THE REIGN OF SULTAN SELİM I IN THE LIGHT OF THE SELİM-NAME LITERATURE

by

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ABSTRACT

The present work subjects to analysis the contents of the corpus of historical works dealing with the reign of the Ottoman Sultan, Selîm I (1512-1520), known by the generic title Selîm-nâme. These works have a particular importance in Ottoman historiography in that each represents a new effort to achieve a narrative style appropriate to the theme; and, moreover, in their dependence on one another, they exhibit the mind of the Ottoman historian in his selection and treatment of the data available to him. Out of this body of writings was to emerge the received version of the events of this dynamic reign, in which territorial expansion more than doubled the extent of the Empire.

One of the earliest works of this nature is the History of the Ottoman Dynasty (Tevârîh-i Āl-i ʿOsmân) of the famous scholar Kemâl Paşa-zâde, and the materials to be found in the still unedited vols. 8 and 9 of this work are the basic source for most of his successors. The present study provides a critical edition of the relevant sections of vol. 8 and the whole of vol. 9, drawn from all the known mss. Using this text as a basis, the contents of all the other Selîm-nâmes are described in relation to it in chronological order of composition showing what dependence
exists between one another, and how the historical narrative finally passed into such "standard" histories as those of Sa‘deddīn Efendi and ‘Ālī Celebi.

The study is preceded by an Introduction in which each Selīm-nāme is individually described, and the relevance of such materials to the development of an Ottoman historiography discussed.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The mss. of Kemal Pasa-zade's history indicated as follows:

D: Kemal Pasa-zade defter ix, Dresden.
F: " " " defter viii and ix, Fatih.
K: " " " defter ix, Cairo.
KPZ 8: Kemal Pasa-zade defter viii
KPZ 9: " " " defter ix
KPZsn: Kemal Pasa-zade, Selim-name, Topkapı Sarayı, Hazine, 1424.
M: Kemal Pasa-zade defter viii and ix, Millet.
R: " " " defter ix, Revan.
P: " " " defter viii and ix, Paris.
V: " " " defter ix, Veliyüddin.

Other Abbreviations Used are:

BSOAS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
BTTD = Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi, Menteş Kitabevi, Istanbul.
Cevrî = Selim-name, Millet Ali Emîrî, 1310, Istanbul.
EI1 = Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1st ed., Leyden, 1913-42.


Ḥadīdī = Tevārīh-i Ḥadīdī li-ḥaẓret-i Āl-i ʿOsmān, British Museum, Or. 12896.

HS = Ḥabībü ʿs-Siyer by ʿHandemīr, Teheran 1333 Ș.


IdrSN = Idrīs-i Bitlīsī’s *Selīm-nāme*, British Museum, Add. 24,960.


KA = Künhü ’l-Ahbāʾr, by ʿAlī 4th rūkn, Süleymāniye, Esʿad Ef., 2162.


ʿOM = *Osmanlı Müellefeleri*, by Bursa Meḥmed Tāhir, i-iii, Istanbul, 133-1342.

RZS = Rahim-zade-i Şafavi, şerh-i cenghä ve ta'rih-i zindegânî-yi şah Ismâ'îl-i Şafavi, Teheran, 1341 Ş.


Sa'd = Sa'dî b. Abdülmüte'âl, Selim-nâme, Topkapı Sarayı Revâni, 1277.


Süçüdi = Süçüdi, Selim-nâme, Topkapı Sarayı, Revân, 1284/1.

Şük = Şükrî, Selim-nâme, British Museum, Or. 1039.

TCYK = İstanbul Kütuphanelerleri Tarih-Coğrafya Yazmaları Kataloqları: 1. Türkçe Tarih yazmaları,

TD = Tarih Dergisi, Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, İstanbul.

TTKB = Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten, Ankara.

TT = Tacü ’t-Tevârîh by Sâ‘eddîn Ef. İstanbul, 1279.

TTSN = Selim-nâme, by Sâ‘eddîn Ef. it is appended to the published version of his history, Tacü ’t-Tevârîh.


Yusuf = Çerkezler kâtibi Yusuf Selim-nâme, John Ryland Library, Turkish ms. No. 136, Manchester.
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I. Preliminary

In the study of any historical event or period, we must be aware of the facts of the past, as they influence contemporary society. The study of the past is essential in understanding the present and making informed decisions for the future. The history of the event to which they pertain. In their own source, however, there may be a special source for the historical evidence of the event. Although they may only partially depict the scene in which the event took place, they offer a valuable perspective on historical events that shaped our understanding of history. The evidence from these sources is consistent and can be evaluated with clarity. Much more than the events themselves, the sources reveal the underlying causes and effects. Understanding these connections is crucial for a comprehensive view of history.
1. Preliminary

Among the various ways in which materials of an historical nature can be studied - either as sources for the facts of the past, or as a literary interpretation of these facts - the latter has hitherto been largely ignored in the study of Ottoman historical materials. As the technique of historical investigation through archival materials becomes more familiar to the Turkish historian, the value of the narrative histories has tended to decrease and it is tacitly recognised that as a receptacle of fact, few of them are adequate to present an authentic picture of the age to which they pertain. In their other aspect, however, these works are a special source for the historical viewpoint of the Ottomans. Although they may only partially depict the world in which he lived, they fully document the way in which Ottoman man saw his place in this world, creating and transmitting an historical personality that flattered his opinion of himself. The writings, which because of their thematic consistency may be conveniently classified as Selîm-nâme literature, illustrate this latter quality most clearly. Much more than an accurate account of the events of the reign of this greatest of Ottoman Sultans, their purpose and motive was to create the example of the heroic figure from within the dynasty, and to supply a human ideal to a society which had only the spiritual
values of Islam offered to it for this purpose. They have, also, it may be maintained, a propagandist intent, in that they seek to restore the reputation of a Sultan who, through actions forced upon him by the dangerous circumstances of his realm, earned for himself the opprobrious title YAVUZ "the wicked"; and it is a measure of the success of this propaganda that the very word has changed its meaning in the modern language to "heroic, resolute".

To what extent historical sources, be they narrative or documentary, native or foreign, will ever allow a satisfactory presentation of the reign of Sultan Selîm I, cannot of course be anticipated. It is certain that they will never delineate the personality of this giant among men, nor can it be claimed that the result of this present research will do much in this respect. But even if we can never know Selîm as he was, we can still gain an idea of how his near contemporaries wished him to appear, and thereby gain some understanding of their own human values. To contrast the articles (based on documents in Topkapî Saray) in which Çağatay Uluçay traces the stages by which Sultan Selîm secured his throne with the short Selîm-name

which Sa‘deddîn Efendi placed as an appendix to his Tacû‘-Tevārîh illustrates the attitude towards history of those distant generations. Yet whatever his ultimate purpose, it cannot be maintained that the treatment given to Selîm by Sa‘deddîn departs in any way from the approved technique of the Islamic historian and his conception of historical validity. Each of the supernatural qualities of the sultan is exhibited in an historical setting and witnessed by individuals whose names were already familiar from the preceding chronicle.

* * *  * * *  * * *  * * *

The development of historical writing among the Ottomans received a new and invigorating stimulus in the reign of Sultan Süleyman Kanûnî. One need not dwell at any great length on the histories of Aşîk Paşa-zade, Ruhî, Oruç etc., for these were obviously of such a popular nature that they could not form the basis for a tradition of historiography commensurate with the pretensions of the dynasty. The one serious effort that had already been made to supply this foundation, the Hest-Bihist of Idrîs-i Bitlîsî was self-defeating in the extremes to which the author went in trying to achieve literary distinction, and the fact that it had been written in Persian further disqualified it from fulfilling the purpose now conceived.
This new spirit of activity in historical writing which was encouraged and patronized by the throne was to produce a large volume of work, even in quality, unsure in method and often trivial, but at the same time creating the fashion for this kind of literary endeavour in Ottoman society.

It is not strange that many of these historians chose the reign of Sultan Selim as their subject; this was the most proximate period and the one about which information was most accessible; it was a period of great and heroic achievement which was flattering to national pride; and it had the practical propagandist object of restoring the reputation of a sultan whose very name had become a byword for cruelty and tyranny among certain sections of the people.

This Selim-name literature differs from the chapters devoted to particular reigns of the general histories in that it had the specific purposes mentioned above, and was intended to isolate a period rather than to incorporate it into a broad summary. It exhibits, also, another differentiating characteristic in that its subject matter was recent enough to be still alive in the memories of many who would read it, and the historian's penchant for the fabulous and the miraculous had to be restrained accordingly. Consequently, there is found a higher degree of particularity in the treatment of events and the characters involved in
them than in earlier works; and as the object was to glorify Selīm, only those events which reflect credit upon him are selected for inclusion.

*** *** ***

The problem to which this present study is directed is the inter-relationship of the Selīm-nāmes to one another both in their content and in their style. It seemed necessary to establish some single source of information which could have been common to all, and for this reason volumes viii and ix of the Taʾrīh-i ʿAl-i ʿOsman of the great Kemāl Pasā-zāde Ahmed Efendi was chosen as the basis for comparison. While it is true that, according to the definition of a Selīm-nāme which has already been given, these books could be regarded as chapters in the general history of the dynasty, the very fact that they are usually found as individual works suggests that they were conceived and composed independently of one another. The Hest-Bihist of Idrīs-i Bitlīsī and his Selīm-nāme (edited by his son Ebuʾl-Fażl) might equally well have served the purpose as sources of information for the Selīm-nāme writer, but the very fact of their being written in a highly ornate foreign language prevented them from exerting a stylistic influence.
The history of Ottoman prose writing down to the time of Kemal Paşa-zade does not have many successful efforts to show, and in a certain sense he may be regarded as one of the earliest founders of the elegant style. Such precedents as did exist for works of this nature can be reduced almost down to one - the Tażarru‘āt of Sinan Paşa. In both are to be noticed the same balance of phrase and a strict periodicity, the sentence structure usually consisting of two roughly equal parts connected by terminal rhyme. Although this can be very pleasant in its effect in isolated passages; when used throughout a long work, it gives an impression of sameness and monotony. Although it is outside the purpose of the present work to discuss the development of Ottoman prose style, on the basis of these Selim-nāmes it would be possible to show a consistent progress towards the language of Sa‘deddīn Efendi in the Taḏū‘īt-Tevarīk, which was to become the standard for written Ottoman for centuries.
2. Selım-nâmes

The following works were used in the present study, and they constitute the basic materials for all subsequent narratives for the reign of Selım I.¹ In as much as the texts used for comparison (defter viii and ix of Kemal Paşa-zâde) do not include the Egyptian campaign, those other works which deal only with this period have not been taken into consideration, nor has this section of the works below been treated. As most of the authors are well-known, information about their lives and work is to be found in the usual sources and is not repeated here.

¹ The versified Selım-nâme of Muḥyī Qelebi, the only known copy of which is in the Izzet Koyunoglu library in Konya, was not available for study. cf. Ş. Tekindağ, 'Selım-nâmelər', Ta'rıh Enstitüsü Dergisi, pp. 212-215. Various other works of this title are mentioned by A.S. Levend, Gazavât-nâmeler, p.22-sqq.

(Zil-H, 926/1520) was another work, also in Persian and similar in style, devoted to the reign of Sultan Selim I, given the title Selim-nâme (or Selim Şah-nâme). The task of editing this was done by his son, Ebu 'l-Fazl, in the reign of Sultan Süleyman, though it was not brought to completion until the time of Selim II, to whom the work was dedicated. Ebu 'l-Fazl makes it clear that it was only the dedication to the latter Sultan that came from his own pen, the remainder of the work being entirely due to his father.¹

Each event dealt with in the history is described first in a prose narrative and immediately afterwards in a verse summary. It begins with an introduction in which Idrîs explains that he had written the history of the Ottomans because of the defects in the existing works of this nature, and that now he was undertaking the account of the reign of Selim to provide future generations with a model of sovereignty and to assure thereby the perpetuation of his own name.² Idrîs had been an eyewitness to many of the events which he describes; but as his primary purpose was to compose a work of literary distinction, he paid little regard to the accuracy of what he relates or to the relative importance

¹. The manuscript used here is the British Museum, Add. 24960, described by Rieu, Cat. Pers. Mss., i, 218.
². A. Ateş, Tez, 21-sqq.
of the various events. Throughout the manuscript used here there are occasional omissions of dates and names indicated by blank spaces, and it has not been determined if these are due to Idrīṣ or the copyist.

Nevertheless, this remains one of the basic narratives for the history of the period and was extensively used by later writers, such as Hācía Efendi and ʿAlī. It was, of course, not used by Kemāl Paşa-zāde, and therefore constitutes an independent source for the development of the Selīm-nāme genre.

2. Ishāḵ Çelebi, the author of one of the earliest Selīm-nāmes was born in 969/1465 in Üskūb where his father was a swordsmith. After completing his studies and entering the learned profession, he passed through several medreses, reaching the Şaḥn in 937. In 942 he was appointed kāzi of Damascus, and he died in this office in 944/1537.underline 1

1. The biography of Ishāḵ is given by Ismet Parmaksızoglu in his article: 'Üsküplü Ishak Çelebi ne Selimnamesi', TD, iii (1951-2); the basic sources for his life are Mecnı's translation of Taşköprü-zāde's Şaḵa'iku 'n-Numānīye, Istanbul, 1269, pp. 468-471; 'Aşık Çelebi, Tezkere-i Şu'arā, ed. G. Meredith Owens, London, 1972, pp. 42a-44a; Kinalı-zāde Hasan Çelebi, Tezkere-i Şu'arā, British Museum, Add. 24957, f.46a-48a; Riyāẕī, Tezkere-i Şu'arā, Nuruosmaniye, 3724, f.23b., The ms. used for the present study is: Bibliothèque Nationale, A.F., 141; cf. Blochet, Cat. Mss. Turcs, i, 58.
His Selım-nâme deals with the events in the life of Sultan Selim before he had yet come to the throne, beginning with the famous earthquake which shook Istanbul in 915 and ending with his accession, the death of Bâyezîd and the revolt of Sultan Ahmed against Selim. It contains particularly detailed information about these years, and is one of the most important sources for the Şâh-Kulu revolt in Anatolia.

S. Tekindag assumes from the fact that the work does not go beyond this date that it must have been written between the years, 918-920, but this of course, cannot be a determining factor. There is a clear similarity in style between this work and the first version of the 8th defter of Kemal Paşa-žade, which we know was written towards the end of the reign of Sultan Bâyezîd II, and it is evident that the latter was familiar to Ishâk. It is clear that there is also a similarity in content between this Selım-nâme and the other version of the Defter 8. Moreover, it is highly unlikely that any laudatory work written during the reign of Selim would concentrate on the period of his struggle for the throne and omit his famous campaigns, one of which he even participated in for a while. As explained above, the

1. The Dresden Ms. E.391, which Babinger describes as, History of Kemal Paşa-žade, contains between ff.24a-171a the text of Ishâk's Selım-nâme (7a-125a); but, more important, what follows is written in an identical style and brings the history down to 927. The relationship between this latter (Contd.)
hypothesis underlying this present study is that most works of this description were composed during the reign of Süleymān, and it may be that Ishāk took advantage of the favourable reception which literary works of this title would receive from the Sultān, by presenting it to him, once it had reached sufficient length to be regarded as a book. He could then have continued it as current history of his own age.

His work was used as a source for this period by Hūca Efendi, and in this respect he can be regarded as contributing to the historical tradition of the Ottomans.

3. Keşfi Mehmed Çelebi is thought to have been born in Amas a, the son of a certain segbānbaşı Hızır Ağa, who was governor of this city. He entered the service of Selīm when the latter was still governor of Trabzon; and on his

**Contd.)** and Defter IX of Kemāl Paşa-zāde is still not clear, however, it should be noticed that the same verses occur in both works, and of that those in Dresden Ms. are more lengthy and more numerous than in Defter IX. The British Museum Ms. Add. 23,586 - described by Rieu, pp.45–46, as Anonymous - is actually identical with the Dresden Ms. E. 391, and in fact a superior copy, although it ends at the accession of Sulṭān Süleyman.
becoming Sultan, was employed by him in several offices, reaching finally that of Defterdar of Anatolia. He died in Istanbul in 931/1524.¹

His Selīm-nāme contains no information not found in the other sources, and this creates a certain doubt as to whether he could have been employed in all the offices he is mentioned as having held. Indeed, the factual content in what he does relate is extremely slight, and it is obvious that he was using the theme as a vehicle for an exercise in belles-lettres rather than informative history. Although it was completed in its final form in 927, mention is made in the introduction of an earlier version which dealt with the reign of Selīm down to the taking of Tebriz. Probably, this earlier work was in Persian, for in the surviving Selīm-nāme he complains of his reluctance to write in Turkish, saying: Türkî dil dürr-i yetım gibi na-ṭirāş ve ṭabī‘at-ḥarāṣdur, lla. In fact, he writes in a very ornate style, and contents himself with giving marginal glosses in Turkish to the unfamiliar Persian and Arabic words used in his text.²

¹ This information is derived from 'OM, iii, 122, and has been repeated in all the other works which treat of Keşfī.
² The work was used in the Süleymanîye ms. Es'ad Ef., No. 2147.
4. Of Sücüdî, another contemporary of a Selim-name, even less of a biographical nature is known, Aşık Çelebi saying that he came from Kalkandelen, and Latif that he was from Pristina. He had been the dîvân kâtibi of Piri Mehmed Paşa, and during Selim's reign held the office of silahdar kâtibi, probably accompanying him on the Persian and Egyptian campaigns. He died while performing the pilgrimage early in the reign of Sultan Süleyman. ¹

Although he does not refer to Ishâk Çelebi's work, his own Selim-name is in the nature of a zeyl, taking up the narrative where it leaves off, and continuing down to the death of Selim. Sücüdî gives no due to his own identity in the text, nor does he even refer to the sources from which he drew his information. It is probably that he relied on his own observations for what he recorded, but on the whole his information is sketchy and inaccurate, (one of the points on which he does go into detail is on the kinds of weapons distributed to the troops before the battle of Qal'diran (ff.14a); and this would support the account that he was a Silahdar kâtibi). His work is written in a simple, unpretentious style, quite in contrast to Ishâk Çel. and Keş. and there is no evidence that it was used by any of the later authors of Selim-names.²

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¹ The known sources for his life are mentioned in Ş. Tekindag, SN, 216–217.
² The Ms. used here is Topkapı Sarayı, Revân, 1284/1.
Celâl-zâde Muștafa Çelebi, known as Köca Nişancı, (900-975/1492-1567) was another contemporary of Selîm I who wrote an account of the reign, deriving first-hand information from the vezîr Pîrî Paşa. The work was written in the reign of Sultan Süleyman, when Celâl-zâde was already an old man in his seventies, employing a style both simple and dignified, and given the title Me'âşir-i Selîm Han. Due to his privileged position in the Divân, where he served as re'îsülkütâb and nişancı, he had access to information denied to the other authors of such works and in this respect his work holds a special place in the corpus.

His attitude is unmistakably partisan, showing Selîm as being always in the right. For example, he did not revolt against Bayezîd, but rather tried to break the power of the selfish vezîrs who were misleading his father; and it was Ahmed who disputed the throne with him, rather than the reverse. In scope too, it is wider than the other histories, beginning with Selîm's birth and continuing down to his death.

He makes explicit acknowledgement of his reliance on Kemal Paşa-zâde in only one; but the general sequence and description of event corresponds so closely in the two works

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that it is safe to assume that the latter was one of his primary sources. There is, also, a similarity between much of his information and the documents included in the Münše‘āt-i Selatīn of FerIdūn Bey, and this must be seen as evidence that he took advantage of his position to make recourse to the state archives. On the whole his work is leisurely and discursive - the introduction covers 32ff., and, after completing the historical section, he continues on for a further 273 (221-494) ff., relating moral tales.¹

6. In the reign of Sultan Suleyman I, a certain Sa‘dī b. ‘Abdülmüte‘al, of whom nothing is known but his name, composed a Selīm-nāme, which has been given an undue importance.² It is, in fact, almost entirely derived from Defters vii and ix of Kemāl Paşa-zāde.³ As the remarks which will be made on these defters apply equally to this work, nothing more need be said of it here.

1. The work was used in the British Museum Ms. Add. 7348; Rieu, Cat. Turk. Mss., pp. 50-51.
2. It was translated as a doctoral dissertation in the University of Basel by Marie Thérèse Speiser (Zurich, 1946).
3. The text used for this study is Topkapı Sarayi, Hazine, 1424, which appears in the catalogue as the Selīm-nāme of Kemāl Paşa-zāde! Actually, the copyist omitted the name of Sa‘dī in the introduction and added a mersiye for Selīm at the end, otherwise the work is identical with Revan 1277, in which Sa‘dī’s name is mentioned (f.3a). Certain minor differences between Sa‘dī and Kemāl Paşa-zāde make it unlikely that the latter could be the author of this work.
7. Şükrî Beg of Bitlîs, is the author of one of the most original and interesting of the Selîm-nâmes. He was a man of high education, who had travelled extensively in quest of knowledge; and he claims that he was capable of writing poetry in six languages: Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Kurdish, Armenian and Hindî! He was a close associate of the Dulkadirlû Şehsûvâr-oğlu 'Alî Bey, after whose death he passed into the service of Hâlîl-oğlu Koçî Bey, from whom he derived his information on the Persian and the Egyptian campaigns. He died in the early part of the reign of Sultan Süleyman, the latest date mentioned for him being 928, when Rhodes was captured. ¹

His work, entitled Selîm-nâme (also, el-Fütûhâtü 's-Selîmîye), is a long meşnûvi in the fâ'ilâtün fâ'ilâtün fâ'ilât form of the Remel metre, written in a language marked by Azeri dialectical forms. As he explains in his introductory Sebeb-i te'lîf-i kitâb, he had originally written it on the model of Ahmedî's Iskender-nâme at the request of Şehsûvâr-oğlu 'Alî Bey, who also supplied the information

¹. Biographical information about Şükrî is to be found at the end of his own work (f.194b) under the heading der şîfat-i kemâl-i Şükrî. cf., also, Ş. Tekindâğ, SN, 216; Rieu, Cat. Turk. Mss., p. 174. The Ms. used here is the British Museum, Or. 1039.
about Selîm. When Şükrî later showed his work to Ḥâlîl-oğlu Koci Bey, he was told that it contained many errors; so he re-wrote it on the basis of his new master's emendations. The work begins with Selîm's appointment as governor of Trabzon and his campaign into Georgia and ends with the accession of Süleyman.

Şükrî's work contains details lacking in most of the other early Selîm-nâmes, being very precise in identifying individuals and places. It was used extensively by Hüoca Efendi in the Tacü 't-Tevârîh, where many of its verses are quoted verbatim (often with the attribution limünşî'-hi.) Through this latter work it passes into later general histories, such as 'Alî's Kûnhû 'l-Ahbâr.

6a) A prose version of Şükrî's work was made by a certain Yusuf, known as the Cîrkesler kâtibi. This is, in fact, the only information we have of him. His work was written in Cairo in 1030, and the manuscript used here contains a list of the Ottoman vâlis of Egypt down to the year 1041.¹

6b) In 1037, a certain Cevrî² re-versified the work into the Turkish of his age at the request of a certain 'Alî who

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1. cf. A.S. Levent, GN, 24. The work was used in the John Rylands Library, Microfilm of Roylands Turkish Ms. No. 136.

2. None of the poets of this name in GOD could be our author. Cf. Hep, iii, 297.
was the kethûdâ of the rûznâmeçi Ibrâhîm Ef. (died, 1047; cf. 'OM, i, 102). This 'Alî is said to have found Şûkrî's work reliable but unpleasant to read.

Gerçi vardur sözlerinûn silhâtı
Hatirûm gösterdi ana ragbeti
Lik yokdur kalîb-i nazîmda rûh
Zevki virmez âdeme feyz-i futûh
Her ne dehûl olsa ma'nasî dürüst
Dîl-gûsâ olmaz yine elfâz-i süst

The modernisation is, in fact, an abridgement, and, of course, adds nothing to the original.¹

8. With Îhâcê Sa'deddîn Efendi (943-1008/1536-99) we arrive at the distillate of all these preceding Selîm-nâmes, and the section devoted to the reign of Sultan Selîm in his Tacî'î-Tevârîh was to become the standard version of the events of this period² for centuries to come. His sources, which he sometimes draws on tacitly, can be shown to be the

1. The ms. used was Millet, Alî Emîrî, 1310. The ta'rîh for the completion of the work is given on 5a: (1037) خر حاو یپ اولم This is actually a mu'amâma; the total of the beyt as it stands comes to 1123. The solution is: omit ile (46) which is purely conjunctive to ğayr and cavîd, and read nâm as nâmîm (i.e. without 40); thus, ğayr and cavîd will be 'Alî, if one deducts mâmîm (40).

2. For his life, cf. Ş.Turan, IA, xi, 27-32.
works of Ishāk, Idrīs, Şūkrī, Kemāl Paşa-zāde and Ḥadiḍī.¹

The extent to which the Selīm legend had developed by his time can best be seen in the Selīm-nāme which is appended to the published version of his history. Here Selīm is depicted as almost a saint, receiving divine inspiration and having a mystical precognition of events; and although each of the twelve anecdotes which it contains is based on the statements of his own father, Hasan Cān, and other presumably reliable eye-witnesses, there is no mistaking the fabulous nature of the work.²

The popularity of the Tacū ’t-Tevārīh is, without doubt, to be attributed to its literary style, which was for centuries to remain a model for prose composition. When Nāmīk Kemāl wrote of Selīm I in his Evrāk-i Perīgān it was to Sa‘deddīn alone he looked to for his information, and indeed by this time his history had achieved the status of an official chronicle of the dynasty.

¹. The verse history of the Ottoman Dynasty by Ḥadiḍī (British Museum, Or., 12896) has not been used in its entirety for this study, being almost wholly derivative from other works, notably KPZ. Sa‘deddīn drew on it for versified summaries of the events he was relating, rather than information, and ‘OM, iii, 45 is misleading in describing it as one of his main sources.

². At one point, p. 619, he refers to Kemāl Paşa-zāde as his authority, but the incident is not to be found in any of the latter’s known works.
Another general history of the Ottomans is to be found in rükn iv of Muṣṭafā b. Aḥmed ʿĀlī's Kunhū 'l-Aḥbār. 1 ʿĀlī was born in Gelibolu in 948/1541, and after receiving an adequate education, was taken into the employment of the state, rising to such elevated posts as defterdār of Egypt, Anatolia and Rûmilî. He died in 1008/1599, the same year as Saʿdeddīn Ef. Not only was he a man intimately acquainted with the internal operations of the state, but by virtue of the various appointments he held he had a personal knowledge of many of the provinces of the Empire. Moreover, he was an interested observer of the social scene, and had the literary ability to record what he saw.

For the section on the reign of Selīm in his Kunh he drew mainly on the Tacū 't-Tevārīh, but he also used the works of Kemāl Paşa-zāde, Idrīs and Nişancī and rarely fails to identify the sources of his information. Also he does not hesitate to criticize these predecessors when he finds them in error, nor is he shy of expressing personal opinions on the matters on which he writes. The present study, being mainly concerned with the events which are dealt with in the Kunh and the identification of their sources, does not adequately reflect the interesting and original quality of this remarkable work.

