was the Ṣafavid court and perhaps other Qizilbash tribal courts. However, from the 15th century the social basis of Persian poetry was in a different phase vis-à-vis Turkic, in that it was practiced and

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[244] See, for example, the quotation from Naşātī's translation of the *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā* above, or Fużūlī's introduction to his *Dīvān*. In a conventional scene in the latter, the patron, depicted as a male beauty, calls upon the poet to compose poetry in Turkic, saying, "God forbid that Turkish beloveds may not have a share in the bounty of your poetry and that the group of Turkish men of taste may not find the bloom of the *dīvān* of your ġazals in the garden of your discourse" (Fużūlī, *Dīvān*, p. 7).

[245] As referred to above, the Ottomans themselves had a tradition of composing verse in Chaghatay Turkish. We may also note that the late Mameluk court in the early 16th century also had poets who wrote in Ottoman Turkish (Flemming, "Literary Barracks in Mamluk Halls and Barracks").

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patronized not only at the court, but also by the widest possible echelons of an urban society.[246] It drew on a time honored, well-entrenched tradition with a large audience well trained to appreciate poetry in Persian. Turkic poets, whose main audience was the Ṣafavid and Qizilbash elite, could not compete with such a historically and socially well-entrenched tradition.

On the international cultural market, Ṣafavid poets found themselves in competition with two great Muslim cultural centers, the Ottomans and the Mughals. On the one hand, these courts, especially the Mughal, exerted a certain amount of drain on Ṣafavid intelligentsia. On the other hand, by the 16th century, Ottoman Turkish had become a prestige language in the Ottoman realm, being increasingly understood as an imperial language as evidenced by the biographical dictionaries dedicated to Ottoman poets. From the mid-16th century onwards, the Ottomans had a solid canon at their disposal, no longer needing the precedence of the Timurids. On the international cultural market, Ṣafavid Turkish poets could not compete with the prestige of this vigorous tradition, just as much as they could not compete with Persian literature on the "home market."

'Abbās's centralizing state policies strengthened the political and cultural center of the realm on a hitherto unprecedented level, relying on the revenues coming from commerce, increased royal land tenure and state monopolies. Mercantile groups became stronger, and so did the extended state bureaucracy. An absolutist state with increased though not absolute power, the Ṣafavid state had nevertheless greater ability to implement its will and express its ethos than previous Turko-Persian polities.

There are voices in scholarship that maintain that Turkic literature was in vogue at the beginning of the era but its practitioners suffered a setback when the composition of the Ṣafavid politiy with the rule of 'Abbās I, the Qizilbash, the potential audience and patrons of Turkic

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[246] Losensky, *Welcoming Fighā*nī, p. 153.

literature losing power.[247] There are challenges addressed to this opinion, and the data pertaining to Turkic literary activities as presented in this chapter do not support this thesis, either.[248] It seems Turkic literature continued to be practiced and to receive patronage in the Ṣafavid realm all through its existence, and Turkic was widely used both at the court and among the Turkish element of the realm at large. At any rate, patronage of literature was not a centrally administered project on the part of the Ṣafavid dynasty; and there seems to have always been a sufficient number of Turkic poets to maintain the tradition.

In his book *Azerbaycanda Safevi devleti*, the prominent late Azerbaijani historian, Oktay Efendiev, thinks that the most important reason that the Ṣafavids purportedly Turkic polity became an Iranian state, was the reorientation of the entire polity with the new capital. As is well known, the Ṣafavids inherited their first capital, Tabriz (the Ilkahnid capital), from the Aqqoyunlu, but shifted it westwards first to Qazvin and then to Isfahan in the late 16th century due partly though not entirely to the devastation brought by the wars with the Ottomans.[249] While there is some truth to this and the Ṣafavid venture did undergo a complex of changes, I argue that it is wrong, for the moment the Safaid *ṭarīḳa* became the Ṣafavid *dawla*, it became the joint venture of the Tajik, Qizilbash and immigrant Shiite scholars. Second, the Qizilbash were never in a position to supplant the Tajiks in the administration; thus Turkic was never in a position to supplant Persian. It is useful to refer to Arsenio Martinez's ideas about the Golden Horde, as to what is needed for a new language to have a new language of administration:

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[247] Pirverdioğlu, Ahmet. "Azerbaycan Divan Edebiyatı." In: *Türkler*. Ed. Hasan Celâl Güzel et al. Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2002, vol. 19, p. 256; Rüstemova, Azade. "Azeri (Doğu Sahası)." In: *Türk Dünyası Edebiyat Tarihi. Cilt 6: Türk Dünyası Ortak Edebiyatı*. Ed. Sadık Tural et al. Ankara, 2004, pp. 405–541.) A somewhat modified version of this thesis is that the Qizilbash, alongside with Turkish literature, were pushed to the periphery of the political and cultural landscape of the Ṣafavid realm (Macit 2006, p. 224).

[248] Newman, *Safavid Iran*, p. 117 et passim; Cavanşir-Necef, *Şah İsmail Hatâ'î Külliyatı*, p. 116; and perhaps most importantly, Kərimov, *XVII. əsr Azərbaycan lirikası*.

[249] For a more complex view on the transfer of the capital to Qazvin, see: Mitchell, *The Practice of Politics*, pp. 104-107.

1. "The elite of a newly imposed regime had to have a sufficiently numerous cadre of personnel capable of managing the fiscal apparatus, that is, of competently filling its higher levels." This upper-level cadre may or may not have been ethnically identical with the ruling class.
2. The conquering elite has to have a sufficiently refined political culture and familiarity with administration identical with what they found in the conquered state.
3. The new elite had to be predominantly monolingual or insufficiently fluent in the already existing administrative langue.
4. The conquerors had to consider their own language prestigious - if they adopted the religion of the conquered, the chancellery language of the conquered was not replaced.[250]

While Martinez's list provides a socio-political background for language change to occur, we might add to our hypothetical experiment, on the basis of Navā'ī's language project outlined above, at least two further necessary conditions which are, however, more of an intellectual-cultural character:

5. In order for the conquering language to supplant the previous language, the former has to be able assume the latter's functions, and it can only do so if it assumes many of the features of the conquered language. Most typically, it adopts a lot of the vocabulary of the previous language, so that it can assume its social and cultural functions.
6. Related to the previous condition, only when the conquering language is sufficiently similar to the previous prestige language can the narcissism deriving from small differences emerge and only then does it become part of its speakers', the conquering elite's, identity to the extent that they retain it as language of power.

But how did the position of Persian prevent Turkic from becoming the language of power in Early Modern Persia? Was it only the time-honored literary traditions of Persians perpetuated by a bureaucracy with an ethos that reached back at least to the beginnings of the Abbasid caliphate in the 8th century CE? We have already noted the proliferation of commerce and citied

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[250] Martinez, Arsenio P. "Changes in Chancellery Language and Language Changes in General in the Middle East, with Particular Reference to Iran in the Arab and Mongol Periods." *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 7 (1987-91), pp. 103-152.

culture, which led to the increase of literacy and the broadening of the social base for Persian. Bureaucratic expediency would dictate the use of a single language. However, even Iranian history provides examples when more than one languages were used side-by-side. One might think of the Achaemenids or Eastern Iran from the Sāmānids onwards. In addition, there had been a functional distribution of languages in Muslim lands, the best-known expression of which was perhaps the *alsina salāsa* concept under the Ottomans.

Vis-à-vis previous epochs, most prominently, the Timurid period, there seems to be very little or no change at all in the extension of Turkic literary activity. The number of Turkic poets did not really increase from the late 15th century when Navā'ī wrote his *tazkira*, to a century later, when Ṣādiḳī authored his. The poets whose poetry in Turkic is quoted in Navā'ī number some 30, while only 25 of the 333 poets who feature in his biographical dictionary, including Ṣādiḳī himself, are documented to have written in Turkic. There were probably poets whom Ṣādiḳī lists as Persian, without mentioning their Turkic output, but it might be significant that he did not intend to portray them as having a Turkic oeuvre, even for the great Turkic writer that he was.[251] Even if we supplement this number with the poets who ended up in the Ottoman or the Mughal courts, we see very little change from the situation in the late 15th century. Persian was firmly entrenched in its position as a prestigious literary language as well as language of administration; and—as indicated above—it drew on a large social basis. In a pre-print age this status was difficult to challenge.

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[251] For example, he has an entry on Şānī Takkalū mentioned in the previous chapter, a prominent Persian poet of Qizilbash background (Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 112-114; Kuşoğlu, pp. 261-263), without reference to his Turkic output. However, Awḥadī reports that when Fużūlī's son, Fażlī wrote a *ḳiṭ'a* with reference to the red cap, associated with the Qizilbash, as the mandatory headgear of Ottoman Jewish subjects, Şānī gained fame with his witty and obscene retort to avenge the offence (Awḥadī, #1557, vol. 3, p. 1972). Regrettably, the text in the printed edition of Awḥadī's biographical anthology is so corrupt as to render the poetic invective impossible to decipher here.

Turkic literature under the Ṣafavids was part of the matrix that included political theology, the arts, art patronage, Persianate literature and learning, etc., which the Ṣafavids inherited from the Timurids and Aqqoyunlu. It seems that several of the personal relationships and patronage networks that had sustained Turkic literature under the Timurids continued with the Ṣafavid takeover, too. We have already called attention to Timurid intellectuals and artists as well as tribal figures who had served the Timurids and entered Ṣafavid service, the latter group becoming a firm audience for Turkic.

As was already discussed in Chapter One in relation to the role of Turkic under the late Timurds, aside from its sociological function as the language of the Turkophone segment, Turkic had no function exclusive or specific to it in Persia, unlike Arabic and Persian as prestige languages with well-defined functions; therefore, both the latter two languages could be part of the Ṣafavid intellectual venture and hold authority as such. Similar to the Timurids, under the Ṣafavids Turkic had a sociological function but no authority. Alid loyalty and Twelver Shiism were not at all related exclusively to the culture of the Qizilbash; they had been and continued to be expressed in Persian, too. As we have seen above, there were sporadic endeavors in Turkic in genres outside of poetry, too, such as epistolary, hagiography, theology; it also seems that Turkic poetry in Persia was not untouched by even if not fully emmersed in, the changes in poetic language that certainly happened to Persian and Ottoman Turkish. However, this could provide it with but a marginal role under the Ṣafavids – a state of affairs, it would seem, that has continued down to our present day, if we disregard the creation of natonalism in the Republic of Azerbaijan in the early 20th century.

Although it would necessitate further research, it seems the framework in which Turkic literature operated did not change under the dynasties that followed the Ṣafavids. Little

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substantial research has hitherto been carried out on the sedentarization of the Turkic element in Iran, but it is this process that served as the backbone for the spread of Turkic literature towards the 18-19th centurx. While in terms of Turkic literature we know little about the post-Ṣafavid period, the intensity of Turkic literary life in the next generation, as shown by the great number of poets and outstanding authors such as Vidādī or Vāḳif, attest to the tenacity and continuity of the tradition. As a hypothesis it may be suggested that the piecemeal increase in the number of sedentary Turkic folk in the region found its first institutional expression as late as 1873, when the Russians abolished Persian as the language of court in their Transcaucasian territories they had conquered half a century earlier. The age of the printing press along with the need to convey nationalist-reformist ideas to a Turkic-speaking sedentary population is, however, beyond the scope of our discussion.

But why would the Ṣafavid shahs have wanted to get rid of Turkic literature at all? It was part of popular culture. And there was no political vision of the necessity of linguistic homogeneity. The entire thesis of complete centralization and cultural homogenization comes from the binary opposition between the 'great tradition' of the upper classes and the 'little tradition' of the lower classes between which there is interaction. However, as Peter Burke has already shown in relation to Early Modern Europe, this binary opposition is false, for on one hand, the elite can participate in the 'little tradition', and on the other hand, neither the 'little tradition' nor the lower classes are homogenous.[252] As we have seen above, many a prominent and less prominent Persian poet, not to mention some of the shahs themselves, tried their pen in

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[252] Burke, Peter. *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe.* Wildwood House: Aldershot, Hampshire, England, 1978, pp. 21-32. Burke adds the important insight that access to high culture and low culture is not evenly distributed between the elite and commoners. Whereas the elite had access to both popular and elite culture, commoners had only access to the former. Binary opposition between popular, indigenous culture vs. high, cosmopolitan culture can often be found in nationalist discourse, in which the former carries the purported national ethos in the face of the suppressive, "alien" high culture. The false character of such a thesis has been revealed by many such as Holbrook, Victoria Rowe. *The Unreadable Shores of Love: Turkish Modernity and Mystic Romance.* Austin, Tex.: University of Texas Press, 1994, in Ottoman Studies.

Turkic, too. However, there were no professional Turkic poets in Ṣafavid Persia. If one wanted to be a poet, he had to write first and foremost in Persian. Fużūlī was an exception but it may well be the case that the bulk of his Turkish output comes from the period when he was already an Ottoman subject.

Chapter Six

Tradition and the Individual Talent: Turkic Literary Identity in Ṣafavid Persia

It is now time the two protagonists of this dissertation met. After the previous chapter where we have seen the audience for Turkic in 16-17ᵗʰ century Persia, the present chapter will first shed light on the two main poetic trends in that tradition through a couple of ghazals by Shah Ismāʿīl and Ṣādiḳī and what we can find out about their reception. This will lead us to a discussion of a satirical narrative poem by Ṣādiḳī on how linguistic, literary and more broadly, cultural identity could be constructed at the time.

Imitating Ḫaṭāyī

We have already referred to the phenomenon of whom İbrahim Arslanoğlu calls *Anadolu Hatayîleri*, 'the Anatolian Ḫatāyīs,' i.e. poets who as followers of the Ṣafavids not only wrote messianic or at least heavily ecstatic Sufi poetry in Turkic in the manner of Shah Ismāʿīl, but who also indicated their strong attachment to the latter's messianic mission by assuming a poetic penname, such as Shah Ḫaṭāyī, Jān Ḫaṭāyī, Derdmend Ḫaṭāyī, etc., that clearly and explicitly recalled his poetic and religious persona.[1] In Chapter Three we have learned of the close affinity between Shah Ismāʿīl and Nesīmī's poetry and have also shown that the context in which these and other similar poets wrote, or rather, sang, was greatly communal and oral, and its style homiletic. The Qizilbash in the nascent Ṣafavid territories carried along their culture as well. Some of them may have already had patronized cultural activities in Anatolia before the advent of the Ṣafavids or the rise of Ottoman as a hegemonic culture.

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[1] Aslanoğlu, İbrahim. *Şah İsmail Hatayî. Divan, Dehnâme, Nasihatnâme ve Anadolu Hatayîleri.* Istanbul: Der Yayınları, 1992.

Shah Ismāʿīl's poetry became an integral part of popular culture in Ṣafavid territories, too, with several poets writing *javāb*s, i.e. paraphrases, of various poems by Shah Ismāʿīl, several of whose poems were themselves also paraphrases of previous poetry deriving from the region. As has already been discussed in Chapters Two and Three, the religious messianism of his poetry has received relatively close attention in scholarship. Most recently, Rıza Yıldırım has argued that this messianic poetry has close affinities with what he calls a "Karbalā-centered narrative cycle" popular among Turkic communities. It has been less frequently touched upon how deeply it is steeped in the popular Sufi as well as courtly literary culture that was in vogue in the broad swathes of land from Anatolia to Western Iran in the 14ᵗʰ-16ᵗʰ centuries, a context in which Ottoman poetry also emerged.

It would greatly transcend both present limitations of space and the current state of research to discuss all the poetic imitations or paraphrases of Shah Ismāʿīl's poetry written under the Ṣafavids; here we will be content with but two examples of *javāb* to the following Ḫaṭāyī poem:

1. biz ezelden tā ebed meydāna gelmişlerdenüz
   şāh-i merdān ʿışḳına merdāne gelmişlerdenüz

2. yazmaġa ḥaḳḳdan kelāmuʾllāh nuṭḳung şerḥini
   rūḥ-i ḳudsung rūḥiʾüz insāna gelmişlerdenüz

3. kāyinātı ṣūrat-i raḥmāna tefsīr etmişüz
   kim beyān-ı ʿilm ilen ḳurʾāna gelmişlerdenüz

4. ġayb-i muṭlaḳdan temāşā-yi ruḥ-i zībā içün
   bu şehādet mülkine seyrāne gelmişlerdenüz

5. bu muʿanber ṭurrenüng küfrine āmennā deyüb
   ḥaḳḳa teslīm olmışuz īmāna gelmişlerdenüz

6. sāḳī-yi bāḳī elinden mest olub içmekdeyüz

nergis-i mestüng kimi mestāne gelmişlerdenüz

7. ey ḫaṭāyī ʿīd-i ekberdür cemālı dilbering
   biz bu ʿīd-i ekbere ḳurbāna gelmişlerdenüz[2]

1. *We are one of those who came to existence from eternity without beginning to eternity without end,*
   We are one of those who came forth bravely for the sake of the love of the King of Mankind.

2. *The spirit of the holy spirit, we are one of those who came to mankind*
   To write commentary on the word of God with inspiration from the Truth.

3. *We have interpreted beings as the form of [God] the Compassionate,*
   With the knowledge of whose revelation we are one of those who came upon the Koran.

4. *In order to behold the beautiful face, we are one of those*
   who came forth walking from the Absolute Unseen to the realm of martyrdom.

5. *Saying yea to the unbelief of this ambergris-scented tress,*
   We have submitted to the Truth and are one of the ones who believed.