1. For ʿĀlī, cf. Ibnū ʾl-Emīn Maḥkūd Kemāl's introduction to his Menākib-i Hünerverēn, (İstanbul, 1926). The manuscript of the Kunh used for the present study is Süleymaniye, Esʿad Ef., No. 2162.
3. Kemāl Paṣa-zāde

Defters 8 and 9

The sources for the biography of Şemseddīn Ahmet b. Süleymān b. Kemāl Paṣa (873-940/1468-1534) have most recently been examined by Şerafettin Turan in the introduction to his edition of Defter vii of the Tevārīh-i Āl-i ʿOsman, Ankara 1957, and an extensive bibliographical survey of his numerous works has been made by [Nihāl] Atsiz.¹

He was throughout his life intimately involved with the men directing the affairs of state, and he himself attained the ranks of kāzī-ʿasker (922-925) and şeyhülislām (932-940), having contact with all the principal participants in the events of which he writes in his last three defters.

While still a müderris, he was commissioned by Sulṭān Bāyezīd II to write a history of the Ottomans and like his contemporary Idrīs-i Bitlīsi he, too, gave a reign by reign account of the Dynasty down to 916 which, when completed in eight defters, he presented to the Sulṭān. For

¹ Şarkiyat Mecmuası, vi (1966), 71-112; vii (1972), 83-135.
the early reigns he used the familiar sources,¹ but when he approached his own time he was obliged to rely on personal knowledge, and consequently it is in these last defters that his work becomes most valuable.

The Istanbul mss. of defter viii and ix have been described in (T C Y K, pp.123-sqq), and another ms. is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Blochet, i, 239. These are referred to as follows in the present work.

**Defter viii**

Those sections of this defter which deal with Selīm and his struggle for the throne are found in only three mss.:

F: Fatih, No. 4221 (ff. 191a-208b).
M: Millet, Ali Emiri, tarih, No. 29 (ff. 1b-22b).²

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2. Millet, Ali Emiri, tarih, No. 32, is the sole known mss. of the complete defter viii; however, it comes down only to the end of 916, and may have been copied from the version presented to Sultan Bāyezīd.
None of these mss. are dated, and only F (which was used as the basis for the edition given here) contains a text which is consistently readable as well as being fuller in content. It comes down to the accession of Selīm in 918, but it is clear that it was not written until the reign of Süleymān; for example, Selīm is referred to as merḥūm (f.191a) and Süleymān as pādişāhımuz (f.197a.)

In fact, this is the only section of defter viii contained in this mss., and it was presumably intended as an introduction to the following defter (ix) on the reign of Sultan Selīm. That it was intended to form a part of the eight defter there can be no doubt, for the concluding words speak of its being continued in defter ix; yet there is every indication that it was written some time after the first version of defter viii had been completed, and it can be justly regarded as being more a prologue to defter ix than an attempt to complete the narrative of Bāyezīd's reign.

M is, unfortunately, most carelessly written; often illegible, it omits much of what is found in F and re-arranges meaninglessly many of the events. The same remarks also apply to P, which, in addition, has suffered water damages, rendering parts of it unusable. Consequently, only F was used for this portion of the present edition.
Defter ix

This is Kemal Paşa-zade's history of the reign of Sultan Selim down to the year 920, after the Battle of Qaldiran. In 922 apparently he presented it to the Sultan, and there may be a connection between this and his appointment as kâzî-‘asker of Anatolia in this same year.

Seven mss. of the work were used for the present study:

D: Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, E 70, ff. 1b-4lb (H.O. Fleischer, Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium Bibliothecae Regia Dresdensis, Libsia, 1831, No. 70; Babinger, GOW, p. 62)

F: Fatih, No. 4221, ff. 209b-236a. (TCYK., p.124)

K: Cairo, Daru '1-Kutubi 'l-Miṣrī, No. 50/8846, ff. 74b-118b. (Ali Efendi Ḥilmi Dāğistanī, Fihristü 'l-Kütübi 't-Türkîyyeti fi 'l-Kütûbhaneti 'l-Hidîviyye, p. 224 Misr (Egypt) 1306.


None of these mss. seems to contain the original 922 version of Kemāl Paşa-zāde's work, each presenting some variations in language and the sequence of narration, and in the amount of verse included. For the present edition, V was chosen as a basis, because it would appear to represent the final recension by the author of his work, i.e. matter given as marginalia in the other mss. is here included in the text.

As can be seen from the critical apparatus, mss. V, D and R represent one group, the two latter giving in the margins those additions to the text (especially poetry) which are incorporated in V. It can be assumed that these marginalia were additions which Kemāl Paşa-zāde himself intended to add to his work for the 2nd recension which, as mentioned in connection with Defter viii, was probably done in the reign of Sulṭān Süleyman; in which case it could be argued that the body of D and R represent the first version of the work. Also, both these latter contain at the end an involved indication of the date of completion as being Saturday, 5 Şav. 922, which significantly is omitted in V. P was not available for study until this work was nearing completion, but the indications are that it, too, should be included in this group; it also omits the indication of the date.
A second group of mss. is represented by F, K and M, of which K seems to contain the final version. This grouping is established mainly in respect of the language, only minor variations in content occurring among them, as when F (f. 218a–218b) describes the descent of Şâh Ismâ‘îl. Each of these mss. moreover, contains the dating mentioned above.

These two groups are very closely related; the contents and the sequence of events being virtually the same in both. F is the most individual, making both omissions and additions; but this may be due to the copying, for it is written in three differing hands. R and V, on the contrary, were obviously written by the same copyist. K, which is beautifully written in a later hand, may be assumed to have been based on a last copy (X) of the M,F group. Thus, the ms. tradition may be represented.

These sections of Kemâl Paşa-zâde's Ta’rîh are, as can be seen from the commentary, at the basis of practically
all subsequent Turkish Selîm-nâmes, and consequently may be regarded as the fundamental work in this genre. It has, in addition, a particular significance for Ottoman historiography in general. The patronage and encouragement given by Sulṭân Süleymān to authors working on this theme engendered a new interest in historical writing; and whereas previous chronicles - especially those of a popular nature, such as 'Āṣîk Paşâ-zâde, Neşrî, Rüḥî, etc. - were content to be a bald statement of events with little artistic pretension, these new works were conscious efforts at literary elegance. In this, the influence of Kemâl Paşâ-zâde is everywhere apparent; but this influence did not remain with the style of narration, it, also, defined what was to be the content and system of presentation in future historical writing. The kind of events which were presumed to be of interest to history was to a significant extent established by Kemâl Paşâ-zâde's work, and by none more so than these two defters in which he writes from his own knowledge and experience.
Bu dâsitân merûm Sultan Bâyezîddûm evâbirî-î hayatîndan, sene-i erba’a ‘âşere ve tis’a-mi’i’den şemâne ‘âşere ve tis’a-mi’i’ye gelince[ye] degin vâki’ olan havadîs-ü-vakas’i’i beyân ider.

Merûhûm Sultan Bâyezîd Hân — eskene-hû ’llâhû te’âlâ ma’â ’l-’Ulefa’i ’r-Râsîdînî fî ğurefi ’l-Cinân — devletle serîr-i hilafete cûlûs îtvûkde seb’a-i seyyâre mânendi yedi ferzend-i erçümendî vardî; meydân-ı zamînda her biri yegâne-i rûzgâr, şâni-yi Sâm-ı Süvâr, şâlîg-i Rûstem-ü-İsfendiyâr, ûmîs-i Çâr-Âhyârdî, şeş-cihât-ı kâ’înîta şeref virûb, heftiklimûf her biri bir tarafîna şehriy-i olmâga sezâvârdi.


İçlerinde şâhib-kîrân-ı ’âlem, sul’tânû selâtînû ’l-’Arabi ve ’l-‘Acem ve ’r-Rûmî ve ’r-Türki ve ’d-Deylem, mâh-î sâtâre-sipâh, merûhûm Sultan Selîm Şâh — tâbe şerûhû — gerçî tertib-i sinde sâ’ir karîndaslarîndan kiçidî, emmâ
darb-1 şimsir-û-şüs-n-1 tedbîrde cümlesine gâlibdi; her ne yirde bir nâm-dâr dilâver var ise anuñ ẖidmetine tâlibdi.

Darb-1 şimsîrle múkaddem idi

Etbesî tedbîrle músellem idi

başılıb gidicek Erzincana ugramayub, toğru yoldan Tebrize
azm idicek ol esbâb-u-eskâl anda kalmışdı. Sultan Selim Şah
[192a] ol kazıyeden ağân olub, habber almasıdı, fi 'l-hâl
hayl-i cerrârla Taşrâzuddan çıkub seyî-vâr ol diyâra irdi,
Erzincanı ohündeki şahraya deryâ gibi girdi. Kimse mânî-ü-
münâzî olamadı, bildügîn itdi, ol günç-i hâkde medfûn olan
Genc-i Kârûnî çıkârûb aldî gitdi. Ol diyâruûn sipehsâlârlâğin
yanındağî seriârlarûn birine virdi. Şehâ-1 gümrah Tebrize
geldükden sonra ol esbâb alındığın bildi, âdem gönderûb
âleb kîldî. Cenâb-1 kâm-yâbdan cevâb-1 savab bu minvâl üzere
sâdîr oldu ki, ol gedâ-yyî bî-ser-û-pây bu esbâbû neden
müsteğâkkiîdir? Ejdehâ-peyker tôplar meydân-1 rezm-i sultan-1
ûlu 'l-‘azme münâsib, faţfurî-çinîler divân-1 'âlî-şân-1
Kaysara lâ’ïïdur.

Kişi miqdârûnî bilmek gerek düür
Kara boncûk kaçan olsâ gerek düür
Pamukûdan ve ketenden tokunan bez
Harîr olmaz gerek âç u gerek düür
Mes’ûli makbûl olmayîcaq, sözi geçmeyûb yüz bulmayîcaq,
âdemi me’yûs olub gitdi, şâhîna virilen cevâbî iletdi. Mezkûr
mağrûr bu haber-i şerê-serêrdîn bir pâre od oldî, seyî gibi
akdî yil gibi esdi, kum gibi yerinde kîldî.

İlerâ bâb bî xét-1 gazâ-yyî Gürçîstân:
Hicret-i Haçret-i Risâletûn — ‘aleyhi ’s-selâm— tôkuz

Deşt ile der tôldî hayl-i seyl-cûş
Kûhsâruñ içi oldâ pûr-hûrus

Atla giren yayan yol bulmaga
Cân virûr idi șaçub kurtîmaga
Azerbâycân begleri ki, ma’mûre-i mezkürenûn bir kenârî anlarûn diyârînûn civârîdûr, ol vilâyeti gâret itmege diş bilerlerdi, arkadan bâkarlar, ağîzîlerni şuyn akârdi. Elleri irdûkçe şeng-i ceng-û-şengal-i cidâle ucdn bucaâdan ilerlerdi, emmê hayr itmezlerdi, aldûklarîndan virûkleri

Dîmedîler it misin âdem misin

Seyl mi yâ kadre-i şebnem misin
garet-ü-hasaret idüb, alub virdi. Şehzade-i kämkär diyär-i Gürçiye girmekle ‘aleme mehabet birakdı, mäl-i qanımet
därü ’l-mülk-i Tırabzuna deryā-misāl akdir. [193b] Hzret-i
Fâdişah-i cihan-penāha fetiḥ-nāme irsāl idüb aḥvali i’lām
itdi, ol şen-i ālîye lâ’ik olan iḥsān-u-tahsinî cenâb-i
kâm-yâb-i ʿafītāb-himmetden görđi. iṣitdi. Ferzend-i ʿerçumendi
olan sultaṅ-ı cihan, saḥib-kirān-ı zamān, manzūr-ı Subhān
Sultān Süleyman Ḥāna — eyyedehu fī küllī ānīn ve şe’nîn—
Kefe vilâyetinümi ʿeyāleti ki, murādī-ydı, himmet olunub,
riʿāyet ol índî.

‘Urūc itdi sēmā-yı iʿtibāra

Teraqqī itdi evc-ı istihāra

Sāʾir şehzâdelerümi daḥī ol esnâda evlad-ı emcâdları riʿāyet
olunup-dururdu, ol tâc-dârlarûm her birine bir diyârûn
şehriyarlıgı himmet-ū-ʿināyet olunup-dururdu. Merḥûm Sultān
Şehinsâh oğlu Sultān Muḥammadê Nigde sancâğı erzānî görûlub,
ve merḥûm Sultān Aḥmet oğulları Sultān ‘Alâ’üddîne ve Sultān
Süleymâna ve Sultān ‘Osmāna Boli ve Çorum ve ‘Osmancık sancâğı
iḥsān olunmuşdu, merḥûm Sultān Maḥmûd ve Sultān ‘Alemşâhûfî
oğullarına Kastamonîye ve Kangîri sancâkları himmet olunub,
etrâf-[u]-eknâf-ı bûm-ı Rûm ol hûmâlara āsiyân olub, āṣûmân-ı
memâlik-ı ‘Osmân nûcûm-ı kurûm ile ālîmsîdî.
Her birisi buluben'i'tibâr
Bir diyâra olmuş idi sehriyâr

Bu dâsitân Korkud Han[uğ] deryâ'yı geçüb
Mişra varduğidur.


Kullûk it Hakka tâ'atuûn var iken
Tâ'ata istitât'atûn var iken

Hicretûn 'tokûz yüz on beşinci yılında, ol 'âm-1 ferruh-encâmûn evâ'ilinde Hicazâ gitmêge, varub Hacc itmêge taqâmîn-1 'azîmet itdî; nâ-gâh men' ideler, memûn olursa hûrmân, olmaz ise 'isyan, iki mahzûrûn biri lazâm gele diyû isticâtet itmedin gitdi. Hûddâm-1 Sidre-makâmûn 'avâmûna ve hâvâssûna 'azîmetini i'lâm itmedi. Ablâq-1 aştûûnîn altî, yedi yarar hûdmetkâr ihtiyûr kilûb, gîce ile Antalya Hîşârîndan çîkûb, kenâr-1 derya'ya indi, dü'n yarasında kimse tûymûdan merkeb-i bâd-pâyâ bindi, dest-i ihtimâmîla bâdbân-1 himmetî kaldurub, keştî-yi ikdâm-1 daryâ-yî 'azîmete şaldî, tevfîk-1 Hak refîk-1 târîk olub, maksada mûvafîk
rüzgar bulub, bir aylık yol bir haftada aldı; Dimyata çıkub ol tarafılara şeref virdi, Şahzade-i 'aşruñ ol bûma kudûmi haberi Mişra irdi, Mişr sulţanı işidüb, nihâyet mertebede şâd oldı.

Didi Mişra zihî lütîf-i İlâhî
K'ola Şehzâde-i 'aşruñ penâhî

Sulţân işidüb didiki zahmet ola hâsâ
Minnet bilüreñ hidmetini ben kulûñ ey şâh
Varîni nişâr eylese yoluña 'acebmi
El-‘abdül ve - mā-yemlikūhu kāne li-mevlāh


Haremeynün şafası alımdı

Göñlīni ol hevāda kalmıdı


Beyān-ı zelzele-i ‘ażīme der Kostaţınīye-i kübrā.


Azdî çûn halk Vâhid-i kahhär
Eger-i kahrîni idûb izhâr
Rûm mûlkin zelzele şaldı
Rûm mûlkin velvelê şaldı
Havl ile tîldî içi bahr-û-berûn
Üstine geldi altı nice yerûn
Hâli halkuûn olub harab-u-yebab
Ol gice oldı sanki yevm-i hesâb
Ol leyl-i pür-veylide halk serâsun olub, şerûr-ı nûr-ı 'ażâbun
tef-ü-tâbî vehmi-yile çok kişiler hâ'âb-ı qafletden uyandılar, erkek-ü-dişi her kişi hâ'ir-ü-bâ'ir olub, ne kadar kalb[i]
kaşı-vü-‘âsi var ise me‘âsîden tâ’ib-ü-â’ib olub uslandılar. Çünkü ma‘müre-i mezküre vech-i meşruh üzre garâb olub, sarây-ı
‘âmirenu‘û dâ‘iresinde olan fîvâr-ı üstüvâra ve harîm-i kerîmde
olan binâlara ihtilâl irdi; sâhat-ı râhat-vezâ-ûx kusûrî kusûrûndan
Şehriyâr-ı kâmkâru‘û hâtir-i ‘â‘irîna kôsan gerd-i futûr keder-ü-
infi‘âl wîrdi.

Görü gün şehr ü zelzele hâlin
İtdi ıhrâc ‘arzuûn iskâlin
Taht-gâhî koyub hemân ol âñ
Gânîb-i Edirneye oldî revân
Hîşâru‘û ve sarây-ı üstüvâru‘û ‘imarete hâcet olan yirleri
termîm-i ta‘mir olûnsun diyû egna‘f-ı ‘ibâdden mehere-i şehere
ve etsrâf-ı bilâddan ‘amele-i kemele i‘zhâr olûnmak emr olûndâ.

Emr-i ‘âlî-şâna idûb imtişîl
Akîdî erbâb-ı binâ deryâ-mişâl
Zîkr olan binâlurum mûhimmâtî hûşûsî tâhsîl-ü-tekmîl olûnub,
mücidd-ü-sâ‘i mu‘temedler [196a] akdâm-ı ıkdam üzerine türub,
iki aya komayub itmâm itdîler; ma‘müre-i mezkürenûn nazîrîni
ihdâsa Sultan-ı kader-tûvânu‘û iktidârinî i‘lân-u-i‘lâm itdîler.

Sultan Selîm Hân Rûm-iline geçmesine bâ‘îs ne olduðu.
Hâkân-ı sa‘îd merhum Sultan Bâyezîdûn muddet-i  difícet, ki
otuz iki yıldûr, ihtita‘ma karîb oldû, vücûd-û sêrîfîni, ki
merkez-i dâ'ire-i hâlm-û-cüddür, cûnuûd-i 'ilel her cânibden ortaya aldî. dest-i taḵdir pençe-i tebdîrin burub, [ayak] zâhmeti ḥuṣûrin uğurub, nikrîs zâhmeti, ki marâz-î mevrûsi-ydi, ḥûdûş bulmîş, mîzâcîna tamâm müstevli olmîşdî. Üfînî de balgam uyub tîz-ţab ' şafraîa Oğrub hevâsîna tâbî' anûnîla baş köşmiş Şofînî de hîdêt-i şafraîa döymeyûb balgam Elînden al benî diyû ayâğîna dümişûg


Bu fikr ile erkan olur bi-kerja
Ki tahta nice geçe ol şehriyar

iklim-i kadimun mükmüllerine yetdi.

Vardı ol şehre dağı virdi şeref

Behre-i lutf aldı andan her taraf

ziyade girän geldi. Tekrār ādemler gönderüb, "Anatoli 
sancaklarından birini iüşiyar it, virelüm " denilicek, 
Hazret-i Şehriyar " Babam hazretlerinin mübarek cemālin görüb, 
ellerin öpmek be-gāyet murādimmur, bi-nefsih ḫuṣūr-ī şeriflerine 
‘arz idecek ğażāyā vardur. Ol ma’slahat nihāyet bulduktan şofra, 
emr-ī şerifleri teveccühle şudūr-u-zuhur bulur ise imtigāl 
olına " diyii cevāb virdi. Erkān-ī devlet bu cūr’etden 1zārāb-u- 
ḥayrarete ve ziyāde ḥavf-ū-ḥāṣyete düştü, tedbīr-ū-meşverete 
meğgül oldılar.

Beyān-ī fitne-i cem-ī sitemkār

Hurūc-ī

Sābīkā beyān oldugu üzere Sultān Korkūd maḥrūse-i Miṣr’dan 
gelüb Antālya şehrinde bir miķdār iḵāmet itdükden şofra, ol 
vilāyetūn Etrāk-ī nā-pākinden, ki şûreṭā ādem ve ma’nāda bir 
nice ḥayvān-ī lā-yefhem idiler, ūb-ī şerifi ziyāde bi-ḫuṣūr-u- 
muḳtedder oldugu ecden, ol yörede iḵāmet itmekden ferāqat 
idüb, Ṣaruḥān vilāyetine, ki ḵādīmī taḥt-gāshi-ydi, [198a] gitmege 
niют itdi; aḩmāl-i esḵāl ve ḥazā’in-ū-emvāl üzereine ḱpusu 
haḳkından bir miķdār ādem koyub, kendüsi ziyāde isti’cālinen 
gice ile şızdi gitdi. Ol ḥavāliide olan evvbās-ī kallās büyle 
‘acele ile gitmeden Ḥaẓret-i ǧudāvendigār vestāt itdi şanub, 
‘isyan izhār itdiler; Şehzādenūn ḥazā’in-ū-emvāline ta’arruz 
ḵāsd itdüklerinde ol ẖidmete mübāşir olanlar muḥārebeye iḵdām 
idüb, muḵkem kārzār itdiler. Bu ḥādiqe sene-i seb’a ‘aṣere 
ve tis’a-mī’e evv’ilinde zuhūr buldi, ri’āyet-i merāsim-i ādāb, ki

ehl-i İslâmla cidál-ü-küllâl ideler. Bu kažîye vâki olıçak, bir birine ḥaber idüb, 'ażim cem'iyet itdiler; civârlarında olan re'âyânû mäl-u-menâliî ve ehl-ü-'âyâlin kendülere mûbâh bilüb, bildükleri fesâdi idüb, ziyâde şena'at itdiler. Ba'zi Müslümanlar sa'b tağlara kaçub, ol şâlenemûn şerr-ü-şurûndan ba'îd oldılar; ba'zîlâr halâsa mecâl bulamayub, zârüri ceng idüb, şehîd oldular. Dařî Sultan Korkud Mişrda iken kašîn-i hüriyye inžimámîyle ol havâricü'l hûrûca ikdâm itmelerini ol cevânibûn hükkâmî bilmişlerdi; zikr olan ma'na-yi menhiîye irtikâbârî vuku bulmadıv devlet-i ebed-peyvendîî menhîleri vâkıf olub, bâb-ı sa'âdet-me'âda olan nevvâb-ı kâm-yâba i'läm kılımslardı. Emmâ ihtilâf-ı aḥval-i eyyâmî olmağın ol kažâyâ 'alâ mâ cera Ḥudâyendigâra 'arz olınumdâ; Antalya Hisârî dizdarına ve kâdîsine âdem gönderilüb, ol ḥabarûn şıdki ve kîzbi aslı ve fašlî taḥkîk kılımsmâdî.

Dimedîler ol segûn aḥvalînî

[ 199a ] Bağy-u-tügyâdan yaña ikbâlînî

Ol zamânda Anâطولm vilâyetinûn beglerbegisi Kara Göz Paşa idi " ol cevânibde olan ǚmerâya ṣ/ṣ Even " bu ictimâ'ı isticâmâ ideîcek, ne tekellûf çekdi, ne tevâkkuf gösterdi, fi-îl-ňâl yanînda/hâzîr bulunan ma'zûlîrden ve sipâhîlîrden bir miqdâr âdem cem' eleyüb, üzereîrîne ırsâl itdi; iki leşker bir birine buluşub, çok Müslümanlar şehîd olub, âhirete intikâl itdi. Zikr olan müfsidler ölüm eri olmuşlardı, merâret-i mevti hâlîvêt-i hayât üzre ihtiyâr kılımslardı. Lâ-cerem ǧalîb gelüb, mezkûrlarî ṭâğiîtdîlar. Paşa-yî mazbûr 'askerinûn inhîzânîn işdîceke,

Şehâdet şerbetine kandî cânî
Maḳâmî oldî Cennt gülistânî

Mezkûr Paşa şehîd olîçâk, yânındâğılîr târumân olîçâk, 'ômeɾi piyâdelîkîle geçîş ağaç ayakuł Eтрâk-ı nâ-pâk, güzel bedevî atlara ve pûlûd-ı Hindî ve Dimîskî kîlıçlara mûlik oldîlîr, Kûṭahya Kâl'asîn muḥâşara kîldîlêr. Gördîler ki,

Çû süsmâr-ı gûrîzân be-zîr-i seng âmêd
Bu dâsitân ‘Ali Paşa def’-i a’dâ içûn
Anatolîya ’ubûr itdûgidûr.


Ölüm iki degûl bir dûr cihândâ
Döşekde ölme kanda, kanda kanda
Pâdîsâh dahi hayr du’â eleyûb, dört bin nefer Yeniçeri ve dört bin dahi kapu kûlûndan koşub, cemî-i Anatolî beglerîn emr-i şerîf vardi ki, düşmen yarağı ile hâzîr olalar, müşûrûnîleyh Paşanûn sancâqî dibînê cem’ olub, fermânûna mûntaşîr olalar.
Sâbîkân sâbîk olunduğu üzre, Sultan Ahmed karıdadıga
Sultan Selîm Hanuñ Kefeye geçtiği ışidüb bî-îzâzûr oldî;
erkân-ı dîvânî cem' idüb eytîdi. " Karıncâsum Korkud Hân
nâmûs-ı salıtanatî ri'âyet itmeyüb, mahzâ Mişr sultanî ile
'ahd-ü-mîsâk ve mûnâsibet-ü-ittifâk içûn diýar-ı 'Araba 'azîmêt
itdî; ol mașlahat tamâm olub, 'uhûd-u-mevâşık tamâm mü'ekked
oldûkdan şoûrâ, yine sançağina 'avdet itdî. Ol bir karıncâsum
Selîm Hân dañî oglînî görmegi bahâne-i şehâne idüb, Rûmilîne
geçdi. Babam marîz-û bî-mecâl olub, kendî halîne istigâlînden,
yîlîyet âhvâli kemâl mertebeûd iñtilâl bulub-durur. Mûnasib
oldûr ki, muñaddemâ varub, Korkudu te'dîb eleyem, andan
Rûmilîne geçüb, karıncâsum Selîmî çîkarub, babam yîrine pâdişât
olam." Hâzîr olanlar bu tedbirî begenüb, tañrîk-û-tañsîn itdîler.
Ertesî hemân [201a] sefer teðârikîn idüb, Ankara cânîbîne
müteveccîh oldî. Kapuya ădem gönderüb, karıncâslarınûn bî-lâ
icâze ûareket itdûklerînden şikâyêt itdûb, anlari te'dîb
eylemek içûn icâzet istedî.

Hûdavendîgîr bu haberden incinüb, emr etdi ki, yerine vara,
" Bir karıncâsum bî-lâ tañrîb yerinden kâlkûb ûareket itmekle
bu ışadar fesât oldî. Senûn memleketûn ăod Kızılbaşça karîn olub,
ekser-i re'âyâ ol mulhûdiûn ûîhibbasîndandur, me-bâdâ ki, fitne-yi
'azîme bâ'îg olub, vilîyet harâb ola. Biz senûn karıncâslarûnû
dâm-î ri'âyetle kayd-î gâfîlet ûâşûrmek tebdûrindeyüz.
în şâ'a 'llâh 'an karîb sühûletle ol me'mûle ûâyyîz-i ğuşûle
vusûl bula.


kerr-ü-fer ve şazım leskerle gelmek ne lazımdı, " didiler.
Ol ǧidmet kapucu başlarına mufavvaż idi, emâa mahall-ı ǧaṭar olmâğın ḥažer eylediler. ǧeţkûr Paşa tugû club giderken, karsüdan Şehriyâruñ tug-ı sa’adet-fürüği zâhir oldı, Paşaya û dehşet gelüb, ilerû varamayüb, yine gerûsine çekildi.


sürah-u-sefîdînden ol kadar in'âm olındı kî, şûret-i erkâm cerîde-i evhâma sığmak müyesser degûldi. Ve 'ahd-nâme yazîldı kî, "Mâdâm ki ğudâvendîgîr hayatda ola, kimesneyê yerine pâdişân itmeyê; ol maşlağat Haêk celle ve 'alânûñ irâdetine ve mesîyetine mufavvaê ola."

Aḥmedi getürüb pādīşāh itmeki-ğün ise niğün anlara icāzet virilmeden bu vilâyetden gidile. Tīr-i tedbīr hedef-i iṣābete muḥārin olması maḵṣūd ise, vācibdūr ki, šāhid-i murāddan gözümüz ayırmayavuz; iṣāmūz ilerü varduğum dilersevüz lāzimdūr ki, ser-riṣte-i kār elūmüzden çıkmayavuz.""

Dirīğ süd ne-dařed ču reft kār ez dest čuŋ ol emīr-i kelāmuñ kelām-ı cevāhīr-intizāmuğa ḥātır-ı şerīf mā’il oldı, lā-cerem leşkerine istirāḥata ruṣṣat virilüb, kendü sa’ādetle bir çağ gün iḵāmète niyet kıldı.

Tetimme-i dāsitān-ı Sulṭān Aḥmed bā-‘Alī Paṣa


Kıldı ol mefhar-i erbāb-ı cinān
Pādişeh yolına cānın kūrban


tedbire râzi degüldü.

Emma, gün Pağışah-ı 'âlem-penêh, tevâtür-i tevâli-yi
âlâm-i rûhânî ve şiddet-i kuvvet-i emrâz-i cismânîden ziyâde
müte'ellim olmïdi, " Oğlum Sultan Ahmedi gefürme ge tarîk-ı
savâb-u-vech-i ma'kûl neyse aña meşkûl oluñ, min ba'd
pağışahûnuz oldur " didi. Emma, gün ol emrûn itâmâni dükeli
Rûmîîî sançağ beglerinnîîî kabûline mevkûfdî, zîkr olan begleri
geturûb, Hudavendîgâr huzûrînda gîlânz-u-şidadla yemînler vîrdîler.
Anlar da " Pağışahûn külîyûz, cânîmûz, başîmûz Hudavendîgâr
ûgûrînûn feda " didîler. Şehriyâr haustetînîîî def'îne dañi bu
vechle tedbîr eyledîler ki, sancagîna gitmegi teklîf idîler;
kendîler İstanbul cânîbine 'azîmet idîler; sançağîna gitmeyûb,
Edîrînede karîr idërse, Sultan Ahmedi getürûb, İstanbulda tahta
geturûb, 'anûn def'îne mûbâşeret idîler.

Hicretûn t¸okuz yüz on yedisi Rebi‘u ’l-‘ahirînde İstanbul
cânîbine 'azm olûndî, Rûmîî 'askerine destûr virilmeyûb, bîle
alub gitdûgînden mağîûd-u-nîyetî ve âksa-yî himmetî n'idûgi
ma'lım olub, bilîndî. Rûmîî beglerinnîîî ba’zîl Hudavendîgârûn
Şehriyâ-ı kâmkârla eyledîgi mu‘âhedenîîî hîlânîn görûb,
haustet-i Şehriyâra métûba‘at itdîler; İstanbula 'azîmet iden
'askerîn ardîna düşûb,ışîmîn şonîn gözêtîdîler. Çorîlî Sûyi kûrînde
väki‘ olan meşûm şahrâda konûlub, otururken yetîsdîler.
Şehriyâ-ı kâmkâr ‘asker-i cerrârîna ışmarlîldî ki, [205a]
kimesneye müte‘arriz olmeyûb, ebîmî tûrâlar; olcânîbîn ibtidî
ne şahîr olur görêler. Bu cânîbîn vûzerâ Hudavendîgâra
eyîtdîler. " Fîrșat eldeyken fevt itmeyûb, cenge Âheng itmek

Derya-yî maşâff cûşa geldi
Seylab-i belâ hûrûşa geldi


Hâzret-i Şehriyâr etrâfîna bâkî ki, gördî, yanînda olan ‘asker-i bî-şûmâr tûrumâr olub, anlarûn yîrine a’dâ-yî hâksâr tolmış; ol mûh-î ‘âlem-penâhî hâle gibi ihihata kalmış, hâmîyet kemerîn bağlanub, ğayret kîlicîn kuşanîn merdânî yigitlerden, bir kaç nefer kimesne kalmış. ol yegâneler ki, kadîmü hûdmetkârlarîn-yîdî, nakd-i hayâti maşarîfîne şarîf eylemişler.

[205b] Hâzret-i Şehriyâr ol bed-kîrdârîlaren tahrîkî-yîle babasînûn bu veçhle sitem-kârîgîn görûb, âübârek hâtîrîna fûtûr geldî; ol girdâb-i beleåadan kenär-i selâmète çıkmâğı kendîye lâzîm-u-vâcib

İlása-i Al-i 'Ogmâ, manzûr-1 Sûbîhan, oğlî Sultan Sûleymân edâma 'llâhü devlete-hü fi külli ânin ve zamân Kefeye diyârında sa'êdetle mütemekkin olub, säye-i hümâyûnında 'âlem hurrem olmîdî. Hzaret-i Şehriyâr dağî 'inan-îhtiyânın ol cânibî munşarîf kîlub, ol kevkeb-i saltanat ne yirden 'tulû' itdi-yse, yine ol tarafî rüçû' kîldî.

Baêîye-i dâsitân-1 sâbîku '1-beyân

Mezkûr Sultan Selim Hân bu vech ile münhezim-û-perişân olduğına cemî'-1 kapu kulları ve Yeñigerî tâ'îfesî ziyade münkesirî 'l-kalb olmîslardî. İstanbula gelindükde 'âlî' divân olub, ümûr-1 saltanat meşveret kîlîndi. Vûzêradan ba'zi, ki mûhimmât-1 memleket anlarûn hûsnî tebdîrîne [206a] mufavvâdî, eyitdîler: " Mûnâsib-î hål oldur ki, Sultan Selim Hânna ri'âyet-i tamâm qü' kilîna, ba'de ol hûsus âsândur. Şimdi Sultan Selim ile hûsûmet olınursa mûâvelrît mûntenî'dür. Cemî'-i

yirde haşır koyub, anlara haçlardan gelimeyen, riyaşet-i 'ämme, ki Haç te‘âlâdan kullarına nübüvette mu‘âdil bir sa'âdetdür, anuñ haçkından gelimek mumteni' haletdür."


Şimdi Karaman dirler, kaşd eleyüb, karındaşı Şehingân marhumun oğlî Sultan Muhammed üzerine, ki dedesi berüti-yle babası yerine şehriyârdı, vardı. Her nice ki, men’ olındı memnû’ oldu.

Haşret-i Hudâveendigar nuğûd-1 himmetini Sultan Ahmedde þarc idüb, mevki’inde vâki’ olmadugundan kemal-merterbede bî-þużûr oldu.


" Ferman-ı ‘âli-şânla taşarruf olûnan sancaguñ taşrrufına mâni’ olmak ‘îgyân-u-tûgyûndur " diyû, müctemi’ân dîvâna geldiler.


Kudüm-1 Sultan Selîm be-şehir-i Kostantînîye.


Ol zaman geçmişdi Hicretden tokuz yüz on sekiz Heftum-ı mâh-ı Şafer Şenbe günü Şah-ı kerîm Taht-gâh-ı Rûma geðdi fażl-ı bi-'smî 'llâh ile 'Adî ile bu mülki dil-şâd eyleye Sultan Selîm Bundan şöñra vakî' olan vakâ'î' Defter-i Tâsi'de silk-i kilke getürülüb, mezkûr ve mestûr olsa gerekdûr; gerdan-ı hâmî-vû-gûş-ı nâmê ol cevâhir-i zevâhirle zîb-û-zînet bulsa gerekdûr.
4. Defti 9

[112b] Ed-Defterü 't-Tası' mine 'd-defatiri 'l-mevsümeti bi 's-Süleymaniye fî siyeri 'l-Kayseri 't-tası' mine 'l-Yulefî' i 'l-'Osmâniye.

Çarî-1 gerdûnda böyledûr kânûn
Ay țolunsâ gûnes tulu' eyler
Bu gelûr yirine ider ikbâl
Menzile gün ki ol rûcû' eyler
Sünnetü 'llâhi 'lletî kad halet min kabli ve len-tecide li-sünneti 'llâhi tebdîlây.

Olur her âlemûn bir kâmrânî
Ki ol țarnûn olur şâhib-kirânî
Cihânîdan ol gider bir gün yerûni
Birî daîhî dûtar anu'n yerini
Bu kazâîyanûn terkîb-û temhîdindenden vebu muğaddemâtûn tertîb-û temzîdindenden maksûd oldur ki, sâbiqâ beyân olîndûğî uye nasiîb-ı rayat-ı bâhire, fâtiî-î Şâmât-[u]-Kâhire, kâhiru 'l-mülûk-î şahramânû 'l-kurûm, sultanû 'l-'Arab ve-'l-'Acem ve-'r-Rûm, şâhib-kirân-ı zamân Sultan Selîm Han, vâlid-i sa'îdi Sultan Bayezîd Han ile hengâm-ı muâkebelede mağlûb olub,

Devlet ü saltanat an-est ki Allâh dihed
Lâ-cerem kendî hûsîn-i ihtiyârî-yîle saltanat-u-[ra‘îyetini] ferzend-i ârcûmendî Sultan Selîme teslîm itdi. Ol cûvân- 
baht-u-pîr-tebdîre ‘adâlet âyetin telkîn idûb, saltanat 
âhîlin kemâl-yîle ta‘lîm-û-tefîm idûb, eyîtîdi.

Tû-râ bâd în tâc u tağ-î mîhân
Me-râ küse‘î bes bûved z-în cîhân
Bu hîl-i ferhunde-fâl, ki nevâdirai aîhâlden idi, haçret-i 
Risâlet-menziletûn ta‘rîh-i Hicretinûn to intersect yüz on sekizinde 
Safer-i muzafferûn sekizinci günü Şenbe güninde vâkî‘ oldî.
Ol hûmâ-yî devletûn bûm-1 Rûmda suh-b-u-şâm nevbeti urulub,
çâr-bâlîş-i pâdîşâhî cûlûs-i hûmâyûnî-yîle cemâl-û-ârâyîş buldî.
Mesâlik-i memâlik pûr-mehâlik olmîken emn-û-emân tôldî.

Çû geçdi devlet ile tağa Hûsrev
Cîhân tôldî yîne âvâzê-i nev
Bulub âfâk hûsn-i i’tidâli
Küdüretden zemâne oldı ğâli
Irüb büy-i şafâ Deşt-i Tätâra
Irer kand-i haber tâ Kandahâra

Cihânî cûd ile âbâd kîldî
Nice zindânî[yî] âzâd kîldî
[Sûltân Koçkuda Mîdillü sançağî tevcîh olûnub, oğlî hâzîret-i Sûltân Süleymân içûn hûkm-ı şerîf irdî olûnub, da’vet kîlîndî]

Beyân-ı ‘arâîhâl-ı fevt-ı Sûltân
‘Azâ-dârî zi-şâh u cûmle erkân
Sâbîkî tâhîr-û-tastîr olûndu’i üzûre, ki merâm Sûltân Bâyêzîd Han saltanatden ferâmât idûb, bâkiye-î hayatînî ’ibâdetê ve tâ’ate şarîf itmege Dimetoça cânîbanî ‘azâmet itûsîdî. Maşâm-î ma’nûda ve mersad-ı mehsûda varmadîn ecel-i mahtûmî, kî levh-i ezelde merûm idi, gelûb yetisîb âhîrete rîhlet itûsîdî. Mezkûr vâk’a-î sâka’a vâk’a olûcak, fi ’l-hûl sûltân-ı melek-ûşâle

Ser-â-ser teft eyyâm-ı ta‘âzî

Be-hâtâm-î Muşâfû u mîskîn-nevâzî

Müddet-ı hayât pûr-îfât bir köpûrdûr ki, âna ugrayan tûrmaz geçer; ‘îmaret-i kâ‘înât bir müsafîr-ğanêdûr ki, içinde konân eglenmez geçer. 3

Cümlê 4 halk ehl-i sefer ‘âlem müsafîr-ğanêdûr

Bir mukîm âdem bulûnmaz şayme-i eflâkde

Mi‘mâr-ı rûzgâr kango . sâhib-devletên binâ-ı sarây-ı sa‘edetin yaptı ki, 5 soûra yûkûmadî? Cihân-dârlardan bu cihân dârîna kim girdi ki, âhîr-i kâr kabâ-ı bekâdan ‘ârî olub çûkûmadî?

Cevâhir-ı zevâhir-i âchterle âràste olan efser-i âsûmâni nice tâc-dârûn başûndan girû kalûdbur; Mifres-ı mûnakâs-ı sebeze-zar-ı bahârla âràste olan serîr-i zêmîn nice taht-gûrî üstûnden yûre çûlûdbur. Rûzgâr-ı zûrûrûf kêmîn-i kînûnden,
eğer Şehriyar-1 rüy-i zemindür, ve ger bende-i kemindür, hiç bir kimse emin değilidir. Ne Me'mün kurtildi ne Resid, sâki-vü-
sa'id, ta'ki-vü-pelid, cihanda bir Velid-i hâlid kalmez. Ne
Yezid kalur ne Bâyezid -- Ve kezâlike yef'alı 'llâhu mâ
yeşâ'û ve yahkümü mâ yûrid.--

Bu dâsitân sultan-1 cihan serir-i saltânata
cülüsünün Sultan Ahmed işidüb ışhâr-1 'îsyân
itdûgin ; Şehriyar-1 kâmkâr devlet ile
Anatolî vilâyetine 'ubûr idîcek, mukâbeleye
kütreti olmayub, kaçub 'Arab memleketine
gitdûgin beyân ider. [ll4b]

Çün merhum, mağfur Sultan-1 merkJumuıı eyyâm-ı âhKâmî iştît
iştâtâm-u-encâm buldu, sadâ-yi küs-ı cülüs-ı Şehriyar-ı cedidle
güş-ı hûs-ı âhrâr-u-'abîd tôldî, vilâyet-i Rûmuıı eţrâfînda
olan selâtîn-i taht-nişînden 'azîmü 'üs-şân elçîler gelüb,
vâ'îr pîşkesler getûrdiler; Bâye-i serîr-i âsûmân-nâzîrînde
sâye-âr zemîn-büs idüb, ta'ziyet hûdmetin ve tehniyet
maşlahtâtin yîrine yetûrdiler. Anatolîda ve Rûmilînde olan
nâm-dâr serdârlar ve şâhib-şevket begler varsa gelüb, divân-ı
'alî-şân ekâbir-î-a'yan tôldî. Mûnakkaş-u-mûzehheb kemhâlar ve
katîfelerle ve altun gümûs kâseler ve kadehlerle sahn-i divân
âsûmân-mişâl pûr-âfitâb-u-hilal oldî. Kurûm-ı Rûmdan bir kimse
kalmadî ki itâ'at kılmadî, illâ birâder-i mihteri Sultan
Ahmed, ki ol zamûnda dâru 'l-mülk-ı Amasyyada vâlı-yi 'alî-şândî,
înîyât itmedi. Kâramana gelüb, Varsak-ı pûr-nifikûn ve Tûrgûd-ı
anudun cünud-û-rünüdün cem' eylemege meşgül olub, zimâm-i ihtimâmını ol ţaraflarûn teshîrine dönderdi. Ferzend-i erekümendi olan Sultan 'Alâ'eddîn bir miûdâr 'askerle Burusa cânibine gönderdi.

Taleb âşaz kerd ez mûlk-i mevrûs

Sipâh-i zulm-râ mî-kerd mebsûs

Zi şehir-i Bursa vû cûmle tevâbi'

Be-mâl-û-mûlk-i merdûm gêst tâmi' 2


Bahri geçdi leşker-i deryâ-şûkûh

Toldî seyl-i hâyî ile deryâ-vu-kûh


Be-nâm-ı şâh kerde sît-ı tekbîr

Sûde bâ-ḥâşmî devlet der zed-û-gîr

Gîtifde her yekî mihmân-ı hûd-râ

Sitâde dûd bânûmân-ı hûd-râ

Zi cûs-i ‘âmme vû rindân-ı bâzûr

Zi serdârân murassî süd sêr-i dâr

1  döndürmiş
2  kitâle
3  ikbâl
4  mezâkür
5  sâl-ı ferûrînde
6  me’âlûn
7  şûhûrunda
8  Cemâzî
9  ’l-evvelinüf
10  yığîrîmi
11  dördüncü
12  gününde
13  İstanbul
14  ma’berinden
15  ‘ubûr
16  eyledi
17  Üsküdar
18  yakasını
19  dâmen-i gerdûn
20  gibi
21  bayraklarla
22  gülgün
23  idûb
24  ejdehâ-kirdâr
25  nîzeler
26  ve
27  şîr-peyker
28  ’alemlerle
29  deşt-û
30  hâmûnî
31  mâl-â-mâl
32  kîldi
33  Bahri
34  geçdi
35  leşker-i deryâ-şûkûh
36  Toldî
37  seyl-i hâyî
38  ile
39  deryâ-vu-kûh
40  Râvî
41  eydûr
42  Sulṭân
43  Ahmûdûn
44  oğlı
45  Sulṭân
46  ’Alâ’eddîn
47  mâhrûse-i
48  Burusaya
49  geldûkde
50  vilâyete
51  salûn
52  salub
53  ūzû’afâ-yü
54  ra’âyâyî
55  ziyâde
56  incîmîşdî
57  Taḥşîl-i mâl
58  maşlahtî-gün
59  âyîn-i
60  sulṭanata
61  uymaz
62  niche
63  a’mâl-i sâkka
64  teklîf
65  itmişdî
66  Lâ-cerem
67  Sulṭân
68  Selîmûn
69  [115b]
70  hâyîl
71  seyl-hûcûmla
72  Anatóli
73  yakasına
74  kudûmîn
75  işidîcek
76  Yeşiçerî
77  gemîlerle
78  Budamiyeye
79  gelûb
80  çıkdî
81  diyû
82  ad itdîler
83  şehr içinde
84  bulûklarî
85  Aḥmedûnî
86  bağîna
87  şûüb
88  cemîyetlerîn
89  taqîtâlîl
90  Şehrûn levend-û-evbâsî
91  başlarîn
92  taqî tôlî
93  gibi
94  yagîrdîlîl
95  Nîze gibi
96  serkes
97  geçenlerîn
98  niçesi
99  tuğ gibi
100  baş kaba
101  ve
102  âtes gibi
103  yalûn
104  ayâk
105  olub
106  egînlerinden
107  kâbâ-yü
108  bekâ
109  şoyîldî
110  Bîûden
111  ziyâde
112  âdemi
113  esîr-û-dest-gîr
114  olub
115  tûtîldî
116  Be-nâm-ı sâh kere"de
117  sît-ı tekbîr
118  Sûde bâ-ḥâşmî
devlet
119  der zed-û-gîr
120  Gîtifde
eyekî
121  mihmân-ı hûd-râ
122  Sitâde
dûd bânûmân-ı hûd-râ
123  Zi
cûs-i ‘âmme
124  vû rindân-ı bâzûr
125  Zi
serdârân
126  murassî
127  şûd
128  sêr-i
dâr
Sultan 'Ala'eddin bu hâdiseyi ısgidüb, karâra ihtiyârî kalmayub, hemân baş kurtarmak ârdınca oldî. Esbâb-u-meta'in köyub, kendî başı-yle gûcî kurtîldî. Peder-i serşeğe-ahterine vûsûl bulub, Sultan-icîhânunî Anatolî cânîbine kûdûmîn ve Burusa ahlâsinûn kendünûn üzerine hûcûmûn bâb-u-faşlî ile tafsil-û-takrîr itdi. 5

Çü şehzade be-nezdîk-i peder geşt
Be-göftâ ba'ît-i mâ yek-bâre ber-geşt
Ra'îyet kerde der râh-eş sipâhî
Zi dest-i zulm-i mâ der dâd âvâhî
Ez-in kûstâhi-yi mûlk-u-ra'îyet
Bûved zâhîr sipeh-râ nîz niyyet 6

Hemân te'hir itmeyüb, şart-i fart-i ihtiyâti ri'îyet itdîlîr; yanîrînda olan 'asker-i gâret-gerle te'hir itmeyüb, 'Arab vilâyetine 'azîmet itdîlîr.

Hûdâ endâht hâvfî der şamîr-eş
Ki âvâhêd saht düşmen destgîr-eş 7

Hemân dem kerd rû der kîşver-i şâm
Ki tire did baht-e§-ra ser-encüm
Şüd-e§ ser-geşte her ferzend sü'i
Ne-mânede pi£-i şâhân âb-rûyi

Bu cânibden, Sulân-1 cîhân devlet-ü-sa‘âdetle ve rıkâb-1 kâm-yâbında mülazemet iden cünüd-i karînî 'n-nu§retle tôgri
Ankara şehrîne gelüb, Sulân Âhmedünn muğâvenete tâkâtı
olmayub, 'Arab vilayeti cânibine 'azîmet itdûgin i§idicek,
akabince ilgarla bir mikdâr hayl-icerrâr ırsâl eyledi. 'Arab
ser-haddine duhûl itmiş bulunduuggage eclden, vuşûl bulmadı. Altmiş
üç gün ma‘mûre-i Ankara'da sâkin olub, oturdu. Âş-1 envâ-1
'adâletle zalâm-ı ẓulmî def' idûb, deycûr-ı şerr-û-şûrî götûrûdi.

Etraîfa perâkende olan şehzâdeler kendü ihtiyârları-yla gelüb,
itâ’at itdîler. Her biri envâ‘-i ‘avâţîf-u-'avârîfle ri‘âyet
olûndî; hengâm-e germ-ä-germ tâglub, eyyâm-1 şîtâ ırmsîdı,
goğulub Ramazân-ı sa‘âdet-ni§anûn onînci gününde mahrûse-i
Burusa ya duhûl-û-hülûl eleyûb, ol kiş nîhâyet bulûncâ anda
îkâmî olûndî.

Ki§ irisîdi şehr-ı Bursa içre Şâh
Ki§îladî vu terh kîldî 'azm-î râh
Zîre kim vaktî-yle gerekdûr her i§
Vâkîdi gözlemege cân ile dürûş

Bu dâsitân Sulân Selîm Hân birâderlerininü
ve birâder-zâdelerininü vüçûdları noktâsîn
safa‘-i 'âlemden âakk itdûgün, i ihtîlîl-î
'açîme bâ‘î§ olan ümûr-î mehâmî tamâm olub gitdûgün bildirir.
l-leyleti ḥublā egeri menküldur; ve lā-yectemi’u esedāni
fī-gābetin ve lā-faḥelāni fī-‘ānetin ḥaberi makbūldur. Bir
kişveren iki server-i şehriyarii ve bir leşkeri iki serdar-ı
sipehsalari olmak olmaz. Bir künümda iki şir ve bir niyāmda iki
şımşir şığmaz.

Çü şeh başındur memleket aña ten
Yaraşmaz iki başlu olmak beden
Şığar bir kilim içine on geda

Bir iklıme şığmaz iki pādişāh

Niẓām-ı intīzām selāṭin-i ‘izāmuñ aḥḵām-ı saľtanatda istıklāline
mevkūfdur; bir vilāyetde birkaç pādişāh 2 olıcak, sipāh-u-ra‘īyet
bī-ḥuzūr olub, ihtilāl-i ‘ażīme ihtimali vardur. Lā-cerem,
muktažā-yi rāy-ı ḥazm-āzmā ile ‘amel olınıb, sene-i mezbūre
Şevvālinin yigirni yedinci gicesi Şultān Şehinsāh oğli Muhammed,
ki Nigde diyarininı serdar-x-ı-dı, ve Şultān ‘Alemşāh oğlı Şultān
4 ‘Osmān, ki Kangırlı sancagının sipehsalari-ı-ydı, ve Şultān Maḥmūd
oğulları Şultān Orhan, Şultān Mūsā ve Şultān Emīrḫān, ki sancak
yerleri, aḥsām vaktinde saraya da’vet olınıb, kapucılar
odasına getürildi. Eğer bir bunlarun ikisi daхи nā-reside țıfl
idi, emmā cīhān-dīde pīrlere tebdīri-yle ‘amel olınıb,

‘Aḵībet şir-zāde şir olur
Mīr-zāde büyük emīr olur
didükleri ḥaḳ idüğü bilinüb, ol leyl-i pur-veyliде beşinünün daхи
maşlaḥatleri görildi.
Boyledir hâli cihanun her zaman
İnâkilâb üstindedir kevn-ü-mekân
Bulduğun bu ejdehâ eyler gidâ'
Bir durur yanında sultân-u-geda
Bir nihâli besler âb-î lütf ile
Düşürür toprağa âgir 'ûnf ile
Minhâti mihnet şafası pûr-keder

[117a] Bir vefâ gösterse yüz bin çevr ider

Ba'dehû Sultan Korkudâ ele getürmek maşlahtâ için
'asker-î zafer-rehberden dört bin mîkdârî âdem ifrâz etdi,
şikâr adına Burusadan çâkub, Saruhan vilâyeti cânibine ilgar
itdi, gitdi. Egeri âsâtânî sa'âdetinde hizmet iden
sipehsâlârlardan 'ângi serdâra emr itse ol hizmete giderdi;
haşmûn kâruk-bâr-î emaretin târumâr idüb, maşlaâhatin tamâm ideri;
emmâ anlar ki bu meydanda haşmla dutuşub, niçe kerre şimnaslar
ve şimnaslardur; vüfür-î şevkete magrûr olub, kişi düşmenin
şşor görmek olmaz dimişlerdür. Düşmenûn eger karînca ise sen
anı așlan bil, sîr-i dilîr[le] cenge âheng ider gibi tedbîr kil.

Ne merdûm k' eylemez fikr-i 'avâkıb
'Ukûbet 'âkıbetdûr aña 'âkıb
Îşiî evvelde fikr iden ma'âlin
Yîmez şofra peşîmanlık malâlin
Hazer her kârda âkîl isidür
Gürûr u zûr u zerr câhil isidür

Sultan Korkud merhum, ol zamânda dâru 1-mûlk-i Ma'nisâda
siûb otururdu. Sâ'îr şezââdelerûn Burusada hüsâm-î intikâmla
telef oldukların ıskin, bir-ıhuçu olub-dururdu. Bu haabar-i 
şer-ereri ıskin dağmen-i karärına od düşdi, nidesini 
bilmeyüb, şaşıdı. O, ıntab-ı cihan-tabun pertevine döymeyüb, 
mahi nev gibı ısbah olinca gözymeyüb, ilk ahşamdan encüm gibı 
encümenin tağıdı; sohbet üzerinde idi, hemân bade-i 'işreti 
elden köyüb, tac-u-tahtdan el yuyub, ıkı varar ışigmetkärla 
țurmadı gitdi.

Mañ-ı nev gerg-i şah-ı encüm'dür
Döyemez ıntab pertevine
Gün kanında ki [117b] şah-i 'âlem'dür
Mañ-ı nev ne ola ye pertevi ne

Teke vilâyetinde bir şa'b-u-hasiln küh-särda bir teng-ü-tür 
gâr bulub, içine girdi.