6. *We are drinking, getting drunk at the hand of the eternal cup-bearer,*
   We are one of those who, like a drunk hyacinth, came inebriated.

7. *O, Ḫaṭāyī, the beauty of the beloved is the greatest feast,*
   We are one of those who have come to this feast as a sacrifice.

The Ḫaṭāyī poem is not the first to use the meter *ramal-i musaddas-i maḥẕūf*, the rhyme -*a*, and the radīf *gelmişlerdenüz*; it was elaborated by several Ottoman poets. It cannot be found in ʿÖmer b. Mezīd's Ottoman *naẕīra* collection from 840/1437, but I am aware of 7 Ottoman ghazals from the 16th century with this pattern. The first known sample was written by Mihrī

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[2] Gandjei, #109, p. 74; Məmmədov, pp. 272-273; Tehran University, foll. 29b-30a; Gulpāyagānī, fol. 28a; Vever, 22b; Tashkent, fol. 38b; Paris1, foll. 40b-41a; Paris 2, fol. 27a; British 2, foll. 42b; National Museum, Tehran, foll. 30b; Majlis 2, foll. 29b-30a; Istanbul, Millet, Ali Emiri 631, foll. 21a-b; Istanbul, Millet, Ali Emiri 131, foll. 6a-b; Gulistān, fol. 41a; Qom, fol. 42a. There are textual differences between these versions; here, for the sake of simplicity, we have adopted Paris1, emended with the help of the Tashkent copy, noting that there are serious textual problems with this ghazal.

Ḫātūn (d. 1506), to be followed by Ḫayālī Beg's (d. 964/1556-1557) *Dīvān* and the *javāb*s written by poets included in Edirneli Naẓmī's (d. after 997/1559) voluminous collection of *naẓīra*s.[3] In the latter, we find 5 ghazals written with the use of this pattern by such Ottoman poets of the 16th century as Medḥī (d. 1006/1598), Ferruḫī Aḫḥisārī (d. 1050/1640-41), Sāḳī, ʿIşḳī and Gedāyī. In addition, all of the 8 rhyming words in the Ḫaṭāyī poem can be found in rhyming position in these ghazals (though not each of the rhyming words in each of the ghazals). Although a full survey of parallel poems straddling the changing Ottoman and nascent Ṣafavid Turkic poetic traditions would greatly transcend the present discussion, a consultation of Pervāne Beg's aforesaid collection of paraphrases would yield at least 20 of Shah Ismāʿīl poems that use the same meter and rhyme. This does not in most cases mean that they are directly related to Shah Ismāʿīl poems, but it does indicate that they are from the same broader literary context. If we mention that there are 10 Shah Ismāʿīl poems in Edirneli Naẓmī's (d. 955/1548-1549) collection of poetic paraphrases, too, we can be sure of an affiliation closer than hitherto surmised between late 15th-16th Sufi and courtly poetic culture in vogue in Anatolia and Western Iran, which the Ottoman elite started to patronize increasingly from the 16th century, and between Shah Ismāʿīl's poetry.[4] Nevertheless, in contrast to these 7 Ottoman poems, which were probably popular in wider circles, Shah Ismāʿīl's ghazal is the only one with an explicitly Alid, messianic tone.

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[3] ʿÖmer bin Mezīd. *Mecmūʿatü'n-neẓāʾir.* Ed. Mustafa Canpolat Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1982. For Mihrī Ḫātūn's Dīvān, see:
http://courses.washington.edu/otap/archive/data/arch_txt/texts/mihri_work/mihri_gazels.html, last accessed on May 10, 2016. I am indebted to Benedek Péri for drawing my attention to the relevant Ottoman paraphrases. See also: Hayâlî. *Hayâlî Bey Dîvânı.* Ali Nihad Tarlan İstanbul: B. Erenler Matbaası, 1945, p. 209; Güler, Saim. *Pervane Beg Nazire Mecmuası (230b-261a): Transkriptli, Edisyon Kritikli Metin.* Istanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi, 2006 (unpublished M.A.-thesis), pp. 22, 79-82.
[4] Edirneli Nazmî. *Mecmaʿuʾn-nezâʾir (İnceleme - Tenkitli Metin).* Ed. Fatih Köksal. Ankara: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2012, #1034, 1234, 1362, 2713, 3109, 3324, 3541, 4256, 4336, 4875.

Our first paraphraser of the Ḥaṭāyī ghazal to be discussed is Ġarībī of Menteşe, an Anatolian Qizilbash litterateur who migrated to Ṣafavid lands probably some time toward the middle of the 16th century, who dedicated his *kulliyāt* to Shah Ṭahmāsp and who has already been discussed in Chapter Five. His *Dīvān* contains several explicit paraphrases of Ḥaṭāyī ghazals, one of which is as follows:

1. rāh-i ‘ışḳ-i şāha biz merdāne gelmişlerdenüz
   başımuz ṭūb eyleyüb meydāna gelmişlerdenüz

2. ḥaḳḳı taḥḳīḳ etmişüz bā himmet-i ḫayru'l-beşer
   ḥamdu li'llāh ‘ilm ile ḳur'āna gelmişlerdenüz

3. rūḥ-i ḳuds-i ‘ālemüz ḥaḳḳdur bizüm tefsīrümüz
   ḳudret ile ṣūrat-i insāna gelmişlerdenüz

4. kimseye ḳalmaz cihān bāḳī ḫudādur lā yezāl
   bir iki gün bunda'iz seyrāna gelmişlerdenüz

5. biz ezel cām-i ebedden mest olan üsrüklerüz
   bezm-i ‘ışḳa sāḳiyā mestāne gelmişlerdenüz

6. ‘ışḳına şāhing fedā kūn u mekān etmiş duruz
   yolına evvel ḳadem ḳurbāna gelmişlerdenüz

7. dīn-i ḥaḳḳ içre ġarībī meẕheb-i Ca‘fer dutub
   şükr-i yezdān eyleyüb īmāna gelmişlerdenüz[5]

1.   We are one of those who set out bravely on the path of the Shah,
*   Making our head into a ball, we are one of those who entered the field.*

2.   We have ascertained the Truth through the zeal of the Best of
*   Mankind (‘Alī),*
*   Praise be to God that we are one of those who have come upon the Koran*
*   with knowledge.*

3.   We are the holy spirit of the world, our exegesis is the Truth;
*   We are one of those who have assumed human form through his power.*

[5] Ġarībī. *Dīvān*, Majlis Library, Tehran, no. 7012, fol. 16b.

4.   *For no one is the world eternal, only God does not perish;*
       We are one of those who spend here a day or two and then move on.

5.   *We have been drunk forever from the goblet of eternity without beginning,*
       O, cup-bearer, we are one of those who have come drunk to the feast of love.

6.   *We have sacrificed the whole world for the love of the Shah,*
       As the first step on his path, we are one of those who have come as sacrifice.

7.   *Within the faith of the Truth, I, Ġarībī have chosen the Jaʿfarid path,*
       Having thanked God, I am one of those who have come over to the True Faith.

Ḫaṭā'ī's pose in the poem is ambiguous: the first person plural can refer to a Shiite believer, or it can mean that the speaker is in fact ʿAlī or one of the Twelve Imams. Ġarībī's pose in his poem, by contrast, is that of the disciple; he closely follows Shah Ismāʿīl, repeating the same rhyme words, if in a slightly different order. The first hemistich of verse 1 in his poem is almost the same as the second hemistich of verse 1 in the Shah Ismāʿīl piece:

> Ḫaṭā'ī: şāh-i merdān ʿışḳına merdāne gelmişlerdenüz (*We are one of those who came forth bravely for the sake of the love of the King of Mankind*)
> Ġarībī: rāh-i ʿışḳ-i şāha biz merdāne gelmişlerdenüz (*We are one of those who set out bravely on the path of the Shah*)

However, while the rest of the verse in Shah Ismāʿīl is about the primordial existence of the speaker, in Ġarībī, we find further elaboration on the theme of the first hemistich, the speaker comparing himself to a ball in the horse polo field – a well-known pose of the Lover in the ghazal, here used for emphasizing the speaker's devotion to the King of Mankind, i.e. ʿAlī. Ġarībī removes the premoridality of the speaker to verse 5.

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Verse 2 in Ġarībī corresponds to verse 3 in Ḫaṭā'ī. The latter presents himself as one of the Imams, possessed of *'ilm*, 'authoritative knowledge,' with which he approaches the Koran; Ġarībī only says that he has acknowledged God through the aspiration or help of 'Alī. Ġarībī's verse 3 emulates verse 2 in Ḫaṭā'ī. Interestingly, by claiming to be "the holy spirit of the world," here Ġarībī seems to shed for a moment his hitherto carefully observed avoidance of *ġuluww*, 'exaggeration.' In the rest of the ghazal, Ġarībī maintains his pose as a devout Shiite and follower of the Ṣafavids, similar to his conduct in the beginning of the poem. While Ġarībī's verse 4 is the acknowledgement of the transitory nature of human life, in his model, the speaker suggests that he comes into the world, which is the scene of martyrdom fulfilling the divine purpose, from the *ġayb-i muṭlaḳ*, the Absolute Unseen, the realm of the divine. As has been alluded to above, verse 5 in Ġarībī paraphrases verses 1 and 6 in Ḫaṭāyī. The cup-bearer can either be the sheikh with which the disciple seeks mystical union through the ecstasy obtained with the help of wine, or he can also be 'Alī, who distributes water from the pool of the Kawthar in heaven. Ġarībī's verse 6 rephrases verse 7 in Ḫaṭāyī. Ḫaṭāyī's phrase "we have come for a sacrifice," i.e. to sacrifice a lamb at the feast, in Ġarībī becomes an adverbial, *ḳurbāne*, 'for a sacrifice.' Although grammatically this is incorrect, this reading is still possible as a parallel to the adverbial rhyme of the previous verse, *mestāne*, 'in a drunken way,' rendering the verse as 'As the first step on his path, we are one of those who have come as sacrifice.' Finally, Ġarībī's last verse paraphrases Shah Ismā'īl's fifth. However, while the model maintains the conventional playfulness of mixing the image of the ambergris-scented tresses of the Beloved and the seemingly pagan acts of the antinomian sheikh who converts the believer, Ġarībī remains content asserting his conversion to Twelver Shiism.

The comparison of these few verses is perhaps sufficient to illustrate Ġarībī's careful attempt at retaining his model's ecstatic tone, without, however, its overtly messianic message. If his close imitation of the Ḫatāʾī ghazal is at one end of the spectrum of how distant a paraphrase can be from its model, the following fragmentary ghazal by Ṣāʾib written over a hundred years later is intended to be at the other end of it:[6]

1.   Biz ne imdi ẕerre tek cevlāna gelmişlerdenüz
    Āfītāb-ı ʿışḳ ilen devrāna gelmişlerdenüz

2.   Gün giçürmekdür ḥisābı şāhid egriliḫ içün
    Doġrılıġdan biz bugün dīvāne gelmişlerdenüz

3.   Sanarız[7] bārān-ı raḥmet ger ḳılıc gökden yaḳar
    Koç kimi ḳurbān içün meydāna gelmişlerdenüz

1. *We are not one of those who have come just now, moving around like a mote,*
We are one of those who had entered time together with the sun of love/who had come orbiting together with the sun.

2. *It is after countless days that we have come to the divan/we have come like madmen*
To seek justice from the crookedness of the Beloved.

3. *When swords are falling from the sky we consider it the rain of mercy.*
We are one of those who have come forth to the field like a ram for sacrifice.

Although the poem has no messianic purport, it obviously paraphrases the Shah Ismāʿīl poem discussed above. Verse 1 elaborates on the theme of the speaker's primordial existence; the second displays a conventional, cruel Beloved who has turned the Lover mad (*dīvāne*), and

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[6] Ṣāʾib Tabrīzī, Muḥammad ʿAlī. *Dīvān-i Ṣāʾib Tabrīzī*. Ed. Muḥammad Ḳahramān. Tehran: Intiṣārāt-i ʿIlmī va Farhangī, 1985, vol. 6, p. 3444; Kartal, Ahmet. "Sâ'ib-i Tebrîzî ve Türkçe Şiirleri." In: *Şiraz'dan İstanbul'a: Türk-Fars Kültür Coğrafyası Üzerine Araştırmalar*. Çağaloğlu, İstanbul: Kriter, 2008, p. 238. Ṣiddīḳ, Ḥusayn Muḥammadẕāda. *Şarḥ-i aşʿār-i turkī-yi Ṣāʾib-i tabrīzī*. Tabrīz: Yārān, 1389/2010, pp. 238-241. As the poem lacks the *maḳtaʿ*, i.e. the last line with the poet's penname in it, it is fragmentary.

[7] Cf. Ṣiddīḳ's reading; Kartal's reading of *sanadur* 'to you' is probably erroneous.

who can also be a ruler who dispenses justice at his *dīvān*; and verse 3 elaborates on the motif of self-sacrifice and the conventional attitude of the Lover to either welcome the cruelty of the Beloved or to accept with devotion whatever the Lover/God gives to him.

What is remarkable in Ṣā'ib's paraphrase for our purposes is that, probably because it was written for a different audience, it stays squarely within the semantic limits of the imagery from before the emergence of the Fresh Style, of which he was one of the best exponent.

Ṣādiḳī's Navā'ī and Fużūlī Paraphrases

As we have already seen, in his autobiographical preface to his collected works, Ṣādiḳī claims that his tribe, the Ḫudābandalū was completely monolingual; however, with various masters who may have probably belonged, directly or indirectly, to patronage networks at the royal court in Tabriz and Qazvin, Ṣādiḳī was fully groomed in the Persian literary tradition and acquired Islamic theology to the extent that befit a gentleman of his standing. He encountered a bilingual literary scene at the various courts of Qizilbash Turkmen governors, such as Amīr Khan Mawṣillū's court in Hamadan, who seems to have intended his seat to compete in splendor with that of his predecessor, Prince Bahrām Mīrzā. There, Ṣādiḳī had various fellow poets as competitors mainly in Persian, and he was commissioned by Amīr Khan to edit and complete the *Dīvān* of Sūsanī Beg, a former member of the Ṣafavid royal guard and an imitator of the Chaghatay Turkic poetry of Navā'ī.

The latter point, i.e. poets imitating Navā'ī is significant. We have already seen how consciously Ṣādiḳī emulated in his *Concourse* Navā'ī's *Majālis*, which was part of the cultural heritage the Ṣafavids inherited from the Timurids and which enjoyed particularly great prestige

under Shah ʿAbbās. Remarkably, most of the Turkic ghazals – the main poetic genre in the age and in Ṣādiḳī's oeuvre, too – in the manuscript of Ṣādiḳī's complete works is made up of paraphrases of poems by either Navā'ī or Fużūlī, the two most important poetic models for Turkic poets in the entire period. Of the some 40 ghazals, there are around 14 that paraphrase Fużūlī and even more that paraphrase Navā'ī. It is impossible to date these poems with certainty. The poet could compose them any time before the manuscript of his complete works was compiled in 1010/1601-1602.

Let us first see the following poem by Ṣādiḳī, which is a paraphrase of a Navā'ī ghazal:

1. köze ol şeh yolıdın özge ğubārī bolmasun
   mendin özge kimsege andın güẕārī bolmasun

2. gülşen-i kūyında kim serv-i ḳadı ma'vāsıdur
   her ṭaraf eşkimdin özge jūybārī bolmasun

3. köymesün könglim evin bī-vech yā rab hicr otı
   tanda barḳ-i vaṣlıdın özge şerārı bolmasun

4. mendin özge bolmasun maḥram ḥarīm-i bazmda
   tan[g] nemidin özge onda perde-dārī bolmasun

5. muntaẓır bol kim kelür ḳaṭlungğa dersen ey refīḳ
   her ne bolsa bolsun ammā intiẓārī bolmasun

6. dedi kim bezmimde bolsun perstigārī Ṣādiḳī
   līk meyl-i 'işret ü būs u kenārī bolmasun[8]

1. *Let there be no dust in my eyes but what gets into it from the path of the king,*
   Let no one else pass there but me.

2. *In the rose-garden of his dwelling, when it is sheltering his cypress-like stature,*
   Let there be no river anywhere but my tears.

[8] Gandjei, Tourkhan. "Sâdikî-i Afşar'ın Türkçe şiirleri." *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 16 (1971), pp. 21-22; Sadiq Bəy Əfşar, *Şeirlər*, p. 49; Yazıcı Şahin, "Sâdıkî Afşar'ın Doğu Türkçesinde Yazılmış Şiirleri," p. 1650; *Kulliyāt*, fol. 450b.

3. *O, Lord, do not let the fire of separation burn down the house of my heart without good cause,*
   Let there be no sparks in my body except the lightning of union.

4. *Let there be no other confident but me in the private chambers of the feast,*
   Let there be no other chamberlain there but the morning dew.

5. *Wait, when he comes to kill you, you say: 'Hey, friend,*
   Come what may, just let there be no waiting'.

6. *He said, "Let Ṣādiḳī be a servant (perstigārī) at my feast,*
   But let him have no inclination for entertainment, kiss or embrace.