Oldı geh Mecnûn gibi šahrâ-nişîn
Girdi geh ğâra esed gibî hemîn
Cümüş itse biçede bir cânever
Şanub âdem ürküb eylerdi ıhaser

Birkaç gün geçdükden sonra şarüret-i zat-u-va'iset için, ki 
lâzîm-i beşerîyetdür, bir âdemîsi țasra çıkdı, andan țuyulu, 
boğaz ucûndan boğazi ele virüb, başdan çıkdı.

"Ogrenüb-durur âdemî zâda
Zâd lâzîmdür âdemî-zâda
Zâd ucûndan durur ki kullug ider
Bendeler gibi nice âzâde

Bu cânıbden, Sultan Selim Ma'nisaya varub, Sultan Koçkudî 
bulmayacak, ol vilâyetleri ţabî idûb, dâzu 'l-mülkin 'avdet
Ey gönül dâ'imâ ğam ile geçüb
Ferañ adını âmma dünyâda
Perde-i ğafleti götür gözden
Nazar eyle bu çarğ-1 cellâda
Kâse-i serden eleyûb sâgar
Hûn-1 nā-hâkdan idinûr bâde
Şunar ol câmi her kîsiye dîmez
Bu gedädur o pâdişâh-zâde³
Kani Korkud Han ki âşvet ile
Mıgli bulûnmaz idi dünyâda

[118a] Pâşîîn yıldî nâr-1 hasretle
Hîrmen-i 'ûmrini virûb bâda
Dîdî hâtif vefâtîna ta'rîb
Meskenûn ola 'arş-1 a'lâda

Bu dâsitân Sultan Ahmed merăm 'Arab
vilâyetine 'azîmet itmişken yine Rûma
mûrâca'at idüb, Yenîsehr şahrâsînda
Şehriyar-ı kâmkâruñ nehr-i kâhrine
ğark olduğuñ beyân ider.

Felek çü kâr-sâzî-hâ nümâyed

Nuğust ez perde bâzî-hâ nümâyed

2 Merhûm Sultan Ahmed, niyet-i ikâmetele 'Arab vilâyetine 'azîmet idüb gitmişken, tekrâr yine kâmet getürüb, Rûm memleketine 'avdet idüb, gelmesine sebep bu olmışdı ki, kendüye izhâr-i intisas iden hevâ-dârları cânibinden mektübular varub, Sultan Selîm üçün "'Askeri etrâfa perâkende itmişdür, Burusa muzâyaka mekânı olmasın Yefiçeri ta'ifesi İstanbula gitmişdür; mahâlî-firschat ve hengâm-ı ruhsat dur evet itmek olmaz; bir iki aya dek Rûm 'askeri bir yere gelmez, hem Al-ı 'Osmânuñ neslinden kimse kômâdi " didiler.

Olali bu şâhs Rûma pâdishâh

Niçeler kanını dökdi bî-gûnâh

Simdi sensin Rûm içinde mu'teber

Hem sañâ Merhûm itmişdi nazâr

Rûm a'yânî vu sançaç begleri

Kapu halkî pasâlar Yefiçeri

Muntazâîrlardur size ey Şehriyar

Bî-tekellûf gel ne hâçet intizâr

Hemân yetişmek ardınca olasın diyû mu'addimät-ı taqrîr-u-taqrîr olmîtîdi. Egerci bilûrdi ki [ll3b] kendüde ol maye yögdî, ki ol 'asker-i deryâ-šûmârla muâkabele idebileydi, kâbîlîmidüdr ki, nûrla zîll, märla mûr muâkatele idebileydi? Emmâ umardî ki, hayl-â-haçem, belki tûmerâ-yi mu'azzamân ba'zî kimesneler

Be-mâl-î bî-şesâb-î hakk-î mazłûm
Mûretteb geşt leşker lîk meysûm

Bu cânîbden, [119a] Sultan-ı cîhân Selîm Hân birâder-i mehterînûn Karaman vilâyetine kudûman ve 'asker-i cerrârîla überine

Görsè 'âkil 'adûsini ǧâlib  
Baş kurtarmağa olur țâlih  
Turuşub urûşmadın, seyf-û-sînân birbiri-yle görûşmedîn țurmadî,

Gerçi kim başa ayak olur tayak

Baş gidicek pâydar olmaz ayak

Kendü daňi kaçarken at ile tekerlenüb, düğüb, başana âdem uşûb tutıldı, Sültân-ı cihanûn fermân-ı kâder-tûvâni-yle kapucâ başı Sinân Ağa karşı varrub, def'-i fitne içûn âhirete gönderildi. Aña daňi felek borcin ödetti

Cihan benûm der iken hiçe şatdi


An rûy-1 zemîn girift ü în zir-i zemîn


Zalâm-1 zulmi 'dli eyledi dür

Hîrâb-âbâd-1 'âlem oldû ma'mûr

Gün Şehriyār-i kāmkār Anaṭoli diyārında intiṣār bulan şerār-i nār-i fitneyi şimṣir-i ʾāb-dāṭla söyündürdī, karindəşlərinin  ve karindəşə oğullarının taht-1 eyäletlərində olan viläyətleri  kadimden ʾṣītān-e saʿādetinde mašq-1 ʾḫızmeṭde ʾkiyām 1den serdārlara ʿüleşdirdi.

Der rezm āred ü der bezm be-baḥşed  
Mūlkī be-sūvārī vü cihānī be-sūʿālī  

Şuruḥa, viläyeti, ki kadimden içinde mülük-i ʾʿazīmū ʾṣ-ṣān  
ṭura-gelmiş idi, ferZend-i ʾerqümeni ʾolan sultan-1 selāṭın-1  
ʿArab-u-ʿAcem, ʾkāhirū ʾl-mülük ve ʾkahrämānu ʾr-Rūm, mefḥar-ı  
dūdān-1ʿOsmān Ḥažret-i Sultān Sūleymānā erzānī gərildi. 

Merhūm Sultan Korkud feterâtından berdī ol viläyet birkaç gün  
kärçaşub, ʾcūvbār-ʾ1 pūr-āşub-1 ʾṣūr-u-ṣerr ʾṭaşub ʾullanımdı,  
yine ʾṭuruldi. Şehzāde-i ʾcūvān-baḥtūn ʾkadem-1 ʾmevmūnī ve  
sāye-i hümāyūn-1-yłe ol ʾṭaraflar müşerref olub, viläyet-i  
Şuruḥan ʾemn-ʾ1-emān ʾtoldı. Riyāset-i kəmīle ve siyāset-i  
şāmilesi-yłe ʾṭrāf-u-cevānīb ʾmahrūz-u-mazbūt olub, ʾzuʾafā-ʾyi  
reʾāyā ʾāsūde-ḥāl ʾoldı. 

Ḥarāmī kəlmandī rāḥ-1 revānda  
Meger Mirrīğ rāḥ-1 kekkeşānda  
Giceyle kimse ʾseyr ʾitmezdī bī-gān
Meger kim pâsbân-ı encüm-ü-mâñ 


Z-ăn ki yüz der şikâr ne-tvân-kerd
Veriğ-i kârzâr-iceng-û-neberd
Şuğl-i erbâb-î dil ne lehv büved
Ver büved lehv tîz sehv büved

Bu dâsitân vilâyet-i Azerbaycândâ
saltanat Bâyîndir uরuğîndan gidüb, ol
memleketûn bedeninde Kızılbaş zuhûr
itdûgin, Sultan-ı cihan 'asâkir-i nûsret-
nihatla varûb, makhûr meksûr itdûgin bildûrûr.

İbtida-yi kişsa-i muharebe-i Kızılbaş ve keyfîyet-i zuhûr-îân

cemâ'at-î kallâs: 3

Hazret-i Şâhib-kirân, kahramân-ı kurûm-ı Rûm-u- Irân
Sultan Selîm Hânûnâm zamîr-i mûnîrînde, ki câm-ı cihan-nûmâ idi,
bu 'azîmet-i 'âli-nehmet muşammam olmuşdî ki, gün tevfîk-i Hak
refîk-i şefîk olub, saltanat serîrine kadam başa, wûr-û-
sitemûn yayın yâşûb, 'adl-û-dâd ve şûrûr-u-cihadûn kılıncın
Serî'at 'ârsinda aşa; evvel vehlede'te'ûrû itmeyûb, Şâh
İsmâ'îl-ı güm-râhla cenge âheng idûb, kitâle ıkbâl ide, ol
bâz-ı dağa-bâzuñ, ki her zamân da havâ-yı vagâda pervâz ider, 7

Yûlûna varmadûn bû-zahtem-û-bîm
Muğâlîf kalmayub pûk oldû iklîm
Muğâlîfden arûdûn mûlûk-û Rûmû
Mûsâhîhar eyledi her merzûbûm


Bu egnaûda intîzâm-û silsîlê-i kelâmà ihtimâm îktîzâsî-yle mezûr Şûhû-û hakûrûn âgûr-u-ağbûrûndan ve mezûhûb-û kirdûrûndan, ki ehlî iştîbûrda mâhûlû-i iştîbûrûrû, bir miydûr zîkîr idêlûm. Ol bed-nûhûdûn ve âbû-vû-ecdûdûnuñ evo-i şûrûca 'uruclûlû ne keyfiyetle vûkî olub ve ne târîgûde vûkû bulûgûn iç mâleûn tahrûr-û-tastûr idêlûm, yine mâgsûda gidelûm.

Hûkmû-i istîtrûd ile bu dâsitân
Lâzûm oldû kim olû bunda beyân

Dâme bunca dûrîlî fesâd ol la‘în
İdûb nice oldû belâdan emîn
Bu imhâli şanmañ ki ihmâldûr

Ve ümlî le-hûm ênne keydî metîn

Hercû-merci-yle ûlub Irân-zêmîn [122b] Oldi ol ma'mûre pûr-vîrân-zêmîn 
Anî bilmedîlîr ki, devlet ıhsûnî ittifâkât-î hasenedendî; bu ittifâk bozîliçaq ol devlet karâr bulmaz. Tâkî metînî sałtanat bûnyad-î ittifâkîla âbûd olur, metîn ihtîlûfla ol esâs ḥarâb olicak bu kubbe pâyûr olmaz. 
Devletûn ašlî ittifâk dûrur
Ol esası ile tâk-ı mülk turur

Beli, çun Huâk Te’âlâ diledi, ki şem’-ı devlet fûrüğün yandura ve revğandan dür ide, ol şem’in yağı-yla bir cem’un dahi çerâg-ı başûn uyandurub pûr-nûr ide, ol ocağûn kadîmlerini helâk idûb, kâ’im-i mâkâmûn adhâsûn kîldî, ol adhâsûn arasında mevâdd-ı hilâf ve esbab-ı içtilâf ihdâs kîldî.


Herne yerde varîse bir bed-nihâd
Müfsid ü mülhidî mubâhî-i ‘tikâd
Vardi ol bed-kûse itdi ittibâ’
Oldû Erzincânda hâyîlî içtimâ’
Hâyîl-i cerrâr her taraf’dan seyl-vûr akûb vardû, habâb-û për-tûb gibi bir demde şûgûb kabardû; ol bed-fi’âlûm hîlal-i bahtû evc-i ikbâlde kemâl bulûdû. Kûçe-i fâkûrda adî Hoca Kemâl iken Şäh İsmâ’il oldû. Bu ka’ziye-i gayri-merziye Hâzret-i Risûlet hicretinnûn tökûz yüz başûnci yûlûnda vukû’ bulûdû. Maṣr sultanî
Kanşı Şavrınıň dañlığı Mışr tahtına sülüşi mezkûr senede vákı' oldı.

Mezkûr bed-nihâd evvel çadde-i fesâda kadem başdı, Şirvâna
el urubah, ol vilayeti hârab eyleledi. Şirvânşâh-1 sefîd-rûse bu
kadar iç idûb ko mádi, diriyle seçe şançub kebâb eyleledi. Ol
zamânda Hasan Hân bendelerinden Mîrzâ Yusûf oğlî Mîrzâ Elvend
diyâr-1 Azërbâyçânda şehriyâr idi, mezkûr mağûru Kur Şuyn
kenârında karsuladukda, bilesince otuz biñ miâdârî süvâr-i
kârzar vardı. Turuşub, urușmadın, seyf-û-sînân biri biri-yle
görüşmedin ûnindî, gerûsine döndî. On beş [biñ] miâdârî Türkman
ol vákî'ada yere düşdi. Şâh-1 güm-râh [123b] ol aradan tögrû
Tebrîze tögrulub, bî-mûnâza'-u-mûdâfa' geldî şehre girdî.

Akûoyunlu cemâ'atinden bulduguna emân virmedi, kırdî. Atasûnuñ
kânîn alub, pîr-û-civân, 'avret-û-ögâlan kîrk, elli biñ miâdârî
Koyunluylî helâk idûb, Hasan Hânla Mîrzâ Ahmedî kôdî, sâ'îr
ûmerâ-vu- selâtînî mekâbirinden çika rub oda yakdi. A'dâsunûñ
irisin [ve] uçagın kırmâgla ve olûsin dirisîn yakub, kûlînî
göge savurmâgla kulûb-1 nása mehâbet bïra kdi. Dâru 'l-mûlîk-i
Tebrîzi, ki kübbe-i İslâm idi, envâr-î Şeri'âtîden boğaldub,
zulmet-i dalâlet ve zâlêm-1 zulm-û-bîd'at ile ûldurdû. Ol
gûm râh-1 ka bîh-sîre t kendü anasînî, ki Hasan Hânûñ kîzi-ydî,
kendüye hüyûn olub, küfr-û-ilhâddân ve zulm-[ü]-bî-dâddan
men' itdügi-çûn käkiyub, kendü elî-yle öldürdü. Ba'dehû seyl-
vâr 'îrâka akub, Kazvîni ve ûsfahânî, Kûmî ve Kâşânî ve Reyi
ve Hemedânî ve Semnânî ve Dâmûnî alû. Ol vilâyeterlerde buldugu
12
sünnet-û-cemâ'ati kîrub, kadîm hânê-dânlança càrub-1
gærêti çâldî.
Türkmândan bulduğu kûra kûra
Od gibi girdi irdüğü yere
Buyruğuna şöyle râm etbâ'o kim
Gir der ise göz göre oda gire'
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Kaçdîlar mevc-i bî-karâr gibi

Târûmârâ ‘oldîlar şerâr gibi


Gûnûn kerd búzûrg-ân gü kerd bâyêd kâr


Dime bunça dürlû fresâd ol la’în
İdüb nice oldı beläadan emin
Bu ihmäli şanmañ kim imhäldür
Ve ümli le-hüm inne keydı metin


Kaçan kim .unregister bäșına mürlar
Düğer ayaga peççe-i şir-i ner

Baş gidicek ayak pâydar olmaz, begleri düşüb alayları bozulıcıą.
Hayl-i cerrâr-ı Tâtâr tağîlub gitdi.


Nehr-i kâhrî şehr ü kûyî kûldî gûrk
Nûrû hîşmî ol diyârî kûldî hûrk

Hâberdûr ulûlîrdan nâkl olûnur
Ki her Fir'îvni bir Mûsû bulûnur
Çûn nevbet-i saltanat şâhîb-kîrân-î zaman Sultân Selîm Şâna degûdî, âteş gibi cîhân serkêşlerî fêrmûnûna baș egûdî.
İlan, merhaba

Bu dastanın 'acibü'l-beyan

ezhär-1 bahár-1 leşker-1 cerrâr-1 Şehriyâr-1

kâmkârla deşt-ü-kühsâr tolduğun, bahâr-1

zaferle dâmen-ı gülşen pür-berg-ü-bâr

olduğun beyân eyler.

Haçret-i Risâlet-menziletân hicret ta'rîhinün tokûz yüz yigirînci yılanda, ol sâli-ı ferrûh-fâlûn Rebi'-1 bedî'înün evâ'ilinde, gün ki cûîş-î vuhûg cûsa, kûs-1 sehâb-1 bahârî

hûrûşa gelüb, sipâh-ı giyah ayâg üzerine þûrû, kenâr-ı deşt-ü-

kühsâr hîyâm-1 esçâr-1 pür-ênvarla ordû-yi sulţân-1 cîhân-cûya

dönûb, meydân-ı hâmûnda ezhär-1 gün-â-gün mûnakkaş sayebânlar

kurdî.

Görüb berk-î tîzûn sinanîn giyer

Hava ebrden cevşen-i ahenîn

Hava jáleden návek-endâz olub

Giyer sebzeden sebz kaftân zemin

Heme 'alem güşade-guş tâ ü key küned fermân

Bu dâsitân Şehriyâr-î kâmkâr, 'alem-î 'alem- güşâ-yi gazâyi kâldurdu'nî, mülahideyi maşer yirine cem' itmege nefîr-i şürü 'şafir-i dâr-u-ğiri kâldurdu'nî beyân ider.

Sâbîkâ ta 'yân-üatebyîn olındu'ni uzre, gün sefer-i zafer-egere 'buruc yarağî görildi, mezkür 'âm-i ferğunde-encâmûn şühürında Muharrem-i muhteremîn yigîrmi üçüncî günî dû-şenbe güninde dâru 'l-hilâfe-i Edirneden göçildî. Şehriyâr-î kâmkâr
ol rüz-i pîrûzda rîkâb-ı kâm-yâb-ı hilâl-misâle ayak başub,
hîmmet-i bulendi mânendi bir semend-i zaman-sûr’ate süvâr oldı;
resm-i ma’hüd-ı ‘Osmanî üzre vûfûd-ı el’tâf-ı yezdânî ţulû’
idüb, rahmet buludlari âşikâr oldı.
 Sãob u bâd olub sakka vu ferrâş
Şuladi vu süpûrdi rehğüzarı
Havâ ayînesinde kalmadı toz
Meger meh-rûlarum ţâtt-ı ǧubârî

On gün deynince İstanbula gelüb, Fil Çayırı dimegle ma’rûf
menzilde kondı. Cemşîd-i ûrşîd-ûlâmûHintuddâm-ı sidre-makâmınunî
hiyâmî-yle ol şahrâ ţolub, yeşil çemenler üzerinde ak çâdirlar,
çiçekleri açılmış ağaçlara döndi.
Çetr zi her sū be-felek ser-keşîd
Ebr ser ez şerm be-ţâder keşîd
Ol makâm-ı râhat-encênda birkaç gün [127a] ârâm olındukdan
şofra ‘âli divân olub, ol ‘âsrda cadd-i Şerî’atde sâbit-
êadem ve ehl-i sünnet-ü-cemâ’at arasında kâlem-i fetvâ ile
ve ‘alem-i taḵvâ ile müsâllem ve mukaddem olan mevalî dîvâna
da’vet olûndı, Kîzîlbaş-ı evbâş ta’îfesînûn muhârebêsi hûşûsî
söyleşilüb, muffaţâ‘-î Şeri’at nîdûgî istiftê kîlûndub, bu
maşlaḥat müsâverê olûndı. Anlar daňî rây-ı savâb icmâ‘ idüb,
ba cevâb-ı müstetâbî taḥrîr itdîler ki: "Her ki, ol dâlî-û-
mûdille intisâb ide, ve ruḥsât virdûgî ef’âle irtikâb ide,
mûbâbi mûbâhû ‘d-demdûr. Cem’in tefrîk ve eşya’îni temzîk
itmek gerek, sâ’îr harbî kâfirlerden anlarûnîla muhârebê
ehemm-û-akdemdûr. A’vân-u-ensâri sa’î-yî fêsadûr. Her ne
diyärda ve bilâdda var ise emân virmeyûb, helâk itmek gerek.
İyêt-û-Hadîg hükmî-yle 'âmîl olub, vech-i arzî ol hâbişlerûn
levs-û-revs-i ilhâdîndan pâk itmek gerek."

Be-şâh-i cihân vâcib-est în ki tîg
Ber âred küged hâşm-râ bî-dirîg
Be-def'-i cûnîn fitne-i rûzgâr
Zi Şeh tîg u tevfîk ez Kirdgâr

Sultan-ı İslâm ol mâlik-i ezimme-i âhkâm olan 'ulemâ-ýi
tûlûmuñ fetvâlarî muqtâzâsîncâ 'amel idüb, ol 'azîm-i kadîmle
'azîm-i rezi taşmîm eyledi; kibâr-1 enşârdan İstânbul viaâryî
civârînda medfûn olan Hâşret-i Ebû Eyûb-i Enşûrînûn ve cedd-i
mâcidi Sultan Mehmedûn ve vâlid-i reşîdi Sultan Bâyezîdûn
maqâbîrinî ziyâret idüb, ol maqâmîlîrînî âhûddâmîna in'amî ta'mîm
eyledi. Sene-i mezbûre Şafirînûn [127b] yiğîrnîncî güninde, ki
âle 'ê-şâbâh mellâh-1 zamân fûlk-i feleke nûrûnî bâdûnla zînet
virdi, Sultan-1 mihr-i sipîhr-serîr derîyê-1 semâyê 'ubûr
itmeg-iqûn fûlk-i felek-sîmâyê girdi. Beşiktâşı dimêge meşhûr
olan ma'berden 'ubûr eyledi. Hâvây-1 ma'âlî-ihtisâs ve sâ'îr
mevâlî-ýi hâsûs-1 yle Anatolî cânîbîne mûrûr eyledi. Aka'încâ
dergâh-1 sa'âdet-destûhînda gân-u-bî-gân hâzîr bulunan sipân-1
zafer-penên Akefînîden çara buludlar gibi geçüb gidîlêr. Uskûdar
yakasînî dâmen-i gerdûn gibi al bayraklarla gûlûn idüb, deşt-û-
hâmûnî şafâ-1 Engelyûn gibi hiyâm-1 gün-ê-gunla pûr-naş-û-
nîgâr itdîlêr. Iki gün anda tûrub, ba'zi mûhimmât-u-mâsâlih
görüb, üçüncü gün devlete kalkûb yördû. Gûrûn-gûrûn ve
fevc-fevc kûh-ûkûh gûrûhlar ve derûyê-mevc alaylar deşt-û-şâhrâyî
bürüdı. Birkaç günde şofra Yahişehr öninindeki şahraya gelinüb, Rümili vilayetinü nn ve Anatóli memleketinü nn beglerbegileri taht-ı eyaletlerinde olan vilayetlerinü begleri ve leşkeri ile pıkeşlerin çeküb, şereş-i zemín-büsle müsêrre def oluílar.

Be-'azm-ıdest-büs-eğ Ka{-tä-Käf
Kemer beste kuleh-där-än-1 etråf

Konmîş idi çeri gürüh-gürüh
Gülşene dönmiş idi dâmen-i kûh

Çü Husrev devlet ile geldi şehre
Virîr her kişiye ihsânî behre
Ma‘müre-i mezkûrede medfûn Hažret-i Şeyî Şadreddîn Konavînûñ ve sâ’îr e‘îmme-i din ve erbâb-ı keşf-ü-yâkînûñ müteyemmen mezârlarîn ve müteberrek meskenlerin ziyâret idûb, ol mağâmûn mümkünlerinîn kîse-i âmâlînî génç-[ü]-mâla mâlî kûldî. Huyül-ü-cimâl diâflendirmek maşlahati-şîn birkaç gün oturak oldî. Dergâh-1 âsumân-ıştibâhînîda mülazım ve her zaman rîkâb-ı kâm-yâbînda
lazım olan kapu halkın piyade-vü-süvarının her neferine biffer ağa in‘ām eyledi; sā’ir Rūmilünün ve Anātolünün erbāb-ıtimārına bıșde ellisher ağa hesābi üzre bαhsıς virûb, in‘ām-ı ‘āmm eyledi.

Se rüz u se şeb bαhsıς-ı ‘āmm kerd
Sipeh-rā besi luṭf u in‘ām kerd


Toldt şahrā şaymelerle bī-hisāb
Şanki deryānuñ yüzün tūtdi ḥabāb

[128b] Rāvī eydur, ol fezā-ı dil-güşāda, ki
Çeri gün bir yere cem‘ oldı yek-ser
Buyurdı şāh kim ‘arţ ola leşker

şag-u-gol fevc-fevc mevc urdı.

Çalkanub şahrada leşker fevc-fevc

Cüşa geldi bahr-i aşüb urdı mevc

Yeşişerinin Aş Şuyl çarsu-yı dehre akub, 'azabuvi Kızıl İrmagı
bög-u-râğı deşt-ü-ţağı göyle dutmışdı ki, kenârına göz irmez
idi. Meydân-ı kârzar'da leşker-i düşmen-şikâruñ ömin bağlayub
țuricak, atluya geçid virmezdi.

Țurmış idi 'azab gûrûh-gûrûh

Lâlezâr olmış idi dâmen-i küh

Mevâkib-i kevâkib-şümâruñ izdihâmından deşt-ü-hâmündan
murûr mute'azzir olduğu ecdn, tümâri üç bîden alçak olub,
tavarî za'îf olan erbâb-ı timâra icâzet virilüb, İskender Paşa
oglu Muştafa Beg ile mü'avedet emr olûndi. Defâtir-i ğazâ'in-ü-
emvâl ve sa'îr âhmâl-ü-eskâl tahrîf olûndu, Sivas Kâl'asında
konûldu. 'Asâkîr-i derya-şümâr sebük-bâr olub, seyl-vâr û Açem
vilâyetine âkdi. Ercîncân Ovasına [129a] âculub, âfâk-û cihâna
mehabêt birakûd.

Gûn irdi ser-ţhad-i mûlk-i 'Irâka

Yüceldi fitne vü țöpudî țarâka

Muhkem yasâq olûnmüşdi, kimse kimsenûn esbâbûn gâreç yeleme'sûn
diyû ışmarlanmuşûdû. Lâ-celain, ol vilayet itâ'at idûb, ra'îyet
olmaga râğbet göstergûn, kimse kimsenûn esbâbûn gâreç-û-
hasilaret itmedi. Bay-u-yohsûlî rencîde idûb, il-û-gûnî incitmedi.

Degûldî il û gün urmaç murâdı

Arayu-gitî țașm-i bed-nihâdi

Aras Şuya dimegle ma'rûf nehr-i 'amîkuñ üzereinde olan țantara-i

Bed-în gûne mâhî zemin-i 'Acem
Şâh-1 Rûm âverd zîr-i kadêm
'Acem-râ be-peymûd Hûsrev besî
Ne-geşt ez Kızılbaş peydê kesî

[129b] Bu dâsîtan Hâzret-i şâhîb-kîrân-1 zamân,'Şâh-1 bed-gûmâna üç def'a mektûb gönderûb cenge da'vet itdûkden, ol dahi çûr-u-nâçûr gayretê gelûb, '_asker-i şakêvet-rehberin cem' idûb, Çaldûrân Şahrûsînà 'azîmet itdûgûn beyân ider.

Sâbîkâ mestûr-u-merkûm olan mefhûm üzerine ol va'ûtîn, ki Hâzret-i hîláfet-menzilet 'înân-1 'azîmetin 'Acem vilâyetinûn teşhîri tedbîrine ûnderrüstü, deryâadan 'ûbûr olûndukda mezkûr-1 mağhûra sâbîkâ dutulub mahûbûs olan Kîllîc nâm câsûsî-yle mektûb


Didi ӊsmâ'îl bin Ḥaydar benem
Şîr-i nerle ceng iden şaff-der benem
Ben Ḥarâsân mülkin aldum bî-ğumār
Eyledüm Ġîlân-zemînîn târumār

[130a] Āb-ı Amûdan kıyasen tā Firât
Vardurur bî-şûbhe nisîf-ı kā'înît
Üş benûm hûkmûmîddür bu zikr olan
Dûşmen olmaz baña şâhib-fîkr olan
Ben varurdu m gelmeseydi ol ferîd
Çekmedüm zahmet zehî baḥt-ı sa'id
Ki emvāc-1 Kaysar zi deryā güzeşt
Hümār-1 ḥamr-1 şūrūrdan ayilub, sekr-ı şurūrı zā’ıl olub,
akdām-1 ikdām-1 ihtimām üzereine ʿūrdu. Fi ’l-ḥāl, etrafa
ṣimāl-isti’cāl ademler gönderüb, zimām-1 ihtimāmindn kūtāle-vü-
cidāle dönderüb yarağ-u-yasağın gördi.