And here is the Navā'ī ghazal that Ṣādiḳī paraphrases:

1. Ġam yilidin ya Rab ol gülge ġubārī bolmasun
   Belki ansız dehr bāġıda bahārī bolmasun

2. Ḳaddınıng serviġa kim bāġ-i letāfet naḫli dur
   Çeşme-yi ḥayvāndın özge cūy-bārī bolmasun

3. 'ayş u işret cāmıdın bolsun yüzi gül gül velīk
   könglige ġam gül-bünidin ḫār-ḫārī bolmasun

4. cilve-sāz olġanda meydān içre çābük şūḫlar
   şāh ü ser-ḫayl andın özge şeh-süvārī bolmasun

5. ger buyursang ṣadḳa başıġa ivürmek ay refīḳ
   bu dur ümmīdim ki mindin özge yārī bolmasun

6. dehr bāġınıng nesīmi savurur gül ḫırmenin
   anga ol gül gül-şeni sarı güẕārī bolmasun

7. ay Nevāyī ḳıl du'ā cānıġa vü cehd eyle kim
   meyling anıng ḳulluġıdın özge sarı bolmasun[9]

1. *O, Lord, let no dust sully that rose,*
   Let there be no spring without it in the garden of time.

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[9] 'Alī Şīr Nevâyî. *Ġarā'ibü'ş-şıġar: İnceleme, Karşılaştırmalı Metin*. Ed. Günay Kut. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2003, pp. 366-367; ; Alisher Navoiy. *Mukammal asarlar töplami: 1-tom. Badoyi' ul-bidoya.* Tashkent: Özbekiston SSR «Fan» Nashriyoti, 1987, #550, pp. 430-431.

2. *Watering the cypress of his stature sprung in the garden of grace,*
    Let there be no river but the fountain of life.

3. *Let his cheeks become rosy from the goblet of delights and pleasures,*
    Let his heart be never scathed by the rosebush of sorrow.

4. *When the coquettish come forth shining on the field,*
    Let there be no horseman there but kings and commanders.

5. *Even if you should wrap his head in largesse,*
    I hope he will have no other companion but me.

6. *The breeze in the garden of time scatters the roses heaped up,*
    May it not reach the rose-garden of that rose.

7. *O, Navā'ī, pray for his soul and make every effort*
    But desire nothing but servitude to him.

Similar to Navā'ī's ghazal, Ṣādiḳī's paraphrase is also written in Chaghatay Turkic. Ṣādiḳī could have easily rewritten it to look more 'Ajamī/Azeri Turkic with a small number of modifications, e.g. by substituting the Chaghatay form of the verb *bol-* ('to be') with the Oghuz *ol-* form (i.e. *olmasun* or *olmasın* instead of *bolmasun*), and using the Oghuz *-A* dative suffix instead of the Chaghatay *-gA* (e.g. *ḳatlına* instead of *ḳatlungġa*). The majority of his Turkic audience would have been probably more familiar with the Oghuz forms. However, Ṣādiḳī did no such thing. He wanted to retain the Chaghatay form as a gesture towards his model and his audience, evoking the prestige of his model and, arguably, elevating his own. Such adaptation of a poetic text to the linguistic taste and needs of the audience would not have been unheard of. As shown by a copy of Navā'ī's *Dīvān* produced for Aqqoyunlu patrons, Navā'ī's poetry itself was

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subject to "Oghuzization" in the 15th century; or we might refer to the Paris1 copy of Shah Ismāʿīl's *Dīvān* with its Chaghatay features.[10]

Along with such similarities and the fact that both poems present a court setting, Ṣādiḳī introduces significant modifications. In general, the basic intention is different in the two poems. Navāʾī's ghazal is made up of well-wishes for the Beloved, while Ṣādiḳī entreats him to allow him (Ṣādiḳī) to be in his proximity, i.e. enjoy his patronage. Navāʾī's poem is thus a collection of encomia, while Ṣādīḳī emphasizes the personal relationship between the lyric persona, i.e. the Lover and the Beloved.

Most pertinent in terms of Ṣādiḳī's departures from his model is verse 1, a key locus, because not only does Ṣādiḳī retain the meter, rhyme and *radīf* of the Navāʾī poem, but he also keeps the central motif of the opening verse, dust (*ġubār*). However, in Navāʾī, dust is essentially filth that would soil the roses, i.e. the rose-like cheeks of the Beloved, and thus dust should be kept away from them. In Ṣādiḳī's response poem, on the other hand, dust is positive, in that it is the collyrium that the feet of the Beloved or the king turns the soil into wherever he goes. In a similar fashion, Ṣādiḳī takes elements from the second hemistich of verse 6 of Navāʾī's ghazal (*güẕārī bolmasun*, 'let there be no passer-by'), but while in Navāʾī the phrase is part of something negative ("The breeze in the garden of time scatters the roses heaped up, / May it not reach the rose-garden of that rose"), in Ṣādiḳī, it is positive, the Lover asking to be the only one who can accompany the Beloved/king on his path, at the expense of his rivals.

Verse 2 depicts a garden scene, the allegory for cultivation, beauty and power associated with the Beloved. The speaker's tears become the stream watering the rose-garden, which is the shelter (*maʾvā*) where the cypress-like, lofty Beloved resides. As per the convention, tears and

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weeping belong to the Lover; the entire poem is his lament or cry; thus, tears and weeping can refer to the act of composing poetry, suggesting that the poet's poetry for the patron is the same as the stream that waters the garden. This is a conventional relationship between poet and patron: the former praises the latter, and the latter protects and sustains the former. Verse 3 depicts the fundamental paradox in the relationship between them: separation from the Beloved is painful like getting burnt by fire, but union with the Beloved is also fire, for the Lover is consumed by its flames. Verse 4 deals with the rivals, another conventional feature of the ghazal. In a quite straightforward court setting, the speaker wishes to be alone with the Beloved, enjoying the night together with him – hence the reference to dew at dawn, the dew, in turn, possibly standing for the shining drops of wine on the Beloved's lips after a night's drinking. Verse 5 is about the utter submission of the Lover to the Beloved. The latter has absolute power over the former; the union with the Beloved that previous verses refer to now appears as the death of the Lover at the hands of the Beloved. In accordance with the aforesaid paradox of the Lover's stance, he welcomes this way of death, actually hastening it. Finally, the signatory coda verse brings a stasis: the Beloved speaks, giving Ṣādiḳī permission to participate in his feast, but he should not expect to enjoy it, i.e. he should not expect the union with the Beloved he longs for: the fundamental paradox of union and separation governing their relationship will stand. This last verse also elaborates on the court setting, and the role of worshipper (*perestgār*) the Beloved assigns to Ṣādiḳī implies again the utter submission of the courtier or court poet to the Patron or ruler's bidding.

We see a similar imitative strategy in Ṣādiḳī's paraphrases of Fużūlī ghazals. Here is the following poem by the poet of Baghdad, which is itself a paraphrase on a ghazal by the Ottoman

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poet Najātī (Necātī), although several other 16th-century poets wrote *naẓīra*s with this pattern, including Ḥayretī, Ḳurbī, Yahyā Beg, Ḥarīmī, 'Amrī, Nihālī, Nihānī and Sinānī:[11]

1. Maḥşer günü görem direm ol serv-ḳāmeti
   Ger anda hem görünmese gel gör ḳıyâmeti

2. Terk-i mey ettin ey gönül eyyâm-ı gül gelir
   Elbette bu işüñ çekilür bir nedâmeti

3. Mecnûn ki pâd-sâh-i sipâh-i vuḥûş idi
   Ben tek musaḫḫar etmedi mülk-i melâmeti

4. Şahrâ neverd iken maña taşvîr-i Kûh-ken
   Öğretti şehr-i 'ışḳda resm-i ikâmeti

5. Seng-i melâmet ile çekin çevreme hisâr
   Eşküm fenâya vermesin ehl-i selâmeti

6. Zâhid çok itme ṭa'ne mey üftâdesine kim
   Çokları yıḫdı pîr-i muğânuñ kerâmeti

7. Ġam ẓulmetinde bulmağa derd ü belâ beni
   Besdür Fuẓûlî âtes-i âhım 'alâmeti[12]

1. *I say, let me see his cypress-like stature on the Day of Gathering,*
   If he does not show up even then, let the Day of Judgment come!

2. *O, heart, you have abandoned wine, the days of the rose are coming.*
   Of course, you will have to repent for such a thing.

3. *Even Majnūn, who was the king of an army of beasts,*
   Did not besiege the kingdom of blemish as much as I.

4. *When I was traversing the desert, it was the example of Farhād the mount-carver*
   That taught me how to set up abode in the city of love.

5. *Raise a fortress around me from rocks of blemish,*
   Lest my tears annihilate the people of peace.

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[11] Başer, Tuğba. *Pervâne Beg Mecmuası (557a-580b).* Istanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi, 2004 (unpublished M.A.-thesis), pp. 97-103.

[12] Fuzûlî, *Türkçe Divan*, #CCCI, p. 425. For the Necātī-poem, see: Necatî Bey. *Necatî Beg Divanı.* Ed. Ali Nihad Tarlan. Istanbul: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1963, p. 589.

6. *O, ascetic, do not taunt the one who has fallen for wine,*
   For many have been destroyed by the charisma of the Magian Teacher.

7. *Fużūlī, a sign from the flames of my sighs is enough*
   For pain and affliction to find me in the darkness of sorrow.

Ṣādiḳī composed the following paraphrase on the Fużūlī ghazal:

1. şevḳım götürdi cilveye ol serv-ḳāmeti
   münker imiş ey ḥakīm gör imdi ḳıyāmeti

2. āḫır faḳīh bāde ayağına ḳoydı baş
   anı ḳurtardı pīr-i muġānıng kerāmeti

3. aġyārī gör nedem ki dil-āzürde olmıyam
   ol nā-ḳabūlıng ölmeden olmaz şe'āmeti

4. ḥālim yetişdi bir yere kim çarḫ raḥm edüb
   etdi ḥiṣār çevrüme seng-i melāmeti

5. ey Ṣādiḳī ḳıvanma viṣālına dilbering
   künc-i fırāḳı bekle ki yoḳdur nedāmeti[13]

1. *It was my desire that brought that cypress-like stature to light,*
   O, sage, it [i.e. my desire] was Munkar the Angel; behold now this Resurrection.

2. *The jurist bowed his head before the feet of the goblet,*
   He was saved by the charisma of the Magian Teacher.

3. *Look at the rivals! What can I do about the pain in my heart?*
   That accursed one has no bad luck until he dies.

4. *I was in such a state that heaven took mercy*
   And raised a fortress around me from rocks of blemish.

5. *O, Ṣādiḳī, rejoice not over the arrival of the Beloved,*
   Expect to remain separated from him in a tight spot without companions.

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[13] Sadiq Bəy Əfşar, *Şeirlər*, p. 58; *Kulliyāt*, fol. 455a-b.

As a paraphrase, Ṣādiḳī's ghazal adopts, aside from the rhyme and the meter, several of the main *topoi* of Fużūlī's. Most strikingly, in verse 1 he repeats Fużūlī's poetic conceit which plays the unveiling of the Beloved, the ultimate goal of the Lover in his quest for him, into an eschatological image – a *topos* known in Persian poetry at least since Rūmī.[14] The Day of Judgment brings about the ecstatic vision of the beauty of the Beloved; the connection between them is further strengthened by the grammatical relationship between the rhyming words *ḳāmet*, 'stature,' and *ḳıyāmet*, 'Resurrection.' However, Ṣādiḳī goes further in exploiting the possibilities of the conceit. He claims that his desire was like Munkar, 'the Denied One,' one of the two angels in Islamic eschatology that examine the faith of the dead in their graves, propping up the deceased souls.[15] Accordingly, his desire brings about the resurrection (i.e. *ḳıyāmet*, 'standing up, Resurrection') of the Beloved, which can be taken as a conventional poetic boast on the part of the poet whose praise ensures the survival of the patron's glory and fame.

In verse 2, Ṣādiḳī paraphrases the traditional antinomian motif of wine-drinking he finds in Fużūlī's verses 2 and 6. In the latter's ghazal, verse 2 is loosely connected to the previous verse: the Time of Reckoning now becomes the days of the rose when it blossoms and when one has to repent for his sins; what is left ambiguous, however, is whether it is drinking wine or it is the abandonment of wine that the sinner has to atone for. Verse 6 is a conventional address to the ascetic, whose avoidance of illicit behavior is considered hypocrisy in a mystical Sufi poetic setting; and we also learn that the wine that has ruined so many is in fact the charisma or the divine gift (*kerāmet, karāma*) bestowed by God upon the Sufi sheikh, the latter appearing in his traditional form of the Magian teacher. The wine's destructive power here is probably a

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[14] Csirkés, Ferenc. "Mystical Love as the Day of Judgment. Eschatology in Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's Dīvān-i kabīr." *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 64:3 (2011), pp. 305-324.

[15] One could, however, also read *munkar* as *munkir* (*münkir*), which means 'the one who denies, rejects, etc. [the faith].' In this case the second hemistich of the verse would mean: he was a denier of the faith but my poetry has resurrected him.

reference to *fanā*, the effacement in a mystical sense of the self in the ecstasy brought about by drinking the wine. In Ṣādiḳī's paraphrase of these two Fuẓūlī verses in a single verse, however, the Day of Resurrection in the previous verse, i.e. the mystical union with the Beloved in this setting, makes the jurist (instead of Fuẓūlī's ascetic, but they have the same function in the poem) bow before the wine goblet; and Ṣādiḳī gets rid of the ambiguity of the "destructive" effects of the wine, claiming that wine is the charismatic power of the sheikh and it saves the jurist. The goblet, which here has feet, is also an allegory for the Beloved/Sheikh; submission to him means salvation through drinking the mystical wine.

Verse 3 in Ṣādiḳī's poem does not follow Fuẓūlī but has distant affinities with a verse in Najātī, whom Ṣādiḳī mentions in the *Concourse* and whose ghazal, as we recall, was the model for the Fuẓūlī poem:

Uymış belālu göñlüme derd ü firāḳ-ı dōst
Düşmiş ġarībüñ üstine ölüm ʿalāmeti

The pain and separation from the friend suited my afflicted heart,
The omen of death overshadowed [me] the stranger.[16]

Of course, the relationship with the Najātī poem is more distant than with Fuẓūlī's. Najātī speaks about the omen of death; Ṣādiḳī mentions *şe'āmet* 'bad luck, omen.' The similarities end with this. The Ottoman poet talks about the afflictions of separation from the Beloved, and the Ṣafavid poet, about his rivals.

Verse 4 in Ṣādiḳī continues to paraphrase verse 5 of the Fuẓūlī poem. The poet of Baghdad mentions a desert journey and Majnūn, the paradigmatic antinomian Sufi, in the previous two verses, which Ṣādiḳī leaves out of his paraphrase; now, as a contrast, Fuẓūlī vows

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[16] *Necatî Beg Divanı*, p. 589.

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to be a social outcast, whose fountain of tears should be separated from society by a wall of contempt, as a danger to society. Ṣādiḳī, on the other hand, drives the motif further, claiming that this wall of blemish or contempt around him is divine mercy.

Ṣādiḳī's final couplet is also a departure from his model. Fużūlī's is a covert boast, for he claims that the flames and brilliance of his sighs – possibly an allegory for his poetry – will shine through the darkness. Ṣādiḳī's coda, however, is actually similar to that of his poem previously discussed, in suggesting that even with union with the Beloved, the ultimate separation between him and the Lover will never change.

Adventures of the refined artist: Ṣādiḳī's lampoon on Maẕāḳī

In the following analysis of a satirical narrative poem Ṣādiḳī composed in Persian, we shall see further ways in which he attempted to negotiate a linguistic and cultural identity for himself. As has hitherto been argued throughout these pages, there was no linguistic or cultural homogeneity in the age at all, not even after the centralizing reforms of 'Abbās. The individual, particularly if he was, like Ṣādiḳī, a member of the cultural and political elite, had to adapt his literary and linguistic choices to various conditions given in his context. Indeed, this alternation between different linguistic and literary identities seems very much part of what Ṣādiḳī wished to convey in the autograph copy of his collected works. Further, as has been shown in our reconstruction of Ṣādiḳī's biography, he had various patrons and audiences, receiving support from different Qizilbash emirs, Tajiks, monarchs, Uzbek Khans, and he even worked for a "market" with obviously greatly variegated demands, not to mention his *Wanderungen* in Ottoman Syria and Iraq and the patrons he courted there with unknown success.

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Aside from following the "West Oghuz" and Timurid Turkic literary traditions, Ṣādiḳī had other angles to negotiate his identity as a poet of Qizilbash origins versed in both Persian and Turkic. As we have already seen, he was a veritable cross-cultural figure, being a member of the Turkophone tribal aristocracy that wielded political power, and moving at the same time in urban Persian circles as a prolific author in both Persian and Turkic on the one hand and one of the most notable painters of the time, on the other hand. As a Qizilbash courtier who was trying to make a career in largely Persophone circles and in the new dispensation of the cultural landscape brought about by the rule of Shah 'Abbās, he had dilemmas in situating his Qizilbash background. Perhaps the best example to adduce in this regard is his satirical narrative poem written in Persian to ridicule Muḥammad Maẕāḳī, the son of a prominent emir of the Qizilbash Takkalū tribe, Ḳaraja Sultan Takkalū (d. 932/1526).[17]

The poem is comprised of two parts. The first part starts with a complaint about the whimsical and unjust nature of fate and how it raises incompetent and evil ones while being cruel to the talented and the deserving. He also criticizes the morals of the time, particularly greed, with which he contrasts himself who has neglected material gains and devoted his life to learning and the arts instead. He complains about the fatality of the human condition and the blindness of fortune by referring to the seven planets determining it. His wording is, however, interesting, for he refers to the seven planets as the seven tyrannical sultans who are in constant rivalry with each other, oppress their subjects, and elevate those who do not deserve it:

> "Wherever in the world there is a company of ten,
> There is a khan or ruler in that city or village.
>
> Alas, the goblet at the feast of heaven

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[17] *Kulliyāt*, foll. 523b-531b. Ṣādiḳī mentions Maẕāḳī in the *Concourse*, too, saying that he was an incompetent, cowardly soldier, and a shameless plagiarist (Ḫayyāmpūr; pp. 34-35; Kuşoğlu, pp. 179-180).

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Has remained empty of the wine of kindness!

Alas, these seven palaces with no view,
Alas, these seven mansions without a door,

Alas, these seven veils of different colors,
Alas, the chamberlain sitting behind the curtain,

Alas, these seven mortal foes
Have made my heart sad, as you know [...]

The seven sultans of such and such descent and ascent
Are all patrons of baseness and supporters of immorality.

They are like seven master artisans
Who are working against each other.

This tyrannical, cruel group
Is busy suppressing people.

They are drinking people's blood with no regret,
For they are devoid of humanity.

They are not afraid of their enemies,
No one can reach them.

If they favor someone with their kindness,
They elevate their station.

They give him land, money and office,
Making him commander of an army.

But if they get angry with someone,
They will poison his wine at the feast.

Would that they were constant in their support
To the one whom they favor!

Would that they did not drag him down to the pillow of contempt
From the cushion of favors!"[18]

In the context of the poem, it is difficult not to read the seven sultans as an allegory for

Qizilbash khans on whose favors Ṣādiḳī was so much dependent. The anti-Qizilbash tone of the

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[18] *Kulliyāt*, foll. 524b-525a.

poem is apparent. It is also possible to read it as part of inter-*oymaḳ* strife. The Takkalū and Turkmen were in revolt between 992/1584 and 994/1586, Musayyib Khan being one of the leaders. As is well known, 'Abbās was put on the throne by a Ṣāmlū-Ustājlū coalition (and various other elements) against the Turkmen-Takkalū coalition that backed Muḥammad Ḫudābanda. In order to hold up such a reading with full conviction, one should be able to firmly date the poem to the times around or after 'Abbās' succession to the throne, which, however, we are unable to do on the basis of the sources known to us. Be that as it may, when Ṣādiḳī was compiling his complete works in 1010/1602-3, the Takkalū had already ceased to be among the prominent emirs of the Ṣafavid realm and the Qizilbash in general had lost a considerable portion of their power.[19]

The second part of the narrative poem is a story to illustrate Ṣādiḳī's melancholy over the unworthy getting into positions of power. According to the narrative, Ṣādiḳī visits Tehran, where Musayyib Khan Takkalū is the governor, hoping to receive patronage. The episode he describes must have taken place at any point when Musayyib Khan was governor of Tehran, i.e. from 984 (1576-7) to 994 (1586), or 996 (1588) to his execution by royal order in 998 (1590). Ṣādiḳī has high hopes of help from his old friend Muḥammad Maẕāḳī; they shared an impoverished but adventurous youth, Ṣādiḳī having probably been in Maẕāḳī's service at some point.

Ṣādiḳī expects that now Maẕāḳī as the seal-keeper of Musayyib Khan and probably as the acting governor of Tehran in the Khan's absence, will help him secure the Khan's favors. When, however, accompanied by a Turkmen retainer from Tabriz, he reaches the entrance of the tent of his friend, he is turned away in a rude manner by the rugged and disheveled Qizilbash guards who are apparently opium eaters high on the substance and can only speak an uncouth Turkic dialect. Ṣādiḳī takes umbrage and moves into the house of the *kalāntar*, the warden of the city,

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[19] Szuppe, "Kinship Ties Between the Safavids and the Qizilbash Amirs in Late-Sixteenth Century Iran," p. 92.

who as a go-between sends a message to Maẕāḳī. Coming up with a few weak and unconvincing excuses, Maẕāḳī sends back the messenger and asks Ṣādiḳī and his companion to visit him. When they finally give in and reluctantly arrive, Maẕāḳī gives them a flattering welcome and invites them to join him in a feast, apparently making every effort to make amends for his previous impoliteness. At some point during this symposium, Maẕāḳī has musicians, dancing girls and wine brought forth, inciting rebuke from Ṣādiḳī, who piously draws his attention to the fact that it is Friday and the month of Rajab, when drinking wine would be inappropriate. For some time Maẕāḳī tries to make him and his companion drink, pointing out that in his youth Ṣādiḳī would drink wine even from the skin of a dog, but Ṣādiḳī remains adamant in his sobriety and pious posture, replying that he has abandoned his evil ways. Musayyib Khan's brother, 'Alī Khan arrives and occupies the place of honor at the symposium. Maẕāḳī introduces his friend to the Khan as the sultan of form and meaning, a painter and poet, who is also valiant warrior, making reference to Ṣādiḳī's Qizilbash pedigree. The Khan is pleased and compares Ṣādiḳī in Turkic to a certain Ġalib and one Delü Iskandar, apparently local warriors or Sufis who wrote popular poetry in Turkic, to which Ṣādiḳī politely but ironically replies that he could at best be a servant to the great Delü Iskandar. As the party goes on, an inebriated Maẕāḳī cannot sit still and convinces the khan to make Ṣādiḳī and his companion drink wine. As they refuse again, a quarrel ensues and all present draw swords. After a short fight, Ṣādiḳī and his retainer, for fear of being overwhelmed by the numerical superiority of their hosts, flee the drunken brawl, mount their horses and escape.

For our purposes the anecdote is primarily interesting in that the characters in it are distinguished by their use of intoxicants, wine and opium on the one hand, and their linguistic skills and consequently their access to the prestigious Persian tradition or lack thereof, on the

other hand. The narrator and Maẕāḵī speak in Persian, but all the other characters, i.e. ʿAlī Khan and the Qizilbash guards can only speak in Turkic. The wild, uncouth Turks, who are ignorant of Persian and abuse power and the code of hospitality are shown as opposing the pious, learned artist-poet representing the high culture of Persian. The anecdote is a variation of the old topos of *turk-i bī-idrāk* 'the ignorant Turk,' which is remarkable when we consider that Ṣādiḵī, while an acknowledged painter and litterateur in Persian, would always make a point of his Turkic background and wrote extensively in that language, even if not on a scale equal to Persian. Of course, in the poem, Ṣādiḵī poses as the learned and pious courtier, the poet of Persian and famous artist who has left his wild youth behind, the world of the Takkalū entourage of the Khan, which he depicts as a bunch of ruffians and ignoramuses. Popular Turkic oral culture, the poetry of the Delü Iskandars, he looked on with the conceited self-awareness of the Persianate elite.

We can also see examples when Ṣādiḵī presents himself and his cultural and linguistic background in just the opposite sense. In an undated Persian letter to a qadi who was apparently his neighbor, he expresses his indignance that the latter's servants are lurking about his house, and remarks:

"What kind of behavior is this? We are a Qizilbash group. Perhaps we are up to something illicit!"

Further, he complains that his dogs were first stoned and then poisoned by the qadi's men, ending with a sarcastic threat:

"Despite what you have done, I am not so offended as to seek revenge and vengeance, for, as the saying goes, if a dog bites you do not bite it back! You should be thankful, for

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if instead of your humble servant it were a Turk who does not know Persian, he would have killed your retainers and your most trusted slave [who did this]."[20]

The irony of the letter derives from the tension between its elevated Persian style with the seemingly humble, obsequious tone of the writer and the aggressivity of the message. Remarkably, Ṣādiḳī draws up opposition, on the one hand, between the pious and virtuous (taḳvá-şiʻār ṣalāḥiyyat-āṯār) qadi and himself as a Qizilbash who "might be up to something illicit (ʻamalī nā-maṣrūʻ), and, on the other hand, between himself knowledgeable in Persian and the ignorant Turk who is not.

In a Persian qasida praising one of his patrons, Badr Khan Afşār, Ṣādiḳī presents himself in a somewhat similar fashion, as a litterateur who has left behind the uncouth Qizilbash world, an image already adduced in the chapter on Ṣādiḳī's biography. After a lengthy praise of the generosity and particularly the military prowess of Badr Khan, Ṣādiḳī strikes quite a reprimanding, offended tone, when he enumerates his own poetic and artistic talents, and expresses his umbrage that the Khan has lately ignored him and given him no favors.

"My Lord! The petition of your humble servant,
Which had hitherto been a pearl, hidden from the rivals,

Finally, because of too much neglect from the Khan,
Has popped its head out of the door of publicity [iẓhār].

Although a single sound [more] would be annoying,
Hear this painter without listening.

It is forty years or even more
that in this plain of tumult [ba-gīr va ba-dār],

sometimes I have sought company in battle,
and sometimes I have sunk in sorrow at feasts.

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[20] *Kulliyāt*, foll. 520b-521b; Ṣādiḳī, Malik, foll. 78a-78b.

Sometimes with the point of my colorful pen,
Sometimes with the sword of my point-scattering brush,

In poetry, I broke the heart of the king
In art, I tied up Bihzād by the hand.

Sometimes with painting, music, speech or deed
I was as good the sweet-flowing Ḥāfiẓ.

How could one live in misery
With such knowledge and artistic talent?

Why should not I feel like a sword without battle?
Why should not I feel like an arrow that has missed the target?

Why should not I hang my head like a reed?
Why should not I fold into myself like a paper scroll?

How could I not moan from pain like the *ṭanbūr*?
How could I not burn from the wound like a flute?"[21]

After this list of his skills as a litterateur and painter and his complaint about the neglect

he has been subject to from his patron, Ṣādiḳī positions himself in opposition to Qizilbash Turks

with no knowledge of refined Persianate culture and himself as its prominent cultivator:

"Enough of disproportioned, ugly oafs
Saying to me at the door [in Turkic]:

Go away! Go away! Wait outside!
Come back! Come back! Go upstairs!"[22]

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[21] *Kulliyāt*, foll. 43b-44a.
[22] Bas ki guftand dar dar-i ḫāna
ḳuluçmāḫān-i zişt-i nā-hamvār

git geri git geri aşaġıya dur
gel beri gel beri yuḳarıya bar

This last verse is in Turkic; *Kulliyāt*, fol. 44a.

Another example when Ṣādiķī explicitly depicts Turkic as part of low culture comes from a lampoon that he wrote against his arch enemy at the court of ʿAbbās, ʿAlī Riżā-yi ʿAbbāsī, the royal calligrapher who managed to have him removed from his position of director of the shah's workshop.[23] This extremely funny poem in Persian is essentially a list of what Ṣādiķī swears by to the calligrapher to prove that he does not want to abandon the king's court and leave for India. After boasting of his poetic and pictorial skills, the poet swears by God, the Prophet, the Twelve Imams, religious obligations, etc.; after this, in order for even such an ignorant fellow as ʿAlī Riżā-yi ʿAbbāsī to also understand the seriousness of his vow, Ṣādiķī follows this list of pure and honorable things with a list of abominable and repugnant figures and things, such as the first three caliphs, Zubayr, Ṭalḥa, Yazīd, charlatans, prostitutes, etc. Remarkably, into this list he inserts Ottoman Turkish obscenities.[24] The use of such indecorous phrases in order to convey a message so that even such an allegedly dull and uncouth person as the calligrapher also understands it, is definitely at variance with Ṣādiķī's boast already cited a few times that he is ready to compose poetry in Ottoman Turkish, too.

Individuals have fluid identities, belonging to several different groups at the same time, which is manifestly true in the case of Ṣādiķī. His career was an act of crossing social and cultural boundaries and as such it represents for us the cultural integration of the Qizilbash military elite into a larger "Iranian" ethos, which was Persianate but not Persian. Depending on the context, Ṣādiķī could write and perform Turkic poetry in the two popular modes of the time, imitating either Navāʾī or Fużūlī. However, he was an insider at royal courts and a participant of poetic and other intellectual debates as a poet of Persian and a painter, and as a litterateur he

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[23] *Kulliyāt*, foll. 535b-538a.
[24] *Kulliyāt*, fol. 537b. Unfortunately, the poor quality of the copy has prevented me from exactly deciphering these obscene lines.

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worked in a largely Persophone context for a mostly Persophone audience; therefore, it should not take us by surprise that the majority of his works are in Persian and not Turkic.

Bilingualism among non-Persians was not as widespread as it is now. The present level of linguistic unity with increaqsed homogeneity at the expense of local languages was achieved in Iran only with the modernizing reforms of the Pahlavīs in the 20th century, which included the introduction of a modern educational system based on Persian as the language of instruction, greater social and geographical mobility in society thanks to urbanization, industrialization and military conscription, modern communications and mass media.

In a pre-modern context, Persian was the language of choice in urban circles, the learned elite and the bureaucracy, and it was a *lingua franca* in commerce. However, competence in Persian in the non-Persian population in general and the Turkophone Qizilbash military aristocracy in particular greatly varied. We may recall Ṣādiḳī's claim that he lived in a completely Turkic monolingual tribal environment until the age of twenty, but he also claims that he corrected Mīr Ḳurbī's riddles (*mu'ammā*) when he was ten. It is probably better to say that literacy, which meant chiefly literacy in Persian, and language competence in that language, ranged in a wide spectrum of full to zero literacy. Similar to contemporary Europe, some people could read and write to varying degrees, some could only read.

Ṣādiḳī's alleged translation of Rūmī's *Maṣnavī* has already been discussed. Mention could also be made of his collection of epistles, which, aside from 4 missives in Persian, contains 19 petitions in highly ornate Chaghatay Turkic prose that he composed and then included in the autograph copy of his collected works as sample epistles. When reading the elaborate, ornate Chaghatay Turkic of some of these letters, one wonders if they were composed in Turkic only for practical purposes, i.e. because their addressees did not know Persian. Some were written to

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members of the Qizilbash elite, one to Shah ʿAbbās himself; it is difficult to believe that, for example, such a powerful emir and maecenas as Musayyib Khan Takkalū either did not know Persian or if he did not, that he could not find someone to translate it for him.[25] And it is well-known that ʿAbbās was fully proficient in Persian; Pietro della Valle reports that after he consulted with the monarch in Turkic, the latter turned to his courtiers and explained to them the conversation with the Italian in Persian.[26]

If we want to understand what it meant to write a letter in Turkic, which then would be included in one's collection of epistles, we should qualify what we mean by the term Chaghatay Turkic in these missives. Let us first see a short passage from the following letter written by Ṣādiḳī to an unnamed Khan, who, because of the references to events in Astarābād, is probably Badr Khan Afşār:

ṣādiḳāna va muḫliṣāna duʿādın songra **ḳulun** ʿarża-dāştı ol kim sulṭān ḥażratlarınıng tapuġıda vaʿda **olunan** fārsī riʿḳa kim bīḫ-i çīnī şarḥ-i ḥālıda bitilmiş idi köp just u jūylıġ **olundı** ġālibā kim asbāb u awrāḳımız kāġaz deyu bād-i furāt-i astarābād rahguẕarıġa uçraġanda vayā mawj-ḫīz ḥādisāt sargardānlıġıġa tüşkändä bar-bād u nā-būd bolmış bolġay tarjamasın **bitib** ayaġıngız turābıġa yiberdük umīd kim naẓar-i iltifātıngızġa manẓūr bola tarjuma-yi riḳʿa dawlatlu va saʿādatlu sulṭānımız şudur[27] ıbarılġan riḳa-yi şarīf kim bīḫ-i çīnī içmäk ḥālātı suʿāl **olunması** mażmūnı maʿlūm **olundı**[28]

After a sincere and truthful prayer [for you], your servant submits that the Persian recipe about the China root promised to your excellency has for a long time been searched for. Probably my chattels and documents were thought to be [useless] papers, and must have been destroyed by getting thrown into the waters of the events at Astarābād and falling into the tumult of the stormy incidents there. I have translated it and sent it to you. I hope you will look upon it with favor.

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[25] *Kulliyāt*, foll. 511b- 512a; Malik, 6325, fol. 70a.

[26] della Valle, Pietro. *Les famevx voyages*. Paris: Clouzier, 1664, vol. 2, p. 116, quoted by Floor and Javadi, "The Role of Azerbaijani Turkish in Safavid Iran," p. 572. Ṣādiḳī's Turkic letters to ʿAbbās can be found in: *Kulliyāt*, foll. 508b-509b, 512a-512b; Malik, 6325, foll. 67a-68a, 70a-71a.

[27] Ms has the erroneous form *سوردور.

[28] *Kulliyāt*, foll. 507a-b; Malik, 6325, foll. 65b-66b.

Blessed and fortunate sultan, here is the noble recipe sent to you, describing how to drink the China root, replying to your question.[29]

Chaghatay Turkic was an acrolect and not a spoken language. It had local varieties. People with western Oghuz Turkic (i.e. Azeri or Ottoman) background would write it mixed with the grammatical features of their own dialect, and speakers of Uyghur or Qipchaq background would also write it mixed with features of their own dialect. As shown in Chapter One, what we call Chaghatay Turkic is a "hybrid" literary idiom with local varieties. In the passage above, Eastern Turkic forms are in bold, Oghuz forms are underlined, in order to illustrate this mixture.