Revān cem‘ eyledi serverlerini
‘Acem cem‘ eyledi serverlerini

Mezkür mahkûr leşker-ı pûr-şûr-u-şerrin cem‘ itmekde, Sultan
Selām Ḥān Şehsūvār Oğlī ‘Alī Begī, ki mizmār-ı kârzaṟūh
şehsūvār-ı-ydi, dil alub, ḥāber-i şaḥīh getürmek için karāvula
irsāl eyledi ve Türkmen beglerinden Ferruḫşād Begūn Ṣeyh Ahmed
nām ademisi tecessûs-ı āhvāl ve tafahhūs-ı keyfîyet-ı ḥāl için
Tercândan Tebrîze gitmişdü. Şâh-1 ġumrâhī Ücān Yaylagında
bulub, leṭā‘ifü ’l-ḥiyel ile tahmlıkta çeküb, mukaddemāt-ı taqrîri
aḫsēn-i eşkâl üzre taṣvîr itmişdü.

Gerekdür ħile erlik ile bile
Ki erlik ondurur tokûzī ħile
Biter tedbîr ü bitmez ceysle iṣ
Anuḏ gün derler Et-tedbîrû le ’l-ceys
eytib ki "Beni Rûmîli begleri ve Türkmen serverleri gönderdiler.
Cümlesi kadîmden muḥibb-ı Āl-ı ‘Abâ ve hevâdâr-ı evlâd-ı
Murtażâ olub, Şāhuḏ hâdmetine tâlibler, cân-u-dilden bende-i
fêrmân olmâga râğiblerdür.

Muḥī‘end ez cân der-i şâh-râ

[130b] Berīḏ-i be-cân cümle bed-ḥār-râ
Cümlesi kemer-bend-i vifâki miyan-ı ittifâka kusânb, şöyle
‘ahd-û-misâk eylemişlerdûr ki, miyan-ı meydânda, ki iki
‘asker-i kine-ver mukâbi olıcaç, bâd-i âşüb esûb şeğê-yê
vağê ile şâhê-yê maşêff tolıcaç, ol emr-ı mağfîyi iżhâr ideler.
Rûm ‘askerin köyb, ‘Acem leşkerine gelüb gideler. Şahûf ugrîna
cân-u-baş oynayub, destîna dost, düşmenine düşmen olalar."

Mezkûr maqrûr bu efsâneye i’timâd idûb, aldandî; mezkûr begler
çinâyet-i hayânene, ki cümle hayânîden eseddûr, ikdâm ideler
sandî. Gâsûsa vâfîr in ‘ân idûb, Hoy nâm kaşâbaya dek bile getûrdî.
"Yine sen muğaddemân var istimâlât eyle, ben dahi Qûldîrânâ
yetişirem," dîddi.

Rûvî eydûr, zîkîr olan âşbârî mezkûr câsûs Şêhîyâr-î
tâmârûn hüvvâb-î kâm-yâbîna ‘arz idîcêk, Qûldîrân Ovasîında
ceng olmak mukarrerîrîrîcêk, gûrebê zûmresîne ilhâm olînub,
vâfîr ba[h]îsîsî virîldî. Bu egnâda Şêhsûvôr Qûlî ‘Alî Begûn daği
âdemlerî hayîli başlar getûrûb, haber-i sâbîkî tahkîk kilıçak,
bi’n sikke-i Efrençî ile merûnî Gedîk Ahmed Paşadan kalmiş bir
muraşsa‘ şimsîr var idi gönderîldî. Ertesi Cêmâzî ’î-Ahûrûn
sêli-yêdî, seherden efîtâb-î ‘âlem-tâb mûnkesîf tûlû‘ idûb,
Ve-‘s-âmsûz iğa kûvviret ayetiñûn merrûmü ma‘lûm oldî, erbûb-î
tencîm [ve] âşîb-î takvîm zîkîr olan küsûfuñ âhkâmînda " Mağrib
vilayetiñûn Şêhîyârî maşûk memlekette mûstevlî olub, ḥûtbeyi-vû-
sikkeyî tağîyî ide " [diyû] takrîr itmişlerdi. " Maşûk pâdîsâhîna
‘azîm nekbet-û-zillet vardur." diyû takvîmlerînîn takrîr itmişlerdi.
Vâkî‘ê eglênneyûb, zîkîr olan küsûfuñ ‘âkabîncâ, takrîr itdüklêri
âhkâmûn egeri vûkû‘ bulûd. [131a] Didüklêrînîn ziyâde
məkhür-u-menküb ve məksər-u-mağlüb oldı.

Ey besə əhkəm-ha-yi bī-kem-ü-kəst
Həmcü ilham-ı vəhə bī-güm-ü-rəst
Ki çəhəd ez zeban-ı ehl-i nücüm
Şidx-ı an "Ağibət şəvəd məlüm"


Güyən uşqermann həmin-şətəd həbəb
kangı leşkerün  tốp1 göge ağa diyū ceyş-i ehl-i İslâm ve kış-i bed-fercam bakub türurdu.
Fürü refte her kes zi sevdə-yi  hвиş
Ve-z endişe-i kär-i ferdə-yi  hвиş

Bu dəsitan aheng-i ceng tız olub,
nefir-i dər-u-gir ve kış-i hərbə
çalınduğun, kalb-i şalb-i 'adu-yı
kine-cuy şikest olub, şabaqdan ahğama
dek ceng olduğu beyən ider.

Bir şehər ki, Sultan-ı həver başına zerrin-müşfer urınub,
eginine nərenci-kəftən giyüb, cenge aheng itmişdi; sinən-ı
ätəş-fəşən ile ḥəyl-ı Zənəbərə tərəmər idüb, seyl-ı hənəla
meydən-ı gerdənən kenərin lałe-reng itmişdi. Nazret-ı
Hədvəndər-ı gerdən-iktidar, himmet-i büləndi gibi semən-ı
rəm-licəma süvər olub, ālem-i ālem-pənəhən dəbinə ətəb-vər
kağər itdii; pür-səz-u-seleb on biyi tufenk-endəz Yəfiçiəri
müretteb şaft-şəflər turub, əpə 'ərabalarından önnən əhənin
dıvər itdii. Rəməli 'əskər-i-yəle Hasan Paşa ve Anatóli leşkeri-yə
dəsin Paşa iki əltə, ol iki serdər-ı nəmdərən biri sağda ve
biri əltə, önnərində iki alay 'azəb, biri on biyi, biri şəxiz
biyi pür-səz-u-seleb tərdilar. Ərəbi ne kədar at ve deve ve
kətir wərəsça kiçərlə alay ardına çəkerüb, nüzl devesin ve
ordu ve bəzər həlkin ve esbəb şəklayan əzəmtəkərlərə ara
yirde tərdərən. Meymente-vü-meyserə, kalb-ü-cenəh yeiksere
düzəldi.
Alay bağlandığı sancaklar gözeldi

Ol cânibden Kızılbaş-ı evbâs da hiç hadem-ı-hâşeminin
çeşmi horos gibi arâste saffların kat-kat pur-yarağ-u-yát
idüb, depeşinden dîrâğına dek gök demâre şöyle gârûk itmişidi
ki, çûyûs-ı çeşen-püš midûr yûhsa demûr tag midûr bilîmîyûb,
nükûr emîrinden ve begler biri birinden seçilmezdi.

[132a] Karası ve âğî olûnûnûzû Vì fark

Seâr-â-pây olûnûzû pülâyda gârûk

Ol âyîne-i mân gibi rûsen çeşenlere günes nûrî tokunub, âteş
şû’leleri hüveydâ olûnûzû. Her fevci bir deryâ-ı yî âteşin-mevce
dônûb, yalûnî kâîlîçlarla, ki ol oduñ yalîlîlîrî-ûdî, deşt-û-şâhî
 tôlûnûzû. Nâm-dûr serdârînînîn Dîyârîbekr beglerbegisi

Muhammed Beg, ki Üstâcâlu Ogî dîmekle ıştihârî var idi,
ugrâşlînda mukaddemû ’l-ceys, her ise yarar yöldâşî olûb, mu’azzâm
sipehsâlîr idî, kârîndâşî Karâğân-ı bed-âhterle on beş biñ
mîkdârî ’askerle meysresînde köyûb, Anaçotî leşkerine mukâbèle
kûldû. Kendûnûn vezîr-î a’zâm Seyyid ‘Abdulbâkî ile âçûl’âskeri
Seyyid Şerîfi beş on biñ mîkdârî âdêmle sançağın îsmarûnûzû.

Be-pây-1 ‘alem ‘Abd-i Bâkî be-mânûd
Egerî der eyyâm bûkî ne-mânûd
Be-pehlû-û û nîz Seyyid Şerîf
Bahârî ki Éverde rû der ûrîf

Meymenesi tarafînûdendû hûlûsî-ı ceysî-yle, ki yûgîrîm biñ
mîkdârî var idi, emmâ her bîrî savaşda on merd-î neberde
berâbêr idî, içi kara tashî kızîl, gûren muşavver mevt-î ahmer
şanûrûdû, sol köla Rûmilînûn üzerinde ‘azîmît idî. Şâlûbet-û-şevkête
meydăn-ı muhârebeye gelüb, müzâm-r-ı muhârebeye bir mehâbet bırakdı ki, kulüb-ı ins-ü-câni korkutdu.

Seyl-vâr irdi ğurûs u cûş ile
Toldî sahârâ ceys-i cevçen-pûş ile
Gürledi bahâr idi şan kim yürüdü
Kara tozdan gök yüzini bürüdü


İki leşker irisdi vü karîşdi
Karisdi bir birine cân virişdi


Karisub bir birine sunmadin el
Anâtoli şidi şol koli evvel
İsûn sâg olmasina oldû bu dâll
İsaret itdi feth-i âhîre fâl


Depûb alay-ı Şâha İbn-i Malkog

Tokuşdî Kur să ile nitekim köç

Revân rağîn sûrub ıûn Rûstem-ı Zâl

‘Adû kanîndan olmiş cevşenî al

Koyunuṇî gellesine girdî şan kurd

Ki itdi irdügünin kellesin ıورد
Kime tüş ola ol ceng-ü-çălişda
İki păra iderdi bir çălişda
Çă na-ra uruban Allah dirdi
Niçe Kurçıya oldem Şăh dirdi
Niçe Kurçı pŭst olub sipăha
Rivăyetdür ki el irgürdi Şăha
Velă oldemde taḵdır-ı ĭlähi
Ecel irdi elinden aldă Şăhă

Męzkür olan serdarlar düşicek, gitdükçe băzar-ı kărzăr germ
olub, ğavă-gă-yı vaşa ile şăhră-yı maşăff tŏldă. Rūmili beglerbegisi
Hăsan Paşa, ki cihan-dıde emīr idi, yanında olan Rūmili begleri
ve 'askerleri ile 'adū-yı [133b] kine-oũuň überine yūriyüb,
ol iki leşker-i kine-ver mă-beyninđe ătes-i cidăl-ŭ-ktăl
iştı'ăl buldü.

Tŭfung ü tär ü tăguň çăk-çăki
Ker eylemiş idi sem'-ı semăkı
Dutub kăn baňri ētrăfin sipihrăn
Başändan aşdı mevći măh-u-mihrăn
Kălıç bärkından u ra'd-ı kemändan
Ecel ıq gibi yagar āsŭmändan
Olub āhen-siperler ca-be-că câm
Olur meydăn saţhi saḳf-ı ăhmmăm
Bulunma zadı su itmege dehăn ter
O ăhmmăm içre illă āb-ı hăncër
Şăçar od ejdehă-măned şĭmşir
Atilur ıq yılana gibi her tär 4

[134a] Bu resme ceng iderken şâh-1 gümrâh
Tûfeng dokundu bazûsîna nã-gâh
İle itdûgû höher geldi yolâna
Ki dokundu kažâ oêkî kolâna
Egeri çok virișdî vû alîsîdû
Urûb bû-hadd kiliç cânandân İslîsîdî
Ve-lîkin zor-1 bûzû itmedi süd
Kažâ her cânibini kûldî mesdûd
Diledi duta ejder birle pençe
Yidi dest-i kaşadan hoş tabanca


Virûb yağmaya ordu-yî ulusîn

[134b] Alûrîlar filî ile tabl-u-kûsîn

Gelûr sürûb yere ruh filî ile

'Arûs-ı devlet ü nâmûs[1] bile

Bağdâd häkimi Yülefâ Begûn kažînî, ki Şâh-ı gümrâhuñ menkûhasî idi, Vidîn begî Mesûh Begûn âdemleri tutub getûrdîler. Şehriyâr-ı


Zi-dūşmen der-ān ‘arša-ī dār-u-gīr
Be ḥāk ender üftād heftād mīr
Heme şāhib-ī mūlk ʿe māl ʿe sipāḥ
Heme süde ber ʿarḥ-ī gerdān kūlāh

‘Aṣākīr-ı Īslām ve leşker-ī Rūm-ı nuṣret-fercāmuḥ āmerī-yi ĵīzāmīndan mukaddemā Rūmīlī [135a] beglerbégisī merḥūm Ḥāsan Paşa ve Mora sancāgī begī Ḥāsan Ağa ve Şofya sancāgī begī Malkūq
Oğlu 'Ali Beg ve karındığı Silistre begi Tür 'Ali Beg ve Prizrin sancağı begi Süleyman Beg, Anaotoli vilayeti sipehselârlarından Karasi ili begi Mehmed Beg ve Kayşariya sancağı begi Üyeys Beg, Nigde begi Yürüyis-Oğlu İskender Beg ve Beyşehir begi Karlı-Oğlu Sinan Beg ve Rûmîli kedîhudası ve bunlardan gayri nice nâm-dâr şubâsîlar ve adlu ânlu gâzî yigitlerîm âfitab-1 hayatlara küssîn memât iriğüb, şehâdet mertebesin buldîlâr.

Zîhi hayat-1 nîkû-nâm mûrden-i be-şehâdet

Ölümden kurtulur yôkdur cihân'da
O derdi çekmez olmaz ins-ü-cân'da
Kişinûm 'ömri günkim âhir ola
Yeg oldur kim gaza yolunda öle

Bu dâsitân savaşda tutulan mûlhîde
'âlâ hide tu'ma-i hüsâm-1 intîkâm
kilindûğûn, yoldâvlîk idenler ri'ayet
olûnub, etraf-1 memâlîke ve esnâf-1 mesâlîke
feth-nâmeler irsâl olûndûğûn beyân ider.

Çün savaş işî bitdi, bezm-î rezm âhir olub bâzâr-1 kârzar tağıldî gitdi, hezîmet işî bitdi, gâzîler gânîmet aşın yîdîler, bir birine sür-1 sürür-bâş-1 gaza mûbârek olsun didîler, 'adû-1 kîne-cûyûf ordu1 yerinde Sultan-1 'âlî-şân içûn evc-i âsumâna berâber sâyêbân urûldû. İrtesi dîvân olub, Cemsîd-i hûrşîd-serîr yerine geçûb, oturub, vu'zerâ-yî 'izâm ve ümerâ-yî kirâm 'îd-1 sa'id-1 cihâdi mûbârek-bâd idûb, kenâr-1 cûyîrda şafşaf gibi
Şaff-şaff turuldu.

[135b] Bahar ezhari gibi zinet i’yan

Olub şahostname oldi dīvān

Çalınub kūs-i feth ü tabl-i şādī

Şadadan ṭoldı deşt-ū-kūh-u-vādī

Şehsüvari Oğlu ‘Alī Beg bir mikdar merdān-ı kārzārla mezkūr

makhūr kova-gitmişdi. Nām-dār ādemlerinden ve yarar Kūrçilerinden

bīrkaç biī kimesneyi ḥing-i cengden piyāde idūb, esīr-ū-deştger

itmişdi, ve sā’ir ‘asker ḥalkına dağı yasaq olmuşdi ki, kimse

esīrin saḵlamaya, dīvāna getūre. Lā-čerem, ārmān-ī ‘alī-şanla

hayli esīr cem’ oldi. Ol dīv-nişiad-[u]-pūlād-nīhādlarla ḥavālī-yi

dīvān ṭoldi. Emr-i vācībū ’l-inqīyādīa cellādlar ortaya girdiler,

niyām-ī mīg-fāmdan tīg-ī ḥūn-ārāmi ‘uruyān idūb, ol bed-fercāmları

kirdilər. Niçe yūz şimşir-i būrān berk-i tābān gibi oynayub

rāḥṣān oldı. Kālič şarkıldusı şark-u-ğarbe irūb, seyl-i ḥūn ile

dereler ṭoldı.

Niçe sūr-żebdān u ḵaṣr-1 beden

Ḥarāb oldı seylāb-1 şimşirden

Zikr olan üsārādān biri Kādī-Zāde Erdebīlī Mevlānā idi, ki

c evdet-i ūtabā’t ve mezīyet-i fażīlet ile şohret bulmuşdı, Mevlānā

İdrīs görūb, bilūb Sultan-ī cīhāndan şefā’at itdi. "Şākīrđūm ve

oġlumdūr," diidükde afv olınub, zīncīrde on sekińzi olub on sekiź

Aḵça ‘ulūfe himmet itdi.

Be’dēhū şavasda yoldaşlığı zuhürü bulan vūzerā-1 ‘izām ve

ūmerā-1 kīrāmūn ve sā’ir ḥuddām-1 encüm-iğtişāmunī dırlikleri

artub, terakkiileri buyuruldu. Piyāde-vū-sūvār gerek ḫapu ḫalḵī, gerek

İrişūb ‘ālemē āvāze-i fetḥ
Cihān ṭoldı peyām-ı tāze-i fetḥ
Bilād-ı mūlūk olub ser-cümle tezyīn
Feleklerde melekler kaldı taḥsīn

Bu dāsitān Sultān-ı cihān maḥrūse-i Tebrīze varub, ol tarafda vākī‘ olan ḥavādīsi beyān ider.
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Çāḳarlar Şāh-ı Rûma karşulayu
Yolını ėsk-i ėşm ile şulayu
Döşerler at ayagına melekler ³
Feleklerde niçe altun benekler
Derilüb cümle ol cāyî laṭīfe
Döşerler at ayagına kaṭīfe
Çāḳub bāy-u-qedâ heb Şāha karsu
Varurlar gün kevākib māha karsu
Yūrūdükçe Şāh ol ra’na kumāsî
Döşenmiş ferşe ol zībā ferāsî
Dérbūb derdi ṭoyum oldi şolaklar
O yine müjdeci şaldı ulaştılar
Ümdular yüz sürüyüb pâyına baş
Döşediler yoluna bî-hadd љumâş
Kaldurub bir yerden eller açdılar
Her yañadan dürr-ü-gevher şâçdılar
Oradan varınca otağına ol
Atlâs-u-dîbâ idi ser-cümle yol
Şehriyar-ı kâmkâr âyîn-ı metîn-î Âhmodî ile ֿkaçânlîn-ı
şer′-i mûbîn-î Nuñammedîyi ol diyärda izhâr idûb, şî′ar-ı
âhîkâm-ı ֿİslâmî âşıkâr itdi. Fisk-ı-fücûr, ki menba′-ı şerr-ı-
şürdûr, ve zîndîka-vû-îlhâd, ki ol bed-i tîkâdlar arasında
şâyî′de, [137a] kimde sezdiše siyâset idûb, cîhânı başına ֿtar
itdi. Sünnet-ı-cemâ-ֿat mezhebine revâc virûb, tüccâr-ı füccûruñ
bazâr-ı kâsid ve sîk-ı füszûkî fâsid oldî. Meyâhid-i eşrâr olan
ma′âhid âhyâr-ı ebrâra ma′âbid oldî.

Çûn aldî kâhr ile Tebrîzi ֿHûsrev
Medâyîn taqûtînî güyâ ki ֿHûsrev
Düşer Çûn-ü-Semerkanda hîrâsun
Hîrâsun-ı-yêl pûr oldî ֿHârâsun
Tolar şit-u-şalâbet Mîsîr ile Şâm
Diyar-ı Hind-ı-Sinde ֿirdî ֿîlâm

Rêvî eydür, Cûm′a güni oldûkça ֿhaçret-i Pâdisân-ı ֿhilân-
penâh, ֿAccilû bi ş-şalâti kable ֿl-fevt emrine imtîsâl idûb,
semend-i râm-licoâma sûvâr oldî. ֿHavass-ı ma′âlî-îhtîsâş ֿcîhine
dûşûb, mevâkib-i kevâkib-şûnârla deş-ü-hâmûn ֿtoldî. Vûzerâ-ı
kâr-femây her tarafdan hûle gibi ol mûhî inâta itdîler. Ümeyrâ-ı
rezm-âzmây ol Şehingâh-ı gerdûn-bârgâhûn öfînce gitdîlê.
Yeñicêri yarağa girûb, sîlahtlari-yle kendûlere zînet virûb
öfîce yörûdûlê. Harbelerinûn yalmani-yle çêm-i mihri ëhre
idûb, rû-ya sipîhri bûrûdûlê.

Tûrsalar ellerinde harbeleri
Yûzlerini gören kalûr bêleri
'Azab alayî, ki fevc-fevc yûrûrdî, gûyê bir lûlezér idi, bûd-i
bahûr öfînce mevc urûrdî.

Yûrûr idi 'azab gûërûh-gûërûh
Lûlezér olmûş idi dâmên-i kûh
Tebrûzde olan pîr-û-cîvân, kavî-vî-nâ-tûvân, 'avret-û-öglân,
gûërûh-gûërûh yollar üzre ûrub, ol 'asker-i pûr-salâbetûn
esbûb-û ûşeketin temåsâ iderlerdi. Bir biri-yle kelâmê [137b]
êdûretleri ve istîfêmâmê têkatlari yoçûdî. Mebhûd-û-medhûş
ûrubûrûrdî. Geregi gibi tezyîn ile,

Bu hûş resm ile hûb ayûn ile
Uzun Hasan câmî'ine, ki râşanet-i mebna ile meşhûr-û afêk ve
bu kûbê-û mînânûn altinda çîftî yûk tûkur, dügûl idûb, namâza
hâzîr oldî. Mezkûr câmî-'i şerîfûm [ki] mücessem nûr-û lâmî'
idi, içi taşê mûl-û-mûl olûndûrûndan gûyê etrêmûnda olan
dûr-u-kûşûr ve sôkaklarañ şakaklari âdem ile têldî.

Rûvi eydûr, Kûzîlbas ol câmî-'i şerîfî cêbe-ûâne kûlmûşdî.
Alât-û hadîd ve esbûb-û be's-i şêdîdê ol makâm-û nazîfi
toldûrûsûdî. Sultân-û cîhânûn femên-û 'alî-şenî-yle têthîr-u-
tânzîf olûnûb, her cânibine rengûn ve şemêm bisâtlar dûşenûsûdî.
Aşet-û ma'ûdû auprèsne hûş elhân-u-şîrîn zebên càrî kûrîlêr

Na'relerden ditredi çârû-ı berîn
Şayhâlardan înledi rû-yi zêmîn
Her tarafdan zâhir oldû velvelê
İrdî ol sengîn binâya zelzele


Hiye 'l-Firdevsî fi 'd-dûnîyâ cemâlen
Eknâf-î sebezêrî pûr-ezhâr-u-gülûn, etrâf-î cûvârî şafâ-vûrûşen, ab-u-havâsî hoş-gûvâr, topağî hoş-bû ve mûsk-bûr, her kûnci bir genç-i pûr-hâvâste, her kenârî bir nigâr-î âràste.

Havâsî dil-gûsâ vu hîkî 'anber
Şûrî selsâl gibi rûh-perver
Kâzâ sahnînâ ol şehrûn kaderden
Kabû-yi ûl bûcîmî lâlelerden
Şuyunu't remli ol cennet-mişalü'n
Zamîrîn avlamı's āb-ı zülalü'n
Sultân-ı 'Acemü'n ol şehr-i mu'azzamda olan âgâr-ı celîlesinden
Heşt-Bihişt dimekle ma'rûf sarây-ı bî-hemtâyî, ki leşt-fet-i
mebnâ ile meşhûr bina'dur, seyr-ü-temâş'a itdi; ve andan ğayri
daţi meşhûr ve müte'ârif olan emâkin-i laţîfe ve cevâmi'-i
şerîfeyi görüb, oţak-ı gerdûn-nîtâkına gitdi. Leyse 'l-âhberû
ke 'l-mu'ayyene

Senîde key büved mânend-i diđe

Bu dâsitân Sultân-ıcihân mahrûse-i Tebrîzde
kîslamayub, Rûm cânîbine 'avdet eylemesînû'n
bevî'îsîni ve gelûrken menâzîlde-vû-merâhîlde
vâkî' olan havâdîsi beyân ider.

Mûharrer-û-mestûr olan minvâl üzerine, gün Ḏâkân-ı
'azîmû 's-şân Sultân Selîm Han [138] mezkûr Şân-ı makhûrun
seylâb-ıpur-ştâb-ı fûcûrûnû nihâyêt-i tughâyînî eyyâmında ve
tennûr-ı şerr-û-şûrûnûnガイyet-i gâleyânî hengâmında üzerine
varub, mûl-û-menâsîn târâc-u-tâlân, ve ehl-û-îyâlin esîr-û-
nâlân itdi.

Târ-û-mân oldî ğâşmet-û-ğâşemi
Bozîlub gitdi ûrmet-i haremi
On sekiz gün taht-gâhî olan Tebrîzde oturub, âfitâb-ı cihân-tâb
gibi ol kışverse nûr-u-fer virdi.

Virûb ûrûţûd-veş 'âlemelere nûr
Zalâm-î şulîm 'adly eyledî dür

Memâlik zi-bî-dâd-î düşmen şarâb
Hûdâvend-râ leşkerî bî-hesâb
Zemestân-ı Tebrîz ê-cê bâd-i saht
Be-lêrzed zêmîn hemcû berg-i daraht
Me-bâdâ ki tengî kûned rûzgâr
Peşîmânî ân-geh ne-yâyed be-kâr
"Mûnâsib oldur ki muktażâ-û rây-û şazm-û arâ ile 'amel buyurulub, şart-û fart-û ihtiyây ri'âyet olına, zimâm-û 'azmi mâkâm-û şazme döndûrub, Rûmîle ile 'Acem vilâyeti mâ-beyinde ikâmet olına."
Mîyân-î dü kişver nûmâyed nişest
'Acem-râ vu Rûm âvered zîr-i dest
Behremend-ü-mahzûz olub, sâ'ir erbâb-ı kemâlle İstanbula gitdi.

Hoş geçüb säye-i himâyetde

Tûrdî bir müddet ol vilâyetde

Çok zamân geçmeyüb tâ'ün zâhmetinden öldi, kibâr-ı engûrdân

hâzret-i Ebû Eyyüb -kaddese sârra-hu- mezarî civârında medûfûn oldî.