As we have seen, Chaghatay Turkic gained specific prestige under the Timurids, who managed to project this prestige in the entire Persianate world at large. The Chaghatay Turkic tradition they sponsored would be a common, prestigious cultural heritage that the Qizilbash perpetuated; using it in poetry, epistolary and biography-writing, as Ṣādiḳī did, was to pay homage to that tradition. However, another strand, the Western Oghuz literary tradition, from which Ottoman Turkish split off in the 15th century and into which Shah Ismāʿīl tapped, was also a possible choice for the Ṣafavid Turkophone litterateur to follow. Indeed, as we have seen in Ṣādiḳī, he could write in both the Chaghatay and the Western Turkic mode.

And yet, Ṣādiḳī was an imperial artist and an imperial official. He had to walk carefully in the dangerous waters of palace life and maintain the image of the refined artist equally good at Persian poetry and painting. It was this royal artist that could look down on the popular culture of the Qizilbash, considering it uncouth. With ʿAbbās sacking the Qizilbash from key provincial positions, the pool of possible alternative powerful patrons for Ṣādiḳī was dwindling, but he

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[29] The China root or smilax was considered an antidote for syphilis and was well-known at the time, thanks to a treatise dedicated to it by the famous physician of the day, Ḥakīm ʿImād al-Dīn of Shiraz in 993/1585 Cf. Bari, Abdul and Hussain, Arshad. "Ḥakim ʿImad al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shīrāzī and Risālah Bīkh-i Chīnī." *Studies in History of Medicine and Science* 17(2001), pp. 73-85; Floor, Willem. "Veneral Disease in Iran (1855-2005): A Public Affair. *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 26.2 (2006), pp. 260-278.

probably did not need them anymore. He probably remained at the court till the very end, but there, he could probably not hope for too much audience for his Turkic poetry. If he was integrated into the court milieu as a painter, why would he not be integrated as a litterateur? He would probably use Turkic probably on a daily basis there, but one wonders how successful he could have been, had he written the majority of his works in Turkic.

The integration of the Qizilbash elite into the imperial culture has been most succinctly described by Maria Szuppe:

> "The change in the social status of the Qizilbash takes place not only under pressure from the central government. It is also a result of the Qizilbash's progressive assimilation to the local milieu reflected, among other things, in the new perception they had of themselves, as can be seen, for example, in their engagement in artistic and literary activities."[30]

Conclusion to Chapter Six

Turkic literature under the Ṣafavids was related to the Oġuz and Chaghatay Turkic traditions. The latter conveyed the Timurid prestige, the former, the tradition of Western Iran and Anatolia, whence the majority of the Turkophone tribal following of the Ṣafavids came. It is the latter that Shah Ismāʿīl's poetry with a messianic tone belonged to. The Turkic litterateurs of the 16th century evoked the prestige of these two poetic languages.

The Turkophone litterateur, however, could display various different attitudes to Turkic. He could extol it, show off with it at parties, recite it at a Sufi gathering, but also reject it, ridicule it, or use it as bad example. He could write epistles in it but he could also ridicule its

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[30] Szuppe, Maria. "Kinship Ties Between the Safavids and the Qizilbash Amirs in Late-Sixteenth Century Iran: A Case Study of the Political Career of Members of the Sharaf al-Din Oghlu Tekelu Family." In: *Safavid Persia: The History and Politics of an Islamic Society*. Ed. C. Melville. London: I.B. Tauris; New York: Distributed by St. Martin's Press, 1996 (Pembroke Persian Papers 4), p. 95.

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addressee, e.g. a Qizilbash emir, for his purportedly insufficient access to the high culture of Persian. Ṣādiḳī participated at parties with paraphrases of Fużūlī and Navāʾī (and many more Persian poems), but from the royal court, be it in Qazvin or Isfahan, the provincial Qizilbash households looked parochial.

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Conclusion: Turkic in the Persian Republic of Letters

"Language was always the companion of empire" (Antonio Nebrija, *Gram´atica castellana*, 1492).

"The astonishing language current in the state of Rum, composed of four languages [West Turkish, Çagatay, Arabic, and Persian], is a pure gilded tongue which, in the speech of the literati, seems more difficult than any of these. If one were to equate speaking Arabic with a religious obligation [*farz*], and the use of Persian with a sanctioned tradition [*sünnet*], then the speaking of a Turkish made up of these sweetnesses becomes a meritorious act [*müstahabb*], and, in the view of those eloquent in Turkish, the use of simple Turkish should be forbidden" (Muṣṭafá ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-aḫbār*, 1000/1592-1007/1598-99).

"The reason why there is so much Persian poetry is that
Fine poetry becomes clumsy with Turkic pronunciation.

The Turkic tongue does not tolerate verse and composition,
Most utterances in it are discordant and disharmonious.

If I have divine favor I shall ease this difficulty;
When it is spring, the rose appears on the thorn."
<div align="right">Fużūlī</div>

Poet Marullus in Latin did write this,
In Hungarian I compose.
I have translated it from the Latin language,
On the meadow by my horse,
When I was making merry with my brave companions,
Casting off all woe, remorse.
<div align="right">Bálint Balassi[1]</div>

According to the prominent cultural historian of Europe, Peter Burke, already cited a number of times in this dissertation, the image conveyed by the phrase "the rise of vernaculars" in Early Modern Europe is distorted. On the one hand, it suggests that vernaculars came *ex nihilo*, an idea easily refutable by facts and sources, since there were already vernaculars before

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[1] *Ol sebebden farsî lafz ile çoktur nazm kim / Nazm-i nâzik türk lafziyle iyen düşvâr olur. / Lehce-i türkî kabûl-i nazm ü terkîb etmeyip / Ekser-i elfâzı nâ-merbût u nâ-hemvâr olur / Bende tevfik olsa bu düşvârı âsân eylerim / Nev-bahâr olgaç dikenden berg-i gül izhâr olur* (Fużūlī. *Türkçe Divan.* Ed. Kenan Akyüz et al. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1958, Kiṭʿa X, p. 481). *Marullus poéta ezt deákul írta, / ím, én pedig magyarul. / Jó lovam mellett való füven létemben / fordítám meg deákbúl. / Mikor vígan laknám vitéz szolgáimmal, / távozván bánatimtúl.* (Balassi, Bálint. "Decima secunda [XII], Eiusdem generic; Az nótája Lucretia énekének." In: *Balassi Bálint összes versei.* Ed. Péter Kőszeghy and Géza Szentmártoni Szabó. Budapest: Balassi, 1993, pp. 28-29. (The translation is my own).)

the 16th century that had become the language of power, e.g. French having become administrative language in 1200. On the other hand, the phrase has a teleological edge to it, suggesting that these vernaculars supplanted the cosmopolitan culture of *Latinitas*, becoming national languages and national literatures. However, the Latin Republic of Letters did not at all disappear overnight; Latin persisted as the international language of European men of letters and even spread eastwards, leading to what we call today Neo-Latin literature. Further, there was often struggle for the standard between various varieties of the vernacular; and linguistic plurality persisted everywhere.[2]

There was no association between language and nation until around the latter half of the eighteenth century. What did change in the Early Modern Western World, it would seem, is the relationship between state and language. Burke suggests insightfully that instead of society and language, it was state and language that came to be more closely associated; the Early Modern state committed its resources to one particular language at the expense – but by no means the total neglect – of other languages.[3]

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[2] Burke, Peter. *Language and Communities in Early Modern Europe.* Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 63-65. In addition, Burke thinks that the word *rise* suggests that the change from cosmopolitan to vernacular was irreversible, which was not true at all; it is enough to think of the end of the French and German linguistic empires (ibid., p. 88). I do not seek to graft the late medieval-early modern notion of the "Republic of Letters" in the European context on the Persianate world contemporary to it. On one hand, such a study would greatly transcend the limits of the present dissertation; on the other hand, it seems that we are only beginning to develop a conceptual framework for such a broad comparison. For such an endeavor in the case of post-Classical Arabic letters, see: Musawi, Muhsin Jasim. *The Medieval Islamic Republic of Letters: Arabic Knowledge Construction.* Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2015. For a short introduction to the Republic of Letters in Europe, see: van Miert, Dirk. "What was the Republic of Letters? A Brief Introduction to a Long History." *Groniek* 204 (February/March 2016).

[3] "During the old regime, according to the French historian Lucien Febvre, 'the concepts of language and nationality were not linked at all'. This statement, like many of Febvre's, is a little too strong. However, it is safe to say that before the year 1750 or thereabouts, the connections between languages and states were closer than those between languages and nations." (Burke, *Language and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, p. 163). One could adduce as an example for this Joachim Du Bellay (c. 1522-1560), a member of the literary group *Pléiade*, who, in his manifesto of literary vernacularization entitled *The Defense and Enrichment of the French Language* connects political with literary-cultural power as follows: "The time will perhaps come—and with the help of the good fortune of France, I have high hopes for it—when this noble and powerful kingdom will in its turn seize the reins of universal dominion, and when our language (if with Francis [I, king of France (r. 1515-1547)] the French language has not been wholly buried), which is just beginning to put down its roots, will spring from the ground and grow to

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The first two mottos at the head of the concluding remarks of this dissertation indicate this very state of affairs. Antonio Nebrija's (1441-1522) statement comes from his grammatical work dedicated to Queen Isabelle of Spain, and points to the new dispensation where the administrator echelon of the nascent Spanish Empire of the Habsburgs espoused Spanish as the language of bureaucracy and culture. Remarkably similar is the state of affairs for the Ottoman Empire as recorded by Muṣṭafá ʿĀlī (1541-1600) in his historical work, the *Kunḥ al-aḥbār*, also quoted as a motto above. In this veritable manifesto of language ideology, Muṣṭafá ʿĀlī claims that in the 16th century with the new imperial vision of the Ottomans, Turkish was in the position of claiming to be heir to the Persianate literary and, more broadly, cultural tradition with Arabic and Persian as its main languages and of carrying a confessional Sunni identity for the Ottoman elite.[4] However, Muṣṭafá ʿĀlī's statement does not speak about the complete substitution of Persian and Arabic with Ottoman Turkish, only about the superimposition of the latter. In fact, Arabic continued to remain the default language of choice in a number of spheres, including law, philosophy and the natural sciences, and certain knowledge of Persian was also expected of the learned Ottoman. In fact, Muṣṭafá ʿĀlī, who, aside from Ottoman Turkish literary works, produced a substantial amount of literature in Persian himself, is not at all against the use of Arabic or Persian, albeit assigning them an inferior position vis-à-vis Ottoman Turkish; he is against the use of common Turkish, which had no prestige whatsoever in the eyes of the elite Ottoman bureaucracy.

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such height and girth that it will equal the Greeks and Romans themselves, producing, like them, Homers, Demosthenes, Virgils, and Ciceros, just as France has sometimes produced Pericles, Nicias, Alcibiades, Themistocles, Caesars, and Scipios." (Du Bellay, Joachim. *The Regrets with The Antiquities of Rome, Three Latin Elegies, and The Defense and Enrichment of the French Language.* Transl. Richard Helgerson. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006, p. 328).

[4] Burke, *Language and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, p. 20; Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual,* p. 22.

The second two mottos commemorate different stages of vernacular anxiety. Though primarily known for his Turkish poetry which he presumably wrote for an Ottoman public, Fużūlī (ca. 1494-1556), had spent his life before the 1534 Ottoman conquest of his homeland Iraq as an Aqqoyunlu and later as a Ṣafavid subject, writing in Persian, Turkic and Arabic. His verses in the third motto illustrate well the vernacular anxiety of the poet who intended to write in Turkic in the sixteenth century. Aside from trying to make his case as a great poet who surpasses his Turkish colleagues, Fużūlī presents the difficulties of versification in the foreground of difficulties in the reception of this poetry, which presupposes a refined audience with ears tuned to appreciate poetic devices and artistic subtleties deriving from the Persian tradition. The poet undertakes to adapt what he asserts to be a "clumsy" or "difficult" idiom to the standards of received Persian poetry. Turkic poets in the Ṣafavid realm wrote primarily for a Turkophone tribal elite; by contrast, their Ottoman colleagues wrote chiefly for an imperial, bureaucratic elite and had some sort of a canon that started to solidify from the late 16th century on.[5]

The fourth motto refers to a similar problem in an Eastern European context. It is a poetic colophon from a poem by the Hungarian Bálint Balassi (1554-1594), the first truly significant poet to write in Hungarian during the Renaissance.[6] Similar to Fużūlī, the Hungarian poet also records a moment in the process of vernacularization when the cosmopolitanism of *Latinitas* gave way to vernacular formulations. Both Fużūlī and Balassi wrote in their respective vernacular tongue (aside from other languages), and they both transferred into it, albeit to

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[5] Kim, *Minding the Shop*.

[6] The poem is a poetic imitation of a piece by Marullus (d. 1500), a foremost representative of neo-Latin poetry. It emulates the model and its *carpe diem* theme, trying to domesticate or surpass it, in that the urban scene of Italy depicted by Marullus gives way to the open countryside in Balassi. Pincombe, Mike. "Life and Death on the Habsburg-Ottoman Frontier: Bálint Balassi's 'In Laudem Confiniorumm' and Other Soldier-Songs." In: *Borders and Travellers in Early Modern Europe*. Ed. Thomas Betteridge. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007, pp. 73-86.

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varying degrees, the features of Latin or Persian that they felt would produce a piece equal to the model. On first glance it might sound somewhat random to cite Balassi as a motto, for there are a great many other instances where the poet or writer reflects on why they are using the vernacular instead of Latin. However, the two pieces are comparable, as both Balassi and Fużūlī express a self-conscious use of their respective vernacular; they both reflect on, albeit with mutually opposing attitudes, what might be termed "vernacular anxiety;" and they both wrote in an age where great confessional changes had ramifications not only in politics, but also in society, culture, and literary language.[7] In Eastern Europe, the Reformation greatly contributed to the emancipation of vernacular languages as literary idioms, whereas the emergence of the messianic Sufi dynasty of the Ṣafavids in Iran, and the Ottomans' espousal of sharia-based institutional Islam in their territories led to the confessional, political and social separation of Persia from Ottoman lands (and Central Asia), which, as we have seen, had an impact on language use as well.

Vernacular anxiety probably exists where it has a new cultural and social role: Fużūlī or ʿĀşıķ Pasha in the 14th century quoted in Chapter One propose to bring the sweet literary ethos of Persian to a Turkophone audience; and, at another stage of the same process, having overcome his anxiety, Balassi feels triumphant because of his translation of the bucolic world of the Latin poem into a vernacular in a new context on the Hungarian borderlands. But what was the case in Persia in the 16th-17th centuries? Did the prestige language, Persian, and Turkic, the vernacular of a specific segment of society, have new roles?

It has been asserted in scholarship that in the early Ṣafavid period the religiosity of the Qizilbash in entrenched positions of power was at variance with the Shiism represented by the Persian element in the cities as well as the immigrant Shiite *ulamā*. It was the centralizing

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[7] Pollock, *The Language of the Gods*, pp. 452-3.

policies of 'Abbās I which reoriented the country towards its core Iranian territories, thus marginalizing the Turkic element both politically and economically, and he also cracked down on messianic religious movements, particularly the Nuḳtavīs. But what was the impact of such a reconfiguration of the Ṣafavid polity on the valence of Turkic literature? Was there an age of Turkic literary efflorescence under the early Ṣafavids, say, in the first third of the 16th century, which gave way to *decline*? While most scholarship on Ṣafavid Persia, particularly in the West, is simply silent about the matter, there are scholars who suggest that there was indeed decline; Azerbaijani scholars, on the other hand, suggest that the entire Ṣafavid era was a Golden Age for Azeri Turkish. The present dissertation problematizes both views. It suggests that prior to the Ṣafavid period, there may have been ebbs and flows in the patronage of Turkic literature, such as the rule of the Timurid Ḥusayn Bayḳara, yet there was no structural change in its social basis. It continued to appeal to the Turkic tribal element of society, which only gradually sedentarizied, a process we have very vague notions of. Nevertheless, this social basis excluded any possibility of it challenging the status of Persian also in the centuries to come; accordingly, there was neither efflorescence, nor decline under the Ṣafavids. Writing in Turkic in Iran was and has remained ever since, a solid tradition with several masterpieces and great oeuvres like the poetry of Fużūlī. In the Ṣafavid period, or during the entire history of Muslim Iran, for that matter, Turkic as the language and literature of some parts of the tribal element in the realm was in no position to challenge the time-honored Persian literary tradition with its broad social base.

What is significant is that in Ṣafavid Turkic literary sources there is little or no trace of vernacular anxiety. Not that Turkic was felt equal to Persian in prestige; as we have seen, the majority of the oeuvre of most literati in the period, with some notable exceptions like Shah Ismā'īl, was made up of Persian works, writings in Turkic taking second place at best. However,

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by this time Turkic was "too big to fail." On one hand, it seems that particularly the Timurid period provided Turkic with sufficient cultural capital, and the Western Oġuz literary tradition, which the Ṣafavids also inherited, also had a steady audience and prestige. On the other hand, the power of urban cultural centers of Persian or the court to project cultural – in this case, literary and linguistic – models, was simply not enough to completely eliminate Turkic.

But let us now turn the tables and ask: was there language ideology for Persian in Ṣafavid Iran? And if there was, was it something new? In order to seek answer to this question, we should turn to the place where reflections on Persian and its cultural and social role are likely to be found: lexicons and introductions to translations. It would transcend the limits of the present discussion to give a comprehensive survey of reflections on language ideology in all the extant works of lexicography and rhetoric, or examine all the Persian translations produced in the period. We will be content with but a few examples.[8] A well-known monolingual dictionary is the *Farhang-i Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb* compiled by Awbahī Haravī in 936/1529-30, and dedicated to a vizier of Khorasan, probably Ḥabīb Allāh Sāvajī. In his introduction, the author clearly presents Arabic and Persian as the two languages that were raised by God equally to the highest prestige. Awbahī designates Arabic pure (*faṣīḥ*) and effective (*balīġ*), and Persian as pleasant.