Eyledi keśb-ı hayât-ı ebedî

Mesken idindi civâr-ı Şâmedi

Tetimme-i [dâsitân]-ı sâbiḳu 'l-beyân

Sâbiḳâ tâhîr olûnun üsûlub üzre çûn mezkûr sâl-i ferûjundeb-
fâlûn Receb-i müreccebin mâ yigîrîni beşînci günînde 'inân-ı

'azîmet Rûm cânîbine şarf olûnub, Aras dimêkî meşhûr olan

şûa gelindûkde 'âzîm seyl hâdîs oldî; 'ûbûr-u-mûrûrda 'asker-ı

manşûr-ı nâ-mâhşûrî bî-hûzûr idûb, hayli at-u-ädem gâr k olûsuna

bâ'îs oldî.

Kûnêd âb ez leta'fet sebze'i-râ

Çû tûnd 'ayed diraht-an-râ kûnêd pest

Sâbiḳâ Gûrcistân sulûnânîna mü'ekked hükm-i şerîf irsâl olûnûsûdî, memleketinde bulûnûn gâllât-u-me'kûlûtûdân mûmûkûn oldûgû kadar 'askere zâd-u-zevûda getûrmeke ışmarlanûsûdî. Şêhriyâr-ı kâmûr

hayl-i cerrârla [139b] Gûrcistân diyarî kenarîna gelûkde Mîrza

Çâpuk tarafîndan haber-ü-eğer zâhî olûdûgûna incinûb, naks-ı

'ahd eleyûb, emr olûnun hûdêmêta imtisâl itmedi şanûb,  tôqûru

yolca giderken dönûb ol vilâyeti gâret itmek kasûd eyledi.

Olb ejder-sûfat tûnd-û-gâzab-nâk

Diyar-ı Gûrcîye 'azm itdi çâlâk
Çerîler oçșa geldi yine ol än
Diyar-ı Gürcîye toldî hîrusân
Ol heyl-i bî-meyl-ü-emân heyl-û-heylemânla il içine giricek,
on kenârlar urkûlûk olub, halk hisârlara koçîldî. Dür-u-kuşûr
âşûb-u-şûr olub, merc-i Gürcistân herc-û-merc toldî.
Kimi ehlin alub mûlînî saçdî
Kimişi urkûben kühsâra kaçdî
Mîrzâ Çâpukuî can başına siçrayub, fi 'l-âbî isti'câlle resûl
irsâl eyledi, sipâris olanın ümûr vech-i ma'mûr bî-kuşûr
Coban Köprüsine ordu-yyî hümâyûna vuşûl bulur diyû,'îspîr
Kal'asînuû ki, 3
Kalâ' içinde bâz-î isperidûr
miftâhînî bile âsîl eyledi, eyîdî.
Ki Sultan-ıçihanûnî bendesiîyûz
Kuşûr-î hîdmete şermendesiîyûz
Ne deflû varsa bunde mülk-û-kişver
Şâhûndûr biz kamû maâkûm u çâker
Megkûr ilçî gelicek, yine şôgru yola dönülûb, birkaç gün
geçince, Coban Köprüsine geldi, ırsâl olanın zehâ'ir-û-zevâde
didîğinden daхи ziyâde anda hâzîr-u-vâfir bulûnû. Ol könakda
bir gün otûrûk kilûnûb, Morâ begi Mustafâ Paşa, ki sabîkâ
vezerâttdan 'azî kîlinmişdî yiri Rûmîli \[14oa\] defterdârî Pîr
Meûned Paşaya virîldî. Anatoîî defterdârî Şemsi Beg Rûmilîne
defterdâr olub, Üskûb kaçîsi Mevlânâ 'Abdülkerîm-Zađe Anatoîî
defterdârî olûdî, ve Rûmîli kaçî'askeri Müeyyed-Zađe, ki monlà-yyî
bî-nâzîr idi, emmâ dîvânâ tezkere ile gelûr giderdî, ziyâde


Çûn aldî Ḥân-i a‘zâm Bâyburdî
Virür ol mür-i serdâra o yurdu

Bu eğnâda memâlik-i mahnîye ile vilâyet-i 'Acem mă-beyninde
bir konakda ba'zî esirrâ bir kêrûnmûn üzerine üşûb, yûkûb,
yûkûb gâret iderken ûdûvendîgîr izzazione bi ę-zâût kendûler
görürl. Di 'l-hâl leheb-i gazabî isti'âl bûlûb, zikr olan fesâda
irtikâb idûb, bâdî olanlari bulûb getûrub, cümlesinûn boyunlarn
urur. Dükagin-Zâdeyi ve Hersek-Zâdeyi getûrub, " Niçûn tebdîrde
takşîr idûb, bunlari ızbât eylemezsiz? Bu vâkî' olan şenâ'î'e
bâ'îg sizûn ğuşûr-ı fehmûnûz ve kîlleti 'akuñuzdur " diyunûb,
ikisin bile vezâaretden 'azl eyler.

Büzûrg-ûn çuhrde ber hûrûn ne-ğîrend

Bu söz kim söylenûr dillerde haddur
Uluları başmak kîçîlerî asmakdan yegdur.

Lâ-cerem, " Asîtâne-i sa'âdetde  międz iden bevvâblardan
ve rîkâb-ı kâm-yabda yûriyen şolâklardan ve Yeñiçeri ta'ifesinden
gayri kimesne ak börk giymesûn " diyû 'azîm yasak oldû. Zikr
olan yasag, ki ilâ yevmi-nâ hâzâ cûrûdûr, bu vâkî'a-i sâkî'ada
zûhûr buldu.

Siyâset medâr-ı riyâsetddûrûr
Siyâset olicaçak riyâset łuurûr
Tebrîzden Kara Hisâra gelinceyedegin, ki bir âylûk yolûdûr, yoluñ
su'ûbetinden ve zâhire-vû-zevâdenûn kitliqûndan ziyâde zahmetler
gûlûb, 'azîm kitlik ve meû'a'ika vâkî' olmuşdûr.

yüse-i Cevzâdan aşmışdî bahû-û sünbûle
'Akbî Pervûnî virûrsefî [14la] gelmiye bir cev ele
Dâmeni-yle ger vire gerdün nü cümüfı cevherin
Hirman-ı devranda yok bir dâne gendüm kim ala
Açılıkdan bıfıden ziyâde âdem ve yüz bıfıden ziyâde devvâb-u-biğâl
ve ûyul-û-cîmâl kîrîlub-dururdi. Bu kâziye-ı gayr-ı merîyeye
Tebrîzden ’ale l-ğafle göçülub, zâhîre-ve zevâde tedârik
olînmayub, Gürçîstânâ şapîlub eglendügî sebeb olub-dururdu.
Senc-i mezbûre Şevvâlinüüm on altîncî günî devlet-û-se ’adetle
Amaşiya şehrîne gelindi. Mezkûr şehr-ı ma’mûrîn eşrâf-u-a’yânî
karıştu gelüb, şerî’ît-î ta’zîm-û-iclîl ‘alâ vechî ’l-kelâm eda
kîlîndî.

Vardi ol şehe biri virdiseref
Behre-î luft aldî andan her taraft
Kadem-i meymüni-yle ol merzûbûm ma’mûr olub, sâye-i hûmâyûni-yle
ol taraflara daﬁ şeref virdi. Nûr-î ’adîle deycûr-ı şerr-û- sûrî
götürüb, mevâkib-i kevâkib-şûmârînûn haraketi-i bereketi her
dara girdi. Hengâm-ı şitâyî ol ma’kâmda geçürüb, geh ’aysû-’
’igret geh şayd-u-şikâr itdî. İn’âm-ı ’âmîni, ki tâb-ı âfitâb ve
âb-ı sehâb gibi bir ikâmî mehşûs ve ma’kûr degerdi, ol ma’kâmûn
mu’kîmlerine daﬁ tevzi-’û-ta’îmîn olub yetdi. Bârân-ı ihlâni-yle
ol mekânûn daﬁ zu’afâyîl re’âyasînîn kişt-zâr-î ârzûda ekdügi
to’ûm-1 murâd bîtdi.

Şeh-i åteş-gazâb devlet-serâda
Olbî asûde hengâm-ı şitâyda
Gehî tebdîr-ı rezm-azmâlîg eyler
Gehî câm elde bezm-ârâlîg eyler

Temme
TEXTUAL VARIANTS

65/1 hilafete: F, M hilafetde.
2 F omits this ayet.
3 bu kažayanun... tenžidinden: F, bu mukaddematuun tertib-ü-tenžidinden, bu kažayanun tahkik-u-temhîdinden.

66/1 Huda-dâd... ademî-zâd: F, Hûdâ-dâd, tevfîk-i Hakk refîk olmayıçak ademûn.
2 olan... maşlağat: M, olmayan maşlağat.
3 ra"îyetini: All ms. rey'atini.
4 Idüb: M, itdi.
5 ûhal-i ferhunde-fâl: F, ûhal

67/1 otuz beşbin: F, biñ.
2 Süvârinun... piyadesinün: M, süvârîna... piyadesine.
3 zindânîyi: V, zîndânî; M, zîndânîni.
4 Sultan Körkûda... kîlîndî: M, K, omit. In V it comes after the following rubric; in D, R it is in the margin.
5 F omits thismişrâ'.

68/1 gözlerinün küzelerinden: M, gözlerinden.
2 ma"mûresinde: M, D, K, ma"mûresine.
3 töldî... göçer: F, omits.
4 tac-daruň: M, tac-dârlarun
5 Mifreş-i mînâkkâş-ı... yevfâlû; F, omits, but adds the following verse after the ayet.

الورقُ كَرُ ١٨٠٠ِ، ١٢٠۶ِ ١٨۹۸ِ، ١٠٥۶ِ ١٩٢٨ِ، ١٠٥۶ِ ١٩٢
69/1 ve: V, hüve.
2 Mağfürü: M, mağfurla.
3 begler varsa: M, begler ne deñlü varsa.
4 a'yan: M, a'yan ile.

70/1 tarafların: M, tarafun.
2 F, omits all this verse.
3 mucib-i ihtilal...ayın-iselatin: F, mucib-i ihtilaldur,
  hазret-i pâdişâh ışîtld, ayın-i selâtîn.
4 evvelen: M, omits.
5 gördü... emrî 'llâhi: F, omits.

71/1 ihtimâm idûb: F, ihtimam-gösterdi.
2 kitâle...şühûrunda: F, omits.
3 Ferhünde-me'alûn: M, ferhünde-fâlûn.
4 yigirî dördînci: M, K, dördînci.
5 İstanbul ma'berinden: F, Istanbul iskelesinden.
6 bayraklarla: M, K, albayraklarla.
7 ezdahâ-kîrdâr nîzeler ve şîr-peyker alemlerle: F, şîr-peyker ‘alemler ve ejdehâ-kîrdâr nîzelerle.
8 ziyade: F omits.
10 Budamiyeye: M, Budahiye (بودهیه).
11 gelüb çıkdî: M, geldi; F, geldi çıkdî.
12 V, يٰلٰهٰن گیردی نابل.
13 V omits this 3rd mışrâ‘.
14 F omits the first 3 beyts.
72/1 F omits the last beyt.
2 ㎉almayub: F, D,  Watkins.
3 Oldi...kendü: F omits.
4 metā'ın: M,  emlakın.
5 Sultan-ı cihânun...tafsıl: F, Sultan Selımün Anatoliya kudumun ve Bursa halkınun kendümün üzerinde hucumun takrır itdi.
6 F omits all this verse.
7 F omits the first beyt.

73/1 Sultan-ı cihan devlet-ü-saadetle: V, Sultan-ı cihan saadetle.
2 mukavemetle taka'ti olmayub: F omits.
4 Altmış üç gün: F Padişah altmış üç gün.
5 After gotürüdi F has one beyt as follows.
   Ankara şehrinde turdū bir zaman
   'Aüş-ü-nüşile şeh-i gitti-sitān.
6 saadet-nişānuñ: F omits.
7 hakk idügin: V, hakk itmek idügin.

74/1 fahelāni: M, muhillān.
2 birkaç padişah: F, saltanata müsteḥak birkaç padişah.
3 Muhammed: M, K, F Sultan Muhammed.
4 'Osmān: V, 'Osmānuñ,
5 Kangiri sancağınun: F Kangiri vilayetinun.
6 pīrler tedbiri-yile: F pīrler tedbiri-i dil-perīriyle.
7 pür-veylde: V, pür-leylde.
75/1 F omits this last beyt.
2 maşlaḥatı...rehberden: F tedbīrinde 'asker halkından.
3 vilâyeti cānibile: F vilâyeti semtine.
4 sipehsālārldan: M, sipehsālārdan.
5 emmā...şınımışlardur: M, sunlar ki, nice kez ḥāṣimle 

76/1 bu...išidicek: F, 'akabince kažāy; Raḥmānī
gibi lessker irişdüğin išidüb.
2 Tac-u-tahtdan elyuyub: K, in margin.
3 hizmətharla: V, 
4 geh: F omits in both mısra's; M, omits only in the
5 urków eylerdi: M, andan eylerdi.
6 zāt-u-ma'işetigün, ki: M, zāt-u-gida, ki.
7 taşra çıktı: M, taşra çıkub.
8 F omits this beyt.
9 žabt idüb: F, žabt-u-teshîr idüb.
10 dāru 'l-mülkine: F, Bursaya.
77/1 Egrigöz: V, Egrigör.
2 mutāba‘atı: in V in the text; mutāba‘atı in margin.
4 the ta‘rih yields 913 instead of 918, in all the texts should be read ( ).

78/1 beyān ider: M, F bildirir.
2 nūmāyet...Merhum: F inserts hadīs and its explanation at this point:

İza erāde ’llahū emren heyye’e esbābe-hü
Kağan bir emri ister Haḳ Te‘ālā
Anuṁ esbābını eyler müheyyā.
3 Rūm memleketine: F bu canibe.
4 ‘avdet idūb: M ‘avdet itdi.
5 kendüye ızhār-ı intisāb: M, kendüye intisāb.
7 F omits this beyt.
8 in D all this verse is in the margin.

79/1 cināyet: F cināyet-i ḥiyanet.
2 Selīm Han: M, şeh Selīm Han.
3 birāder-i mehterinin Karaman vilayetine: F karindaşının Karamana.
80/1 Ulaklar gönderdi: M, ulaklar gönderüb.
2 bölükleri gezüb: F bölükleri selamlayub.
3 asker halkına: F omits.
4 gayretdemidür: F gayret-ü-hamîyetdemidür.
5 gerek: F omits.
6 yarındası: F omits.
7 deşt-ü-deri bürümiş: F deşt-ü-hâmûnî bürümiş
8 Ol...görüşmedin: F, mekr-ü-ihtiyâle aldub.
   isti'câle geldûgine bî-huţûr oldû. Kalb-î nâ-sipâsîna
   ol 'asâkîr-i bî-kîyâşdan havf-û-hîras tôldî. Baş
   kurtarmaja tâlib olub.

81/1 Sultan-î cihânûnî ferman-î kâder tûvânî-yele: M, Sultan-î
   kâder-tûvânûnî fermanî-yele.
2 F omits this beyt but gives the following instead.
   Bu gülgânîde negûl biter ne lâle
   Kî ana bâdî-î fena olmaz hâvâle.
3 pâk-hâkî: M, hâk-î pâki.
4 oldârda: M, ol diyârda.

82/1 makâm-î hizmetde: M, makâm-î hizmetinde.
2 be-bahsed: F, V, K, D, bahşid.
3 'Arab-u-'Acem: K, el-'Arab ve-î-'Acem.
4 karışağub: M, karışub.
5 olub: M, omits.
83/1 F omits these two beyts but gives the following instead.

Ra'iyet sâyesinde oldı ḥoş-hâl

Huzur itdiler olub fârîgu 'l-bâl.

2 F omits the last beyt.

3 ibtidâ-yi...kallâs: in D, K, it comes before the rubric; in R it is in the margin.

4 havâ-yî vaĝâda pervâz ider: V, 1/2 buj vaqadê pîravår.

84/1 perr-û-bâlîn: V omits

2 oldî...yîlîna: D, 1/1 bu(180,530),(967,586)

3 F omits the last beyt.

4 oldî: M, omits.

5 ne keyîfîyetle vâki' olub: M, nice vâki' olduğun.

6 in D, K, R this beyt written with big letters as a rubric.

85/1 Şîkâr kîlmîşdî: M, şîkâr kîldî.

2 'Âlînûn haâkînda: V, 'Âlînîn

3 ketm: M, omits.

4 Mevâlîden: M, mevâlîdende.

5 altmîş 'aded: M, 'altmîş nefer.

86/1 meşahîd-i ahyâr: M, meşahîd-i

2 Hanîfe-i Küfînûn: M, Hanîfenûn.

3 dime...cihâd: F omits, but adds the following.
Mezkür mak hüruñ silsilesi Ḥażret-i şeyh Şafiyeddîn

Ishâka müntehî olur ki, emlehu 'l-mütekellimîn Şeyh Sa'dîden
tâc-u-ḥirka giymişdür. Tevârîh-i mu‘teberede mestürdîr ki,
Cengiz Han evlâdîndan Sultan Muhammed Hudâbende 'Irâk-i
'Acemle Azerbâycân arasında Sultâniye şehrin yapub, itmâm
eyledükde [218b] taht-ı hukûmetinde olan ekâbîr-i 'ülemâ
ve meşâhîr-i şûlehâyi cem' idüb, ẓiyâfet itdi. E‘azîm-i
küberâdan dört yüzden ziyâde ădem cem' olmîdı; şeyh-i ẓarîf-i
rabbânî 'Alâ'üdevle-i Semnâni ve Şeyh Şerâfeddîn-i
kâddese 'llâhî ruha-hûmâ - ol meclîse şârdîlîlîar. Sultan
Muhammed istedî ki, Şeyh Şafiyeddîn ol meclîse bile ola,
defa‘âtla da‘vet itdîlîl gelîmdi, cemî-i 'ömrynîne selâtîn
lokmasına el sunmîş değîldi, ol sebebden za‘fî beden ve
pîrlîği behâne idüb gelîmdi. Şeyh-zade ẓiyâfetle me’nûs
degîldi, ol ẓiyâfetde olan nefâ‘îsî eştîmeden ekl idüb
tereddûd kîlmîdi. Ol ta‘âmûn netîcesi sonra evlâdînda
şûhûr buldı. Şadreddîn 'âvîdet idüb babasîna gelîdıkden
sonra eglenmeyüb, babasî fevt oldî. Ba‘de oğlî Şeyh 'Alî
seccâde-i irşâda oturdı. Andan sonra oğlî [at this point
R commences] Şeyh Cüneyd, ki Şeyh Haydarîn vâlididür, ol
hidmete iltizâm gösterdi. Miṣr-u-Şâm, Mağribî ve Rûmî
tâmam şeyr idüb, yine yerine geldî. Veğret-i mân-u-menâl
ve kesret-i ehibbâ-vu-ricâl ile mağrûr olub, meşâm-i
meşumûna salţanat hevâsî toldî. Diyârbekehrde ol zamanda
Uzun Hasan istiklalı emir idi. Şulehâya hüsni-i ı'tikâdı olmagın, mezkûr Şeyha ziyâde 'izzas-ü-
ňürmet kîldi. Oğlı Şeyh Haydara kendü kerîmesin
nikâhla virüb râbiṭa-i muşahareti berkitdi.
Ehibbâdan 'arîse diyü ol kadár mûl geldi ki, kîse-i
ămâlin ve kâse-i âzîn mûl-ă-mûl itdi. Çâza....
continues as in text.

86/4 ğarâb eylemişdi: M, ğâret itmişdi; K, ğâret eylemişdi,
F, ğâret eyledi.
5 After that F has different hand-writing.
6 Şeyh Haydar Şâh: M, F, Şeyh Haydar.
7 şûr-û-şerre: M, şerr-û-şûra.

87/1 âkîn alub: M, F, âkîn almagî-çûn.
2 yerine: M, omits

88/1 in V, F this beyt written in prose.
2 iḩdâs kîldi: M, iḩdâs ide.
3 bed-râyi-le: M, bed-râsi-yle
4 ol sefere: M, omits.
5 yanînda: M, yanîna.

89/1 Şansû Gavrînûn: M, Şânsâv Gavrînûn
2 diriyle: M, V, ܒܝܬ
3 bendelerinden: M, F nebîrelerinden.
89/4 Elvend: V, Levend.
5 äterşub: M, äterub.
6 bini: V, omits; in F, M it is on the line as a margin.
7 elli: M, omits.
8 Köyünluyu: F, M, A kkogunluyu.
9 göge: M, bile.
10 öldürdü: M, öldürüb.
11 ve Reyi ve: F omits.
12 vilayetlerde bulduğu: M, vilayetleri olduğuda.
13 kadımi: M, kadımi.

90/1 This verse written in V as prose.
2 Kendü . . . rahtını:
M, kendüsi Bağdada saldı rahtını;
F, Kendü Bağdada saldı rahtını;
D, Kendü Bağdada rahtın;
K, Kendü Bağdada - rahtını.
3 hasret-ü-derd-i diyar: M, K, hasret-i derd-ü-diyar;
D, hasret-i derd-i diyar.
4 beglerinden yigirmiden: F omits.
5 Şiraz: V, Şirazı
6 ihisi: F, ili.
7 imaretden: V, retden.

2 Kürdi-yle: M, Kürdle.
Şama ve ʿAraba ve Ḥalebe: F, K, M, Şama, ve Ḥalebe ve berr-i ʿAraba.

4 mukābele: M, mukābeleye.

5 oldılar: F, itdiler.

6 in F this beyt written in prose.


8 Selīm: M, omits.

9 bed-kişün: F, M, bed-kişinün.

in M all the verse written in prose.

2 taʿāsṣub: M, omits.


4 tekābūl-ū-tezād: V, \( \text{؟} \)

5 bir sürü ḥinzır: all mss. are wrong except K.

6 peçe-i şır-i ner: V, pençe-i şır-i ner.

7 düşüb: M, omits.


2 mūmānaʿaya: M, mūmāyaḵāya.

3 yutmağa: V omits.
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94/1 Gebr-ü-Terşayi: Gebr-ü-Şarini.

2 ol menba‘-ı ... şürürn:

D, ol menba‘-ı fücur-u-mecma‘-ı pür-şürüren;
M, ol menba‘-ı şürü-r-u-mecma‘-ı fücürüren;
K, ol menba‘-ı fücur-u-mecma‘-ı pür şürüren;
V, mecma‘-ı fücur-u-mecma‘-ı pür-şürüren.

3 leşker-i cerrar-ı şehriyär-ı kâmkärla: V leşker-i çerrärla.

4 hicret ta’rhinünn toüz yüz yigirmenci yıldında: R, V, hicretinünn yigirmenci yıldında.

5 üzerine: M, üzerinde.


7 R omits all this verse, but gives the following in the margin.

Mücellâ tîg çekmiş şuya sîsên
Körpürmiş bâd anûn-çûn âba cûsên
Görüb şu urur bî-dâd hâncerînî (sic!)
Urunmış lâle gül-gül mîgferînî

95/1 Cenge: V, cenî.

2 bedr idi: M, K, bedr-i ây idi.

3 ma‘hüdeleri-yle: M, ma‘hüdelerinde.

4 seher-îzgibi: V, seher-îzlar.

5 ûpuda: V, ûpuda-ûpuda.

6 kimisi: M, kimi piyâde ve kimi atla.

7 fer mân: V, kûrbân.

8 “alem-i âlem-gûşâyi: V, omits.
hilāl-miṣāle: V, hilāl-miṣāl.
3 istiftā kīlnūb: M, istifṣār kīlnūb.
4 her ki: M, omits.
5 eṣyaʿīnī: M, eṣyaʿīn.

būrūdi: M, būrūdīler.
3 keṣf-i yakīnūn: M, keṣf-i yakīn.
4 her zamān: M, her zamānda.

Ol sahrāya ḳonub: K, omits.
2 Şadāyī derāy: V, şadā-yı deryā; M, şadā-yı derā:
4 dur: V, R omit.

olduğu eclden: M oldugu cihetden.

2 irṣāl olinması: irṣāl olinmasına.
3 sağ ānibinden: M, F sağ ānibden.
4 daʿvet itdükden: M, F, K, daʿvet itdūgin.

ol nevahīde: M, ol ḫavalīde.
2 yine ḡayret idūb...baḥt-ı saʿīd: F, K, M omit, in D, R written in the margin, but R repeats yine...derdi in the text.
Türkmen serverleri: M, F, Türkmen serdârlar.  
hidmetine tâlibler: V, hidmetine tabi'ler.

mezkûr mağrûr: M, mezkûr makhûr.  
cinayet-i hiyânete...eşeddûr: M, hiyânet-i hiyânete, ki cümlâ habâsîden eşeddûr.
Çâldirândan yetişirem: M, Çâldirândan yetişdim.
Sikke-i Efrençî: M, F sikkeyi efrençîye.
kalmış M, omits.

yörilüb haylî: M, yörinüb çok.
digû: V omits  
M has a few illegible words here.

emîrinden: M, mîrinden.
Ustâcalu Oğlu: V, Ustâcalu Oğlî.
yarar yoldâş: M yarâr yoldâş

gürledi: M, gözleri; R, gözledi.  
gök yüzini: V, yer yüzini.
kojulub: V, kojub.
tûzerine: M, üstüne.
Ceyş-i bed-kîşûn: M, K ceys-i bed-kîşinûn.
108/6 üzerinde: M, üzerindene.
7 ālāṭi-yla: V alāyla.

109/1 üzerinde: M, üzerindene.

110/1 Rūmili: M, Rūm
2 kīne-ver: M, kīne-vere.
3 mā-beyninde: M, K omit.
4 the sequence of the verses in D, F, K, M, R is
   5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 1, 2, 3, 4.

111/1 M, K, Urub cāndan ḵilīç bī-ḥadd càlgı̇dī; D Urub ḵilīç bi-ḥadd càndan càlgı̇dī.

112/1 baş korkusından: M, baş korkusına.
2 ẓuramayūb: M, ẓurmayūb.
3 ʾarkalarındagī: M, ʾarkalarında.
4 at güci-yle: M, ati-yle.
6 gibi: M, omits.
7 M, Alurlar hīle ile ṭabl-u-kūsīn.
   Gelüb sürer yere ruḥ fīl ile.
   'Arūs-i devlet-ū-nāmüsi bile.
F Gelür sürüb yere ruḥ fīle ile
   'Arūs-i devlet-ū-nāmūs bile.
8 Vidin begi: V din begi.
113/1 Tac-zade: F, K, M, Tacî-zade.

2 ol dahi...eyledi: F, M omit; in D it is in the margin; in K âyIn-i şerî'at üzerine nikâ'î eyleye.

3 Muhammed Kemâne: V Muhammed Kâne.

4 bunun emgâli: M, bunun gibi.

114/1 Prizrin: V, Pirzîn (Çiy Çi)

2 vilâyeti: D, F, K, M omit.

3 Oğlî: F omits.

115/1 kimse esîrin saklamaya: M, esîrin her kisi saklamayub.

2 nijâd: V (çiyçiy)

3 zincîrde ... olub: D, F, M zincîrde on sekizinci esîr olmagin; R, zincîrde on sekizinci esîr olub

4 kirâmûn: M, kirâm.