> "The virtuous ones with an eloquent tongue and the eloquent ones with rhetoric discourse consider the most virtuous words and most eloquent phrases to be the praise and exaltation of the Speaker who raised the Arabs' degree of eloquence and level of oration to the highest of heights, and made the sense of taste [*zā'iḳa-yi ẕawḳ*] of the Persians pleasing and delightful; and who made the Prophet's (May God bless him, his house and

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[8] My findings related to language ideology and the role of languages in Ṣafavid Persia are greatly informed by John Perry's discussion of the subjects in the context of the Persianate world at large in several articles. See particularly: Perry, John R. "Persian in the Safavid Period: Sketch for an état de langue." In: *Safavid Persia: the History and Politics of an Islamic Society.* Ed. Charles Melville. London: Tauris, in association with the Centre of Middle Eastern Studies, University of Cambridge, 1996 (Pembroke Persian Papers, 4), pp. 269–283; "The Historical Relation of Turkish to Persian of Iran." *Iran and the Caucasus* 5 (2001), pp. 193–200; "The Origin and Development of Literary Persian." In: *General Introduction to Persian Literature*. Ed. Bruijn, J. T. P. de. London; New York: New York: I.B. Tauris; Distributed in the USA by Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, pp. 31-39. I thank Professor Perry for discussing with me some of these matters.

family!) banners with miraculous verses pass by the end of the Sidra Tree the utmost. […] It is not hidden and secret for eloquent speakers and the subtle sagacious ones that ancient works are based on old words that are concealed and veiled due to the passage of time and the change of the tongues of both nobles and commoners."[9]

Instead of vernacular anxiety or triumph, here we only see an elaboration on the time-honored notion that Arabic is the language of religion, while Persian is the language of poetry. Awbahī writes his dictionary to facilitate the reading of ancient Persian works, meaning most probably the *Šāhnāma* with its archaic vocabulary. Another such example is Abū al-Najīb Muḥammad Javānrūdī's *Zavāhir al-luġa,* probably written sometime in the 17th century. The work is to facilitate the reading of such classics as Saʿdī's *Gulistān*, *Būstān* and (probably Jāmī's) *Yūsuf va Zulayḫā*.[10] No trace of a new language ideology can be seen in Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Amīn Lāhijāni's glossary entitled *Lubb al-luġa* from 1076/1665-1666, either.[11]

As has been mentioned in Chapter Five, there was a veritable translation movement under the Ṣafavids, which rendered Shiite works of orthopraxy and theology into Persian as part of the popularization program of Shiism under Shiite scholars. For example, one of the most important Shiite doctors of scholarly Shiism in Safavid Persia in the late 17th century, Muḥammad Bāḳir Majlisī in his *Haḳḳ al-yaḳīn* simply avers that both rational and scriptural reasons demand believers to be able to understand the tenets of religion; Majlisī undertakes to present these tenets in a simple fashion.[12]

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[9] Awbahī Haravī, Ḥāfiẓ Sulṭān ʿAlī. *Farhang-i Tuḥfat al-aḥbā*b. Ed.Farīdūn Taqīzāda Ṭūsī and Nuṣrat al-Zamān Rīyāẕī Hiravī. Mashhad: Muʾassasa-yi Çāp va Intiṣārāt-i Āstān-i Ḳuds-i Raẓavī, 1986, pp. 27-28. About the work, see: Storey, vol. III, part 1, p. 18.

[10] Javānrūdī, Abū al-Najīb Muḥammad. *Zavāhir al-luġa*. Kitābḫāna-yi Majlis-i Şūrā-yi Islāmī, no. 857/1. See also: Storey vol. III/1, p. 37.

[11] Lāhijāni, Muḥammad Amīn. *Lubb al-luġa*. Kitābḫāna-yi Majlis-i Şūrā-yi Islāmī, no. 5490; see also: Storey, vol. III/1, pp. 36-37.

[12] Majlisī, Muḥammad Bāḳir ibn Muḥammad Taḳī. *Kitāb-i Ḥaḳḳ al-yaḳīn*. Çāp-i 2. Tehran: Intiṣārāt-i Raṣīdī, 1363/1984, pp. 1-2.

This is even more remarkable when contrasted with the Mughal context. The Mughals, who have already been mentioned for their cultivation of a strand of Turkic literary tradition, treated Persian as a key to their identity, maintaining a Persian bureaucracy and providing Persian letters, arts and learning with almost unprecedented patronage. As formulated by Muzaffar Alam,

> "[T]he choice of Persian, as the language of the empire was, in a very large measure, also in consideration of the specific Indian conditions. The non-sectarian and liberal feature of Persian made it an ideal forum through which the Mughals could effectively negotiate the diversities of the Indian society. The culture and the ethos of the language matched with their vision of an overarching empire. Persian became a particularly useful instrument for political manoeuvrability, also because pre-Mughal India had developed familiarity with the language. A large part of the long spell of Mughal rule saw the evolution of the language from a merely state-building tool to a social and cultural signifier, and eventually to a major definer of Mughal identity. Knowledge of Persian, to begin with, remained confined to the court, from the exalted portals of which it demarcated the conquerors from the vanquished. But soon it moved beyond and percolated down to the lower rungs of administration. With the popularization of Persian along the chain of administrative and political command also continued its Islamic overtone. Persian, like Arabic, was seen as the language of Islam."[13]

Indeed, Persian was part of a veritable Mughal political theology, conveying a literary-cum-confessional identity. As an example, we may adduce Īnjū Şīrāzī, an Iranian émigré in Mughal India and the author of a major Persian dictionary dedicated to Jahāngīr, who claims that

> "[…] the language of the inhabitants of Paradise is Dari Persian. It has also been observed that the angels of the fourth heaven speak in Dari, and most scholars and researchers are of the opinion that Paradise is located in the fourth heaven. Therefore, the language of Paradise must be Dari."[14]

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[13] Alam, Muzaffar. "The Pursuit of Persian: Language in Mughal Politics." *Modern Asian Studies* 32 (1998), p. 348.
[14] Īnjū Şīrāzī, Ḥusayn ibn Ḥasan. *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī.* Ed. Raḥīm ʿAfīfī. Mashhad: Chāpkhanah-ʾi Dānishgāh-i Mashhad, 1975.

In congruence with preexisting Ḥanafī tradition, Īnjū Ṣīrāzī also claims that it is permissible to recite the *namāz* in Persian. He asserts on the basis of *hadith* that because the Prophet was sent to all mankind, he knew all languages; and he says that not only Muḥammad, but also ʿAlī spoke Persian; and he even indulges in genealogy when claiming that Ḥusayn was a Quraysh on the father's side but a Kayānid Persian on his mother's side, for the latter was Ṣahrbānū, the daughter of the last Sasanian king.[15]

In an interesting, polemical article, Rudi Matthee compares the Ottomans and the Ṣafavids, asking whether Iran at the time had the complexity, self-conscious mission, necessary degree of centralization, etc. to qualify as an empire. For him, the Ottoman is the par excellence empire, which, as we have discussed, had from the mid-15th century a new imperial vision with a self-conscious elite heavily invested in Ottoman as a language of power, and, as we have just seen, the same holds true for Persian under the Mughals in India. Matthee also concludes that in the early 17th century the Ṣafavid venture did also have many such traits, despite the challenges of ethnic, religious and linguistic diversity, and a geographical setting adverse to centralization.[16] However, from the preceding discussion it seems that the Ṣafavid elite did not look at themselves as bringing something new but rather as perpetrators of the time-honored Persianate ethos, despite the innovations in religion, politics, society, etc. the Ṣafavids brought about. Accordingly, the only language ideology, it would seem, Persian possessed had been worked out much earlier than the emergence of the Ṣafavid dynasty, Persian being a vassal for Iranian notions of authority and increasingly, but my no means exclusively, of Sufi piety. Inasmuch as the Ṣafavids espoused notions of Iranian kingship and were heading a Persophone bureaucracy whose traditions went back ultimately to ʿAbbāsid but at least to Mongol times, they had no need

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[15] Īnjū Shīrāzī, *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī*, pp. 17, 21-22; Lewis, Franklin. "Persian Literature and the Qur'ān." *EQ*.
[16] Matthee, Rudi. "Was Safavid Iran an Empire?" *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 53 (2010), pp. 233-265.

to come up with a new language ideology. In this, they differed from their contemporaries, the Ottomans and Mughals, where language ideology was part of an official political theology.

Therefore, due to the lack of a new, imperial language ideology put forth by a new bureaucracy, Turkic in Persia continued to be part of the *amīr-ʿayān* system as inherited from medieval times. With the waning of Qizilbash power, Turkic literary practices did not stop but became more of a parochial concern, part of local culture. In this dissertation, we have seen how Turkic was used for conveying the messianistic ideology of Shah Ismāʿīl, whose literary works came from the context of 15-16th century religious millenarism and the liminal, both literate and oral context of Anatolia, Iran and Iraq. This messianistic language never disappeared from Ṣafavid literary discourse entirely, be it Persian or Turkic, it being rather the interpretative context that shifted. However, we can hypothetize that even such interpretative contexts may not have been completely homogenous, and popular messianism was a constant fixture of the Ṣafavid religio-cultural landscape.

I have also argued that in an Islamic context, or more generally, in the context of confessional religions, there is an inherent relationship between conversion and literary language. Writing down something in a vernacular means not only that the given community has converted but also that it appropriates the new religion and literacy to its own purposes. This can be best seen in such conversion myths as the *Oġuznāma*; it is no wonder that such conversion myths or written copies thereof started to proliferate at the time various Mongol polities were in the process of Islamization. The *Oġuznāma* integrated mytho-political genealogies, joining the Japhethic origins of Turks well-known in Islamic lore with their genealogy going back to the Turkic mythical forefather Oġuz Khan. We have also seen that, parallel to the attempt under the late Timurids to challenge the power of the nomadic aristocracy, the prominent Turkophone

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litterateur and culture-politician, Navāʾī, attempted to supplant the Oġuz tribal ideology with a language ideology, claiming that Turkic was as suitable for expressing the Islamic ethos as Persian.

Under the Ṣafavids, a new conversion took place: conversion to Shiism, which first assumed the form of millenarian Alid loyalism among the Ṣafavids' tribal following. Indeed, this conversion and the further development of an increasingly institutionalized and legally coherent Shiism in Persia pushed such indigenous political genealogies as the Oġuz myth into the background. It seems that this narrative lore gave way under the Ṣafavids to stories that were part of the tradition of popular Alid piety, such as the *Abū Muslimnāma* and other similar stories. However, Alid piety or Twelver Shiism was shared by the converting population at large, and it was not at all limited exlusively to the Turkphone nomadic following of the Ṣafavids; therefore, while the other two chief literary languages, Arabic and Persian, retained their distinct functional role in the Ṣafavid intellectual venture, Arabic being the language of Revelation, philosophy and law, while Persian, that of the bureaucracy and poetry, there was no such distinct role assigned to Turkic. It was only the language used for communicating with the large Turkophone segment of society, be they nomadic tribesmen or members of the elite at court. In other words, Turkic had no ideological, only sociological functions; it was not the language of power. It is therefore significant that Nādir Shah's ideological experimentation at the expense of Ṣafavid legitimacy and Shiism coincided with the resurfacing of the Oġuz myth, ephemeral though his rule and the ideologies he put forth may have been.

I have showed through the example of Ṣādiḳī Beg, a major painter and bilingual litterateur of a Qizilbash background, how the individual could present a public image in various ways, and how language was part of such self-fashioning. I hypothetize that this new

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understanding of the self was connected with the huge political, religious and cultural dislocations of the period, particularly, at least in the case of Ṣādiḳī, the changes in art patronage. I also illustrate that Turkic literature was part of the Ṣafavids' heritage from the Timurids and from what I have called the Western Oġuz tradition. It was this double heritage that Ṣādiḳī perpetuates with his Turkic literary pursuits, particularly with his biographical anthology of poets, which was perhaps the swan song of the Qizilbash as an important element on the cultural scene. Unlike Ṣādiḳī Beg, the later biographical literature does not feature them as a separate poetic group.

Coming back to the original question of the dissertation, "Why write in Turkic in Ṣafavid Iran?," I consider one of its most important results that I have been able to show the historical and ideological context(s) for the choice of Turkic for literary purposes. Another important find is a way to analyze how the politics of language played out in the Early Modern Persianate context.

Appendix 1

Ṣādiḳī Beg's literary works and their loci in the extant manuscripts

Ṣādiḳī's autobiographical preface to the autograph copy of his collected literary output ends with a list of his literary works; therefore, it is apposite to enumerate them here, along with a description of the manuscripts they can be found in.[1] In fact, he only gives a list of ten works, labeling the rest as "Other panegyrics and lampoons," but he declines to detail them, because he does not want to bore the audience (*mustami'*, lit. 'listener'), which is both a conventional gesture of authorial modesty and perhaps an inclination to conceal his harsher lampoons from superficial readers or book-collectors, wishing only those truly interested in his work to read them. Ṣādiḳī is certainly right to boast of the breadth of his writings: "In a short while I have collected a great amount [of composition] in every genre [*ḳism*] of discourse."[2]

Principle Manuscripts

There are three manuscripts that are known to contain a collection of Ṣādiḳī's literary works, the third of which is a modern copy, while a few of his other works, notably, the *Majma'
al-ḫavāṣṣ* and the *Ḫaẓẓiyāt,* can be found in independent manuscripts, too:

1. *Kulliyāt.* Kitābḫāna-yi Millī, Tabrīz, no. 3616. 546 foll., end missing; copy date: 1010/1601-2. Gold-sprinkled paper, with 19 lines per page in a mirror of 14.5 X 24.5 cm. The headings and Koranic verses are in red, otherwise it is written in black ink. Script: *naskh*.[3] The paper and the handwriting is the same all throughout, which suggests that it

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[1] *Kulliyāt*, foll. 1b-4b.

[2] *Kulliyāt*, fol. 4a.

[3] Dānişpazhūh, Muḥammad Taḳī. *Naṣrīya-yi kitābḫāna-yi markazī-yi Dānişgāh-i Tihrān: nusḫahā-yi ḫaṭṭī.* Tehran: Intişārāt-i Dānişgāh-i Tehran, 1961-, vol. 4, p. 296; Dirāyatī, Muṣṭafá. *Fihristgān: nusḫahā-yi ḫaṭṭī-yi Īrān.* Tehran:

was executed by the same person, probably Ṣādiḳī or, equally likely, a scribe he may have been supervising. This also tells us that it is an edited but unfinished version, which might have given him the opportunity to rearrange the material, implement additions, omissions or other types of change. The end seems to be missing; some of the folios are misbound.

2. *Kulliyāt-i Ṣādiḳī Afşār*, Kitābḫāna-yi Millī-yi Malik, Tehran, no. 6325, 80 foll.; probably 17th century. 19 lines per page in a mirror of 12 X 13 cm; vermillion headings and titles; script: nastaʿlīḳ.[4] Though entitled the *Kulliyāt*, 'Complete Works,' of Ṣādiḳī, this manuscript contains only a part of his oeuvre.

3. *Majmūʿa.* Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Dānişgāh-i Tehran, no. 7395, foll. 26-100. A modern copy executed in nastaʿlīḳ by Ḥasan Bāstānī-Rād, probably on the basis of the previous copy. Ṣādiḳī's works in the manuscript are preceded by a handful of works by Mīr Sanjār, a 17th-century Persian poet.[5]

Literary works

1. *Zubdat al-kalām.*
A collection of panegyric *ḳaṣīda*s in Persian.
Manuscript: *Kulliyāt*, foll. 5b-66b.
Invocative praise [*naʿt*] of Muḥammad (foll. 5b-7a), In praise of the King of Saints and complaint about fate (foll. 6b-9b), In praise of the Commander of the Faithful [i.e. ʿAlī] and Imam of the Pious and on the death of a glorious one (foll. 9b-11a), In praise of the Commander of the Faithful, Ḥaydar [i.e. ʿAlī] (foll. 11a-13a), In praise of the King of the People, the Lion of the Great, ʿAlī, Friend [of God] (foll. 13a-14a), In praise of the King of Saints, the Lord of the Pious, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (foll. 14a-15b), In praise of the Perfumer of the Tower of Saints of the Commands of Mūsá b. Jaʿfar (foll. 15b-16b), In praise of the King of People, the male lion, ʿAlī, the Friend [of God] (foll. 16b-17b), In praise of the Lord of the World and the Faith, ʿAlī, the Friend [of God] (foll. 17b-18b], In praise of the Lord of the Time (foll. 18b-19b), In praise of the Commander of Mankind (foll. 19b-20b), In praise of the King of *valāyat* and the Commander of Guidance, ʿAlī the Friend [of God] (foll. 20b-21b), In praise of the Lord of the two-pointed sword, the

Sāzmān-i Asnād va Kitābḫāna-yi Millī-yi Jumhūrī-yi Islāmī-yi Īrān, 2011-, vol. 26, p. 671. Originally belonging to the library of Ḥāj Muḥammad Naḫjavānī, the manuscript is miscataloged as *Dīvān-i Ṣādiḳī*. Cf. also: Aydın, Şadi. *İran Kütüphaneleri Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu*. İstanbul: Tımaş Yayınları, 2008, p. 44; http://www.aghabozorg.ir/showbookdetail.aspx?bookid=19291. Last accessed on January 25, 2015.
[4] http://www.aghabozorg.ir/showbookdetail.aspx?bookid=131805. Last accessed on January 25, 2015.
[5] Dānişpazhūh, Muḥammad Taḳī. "Ḳānūn al-ṣuvar." *Hunar va Mardum* 8 (Farvardīn 1349/1970), pp. 11-20; http://www.aghabozorg.ir/showbookdetail.aspx?bookid=62723, last accessed Jauary 29, 2015. For another, though not complete list of Ṣādiḳī's works, cf. *Kulliyāt*, 4b-5a; Welch, *Artists for the Shah*, p. 70; Dawlatābādī, *Suḫanvarān-i Āẕarbayjān*, vol. 1, pp. 462-8.