5 encüm: V repeats (encüm-i encüm-ihtisâm!)

116/1 kâhirü'l-mülûk, kahramanu 'l-kürüm: M kahramânû 'l-mülûk, kâhirü 'l-kürüm.

117/1 mağâm-u-me'âba: M, mağâm-u-(çiyçiy).

2 zemâneden: V zemânîden.

3 melekler: M, bekeler; O, bilekler.

118/1 V has only the first six beyts; F, K, M have only the first two beyts; D, has nine beyts, two of them written in the text, the other seven in the margin; R, has nine beyts, too, but only three are written in the margin, the other six in the text.
120/1  itdükden: V itdüklerinden.
       2  bū: M omits.

122/1  germ-ā-germ: V ( )
       2  tamām murādī: M, tamām murād.

123/1  dāsitān: V omits.

124/1  āşūb-u-şūr olub: M, āşūb: M, āşūb-u-şūr-u-şer ʔoldū-
       2  olūnan ṭūmūr vech-i ma*mürr: M olūnan umūr: ber-vech-i mu*mūr.
       3  kal*asīnumūnūn: F, V, kal*asīna ( )
       4  gelür giderdi: M, gelür gider pīr idi.

125/1  'askerligi: M omits.

126/1  zikr olan: M omits.
       2  irtiḳāb idūb: M iden.
       3  gelinceye degin: M gelinceye deg.
       4  _logout

127/1  kīrīlub-durūrdū: M kīrīldūn
       2  meymūni-yle: M ma*mūri-yle

127-28/1  Temme...l-kīyām: omits in V; R gives at ff.150b.
II COMMENTARY
The sons of Bayezid II.; the youth of Selim I. and his governorship in Trabzon [191a-191b].

This section corresponds to KPZsn. (12a-15b) and is in certain respects more detailed. In neither, however, are the date and place of Selim's birth recorded IdrSN, (48b-49b) ignoring the other Princes, treats exclusively of Selim, and mentions that he was born in Amasya in 872 during the governorship of his father. However, in the verses which follow this account the date of birth is given as 875.

Necabet be-evlad-i u dâd-i Haâkê
Be-bürd ez necîbân-i *âlem sebak
Be-heftâd u penc ez şad-i heştümîn
Be-dûrc-i şeh üftâd dürîr-i şemîn

Idrîsî characterizes his natural qualities, and gives a few facts about his education and his governorship of Trabzon.

Nîs (33a-42a) devotes two chapters to these events, the first of which deals with his life down to his appointment to Trabzon. The date of birth is not given, but it is located in Amasya and mention is made of certain omens and portents which proceeded the event, said to be taken from KPZ. He dwells on the remarkable endowments of the future Sultan, his erudition and his ability to write poetry in Turkish, Persian

1. None of the sources used here identify his mother, who according to Tasköprü-zade Mehmed Kemâleddin Efendi, (Ta’rih-i Şaf. v. iii, p. 60/11-19) was Ayşe the daughter of *Alâûd-Devle Dulhadir.

2. None of the existing manuscripts of Kemâl Paşazâde contain this information.
...and Circassian!\(^1\) A certain EdāʾĪ is even said to have come from as far as India in order to collect Selīm's verses. However, Selīm paid no attention to worldly matters, being wholly engaged in prayer and in study, and the chapter concludes with a statement about the high regard in which he held the 'Arabs.

The second chapter describes his life as governor of Trabzon, and the attitude he displayed towards the Safavids. He is said to have given refuge to members of the Aķkoyunlu and Kara-Koyunlu families who fled to him for refuge from Şah Ismāʿīl. Mention is made of certain conquests by him in Eastern Anatolia.

Şūk. (Ila-llb) merely offers a summary of Niş, adding that Selīm was still a child when he became governor.\(^2\)

\begin{align*}
&\text{Oldī her ğālīnden ol múlkūn ğābīr} \\
&\text{Gerçī him țīfl īdī ol maʿnāda țīr}
\end{align*}

TT (ii,134-5) recounts these events briefly, apparently depending on KPZ, Şūk, Niş and IdrSN., and contributes the following verses:

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1. TT 398, has transferred this remark into verse:

\begin{align*}
&\text{Türkī įv Ģārisī įv Tātārī} \\
&\text{Nazm įderdī nefīs ģeşārī} \\
&\text{Ehl-i ğīrfān įle múşāhabete} \\
&\text{Maʿīl īdī dil-i pūr-emaɾi.}
\end{align*}

2. A note in Ç. Uluçay based on the Inṣām Defteri indicates that the date of his appointment to Trabzon may have been 892. However, the date 887 is, also, given. In the Amasya Taʿrīhī, iii, 237, the date 896 is shown.
TT sn (619) repeats the story of the portents attending Selim's birth found in Niş.

KA (232a-232b) gives 875 as the year of Selim's birth. He refutes the popular notion of Selim's cruelty. Previously (ff.183b) he had given summary information about the sons of Bayezid, and in another place (207b) he mentioned a campaign against Trabzon led by Şah Isma'îl's brother1 in which the latter was captured and imprisoned in Trabzon.

Cev. 12a-16b and Yusuf 2b-38 = Şük. 12a-14b; Sa'd 11a-12b = KPZsn, 12a-13b.

1. In Şolak-Zade the name of the brother of the Şah is said to be Ibrâhîm Mîrzâ, and he mentions that Selim went out in person against him. The source he quotes for this is KA., but in the ms. of the latter used for the present work this information is not to be found.
2. Selīm's campaign against Georgia [192a-193b].

KPZsn (13a-13b) deals with this campaign in a few lines, while IdrSN (43b) says only that he attacked Georgia and the Kızılbas; neither give a date.

Niş (53a-57a), too, omits the date and the information given about the Kingdom of Georgia is much less than the text. Allusion is made to certain events at the Court of Bayezid, which show the latter as being too old and infirm to make the effort to protect the country from its enemies, and leaving the direction of affairs in the hands of his vezirs who were doing what they wanted. Until now it was the rule that those who were appointed as governors to the provinces should be learned men and have a warlike character. But the vezirs were now selling the provinces to the highest bidder - ḏef mimmā zāde - and they were also trying to bring Sultan Ahmet to the throne, thinking him to be a man who would come under their control. At that time Şāh Isma‘īl and his followers became very active in Ottoman territories. Most of those spāhīs of Anatolia who had been deprived of their rights by the Ottoman vezirs were prepared to join Şāh Isma‘īl, hoping they would regain their former importance. Selīm, who was following everything that happened at his father's court, collected these spāhīs for this campaign against Georgia. Before they left, Selīm explained how he would appoint governors of provinces when he became sultan. When they returned to their territories, they began to spread propaganda in favour
of Selīm, and everywhere could be heard the song - Yūrū Sultan Selīm maydan senǜndür - This, it is stated, was the dual purpose of the campaign against Georgia: Selīm wished to prevent the defection of the sipāḥīs to Şāh Isma‘īl and win them over to his side in the coming struggle for the throne.

It, therefore, does not accord with the explanation given by KPZ, 8, 192a: "Trabzon civarında olan küffar-i nekbet-encāmuñ şeyketin def’-içün cihāda şala-yn ‘āmm idüüb......"

Şūh (12a-14b), says that the campaign arose out of Selīm's desire to wage the Holy War against infidels, the most proximate of whom were the Georgians, who had several times resisted the efforts made by Uzun Hasan and his son Ya‘куб. "We are not Sultan Hasan and Ya‘куb", Selīm declared, "we are Ottomans!" Having collected information about the territories of the Georgians, the campaign was launched by land - and by sea! The details given about the campaign itself are substantially those of the text.

TT (11,134-5), dismisses the campaign briefly, obviously deriving his information from KPZsn.

KA makes no mention of this campaign.

Cev. 12a-16b and Yusuf. 2b-3a = Şūk. 12a-14b; Sa’d. 11a-12b = KPZsn 13a-13b.
3. Appointment of Sultan Süleyman as governor of Kefe [193b].

KPZsn (15a-24a), in describing the behaviour of Bāyezīd's vezirs, points out that at first Bāyezīd favoured Selīm. The vezirs however, fearing Selīm's ambition, influenced the Sultan towards Prince Ahmet. At this time Selīm proposed to visit his father in Edirne in order to discuss the affairs of the state; and, while en route, to have his son Süleyman appointed governor of Kefe. Knowing that if he asked for his appointment outright it would meet with strong objection from the vezirs, he at first made application for either Sivrihisar or Bolu - both of which were part of Sultan Ahmet's territories. These would obviously be refused, so no reasonable objection could then remain to granting Kefe to Prince Süleyman. The affair went according to plan, and the young Süleyman received the governorship of Kefe at this time.

Selīm first sent men to investigate conditions in the province and report back to him. When he received this information he wrote to his father, Bāyezīd, asking permission to go there before Süleyman in order to familiarise himself with the area. Without awaiting a reply, he marched to Kefe where he received an enthusiastic welcome. There he met and had talks with Mengli Giray, the local leader, Sultan Süleyman was engaged in fighting against the Kızılbaş and news of his victories reached his father during his stay in Kefe. Selīm was at this time about to leave for Edirne, so he ordered
Süleyman to come to Kefe immediately, and this he did.

IdrSN (52b), omits all these details connected with the appointment of Süleyman to Kefe, merely saying that Selim wrote to his father making this request and that it was granted. He gives the date of the appointment as 915.

Niş (57a-59a), is in broad agreement with KPZsn. However, he mentions Şehane Kara Hisar and Bolu as the provinces originally requested by Selim for his son, and adds that Sinan Paşa, the Lala of Sultan Ahmet, urged the latter to agree to this in order to prevent Selim from moving into Rümili. Ahmet, however, refused. Moreover, Süleyman is said to have accompanied his father from Trabzon to Kefe, and that the latter went out from here to meet Mengli Gray. Kefe is described more extensively than in the other sources.

Şüh (18a-20a), is in accord with Niş. He gives Sinan Paşa’s argument in urging Sultan Ahmet to agree to granting a place in his own territories to Süleyman as the desirability of having a potential enemy under his control.

Ya ‘adu ğayet ba‘îd olmak gereh
Ya huzûrunda bedîd olmah jerek.

When Kefe was finally granted to Süleyman Sinan Paşa regarded it as disastrous for Sultan Ahmet, believing that was how the people of Rümili would support Selim and that one day the latter would be able to go by sea to join them.

TT (ii,135-8), follows Şük...from which some verses, also, are taken.
KA (207b), places this event in 916; however, it gives no different information. The source it used is not clear. Cev 20a-21a and Yusuf. 4a = Şuk. 18a-20a; Saʿd. 15b-19b, 22a-22b = KPZ 15a-16b.
4. Sultan Korkud’s departure for Egypt [193b-195a].

KPZsn does not mention this event.

IdrSN (51b) touches on this matter in connection with the revolt of Şahkülu. "At this time Sultan Korkud, son of Sultan Bâyezîd fled to Egypt. Sultan Bâyezîd sent an emissary to the Egyptian Sultan, as a result of which Sultan Korkud returned. The province of Teke was given to him, but later he was again transferred to Manise in the province of Saruhan.

Ish (20b-21b): Korkud had received a warm welcome from the Sultan of Egypt, but nevertheless he returned to his home land. No mention is made of the negotiations between Bâyezîd and the Sultan, the reason for Korkud’s return being shown as his desire to please his father.

Niş (65a): When Sultan Korkud became aware that all the vezirs were in favour of Sultan Aḥmet, and that there was no chance of him becoming Sultan, he fled to Egypt and sought the support of the Sultan in his ambitions for gaining the Ottoman sultanate. As a result of diplomatic approaches by Bâyezîd to the Sultan of Egypt Korkud returned.

Şük relates nothing about Korkud’s departure for Egypt, and consequently it is omitted in Cev. and Yusuf also.

TT (ii, 131-2) dates to the year 915 as does, also, KPZ 8 specifying the month as Muharrem. Two reasons are given for Korkud’s flight:

a. The favour shown by Bâyezîd and his vezirs towards Sultan Aḥmet,
b. The refusal of his request to be transferred from Teke to Saruhan.

There are certain differences of detail between TT and KPZ 8: the latter speaks of Korkud's departure from his province as being in connection with the Pilgrimage; as against TT's statement that the sultan of Egypt made him a daily allowance of 3000 țilürî, it gives the figure 5000.

TT is the only source which mentions the incident of the capture by the corsairs of Rodos of the Egyptian ships which brought Korkud back to Anatolia on their return home. Apparently, the corsairs had hoped to capture Korkud.

KA (204a-206b) criticises certain historians, such as Idrîsî, for not giving more information about Korkud's flight to Egypt and speculates that this may have been due to censorship at that time. He cannot see any reason for secrecy. Korkud being a scholar, considered himself more entitled to the throne than his two brothers. It would appear that two things influenced his decision to flee to Egypt:

a. his father's preference for Sultan Ahmet, and
b. a disagreement between himself and the eunuch 'Alî Pâğa about the ownership of a piece of land on the coast.

He set out on Muharrem 914 for Egypt, despite the protests of Mevlânâ 'Alâüddin who had been sent by Bâyezîd to stop him making the journey, saying that "neither throne nor province are necessary for me". Even the promise that Izmir would be added to his territories did not persuade him from leaving the Ottoman domain. He took only 18 yük akça from his treasury
and sent what remained to his father, with a covering letter containing the following statement: "In my dream I saw the Prophet, and he instructed me to make the pilgrimage. After performing this I will come back to Rûm". On receiving this letter, Bâyezîd said, "There is no way but submission to fate". Kökûd's men were left in their posts. Although the Sultan of Egypt did not meet Kökûd personally when he landed [in Dimyat], on his arrival in Cairo he was treated with great honour. Apparently the Sultan was given the impression that Kökûd had come to seek his assistance in gaining the Ottoman throne, but it was made clear to him that the only purpose of the visit was the performance of the duty of Pilgrimage. Neither the Sultan of Egypt nor Sultan Bâyezîd would approve of his entering the Hijaz, so Kökûd returned to Anatolia in 917.¹

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¹. Ibn Iyâs (iv, 152) places the arrival of Kökûd in Dimyat in Safar, 915. Later (p. 154) he says that a disagreement had arisen between Sultan Bâyezîd and Kökûd, and the latter had now come to Egypt to seek the mediation of the Sultan in restoring peace between them, while in Egypt the Sultan made him a monthly allowance of 2000 dînars and provisions (p. 166). Kökûd left for his own province in Reb. II, 916 (p. 186).
5. The Earthquake [195a-196a].

Neither KPZsn nor IdrSN give any information about this event.

Ish (8a-12b) records that the earthquake caused many casualties and put the people into panic. Sultan Bāyezīd was greatly distressed at the damage that Istanbul had suffered and on the advice of his vezirs he left for Edirne in 915 to remain there until the work of restoration had been completed. Niş (63a-b) adds nothing to this information in the text and Ish. TT (ii, 132-4) too, is similar to Ish but adds the interesting note that Bāyezīd ascribed the cause of the earthquake to the misdeeds of his viziers.

KA (206b-208a) is the most detailed account: The earthquake began on a Saturday night in Reb. II 915 and the tremors lasted for forty-five days. Because of which the people could not stay indoors. The Sultan went to Edirne at this time. Other tremors occurred on 9 Rec. in Istanbul and at Şa*b in Edirne. On 19 Rec., Edirne experienced a violent rainstorm, and for three days no one could cross the Tunca. The architect Ḥayreddin put up a temporary residence for the Sultan in Edirne, and work on the restoration of Istanbul began on 18 Zilh and was completed after sixty-four days on 23 Saf. 916. Information is given, too, on how the men and money for this work was collected: each house in Anatolia and Rūmīli had to contribute twenty-two akça, and from every twentieth house one man was taken. In this way thirty-seven thousand men were brought from Anatolia, and twenty-nine thousand from Rūmīli.
In addition, three thousand builders and carpenters were brought into the city; and three thousand müsälem and eight thousand yaya were ordered to guard them.

The other sources do not mention this event.
6. Selīm's entry into Rūmili.

The events connected with Selīm's efforts to gain the throne form several rubrics in the text:

1. The last years of Bāyazīd's reign; Selīm's move from Trabzon to Kefé. [196a-198a].

KPZsn (7b-12a) describes Bāyazīd now old and sick, as wishing to retire in favour of one of his sons. His advisers said that all of his sons were capable of becoming sultan, and that the choice rested with him, a statement which conflicts with what KPZsn had previously said on this matter in connection with Sūleymān's appointment to Kefé. (15a-24a). The reasons advanced for Selīm's crossing to Kefé are at variance with what is said in the text: whereas the latter mentions that Sūleymān preceded his father to Kefé, here it is Selīm who arrives first and engages in negotiations with Mengli Girāy, and Sūleymān is asked to come only when his father is about to leave for Edirne.¹

Idr (51a-52b) says nothing of Selīm's arrival in Kefé, but confines himself to describing the efforts he made to meet his father, Bāyazīd in Edirne. These efforts were frustrated by the vezirs and emirs surrounding the Sultan.

Ish (12b-20b) gives more or less the same information as

¹. This obvious inconsistency between the two works which are attributed to Kemal Paşa-Zade leads one to be suspicious of the actual authorship of the Selīm-nāme.
However, he gives the name of Bayezid's messenger to Selim as Mevlana Nurullah (Nureddin), instead of Sarı Gürz. On 22a, in connection with the affair of Şahkulu, information is given about the attitude of the vezirs and Bayezid's illness.

Niş (47a-53a, 57a-59a) states that until the reign of Bayezid all vezirs were knowledgeable, brave and virtuous. They attached no importance to money and property, but occupied themselves wholly with their duties, and the good rule of the early Ottomans was primarily due to such men. Although this tradition was continued to the beginning of Bayezid's reign, he made it a practice to give high official rank to the men who had served him when he was governor in Amasya, without taking their abilities and merits into consideration. Consequently, they took advantage of their high offices to amass personal fortunes, never seeking advice from men of experience. The doors of justice were shut and those of bribery and fanaticism were opened; provinces were given, not to those who were qualified, but to those who would give the greatest bribes. Be' men yeziid. Throughout the Empire, affairs began to go from bad to worse.

According to Piri Paşa, when Bayezid heard of this, he immediately assembled a divan "When we entered, we realized

1. In Ḥadīdī (f.212a) Şarukerz or Şarugerz "şaruş" while Ş. Tehindağ writes (T.D., xvii, 54f) Şaru Görez, Şaru Körez.
that Sultan was very angry. Addressing the vezirs he said

'God gave me the throne and I shall be responsible to God
for my subjects on the Day of Judgement. Due to my sickness,
I am not capable of doing all that I should; so I appointed
and trusted you. I have heard that the provinces are in dis­
order. You rule the country, not according to the laws and
traditions which have been handed down to us from our fathers
and not according to the good advice of those who know about
these matters, but according to your own arbitrary decisions.
You are neither knowledgeable nor qualified in matters of
administration. From whom have you learned? Who was your
teacher? I heard that you are shackled by the chains of
bribery, you institute laws and innovations according to your
own desires, and you do injustice to the people. In so doing
you have left me no place in the world hereafter. When the
day comes and God is the sole judge, how can I answer his
questions? Why do you not take care of the people? Why do
you let injustice spread among my subjects?'

When the Sultan finished, the vezir Mesīh Paşa complained
that the Grand Vezir was addicted to pleasure and drinking; the
second vezir was avaricious for money and property; and the
third vezir devoted himself to hunting with his hounds and
hawks. As for himself, he was in poor health and not capable
of coming to the court regularly. 'Your Defterdārs collect
wealth in your name, thus pulling you to hell-fire together
with themselves. Things are going bad in our Empire. If
you are concerned with the world to come, then you must appoint those who know the problems of the Empire'.

Sultan accepted his explanation and withdrew from the court in tears. But after all this nothing has changed. The vezirs did what they were in the habit of doing before." Here follows the mention of Selīm's move to Kefe, as already given in Section 3.

§ük (20a-22b) recounts that one day Selīm said:
"Frustration is killing me [Gayret beni helāh itdi]. The Syrians have defeated the Ottomans, and 'Ala'uddevle, who was accepted as a mediator, has shown himself an enemy. While these things were transpiring, Şah Isma'īl entered Anatolia and his follower, Şah Kulu, has killed 'Alī Paşa. I can no longer restrain myself; my father is senile and is allowing the country to fall into ruins". Thereupon, he prepared ships and crossed from Trabzon to Kefe.¹

TT (ii,138-144) is in general, similar to KPZ 8, but does not mention Bāyezīd's illness and the behaviour of his vezirs. According to TT Bāyezīd and his vezirs favoured Sultān Aḥmet, because he had numerous children and family relations.

KA (207b-208a) says that after the province of Kefe had been given to Süleymān at the request of Selīm, the latter crossed to Kefe in order to attack the region of the Circassians.

¹. This does not accord with the other sources, which place Selīm in Rumīli at the time of the death of Ali Paşa, who was slain by Şah Kulu.
When Bāyezīd heard this he ordered Selīm to return to his own province. But Selīm replied, that if Bāyezīd did not want him to wage war he could at least give him a province in the İçil. Cev. 21a-26a and Yusuf. 4b = Şük 20a-21b; Sa'd 7a-11a = KPZsn 19a-22b.
7. The Şah Kulu\(^1\) Affair.

This matter can be examined under several aspects:

1. The causes of the Revolt and the death of Karagöz Paşa (197b-200a).

KPZsn (25a-21b) gives a very short account of this, with no information about Şah Kulu or the names of those who supported him. It says that as soon as Karagöz Paşa heard of the uprising he went immediately to confront the rebels. KPZ 8 however, relates that the Paşa at first sent troops\(^2\) to the area, and after these had been defeated he went himself. As regards the outcome of the encounter, KPZsn's account has it that the rebels were defeated and Şah Kulu fled into hiding; before he had left the territory, Karagöz Paşa gave his troops permission to plunder. But KPZ 8 has a different version of the incident: The rebels pretend to flee, and when the Ottoman troops saw this they immediately broke ranks to engage in looting. The Paşa warned them that this was a trick and they should not be taken in by it, but the troops had already dispersed.

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1. In the documents published by Çağatay Uluçay (Tarih Dergisi, vi, 61) his name is given as Şahkulu and Şeytankulu and he is said to be the son of a certain Hasan Halife. He was, also known as Şah Kulu Baba Teheli and Karabiyik-Oğli (Ş. Tekindağ, B.T.T.D., i, 36).

2. The name of the commander of this force appears in the documents as Nokta (!).
overcame the troops, killing Կարագորս Պարչա. KPZsn says nothing about why the rebels did not besiege Bursa, nor does it mention their going against Alaşehir and the battle they fought with the beys who came to resist them; the siege of Antalya, too, is neglected and the date of the events is not specified.

IdrSN (51a-51b) says that between ten and twenty thousand of the refaça-i Isma‘īlîye in the Kizilkaya region of Tekeili revolted under the leadership of Şah Kulu, who enjoyed the support of Sultan Ahmed. This Şah Kulu was a partisan of Şah Isma‘īl. They killed several prominent beys, including Karagöz Paşa. The account goes into no further detail, nor are dates given.

Ish (20b-27a), in the description of these events, is the same as KPZ 8, adding only that Sultan Bayezîd was ill at the time and the conduct of affairs was left in the hands of the vezirs. This latter observation is also found in Niş. However, it goes on to explain the origins of the uprising: many of the local sipahis had lost their timars and were left destitute. They felt compelled to renounce their allegiance to the Ottomans and cast their lot in with rebellious elements electing the Kızılbaş Şah Kulu as their leader. The people of the region who would not support them were killed and their property confiscated. The events leading up to the death of Karagöz Paşa are as in KPZ 8.

1. S. Tehindaş has found the name of the district given as Yeñice-Serbendi, while G. Uluçay's source has Döşeme in the region of Kapulukaya.
Niş (64b-68b) refers the origins of the revolt to the time when Prince Selîm passed into Rûmîli and Prince Ahmed gathered an army and set out for Karaman. Körkud, on hearing this, went to Saruhan. Thus peace no longer prevailed in Anatolia; and, taking advantage of this disorder, Şah Kulu, who was living in a cave\(^1\) in Teke Ili revolted. Niş is very critical of Körkud and Sultan Ahmed, and describes Karagöz Paşa and his Lieutenants as ignorant men. He points out that Ahmed was so preoccupied with his scheming for the throne that he did not use the troops at his disposal to quell the revolt. Niş then goes on to say that the people, in face of this, became convinced that only Sultan Selîm was entitled to the throne.

Şük (21a) mentions very briefly that Şah Kulu rose up in Rûm (probably Anatolia as distinct from Persia) and proclaimed himself ruler, killing many beys, among them Ali Paşa.

TT (ii, 162-5) repeats the account found in Ish with certain significant omissions. Whereas KPZ 8 places the event in the beginning (evâ‘il) of 917, and Ish in early Muharrem of the same year, TT has it taking place in the agura of 916, which seems to be an error in the dating.

KA (208a-b) differs from the other sources in certain respects. Sultan Körkûd, upset by his father’s preference for Sultan Ahmed and by Selîm’s movement into Rûmîli,\(^2\) passed

\(^1\) The cave was near the village of Yalînlu in Antalya, where he is said to have been born. (Ç. Uluçay, vi, 62f.).

\(^2\) In one of Çağatay Uluçay’s documents (p.60) it is mentioned that Selîm had been appointed governor of Menteşe and it was this that prompted Körkud to leave Antalya.
from Antalya (sic.) to Saruhan, leaving the former province in a state of anarchy. A certain Şeyh Biyıkoglu rose up in the city of Elmali in the province of Teke, and claiming to be an agent (halife) of Şah Işma'il he collected a large following. Karagöz Paşa sent men to suppress him, but they were defeated; then the Şeyh advanced against the Paşa himself, captured him and killed him by impaling. Many other Muslims were killed. The event is placed in Reb. I, 917.¹

1. Sultan Korkud encountered Şah Kulu in battle on the plain of Alaşehir and suffered defeat. He fled to Manisa (Ç. Uluçay p. 69). The only history to mention this is that of Hadidî (f. 210a).

Kızılbaş Aydın iline aşmışdı
Ne yire uğradıysa yıkmışdı
Varubandan Alaşehir önüne indi
Gediz Suyu kenarına hondı
Karasi Menteşe Aydın begleriyle
Hem anda Şah Korkud geldi bile
Hemân Korkud Korkudub Kızılbaş
Didi kendüye Korkud Boztağı aş.
7.2. The Expeditions of 'Alī Paşa (200a-200b).

KPZsn (26b). At this point Sultan Ahmed was near to the route followed by the rebels. The vezirs met in the capital, and decided that they should go to join him with reinforcements and, after defeating the enemy, bring him back to Istanbul and proclaim him Sultan. Sultan Bāyezīd, out of concern for the people who were suffering because of the activities of the rebels, agreed to this proposal, and in consequence the grand vezir 'Alī Paşa departed from Gelibolu for Bursa with five or ten thousand troops, and eventually joined up with Sultan Ahmed. In this account there is no suggestion that 'Alī Paşa requested to be sent there.

IdrSN (51b) says merely that Bāyezīd sent 'Alī Paşa to suppress the rebels; and that contact was made with Sultan Ahmed in Ankara. 1

Ish (27a-32a) is identical with KPZ 8. It adds only that, on being appointed to lead the campaign, 'Alī Paşa returned to his home and said prayers in thanksgiving. 2

1. This is the only source to mention Ankara; the KA locates the place where contact was made in Germiyen, in the region of Altuntaş and in this he is followed by G. Ulucay and Ş. Tekindaj.