Commander of the Faitfhful, Ḥaydar (foll. 21b-23a), A *haft-band* in praise of the King of Saints (foll. 23a-25b), In praise of the Pearl of the Sea of *valāyat*, the oppressed Imam, Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī (foll. 25b-26b), Another praise of Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī [with the *radīf* "Karbalā"] (foll. 26b-27a), In praise of Shah Ġāzī Shah ʿAbbās Bahādur Khan (foll. 27a-29a), Also in praise of Shah Ġāzī Shah ʿAbbās Bahādur Khan (foll. 29a-30a), Asking the King of the Time for permission to leave for the Lofty Thresholds [i.e. Najaf and Karbalā] (foll. 30a-32a), Description of a feast given by Shah Ġāzī Shah ʿAbbās (foll. 32a-34a), In praise of Shah ʿAbbās and greeting the spring season (foll. 34a-35a), Also in praise of the King who is the refuge of the world (foll. 35a-36a), In praise of Shah Ġāzī Shah ʿAbbās (foll. 36a-38a), In praise of Shah ʿAbbās and the chronogram of an edifice by him (foll. 37b-38a), In praise of Shah Ġāzī Shah ʿAbbās Bahādur Khan (foll. 38a-38b), Praise of the Sheikh of the Magi [*pīr-i muġān*] (foll. 38b-40a), Scorn of the People of the time (foll. 40a-41b), Expressing affection for Ḫʷāja Ġiyās̱-i Naḳšband (foll. 41b-43a), In praise of a sultan and his own life (foll. 43a-44b), In praise of the Sheikh of the Magi, some events and superfluity [*pīr-i muġān va vāḳiʿāt va kas̱rat*] (foll. 45a-47a), Greetings to spring (foll. 47a-48a), The death of Ḥamza Mīrzā and complaint about the time (foll. 48a-49a), In praise of his own mentor, Ḳāżī Ibrāhīm (foll. 49a-50a), In Praise of Mīr Muʿizz al-Dīn, the refuge of sayyidhood (foll. 50a-51a), In praise of Amīr Khan Mawṣillū (foll. 51a-51b), In praise of Aḥmad Pasha, the son of Iskandar Pasha (foll. 51b-52b), In praise of Amīr Khan (foll. 52b-53a), Also in his praise (foll. 53a-54a), Greeting Amīr Khan on the occasion of the New Year (foll. 54a-54b), Also the Khan's praise (foll. 54b-55b), In praise of [Amīr Khan], the warrior of the time (foll. 55b-56a), In praise of Amīr Khan Mawṣillū-yi Gulābī Khan (foll. 56a-57a), Also in Amīr Khan's praise (foll. 57a-57b), untitled ḳaṣīda (foll. 57b-59b), untitled ḳaṣīda (foll. 59b-60a), untitled ḳaṣīda (foll. 60a-61b), untitled ḳaṣīda, (foll. 61b-62b), untitled ḳaṣīda (foll. 62b-64a), untitled ḳaṣīda (foll. 64a-65b), untitled ḳaṣīda (foll. 65b-66b).

2. Persian ghazals in an alphabetical order
   Manuscript: *Kulliyāt,* foll. 67b-197b.

3. Persian *ḳiṭʿa*s.
   Manuscript: *Kulliyāt*, foll. 198b-205a, including a *ḳiṭʿa* addressed to the Grand vizier foll. 204b-205a.

4. *Majmaʿ al-ḫavāṣṣ* ('Concourse of Nobilities'): a biographical anthology of poets in Chaghatay Turkic (206b-445a).
Manuscripts:
   Kulliyāt: Introduction (foll. 206b-209a), 1st Majmaʿ (foll. 209a-214a), 2nd Majmaʿ (foll. 215a-217a), 3rd Majmaʿ (foll. 218a-220b),[6] 4th Majmaʿ (315-328a), 5th Majmaʿ

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[6] This part is defected. The 3rd *majmaʿ* in the Tabriz *kulliyāt* abruptly ends in the middle of the 3rd *majmaʿ* on fol. 220b, omitting the end of the entry on Muḥammad Beg "Amānī" and the complete entry on Rustam Beg (Ḥayyāmpūr, pp. 37-8; Kuşoğlu, p. 182) and a few other vignettes. The text continues with the 4th *majmaʿ* on fol. 316a.

(329a-333b),[7] 6th Majma' 334a-360b), 7th Majma' (361a-371a), 8th Majma' (372a-443b), Epilogue [*ḫātima*] (444a-445a).

Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt/Gotha. In the end there is a chronogram commemorating the circumcision of Prince Ṣafī Mīrzā (1058/1648-9), marking the terminus ante quem for the execution of the manuscript. (Pertsch, Wilhelm. *Die orientalischen handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha.* Wien, Kais. kön. hof- und staats-druckerei, 1864, no. 168, pp. 139-148).

Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, Hâlis Efendi Türkçe Yazmalar Bölümü, no. 4085, C 6, 278, copied in 1016/1607-8.

Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Nuruosmaniye Koleksiyonu, no, 34 Nk 3721/1, copied in 1037/1627-8.

İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphane ve Dokümentasyon Daire Başkanlığı Nadir Eserler, no. T 4097, foll. 240b-267a. The copy follows a work entitled *Taẕkirat al-awliyā* in the manuscript which was executed in 1016/1627-8.

Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Nuruosmaniye Koleksiyonu, no. 34 Nk 3720, copied 1021/1612.

Istanbul, Yapı Kredi Sermet Çifter Araştırma Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmaları. 17th century. Dağlı, Yücel. *Yapı Kredi Sermet Çifter Araştırma Kkütüphanesi Yazmalar Kataloğu.* Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001, p. 81.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, suppl. 1002 (Blochet, E. *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs.* Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1932-33, vol. II, p. 126. Copied by Ḥasan Tabrīzī in 1247/1831.

Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Millī-yi Malik, no. 4077. Perhaps from the 17th century. Possessorial note dated 1272/1855-6; dedication from Jamāl al-Dīn Mīrzā Āḳā Jamālī to Niẓām al-Salṭana, the governor (*vālī*) of Fārs

Tehran, Sipāhsālār, no. 2729, copied in 1231/1815-6 by Muḥammad Zamān b. Ḥusayn Ḫātūnābādī.

Istanbul, Personal possession.

Istanbul University Library, no. 1844 and 6781.

Leningrad (Dmitrieva, I.V. (140-), B. 1187, copied in the 16-17th century.

Leningrad (Smirnov, W.D. *Manuscrits turcs de l'institut des langues orientales*. Saint-Pétersbourg: Eggers, 1897, no. 403, LXXIV, pp. 139-142.

Editions: Ṣādiḳī Kitābdār. *Taẕkira-yi Majma' al-ḫavāṣṣ.* Ed. 'Abd al-Rasūl Ḫayyāmpūr. Tabriz: Çāpḫāna-yi Aḫtar-i Şumāl, 1327 h.ḳ./1948; Kuşoğlu, M. Oğuzhan. *Sâdıkî-i Kitâbdâr'ın Mecma'-ü'l-havâs Adlı Eseri (İnceleme-Metin-Dizin).* Istanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi, 2012 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis).

5. Rubā'īs in Persian

Manuscript: *Kulliyāt*, foll. 221b-223b

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[7] In the *Concourse* as copied in the Tabriz *Kulliyāt*, there is almost a page long gap between 'Alī Khan Mīrzā and Murād (fol. 330b, corresponding to Ḥayyāmpūr, pp. 66-7 and Kuşoğlu, pp. 209-10), suggesting that during the execution of the copy there was space left for further poets or possibly though less likely for further quotes from 'Alī Khan Mīrzā. This is interesting and to me as yet unexplainable, because the entries in the *Concourse* do not follow an alphabetical order, and the copyist would not have needed to leave out such a large space between two entries.

6. *Şarḥ-i ḥāl*: A didactic poem in Persian made up of advice verses and illustrative stories (*naṣīḥat* and *ḥikāyat*). The first part is in the *mutaḳārib* meter, in which Ṣādiḳī claims to imitate the *Būstān* by Saʿdī, while the second part (305b-314b) emulates Niẓāmī's *Maḫzan al-asrār*.[8] The fact that the two parts of the poem are so much apart suggests that the volume has been misbound.

> Manuscripts: *Kulliyāt*, foll. 224b-227b, 305b-314b (the latter can also be found in Malik, no. 6325, foll. 1b-14b).

7. *Muʿammā*s, 'riddles', in Persian.
> Manuscript: *Kulliyāt*, foll. 228b-237b.

8. *Fatḥnāma* or *ʿAbbāsnāma.*
A Persian *maṣnavī*, 'narrative poem in couplets,' with a heroic-historic subject, focusing on the rule of Shah ʿAbbās I and explicitly stating Firdawsī's *Shāhnama* as the model. The story starts with the reign of Shah Ismāʿīl II (1524-26) and brings history down to 1598, the death of Farhād Khan Ḳaramānlū, and, one might add, the definite shift in the power structure of the Ṣafavid polity. Surprisingly, it is the *Fatḥnāma* that is cited as an example for Ṣādiḳī's poetry in several biographical anthologies, an apparent popularity which is not matched by the extant manuscript evidence, for the work is known to be preserved only in the Tabriz *Kulliyāt.*
> Manuscript: *Kulliyāt*, foll. 238b-305b.

9. Poems in Turkic.
> Manuscript: *Kulliyāt*, foll. 445b-460a.
> Edition: Sadiq Bəy Əfşar. *Şeirlər (transfoneliterasiya və fotofaksimile).* Ed. Paşa Kərimov. Baku: Nurlan, 2010. Regrettably, this edition is full of errors and oversights. Partial editions: Gandjei, Tourkhan. "Sâdikî-i Afşar'ın Türkçe şiirleri." *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 16 (1971), pp. 19-26; Çınarcı, Mehmet Nuri. "Sâdıkî Afşar'ın Tebriz Milli Kütüphanesindeki Külliyatı ve Türkçe Manzumeleri. *Turkish Studies* 7:3, Summer 2012, pp. 813-835; Yazıcı Şahin, Serpil. "Sâdıkî Afşar'ın Doğu Türkçesinde Yazılmış Şiirleri." *Turkish Studies* 8:13 Fall 2013, pp. 1645-1741.

10. *Risāla'ī dar bāb-i ašʿār-i Fayżī*, 'A treatise on Fayżī's poems.'
A highly ornate pamphlet against the most prominent poet of the *tāza-gū'ī* ecole of Persian poetry.
> Manuscripts: *Kulliyāt*, foll. 461b-467a; Malik, no. 6325, foll. 33b-39a.

11. *Ḳānūn al-ṣuvar*, 'Canon of Painting.'
> Manuscripts: *Kulliyāt*, foll. 468b-474b; Malik, no. 6325, foll. 26b-32a.
> Edition: Sadig-Bek Afshar. *Ganun ös-sövär (traktat o zhivopisi).* Ed. A.Yu. Kaziev. Baku: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk Azerbaijanskoi SSR, 1963.
> Translation: Dickson, Martin Bernard and Welch, Stuart Cary. *The Houghton Shahnameh.* Cambridge, MA & London, England: Harvard University Press,

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[8] *Discourses with appropriate stories in the meter of the Maḫzan [by Niẓāmī] and the Būstān [of Saʿdī] of the sheikhs, (May God have mercy on them!) which is the story of the life of the author [ṣarḥ-i ḥāl-i nām-zad]"* (*Kulliyāt*, fol. 4a).

1981, vol. 1, pp. 259-269; Russian translation: Sadig-Bek Afshar, *Ganun ös-sövär*, pp. 67-83.

12. *Risāla-yi ḫazẕiyāt:* a collection of funny and strange expressions in Persian.

Manuscipts: *Kulliyāt*, foll. 475b-482b; Malik, no. 6325, foll. 15b-21b; Berlin, (Pertsch, Wilhelm. *Verzeichniss der persischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin.* Berlin, A. Asher & co., 1888, p. 34, #12, 7); Oxford, Bodleian (Ethé, Hermann. *Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindûstânî and Pushtû Manuscripts.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889-1954, no. 1243/2, col. 1, pp. 773-4), copied probably before 1084/1674.

Edition: Afshār, Īraj. "Ḫazẕiyāt: Nigāraṣ-i Ṣādiḳī Beg Afşār." *Āyīna-yi Mīrāṣ,* new series 1:4 (Winter 1382), pp. 145-184.

13. Stanzaic poems: murabbaʿ, musaddas, tarjīʿ, tarkīb-band

Manuscript: *Kulliyāt*, foll. 483b-500b.

14. *Risāla-yi Hijv-i ṣāliṣ.* A literary pamphlet in verse with an ornate prose introduction against Mawlānā Ḥaydarī Tabrīzī, who wrote a similar pamphlet against Mawlānā Ṣarīf-i Tabrīzī, who, in turn, had written a pamphlet against Lisānī.

Manuscripts: *Kulliyāt*, foll. 501b-504b; Malik, no. 6325, foll. 22b-25a.

Edition: Rādmaniṣ, ʿAṭā-Muḥammad and Pahlavānzāda, Mulūk. "Taṣḥīḥ-i «Risāla-yi Hijv-i ṣāliṣ»-i Ṣādiḳī Beg Afşār." *Āyīna-yi Mīrāṣ* 52 (tābistān 1392/2012), pp. 85-102.

15. *Munşaʾāt-i turkī va fārsī ki bi-mulammaʿāt maşhūr ast*, 'Turkic and Persian Epistles known as sparks.

Manuscript: *Kulliyāt*, foll. 505b-522a; Malik, no. 6325, foll. 64b-79a.

16. *Dar şikāyat-i falak va hijv-i Muḥammad*, 'Complaint about fate and a lampoon on Muḥammad'

A narrative poem about Ṣādiḳī's visit to Tehran, probably to seek patronage from the governor, Musayyib Khan, hoping that his old friend, Muḥammad-i Maẕāḳī, would help him. Things, however, take an awry turn, and Ṣādiḳī has to flee (see Chapter Six).

Manuscript: *Kulliyāt*, foll. 523b-531b

17. Further lampoons:

[Lampoon about his male organ] (foll. 532b-534a), Lampoon on Ḥasan [?] Beg (foll. 534a-535b), Lampoon (probably) on ʿAlī Rīżā-yi ʿAbbāsī (foll. 535b-538a), Lampoon on Mīr ʿAzīz Kamānça'ī (foll. 538a-539a), Lampoon on an obedient calligrapher (539a-b), Lampoon on a mini-hypocrite (fol. 540a),[9] another lampoon (540b-541b),[10] a satirical rubāʿī against Āḳā Muʾmin Ḳāżī (fol. 542a), a chronogram on the square hat punishment [taḫta kulāh] of a qadi (fol. 542a; date: 1005/1596-7), four rubāʿīs mocking an obedient [ḥukmī] calligrapher (fol. 542a),

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[9] Malik 6325, foll. 47b-48a
[10] Malik 6325, foll. 48a-49b

probably ʿAlī Riżā-yi ʿAbbāsī,[11] Lampoon on the corrupt (542a-542b),[12] Lampoon against a vizier (foll. 542b-544a),[13] a [satirical] *ḳiṭʿa* (foll. 544a-b),[14] Lampoon on beard (foll. 544b-545a),[15] Lampoon on the intendant of Shahitur (foll. 545a-b),[16] a *ḳiṭʿa* on Mīrzā-yi ʿĀlamiyānī (fol. 545b),[17] on one of the royal goldsmiths (fol. 545b),[18] a lampoon on Halākī-yi Hamadānī.[19]

Manuscript: *Kulliyāt:* 532b-545a.

Unknown poetry presumably by Ṣādiḳī can be found in: Topkapı, H2140: an album of 38 leaves with works by Ḳāsim Naḳḳāṣ Tabrīzī, Bihzād and Ṣādiḳī Beg, along with poems in Chaghatay and a piece of prose by Mīr ʿImād.[20]

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[11] Malik 6325, fol. 51a.

[12] Malik 6325, foll. 51a-b

[13] Malik 6325, foll. 51b-53a; Tehran University 7395, foll. 77b-79a.

[14] Malik 6325, foll. 53a-b.

[15] Malik 6325, foll. 53b-54a.

[16] Malik 6325, foll. 54a-b.

[17] Malik 6325, fol. 54b.

[18] Malik 6325, fol. 54b.

[19] This lampoon is missing from the Tabriz *Kulliyāt*, having likely been contained by the pages lost from the end of the manuscript. Malik, no. 6325, foll. 50a-b; Tehran University 7395, foll. 75b-76b.

[20] Togan, Ahmed Zeki Velidi. *On the Miniatures in Istanbul Libraries.* Istanbul: Baha Matbaasi, 1963, pp. 19, 62.

Appendix 2

Chronology of the Life of Ṣādiḳī Beg

The following chronology includes the most important and most exactly known dates.

930/1524	Death of Shah Ismāʿīl I, accession of Shah Ṭahmāsp I
940/1533-34	Ṣādiḳī's birth in Vārjū, a district of Tabriz
	Shah Ṭahmāsp I asserts his rule
951/1544	Shah Ṭahmāsp starts preparing the transfer of the capital from Tabriz to Qazvin
ca. 960/1552-3	Ṣādiḳī's father is killed
962/1555	Peace of Amasya
963/1556	Shah Ṭahmāsp's edict of sincere repentance
965/1557	Completion of the transfer of the capital to Qazvin
967/1560	*Terminus ante quem* for Ṣādiḳī's stay in Aleppo
974-975/1566-8	Stay in Iraq
975/1568?	Arrival in Hamadan at Amīr Khan Mawsillū's court
976/1568-9	Death of Mīr Ṣunʿī, Ṣādiḳī's first master
980/1572-3	Ṣādiḳī leaves Hamadan for Qazvin
981/1573	Qazvin; contributes paintings to the *Garşāspnāma*
984/1576	Death of Shah Ṭahmāsp, accession of Shah Ismāʿīl II, approximate year of the death of Muẓaffar ʿAlī, Ṣādiḳī's master in painting; Ṣādiḳī at the royal atelier
985/1578	Death of Shah Ismāʿīl II, accession of Muḥammad Ḫudābanda
989/1581	Failed attempt by ʿAlī Qulı Khan Şāmlū to put ʿAbbās on the throne
996/1588	Accession of Shah ʿAbbās I
1001/1593	ʿAlī Riżā-yi ʿAbbāsī enters the court
1002/1593	Commissions and partly executes a ms of Kāşifī's *Anvār-i suhaylī*
1006/1597-8	Isfahan becomes the capital; Ṣādiḳī loses headship of the royal atelier
1010/1601-2	Start date of the compilation of the autograph copy of Ṣādiḳī's *Kulliyāt*
1018/1609-10	Ṣādiḳī's death

Appendix 3

Turkic poets in Ṣādiḳī's *Concourse* and their tribal affiliation

Takkalū

- Musayyib Khan, son of Muḥammad Khan Sharaf al-Dīn (the beglerbegi of Herat)[1]
- Muḥammad Beg-i Maẕāḳī, the son of Ḳaraja Sultan Takkalū[2]
- Mīrzā Ḳulī Maylī, who served Sultan Ibrāhīm Mīrzā and died in India[3]
- Ṣānī, poet laureate under ʿAbbās
- Ḫoṣ-ṭabʿ-i Bālī, who was killed in Astarābād during Badr Khan Afšār's tenure as governor some time in 996-7/1587-88[4]
- Maṣrabī, a relative of one of the emirs of the Takkalū, about whom Ṣādiḳī says he had the disposition of a Sufi and a warrior, and who had both musical and poetic talent[5]

Ustājlū

- Murād Khan "Figārī" b. Temīr Khan[6]
- Yūsuf Beg Çavuşlu, who has a *dīvān* that paraphrases Fużūlī[7]
- ʿAlī Khan Mīrzā Ṣādiḳ[8]
- Imām Ḳulı Beg Fusūnī[9]
- Pīr Ḳulı Beg, a relative of Yūsuf Beg Ustājlu, and guardian of prince Sultan Ḥusayn Mīrzā during the reign of Ṭahmāsp; he completed a *dīvān*[10]

Ẕū al-Ḳadar

- Mahdīḳulı Sultan from the Ḳadurḳalū *oba*[11]

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[1] Kuşoğlu, pp. 176-177; Ḥayyāmpūr, pp. 29-30.

[2] Ḥayyāmpūr; pp. 34-35; Kuşoğlu, pp. 179-180.

[3] Kuşoğlu, pp. 251-253. See also: *Ḫayr al-bayān*, foll. 247b-248a.

[4] Ḥayyāmpūr, p. 134; Kuşoğlu, pp. 274-275.

[5] Kuşoğlu, p. 275; Awḥadī, #2999, vol. 6, pp. 3688. Awḥadī refers to him as Mīrzā Maṣrabī Takallū. During the reign of Ḫudābanda, he served Musayyib Khan. Before his death he emigrated to the court of Akbar and died there. Awḥadī spent a lot of time with him in Iran.

[6] Ḥayyāmpūr, pp. 30-31; Kuşoğlu, pp. 177-8. Cf. Also: Welch, *Artists for the Shah*, p. 61.

[7] Only in *Kulliyāt* 219b-220a.

[8] Ḥayyāmpūr, pp. 30-31; Kuşoğlu, pp. 209-210. See also: Chapter Four.

[9] Kuşoğlu, pp. 263-264. Awḥadī, #2356, vol. 5, pp. 2933-2934. He was from Qazvin. Awḥadī was in his company there as well as in Azerbaijan. From the beginning of Shah ʿAbbās' reign to 1002/1593-4, he was in the service of Allāhverdi Khan, before going to India.

[10] Ḥayyāmpūr, pp. 128-129; Kuşoğlu, pp. 278-279. Sultan Ḥusayn Mīrzā was son of Bahrām Mīrzā and ruled Qandahār and died little after Ismāʿīl II took the throne.

- Kalbī, a youth[12]

Turkmen

- Muḥammad Amīn Sultan, related to Shah Ismāʿīl II on his mother's side[13]
- Muḥammad Muʾmin Beg, Muḥammad Amīn Sultan's brother[14]
- Sultan Maḥmūd Khan, the son of Amīr Khan-i Mawsillū[15]
- Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Mīrzā, the son of ʿAlī Khan Mīrzā Mawsillū[16]
- ʿAbbās Beg: son of Farruḫzād Beg Turkmen[17]
- Ḳāsım Beg Ḥālatī, well versed especially in the exoteric sciences and completed a *dīvān*[18]
- Maḥmūd Beg Sālim, well-known for his *masnavī*s, such as his *Yūsuf va Zulayḫā*[19]
- Ḥasan Beg Şükroġlı "Muḳīmī", the son of Jahān Shah, "padishah of the Turkmen"[20]
- Sūsanī Beg, listed as a Turkmen probably because of his being a protégé of Amīr Khan Mawsillū[21]
- Pīrī Beg Döger, who was also involved in music[22]

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[11] Ḥayyāmpūr, pp. 35-36; Kuşoğlu, pp. 180-181. Sümer gives the name *Kavurgalu* for this *oba* of the Ẕū al-Ḳadar *oymaḳ* (Sümer, *Safevi Devletinin Kuruluşu*, pp. 94 (n. 138), 141, 178, 181). Mahdīḳulı Sultan made an unsuccessful bid for the governorate of Fārs in 995/1587.

[12] Ḥayyāmpūr, pp. 120-121; Kuşoğlu, p. 272. He had a brother by the name of ʿAlī Beg who died in Qazvin at the beginning of the reign of ʿAbbās; their father was Jānī Beg Ẕū al-Ḳadar. In their youth they both lived the life of a qalandar; both were poets, though Awḥadī has specimen of poetry only from Kalbī Beg, who lived in Shiraz, before emigrating to Mughal India. Awḥadī must have had direct information about them, since he claims to have been in the service of Maḥmūd Sultan b. Ibrāhīm Khan, the nephew of Yaʿḳūb Khan Ẕū al-Ḳadar.

[13] Kuşoğlu, p. 178. He is also mentioned in Awḥadī, vol. 1, pp. 642-3. According to Awḥadī, who knew him personally, he was in the service of ʿAbbās and died in battle against Tilim Khan Uzbek in 999/1590-91.

[14] Ḥayyāmpūr, pp. 67-68; Kuşoğlu, pp. 211-212.

[15] Ḥayyāmpūr, p. 65; Kuşoğlu, p. 209.

[16] Ḥayyāmpūr, pp. 68-69; Kuşoğlu, pp. 212-213. About his father, a supporter of Muḥammad Ḫudābanda and Sultan Ḥamza Mīrzā, see: *AAA*, vol. 1, pp. 216, 325, 333; *AAA Eng*, vol. 1, pp. 329, 459, 468.

[17] Ḥayyāmpūr, p. 61; Kuşoğlu, p. 215. His father, Farruḫzād Beg Turkmen might be identical with Farruḫzād Beg Ḳaradaġlu who was *eşikaḳası* and later *eşikaḳasıbaşı* under Ṭahmāsp in 961/1554 (AAA, vol. pp. 79, 120; AAA Eng, vol. 1, pp. 130, 199). However, the relationship between the Ḳaradaġlu and the Turkmen are completely unclear to me at this point (About the Ḳaradaġlu, see: Sümer, *Safevi Devletinin Kuruluşu,* pp. 12, 15, 151). Thus, listing ʿAbbās Beg identification is tentative at best.

[18] Kuşoğlu, pp. 256-257. According to Awḥadī (#828, vol. 2, pp. 1119-1123), Ḳāsim Beg Ḥālatī was a prominent Qizilbash poet during the time of Ṭahmāsp.

[19] Kuşoğlu, pp. 257-260. According to Awḥadī (#1358, vol. 3, pp. 1725-1726), he was from the relations of Jahān Shah Turkman and an established [*muḳarrar*] poet during the reign of Ṭahmāsp. Aside from the *Yūsuf va Zulayḫā*, he also composed a *Şāhnāma* and a *Mihr u Vafā*. Awḥadī relates him to Tabriz.

[20] Ḥayyāmpūr, pp. 111-112; Kuşoğlu, pp. 260-261. According to Awḥadī, (#878, vol. 2, pp. 1152-1153), Ḥasan Beg Şükroġlı met him in 998/1589-90, when he passed through Shiraz in the company of ʿAbbās, and they recited a lot of poetry together. At the time Awḥadī composed his biographical dictionary, Ḥasan Beg had already died. At this point, it is difficult to identify his father, Jahān Shah, who in all probability is not to be mistaken for the famous ruler of the Qaraqoyunlu.

[21] Ḥayyāmpūr, pp. 118–119; Kuşoğlu, pp. 268-269. See also the entry on him in Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi sāmī*, pp. 358–360.

[22] Ḥayyāmpūr, pp. 120-121; Kuşoğlu, pp. 270-271. Awḥadī claims he is already dead and that he had spent a long time in his company.

- Mavālī Türkmen, who came from a modest background in his tribe but became a confident of Sultan Ḥamza Mīrzā[23]

Şāmlū

- Yādigār Beg, son of Ḥasan Sultan[24]
- Yolḳulı Beg, head of the atelier of 'Alīḳulı Khan Şāmlū in Herat[25]
- Ḳāsım Beg Raġmī, the brother of the wife of 'Alī Ḳulı Khan Şāmlū, the governor of Herat[26]
- Dūra Beg-i Kirāmī "Karīmī," who was in the service of 'Alī Ḳulı Khan Şāmlū, the governor of Herat[27]

Afşār

- Köse 'beardless' Rustam Beg, governor of Hazār Jarīb in 964/1557[28]
- Ḳāsim Beg "Ḳısmī", son of 'Abbās Beg Afşār, emir of Kerman, and patron of Vaḫşī[29]
- Murād Beg, son of Shah Ḳulı Sultan, governor of Kerman, who left behind his noble social status and became a spoon-maker, and was killed by Sultan Ḥamza Mīrzā at the siege of Sabzavār[30]
- Amīr Khan Beg Bekişlü, from the same clan as Ṣādiḳī's patron Iskandar Khan Afşār[31]
- Amīr Beg "Amīrī"[32]
- Dardī[33]
- Muḥammad Beg "Şamsī," who was in the service of Sevendük Beg ḳurçıbaşı[34]

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[23] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 129-130; Kuşoğlu, pp. 279-280.

[24] It is uncertain who his father, Ḥasan Sultan might be. He is perhaps identical with the one whom Iskandar Beg mentions as a commander in an Astarābād campaign by Ṭahmāsp in 944/1537-38 (*AAA*, vol. 1, p. 106; *AAA Eng*, vol. 1, p. 177.

[25] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 106-108; Kuşoğlu, pp. 253-256. He also features in Awḥadī (#426, vol. 1, pp. 654-657; here his name is written, probably erroneously, as *Yorḳulı*), according to whose account, after the death of 'Alī Ḳulı Khan Şāmlū (d. 1588) and the fall of Herat to 'Abd Allāh Khan Uzbek [in 1588], Yolḳulı fled to Mughal India and joined the service of Akbar along with other poets, including Şaḳībī of Isfahanī, Naw'ī Ḫabūṣānī, Kufrī and a mediocre poet, Ḥasan Beg Şāmlū-yi Girāmī, the son of Döre (Dūra?) Beg Sufrāçī (Awḥadī, #291, vol. 2, pp. 1162-1164). He died of drinking tobacco tisane in 1017/1608-9.

[26] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 121-122; Kuşoğlu, pp. 272-273.

[27] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 122-123; Kuşoğlu, pp. 273-274. According to Awḥadī (#891, vol. 2, pp. 1162-1164), who was in Dūra Beg-i Kirāmī's company in Aḥmadābād in 1028/1618-1619, the latter was the son of Döre (Dūra?) Beg Sūfrāçī Şāmlū and was especially famous for his musical compositions. He claims he was a mediocre poet who had a *dīvān* of poetry, now not extant. He spent a lot of time with Anīsī and Şaḳībī.

[28] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 37-38; Kuşoğlu, p. 182. See also: Sümer, *Safevi Devletinin Kuruluşu,* pp. 98-99, 100, 132.

[29] Kuşoğlu, pp. 207-209. See also Awḥadī, #2498, vol. 5, pp. 3084-3089. He says that Ḳāsim Beg Ḳismī Afshār, who was truly the poet Vakhshī's patron, was killed approximately in 989/1581-2.

[30] Ḫayyāmpūr, p. 67; Kuşoğlu, pp. 210-211.

[31] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 119-120; Kuşoğlu, pp. 269-270. Ṣādiḳī claims Amīr Khan Beg Bekişlü was an opium eater and a companion of his on the (presumably dervish) path. According to Awḥadī, one of his protégés was Dervish Muḥammad ḳıṣṣa-ḫʷān, whom he often made fun of (Awḥadī, #1050, vol. 2, p. 1325).

[32] Ḫayyāmpūr, p. 127; Kuşoğlu, pp. 277-278.

[33] Ḫayyāmpūr, p. 128; Kuşoğlu, p. 278.

Rūmlū

- Şāh Ḳulı Beg "Ḳarpa oġlı"[35]

Bayburtlu

- Muḥammad Beg Amānī, the governor of Yazd[36]

Bayāt

- Fuẕūlī[37]

Evoġlı

- Mīr Muḥammad, a *ḳurçı* of Sultan Ḥamza Mīrzā[38]

Şafavid House

- Khan Mīrzā, son of Ma'ṣūm Beg Şafavī, who excelled especially in astronomy and riddles. [P][39]

Unknown tribal affiliation

- Şāhverdi [Khan] "Ġayūrī": The son of Çämdān[40]
- Pahlavān Beg Ḳumrī, although he is from the Ḳumrī, he was greatly active in Khorasan[41]
- Maḳṣūd 'Alī "Şakībī"[42]
- Tanhā'ī Beg from Arasbār[43]

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[34] Kuşoğlu, p. 279; Ḫayyāmpūr, p. 129. Kuşoğlu gives the incorrect reading of *Süngük* for the name Sevendük. On Sevendük Beg Afşār, see: *AAA Eng*, pp. 116, 122, 128, 138, 163, 214; see also: Floor, *Safavid Government Institutions*, pp.141, 143, 144, 148.

[35] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 117-8; Kuşoğlu, pp. 267-268.

[36] Ḫayyāmpūr, p. 37; Kuşoğlu, p. 182. See also Chapter Four.

[37] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 102-105; Kuşoğlu, pp. 245-251.

[38] Kuşoğlu, pp. 276-277; Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 125-126. Not much is known about the Evoġlı; according to the *Tārīḫ-i Ḳızılbāşān*, they were a small and relatively insignificant tribe who joined the Şafavid cause early on (Muḥaddis̱, Mīr Hāşim. *Tārīḫ-i ḳızılbāşān: az rū-yi Nusḫa-yi munḥaṣir bi-fard-i Kitābkhāna-yi Millī-yi Mulk ta'līf şudaj bayn sālhā-yi 1007-1013*. Tehran: Intişārāt-i Bihnām, 1982, p. 40.

[39] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 63-64; Kuşoğlu, p. 207.

[40] Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 32-33; Kuşoğlu, pp. 178-9. See also: Āḳā Buzurg al-Tihrānī. *al-Ẕarī'a ilā taṣānīf al-şī'a*. Najaf: Maṭba'at al-Ġurrī, 1355 [1933], vol. 9/3, p. 111, #5377, which claims that Şāhverdī "Ġayūrī" had a *dīvān*, although his exclusive source for this information might actually be the *Concourse*.

[41] Kuşoğlu, p. 181.

[42] According to the *Concourse*, Şakībī was a Turk who lived in Tabriz and thus people thought he was originally from there (Ḫayyāmpūr, pp. 123-124; Kuşoğlu, p. 274).

[43] Kuşoğlu, pp. 280-281; Ḫayyāmpūr, p. 130.

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