2. Hadīdī, however, gives a different impression (209b-210a):

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Niş (68b-70a). The realm was in utter disorder, and the vezir, being ignorant and selfish, was unable to do anything about it. They wanted to have Sultan Ahmed as Sultan, and they found this revolt an excellent pretext to achieve their aim. They proffered to send a force of several thousand janissaries, including those of the palace service, (kapu halkı) and in the meanwhile they would make preparations in the capital for the arrival of Sultan Ahmed. As a result of these decisions, 'Alī Paşa departed for Anatolia with four thousand janissaries and four thousand kapu halkı, and joined up with Sultan Ahmed.

TT (165-8) follows KPZ 8. It begins with a brief introduction on the state of the country and the Sultan's illness, and ends with some words of praise for 'Alī Paşa.

KA (208a-b) Hadim 'Alī Paşa was sent at the head of a detachment of troops, with orders to give assistance to Sultan Ahmed and Sultan Mehmed b. Alemgah. All three made juncture in Germiyan, at a place called Altuntas.

Sa'd (23b-26b) is the same as KPZsn (26b). Şuhri contains nothing about this, and consequently it is, also, lacking in Cevrī and Yusuf.
73. Sultan Ahmed's move from Amasya to Ankara [200b-201b].

KPZsn (24a-25a): Sultan Ahmed became disturbed when he learned that Selim went from Trabzon to Kefe and from there to the Court, and confident that the statesmen would favour his cause he set out for Ankara on the way to Istanbul.\(^1\) Sultan Korkud, too, left Saruhan, and waited for an opportunity to press his claims. At this time Sultan Bayezid ordered the troops of Rumi to come to his court, so that whichever of his sons seized the power he at least would have the army about himself. The troops began to converge on Edirne; each of the beys went to the support of one or other of the Princes, but the majority of the beys of Rumi favoured Selim. (Although the event is as stated, the account does not indicate a correspondence that went on between Sultan Bayezid and Ahmed).

IdrSN (51b) when the rebels killed Karagöz Paşa, Sultan Ahmed and his sons moved into action; Ahmed himself set off in the direction of the vilayet of Karaman.

Ish (32a-37b) repeats the account of KPZ 8, and TT (168-182) repeats Ish. Nif (64b-65a) however records that Sultan

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\(^1\) Ç. Uluçay states that when Sultan Korkud had explained the situation in Anatolia to his father, the beylerbey of Anatolia, Karogöz Paşa, the soncakbey of Amasya, Sultan Ahmed and the sancakbey of Nigde Sultan Mehmed (b. Şehinşah) were ordered to suppress şahkulu (6-65).
Ahmed was greatly disturbed when a letter he wrote to the Hân of Crimea requesting that Sultan Selim be prevented from moving into Rumili produced no result. He began to spend money lavishly to attract support for his cause, and having collected a sizeable army, he left Amasya for Karaman. When Sultan Korkud learned of Selim's actions and of Ahmed's passage into Karaman, he too moved from Teke to Manisa.
6.2. The event which occurred from the time of Selīm's move to Kefe to his being appointed to a sancak [201b-203a].

Among the important incidents in this period was the meeting of Sultan Selīm with Mengli Giray Han; but it is not mentioned in KPZ 8.

KPZsn (20b-23b): while Selīm was in Kefe, he met Mengli Gray Han, whom he told of his son Süleyman's appointment to the governorship of the region, incidentally asking for his support for his own cause. The Han promised to do all he could for him. When a messenger arrived from Trabzon, bearing news of victory over the Kızılbaş, he sent back by them the message that he was going to Edirne and that Süleyman should come to Kefe. This same narrative is resumed in ff. 29b-31b, where the passing of Selīm to Rumili and his correspondence with his father are recounted very much as in KPZ 8, with the exception that no mention is made of Mevleva Nureddin. It differs, too, in that it speaks of the sancaks of Semendre, Yanbolu and Silistre as being given to Selim, whereas KPZ 8 writes that he was given the choice between Bosna, Semendre and Mora and that he chose Semendre.

IdrSN (52b-53b): Selīm procured the sancak of Kefe for his son, and proposed that he himself should go from there to meet his father. He sent messengers to ask permission for this, but, under the influence of the vezirs, his father refused. Selīm proceeded to the borders of Rumili, where he was joined
by 30,000 men from places from as far as the banks of the Danube and the environs of Edirne. His father reacted to this by assembling an army of over 50,000 men. The correspondence continued between the two, with Bāyezīd insisting that the Selīm should not proceed any further into Rumili. Selīm maintained that it was to the benefit of the state that they meet; he accused the vezirs of intercepting his letters, and the only sure way by which he could inform his father of the truth of the matter was by a meeting in person. Selīm was not to be dissuaded; he entered Rumili and encamped at a place called Çölmek Köyü, one fersah distant from Edirne. From here, too, he wrote to his father asking permission to come to Court, even promising that he would bring no more than one servant with him; he would impart certain essential information, after which he would do whatever Bāyezīd ordered. His father again refused, and out of filial devotion he did not disobey him, but remained in his camp. However, he was permitted to present in writing the matters which he wanted to discuss, and was assured that they would be given consideration.

The first matter of which Selīm complained was that the military activities of the state had come to a halt. Whereas his ancestors every year used to mass troops to fight the Holy War and expand the territories of Islam, this practice had now fallen into neglect. The young men of the country were gaining no experience in warfare.

In the second place, he mentioned the alarming growth of
power of the Kızılbaş in the East, which if not curtailed was bound to result in trouble for the Ottomans. These Kızılbaş were their most dangerous enemies, being divided from them by mezheb and millet: "if they were not suppressed soon they would be beyond the power of anyone to control. The various disturbances which have taken place, and in particular those caused by the people of Teke Ili, may well spread throughout the realm. Some one from our family must now deal with this matter so important to the religion and the state. You, my father, are now too old and too ill to attend to it; of the three sons who are now alive, each of whom has had experience in previous incidents and established his reputation for bravery and leadership among the people; it is known that you have selected the eldest to succeed you. The vezirs have agreed to this, because they are concerned for their own benefit rather than that of the state; however, this is contrary to the wishes of the army. I would now like answers to these two requests."

Because the points raised by Selim were unassailable, and no one could refute them, Bâyezîd ordered that he should be granted what he wished. Selim having expressed his opinion on this first matter, now asked permission to wage war against Hungary, where the Christians had for several years lived in unbroken peace. All the emîrs and soldiers who wished to fight in the Holy War should be put under his command, and munitions should be prepared and sent to his camp.

This request was granted, and the necessary munitions were sent to Selim. However, the suggestion he made on the matter
of the succession of Sultan Ahmed was refused; and it was ordered that there should be no further discussion about it. Moreover, it was decided that the matter of the succession should not again be raised, so long as Bāyezīd remained alive, and after his death the matter would be as God willed.

Selīm set off for Hungary, and was joined by those emīrs and soldiers who wished to participate in the Holy War.

The text does not mention (in this section) the meeting with Mengli Gīrāy Hān, but it is in every other respect more detailed than the other sources.

Ish (37b-59b) is, in general, the same as KPZ 8. However, it is more detailed in the information about the messengers sent between Selīm and his father, and dwells on Bāyezīd’s preference for Selīm. It very beautifully describes how Selīm likened his father to the Ka‘be as an object of pious visitation.

Niṣ (59a-64b) gives the most information about what transpired between Selīm and Mengli Gīrāy Hān. It was the aim of Selīm, as a member of the Ottoman house, to rekindle the torch of Islām and to rid Rūm of the evils which had been visited upon it by wrongdoers and miscreants. Thus, he had to form friendly relations with the Tatar Hān, and after settling Süleyman in Kefe he went directly to meet him and was warmly welcomed. (Much information is given about Mengli Gīrāy, and the friendship between Bāyezīd and himself is mentioned). Sultan Ahmed was troubled by the news that Selīm had passed over to Kefe, thinking that he might receive help from that
quarter in securing the throne for himself. He explained his fears to his Lala Sinan Paşa, who reminded him that he had earlier warned that such a thing might happen. A letter was then written to Mengli Giray in which they pointed out that Selim's crossing into Rümili could only be done with his help, and he was asked to withhold this; in return, he would be given the district of Kefe. The Han replied that Selim was his honoured guest, his intentions were not yet known, but if he wished to enter Rümili he would put no obstacle in his way. The Han's son, Muhammed Giray, wished to respond more favourably, but was told by his father that if he wanted territories for himself he would ask Selim for them. In a very interesting passage a conversation between Selim and Muhammed Giray is related in which the latter asked that when Selim became sultan Kefe and its environs should be bestowed on him; he was told that Sultan seize lands and do not give them away. If he wanted money he could have it freely, but he should not ask for territory. Muhammed, annoyed by this response, complained to his father that whereas Sultan Ahmed who was two months distance away was prepared to give him this territory, Selim, living in their own house as it were, refused it. He warned that should he ever attain the throne it was highly likely that he would take lands from them rather than increase what they now held. Accordingly, he began to collect an army against Selim, despite Mengli Giray's efforts to prevent him. However, the latter sent his youngest son, Sadet Giray, to
stay with Selīm, whom he predicted would one day be Sultan, with the warning that they should move secretly that night to Akkirman to avoid being attacked by Muḥammed. This Selīm did, moving his followers by sea, and when Muḥammed arrived in the morning with 30,000 troops he found the camp empty. Thus, Selīm was forced by circumstances to enter Rumili, and it was from here that he wrote to his father asking for a meeting.

Because of the earthquake which had devastated Istanbul, Bāyezdīd was at this time living in Edirne. Under the influence of his vezīrs he refused to let Selīm come to him, saying that if he did so his other sons would demand the same privilege. However, he was prepared to give him the governorship of any place in Rūmili he might wish.

Sarīgūrz was sent to Selīm with this message, and on his arrival the latter asked him if there was any canonical reason why a son should not be allowed to visit his father. When Sarīgūrz replied that there was no such prohibition, Selīm asked why then he had been sent to him and why he had agreed to come. He answered that he was merely a messenger. When he returned to Bāyezdīd he advised that Selīm should be allowed to come to him as he wished.

Earlier in the work (24a-28b), Nişanci mentioned that when Bāyezdīd agreed to receive Selīm, his vezirs protested that the Prince's true object was to seize the throne, and they pointed out that he had an army of 50,000 men with him. They then mustered the troops of Rūmili, and were able to prevent Selīm from coming. Instead, they assigned him a sancak in Rūmili.
Şük (21b-30b), differs from the other accounts and relates that Selim had for long wanted to see his father, and at the same time hold conversations with the vezirs and emirs, but his advisers urged him not to do this without receiving permission. Selim thought that such a state was unnatural between a father and a devoted son, so he sent ships to Ahyol (أهوال) and went himself by land. He was met on the way by Mengli Giray Han who promised him the support of the Tatar armies if he should need them, but Selim said that he already had sufficient troops and that besides he only wanted to visit his father. Despite this, Sa'adet Giray joined him at the head of a troop of soldiers.

Selim encamped at Silistre, and news of his arrival was sent by the local governor Kasım Beg to Edirne, where an army was collected to oppose him. There was some confusion about the intention of Selim, whether he was coming to seize the throne or merely to visit his father and consult with the statesmen. When a messenger sent by Selim was turned back, he wrote letters to the vezirs explaining the true situation and proposing that his father should declare which of his sons was to succeed him. The vezirs replied that they could not broach such a matter with the Sultan, whereupon Selim once again requested the suncak of Semendre as his provence.

Ya alam ol mülki yekser şah icûn
Ya şehid olam sebîlû 'llah icûn
Gösterem ol yolda ahir başımı
Şâd idem bir nice karândâşımı
Çün beni redd itdi Sultan Bâyezîd
Bayezid agreed to this request, and Selim moved to Zagra where he assembled an army for a campaign against the Hungarian. Suspicious of his son's intention, Bayezid ordered the Court to return to Istanbul. Word of this reached Selim, and he was, also, informed that Bayezid had written to Sultan Ahmed that Selim now possessed an army in Rumili and the people were submissive to him. "You are my eldest son," he wrote, "and the most foresighted, so I think it proper that you inherit the throne. Come at once!"

TT (144-155) drives from Sük in the account of his meeting with Mengli Gray and his crossing to Silistre. It does not refer at all to Sa'det Giray. The remainder is the same as in Ish., with the exception that it puts the strength of Bayezid's army at 35,000 instead of Ish's 15,000.

KA (209a-211a) repeats KPZ 8, adding only that certain sancaks and fortified places in the vicinity were included in the territories given to Selim.

Cev 26a-26b and Yusuf, 4b-6a = Sük 21a-30b; Sa'd. 19b-22a and 28b sgg. = KPZsn 20b-23b and 29b-31b.
7.4. "Alī Paṣa's meeting with Sulṭān Aḥmed, his death in battle against the rebels, and the reaction of Bāyezīd and the Dīvān to this. (203a-204b).

KPZ sn (27a-29b) differs greatly from KPZ 8. "Alī Paṣa came to Sulṭān Aḥmet, and proposed that, as it would not be seemly for the latter to go in person against these miserable rebellious Turks, he would settle this matter: He encountered the enemy at a place called Kızıl Kaya, before his troops were fully assembled; and despite the advice of his emīrs, he launched an attack with only a few soldiers and paid for his rashness with his life. "The details of the rebels' strategy are given on 28a-29b." The troops fleeing from the battle told those that were coming to join "Alī Paṣa that all had been lost, and consequently they, too, turned back. The rebels now set out for the territory of the Kızılbaṣ, fighting with the local emīrs through whose lands they passed. Only one-tenth of them reached their destination.

Sulṭān Aḥmed notified these events to his father, who became deeply disspirited and thought of ridding himself of the burden of rule by appointing one of his sons to the throne. The partisans of Sulṭān Aḥmed among the vezirs observed that Bāyezīd was disappointed that he did not go in person against the rebels, and they did their utmost to restore him to his former favour. The letter written to Aḥmed and the latter's departure for Istanbul are as in KPZ 8.

IdrSN (51b-52b) places the meeting between "Alī Paṣa and Sulṭān Aḥmed in Ankara, and together they set out for Teke Ili
which was the breeding ground of these rebels (rafaza-yi ḥaricīye). In the face of this, these Turks abandoned their land, and, intending to join Șāh Ismā‘īl, they traversed Anatolia to Karaman. So rapidly did they travel that ʿAlī Paṣa and Sulṭān Ahmed were unable to catch up with them. From Karaman, the rebels proceeded by way of Kayseri to Sivas. ʿAlī Paṣa unaccompanied by Sulṭān Ahmed, finally overtook them at a place called Gök Ḥanı. 1 Because the troops of Karaman did not give him the support expected, and because of his own impetuosity, ʿAlī Paṣa suffered defeat in the battle and lost his life, the Ottoman army being routed. The victorious rebels reached Azerbaycan, plundering and killing on the way, until they arrived at Tebrīz. Among those killed and robbed were Ibrāhīm Şebûsterī, the author of the Enbiya-nāme, 2 and his son. At this time Șāh Ismā‘īl was in ‘Irak, but when he learned of the arrival of the followers of Șāh Kulu, he returned to Azerbaycan where he heard complaints about them from the people of Tebrīz and the relatives of those they had slain.

1. The name of this place in IdrSN is given as Gök Ḥanı; it appears as Gök Çay in TT., (but as Gök Ḥan in Şolakzade, 335) and Şar mıșaklu in KPZ 8 and KA. A discussion of the probable location is to be found in M.K. Özergin, Tarih Dergisi, 15, p. 150, where the opinions of other modern scholars are also mentioned. The form Gedik Ḥanı has no support from any of the sources used for the present work.
2. On Şebûsterī, of TT, ii, 179; also A. Ateş, Belleten, 16, p. 103.
Pretending to welcome these troublesome visitors, he secretly informed his own lieutenants that, as winter was very near, it would be impossible to send them to winter-quarters in 'Irāk. Therefore, three hundred of the most prominent of them should be brought to Tebrīz, and the remainder stationed in various parts of Azerbaycan. When the three hundred arrived in Tebrīz, Šāh Isma'īl invited them to a feast he had prepared in their honour, in the course of which he had them put to death. The Šāh Kulu revolt in Anatolia had lost the lives of fifty thousand men on both sides and the devastation of thousands of homes. Hearing of the death of 'Alī Paşa, Sulṭān Aḥmet returned to Amasya, and began to devise other plans for his succession to the throne. Selīm in Trabzon, also heard the news of the Ottoman defeat, and set about preparing to protect the state and frustrate the ambitions of its enemies. "It should be noticed that KPZ 8, (2036) says that at this time Selīm was in Edirne, and had just been given the sancak of Semendre."

The return of Bāyezīd to Istanbul and the letter he wrote Sulṭān Aḥmet are recorded in the same way as in KPZ 8; IdrSN places the event towards the end of Reb II, 917.

Iṣn (59b-74b) is wholly identical with KPZ 8.

Nīṣ (68b-75b) 'Alī Paşa joined Sulṭān Aḥmed, and the rebels, hearing of his arrival, withdrew to the East forcing him to give pursuit. He thought they were in flight, so he left Sulṭān Aḥmed and hastened after them. He did not regard
them as dangerous enemies, merely a collection of Turks and Kızılbaş who could be dealt with by a few mounted janissaries. He drove the men under his command hard, wearying them greatly; and the rebels, observing this came to the conclusion that his troops were unreasoned and interested only in looting. Consequently, they prepared confidently for battle. The Ottoman troops, thinking the enemy weak, attacked immediately; in the course of this engagement ‘Ali Paşa was slain. Of Şeytan Kulu nothing was heard. This event caused Sultan Ahmed great worry.

TT (ii, 172-182). The first part of the account (to p.178) is identical with KPZ 8 and Ish except that it dates the event to Reb. II, 917 and locates the battle at Gök Çayı. He quotes a verse from the poet Mesihî (d. 918):

Kalb-i Paşa ile peykân-i adû
Kan yalaşdı vu karındaş oldı.

The passage subsequent to this is based on IdrSN; however the latter does not contain the strange story of how Şah Isma‘îl boiled alive Şah Kulu’s followers and his vezîr. Indeed, TT is the only work in which this story is found. ¹

KA (208b-209a). The rebels withdrew to an inaccessible mountain where they remained for 38 days. Sultan Ahmed asked for an oath of allegiance from the soldiers who arrived with ‘Ali Paşa, but they refused, saying "Our Pâdişah still lives".

¹. On the death of Şah Kulu, of TT, ii, 178; also, Ç. Uluçay, 6, 72-73; Ş. Tekindag, B.T.T.D. iv, 58, f.37.
Offered by this refusal, Sultan Ahmed returned to his sancak and 'Ali Paşa was left to pursue the rebels alone. The encounter took place at a certain Sarmisaklı. The troops of Karaman betrayed 'Ali Paşa and during the battle went over to the side of the rebels, with whom they were in secret agreement. Both 'Ali Paşa and Şah Kulu fell on the field of battle. KA adds that Sultan Selim, after assuming the throne, held his brother Ahmed responsible for this defeat, and for this reason had him killed. Sa'd 26b-28b = KPZsn 27a-29b.
6/3. The return of Selīm and his war with Bāyezīd (204b-205b).

KPZsn (31a-35a) relates the event quite differently from KPZ 8. Selīm, aware of the intrigues which were going on against him, collected an army in Zağra. When he realized that Bāyezīd had broken the promises that he had made to him, and had in fact written to Sultan Aḥmed inviting him to come to Istanbul and assume the throne, he left Zağra for Edirne. When he had first come to this city, the people, out of fear of Bāyezīd, did not come out to welcome him; but now they showed joy at his arrival. Selīm met with his father’s troops at a place called Şirād Küyü on the Ergene river; and under pressure from his vezīrs, Bāyezīd chose to give battle. Seeing that hostility was being offered, Selīm wished to go on to the attack immediately at the head of a division of cavalry; so he ordered the army to make ready for battle, and launched an attack. Bāyezīd’s troops were at first frightened. [At this point, the text mentions that Selīm’s lala, Dukakin-oglu deserted him and went over to Bāyezīd’s side.] However, satisfied with having displayed his own personal bravery in battle, Selīm withdrew with his army to Kefe. The vezīrs who were hostile to Selīm, published abroad, as though coming from Bāyezīd himself, an account of these events in which Selīm was shown as a rebel; and they were responsible for killing many of his innocent supporters. Sultan Aḥmed was very pleased by this turn of events, and he came to Üsküdar where he encamped at Maltepe. Sultan Bāyezīd had by now returned to Istanbul, also.
IdrSN (54a-b). Selim was informed by his supporters at Court that Bayezid had left for Istanbul and that the vezirs had written to Ahmed urging him to come as soon as possible. Selim immediately set out after him and overtook the royal train at Çorlu, where he sent messengers to his father enquiring about the reason for his sudden departure. The vezirs were worried by this action on the part of Selim, and they persuaded Bayezid to prepare an attack upon him, for which purpose they had even received a fetva. However, rather than war with his father Selim chose to withdraw; but the opposing troops, regarding this as a retreat out of fear, gave pursuit and captured between four and five thousand of his men, whom they brought before Bayezid. Again the vezirs received a fetva, and had all of them executed. Selim arrived at Akyolı, and from there went by sea to Kefe.

Ish (74b-87b) is identical with KPZ 8, although it omits the name of the place where Selim overtook his father.

Niş mentions this incident contradictorily in two places of the work. On 28a-29b, it is narrated that on the day when Selim was to meet his father, that the latter came out in a carriage for the interview. However, certain vezirs persuaded Bayezid to halt his carriage, and look at the army that was accompanying Selim, and they raised doubts as to whether this could really be a friendly meeting. Thinking that with such an army behind him Selim was planning to depose him, Bayezid ordered that cannon-fire be directed against it. On 77b-78b,
however, the incident is told more in accordance with KPZ 8: the vezirs were insisting that an attack be made against Selīm, but Bāyezīd was reluctant to behave towards his son in such a way. When the insistence of the vezirs was no longer to be resisted, he prayed that Selīm should come to no harm, and the vezirs accordingly gave the order to prepare for battle.

§ük (30b-32a). When Selīm, who was at that time in Zağra, learned that his father had left for Istanbul, he immediately turned around and travelling hard overtook him at Qorlu. The two armies were unable to camp there, so before any tents were pitched the battle began. Bāyezīd's troops were victorious, and Selīm retreated to Akyolı where ships had been waiting for him, and from there he went to Kefe. Bāyezīd arrived in Istanbul, and Sultan Ahmed came to Üsküdar.

Ma'reke peykān ucından töldi ḷan
Kan buhārından kızardı ʿasūman
Bi-ʿaded er düğdi ḷāk-ū-ḥūn ara
Nice ḷūn ki Dicle-vü-Ceyhūn ara
Küstelerden püsteler irer bedīd
Gālib oldı şoñra Sultan Bāyezīd

TT (ii, 156-162) is substantially the same as KPZ 8 and Ish, with occasional sentences taken from IdrSN and beyts from §ük. For example, the first two beyts of the verses given above are repeated here. On 160-61, Saʿdeddin relates on the authority of his father that when the troops of Selīm and Bāyezīd met in battle Ferhād Paşa showed great bravery in the cause of Selīm.
TT; SN (ii, 603-605) relates on the authority of his father, who heard it from Bālī Paşa, that when Selīm left Trabzon and came to Rūmili to visit his father and discuss certain matters of state, they met at a place not far from Edirne called Ğraş. Through the mischief of the vezīrs a battle took place, and Selīm was obliged to return to his sancak. When he reached the boundaries of Kīrīm, the Han came forth on horseback to meet him. The question arose as to who should dismount and greet the other, and finally it was the Han who had to do so. Later, the Han offered to give him troops to enable him to return and seize the throne, but Selīm refused, saying: "I did not go to seek any material benefit. My only object was to explain the state of the country, and to collect troops to rid the land of rebellious elements. Also, I wanted to visit my father. But the statesmen prevented this. It is not proper that I should lead troops in an attack upon my father". Selīm withdrew to his tent, and never did he entertain the nation by allowing the Tatars to overrun the lands of his ancestors on the pretext of keeping him. Again the Han made the same offer, and even offered to give his daughter to Selīm in marriage; but once again his offer was refused.

KA (211b-212b). Selīm learned of the deceit which had been practiced against him, and immediately he turned back and followed his father. The two sides met at Çorlu, where the vezīrs instigated Bayezīd into giving battle. Selīm had no
intention of fighting, he merely wanted to discuss affairs of state. He ordered his troops not to fight and to withdraw to Kefe,

Didi rām olmadi-ysa şimdi nigār
Kim bilür rāmum ola diger bār

but Bāyezīd's army pursued them and killed quite a few of them. The reason for this was that Selīm had disbanded his army and its contingents were now making their way to their own territories. Although Bāyezīd had sent his men after Selīm, he was not aware of what they did. Those who escaped joined Selīm at a place called "Dāğî". The battle took place in Cem I, 917; Bāyezīd reached Istanbul in Cem II.

Cev. 26a–27b and Yus. 6a–b = Şük. 30b–32a; Saʿd. 28b–35b = KPZsn 31a–35a.
8. The activities of the troops after the arrival of Sulṭān Ahmed, and the decision to summon Selīm (205b-208a).

KPZsn (35a-40b). When the janissaries learned of the decision taken by the Dīvān with regard to Sulṭān Ahmed, they informed Bāyezīd that so long as he was alive no one else could assume the throne; and that if he wished to express a preference (about who should succeed him) it should be Selīm who was named. They, thereupon, attacked the homes of the vezīrs. They wanted to kill Yularkasdi Sinān Paṣa, the lālā of Sulṭān Ahmed, but he fled back to Üskūdar. Bāyezīd berated the vezīrs for having brought about this situation simply because they did not do as he wished, and he wrote to Sulṭān Ahmed advising him to discontinue all his activities. Disappointed, Sulṭān Ahmed returned to Amasya.

Sulṭān Selīm was in Kefe. The Tatar Han offered him troops to support his struggle for the throne; and encouraged by this, Selīm set out for Istanbul at the head of an army, which included a contingent of Tatar under the command of Saʿādet Giray, the son of the Han. This was in the winter season. When news of his approach reached the capital, the janissaries prepared to welcome him, and even the vezīrs who had formerly opposed him began to support his cause. Greeted by the janissaries, Selīm was conducted towards Istanbul.

Sulṭān Ahmed, learning that Selīm had left Kefe, placed his eldest son Murād in charge of Amasya, and proceeded towards
Istanbul. He seized Ankara on his way, and caused the people much suffering. He sent his middle son *Alāʾūddīn to take Bursa, and he, too, caused the people of the city great hardship.

At the same time Korkud, in response to these events, left his sancak of Manisa with his troops and advanced to Mihalic. Leaving his men there, he went by himself to Istanbul and presented his case to the troops of his father: "I have come to seek my rights. As you know, I gave the throne to my father. Now I hear that you have invited Selīm to assume the throne. Although the army has the power to choose a leader, what is rightfully mine should not be given to another." The soldiers replied that certain of their number had already gone out to welcome Selīm, and if they should now give their support to Korkud, when the others returned there would be fighting and the dynasty would suffer. Korkud remained in Istanbul until his brother arrived.

İdrSN (54b-56a). A few months after Selīm returned to Kefe, he was informed by his own supporters (and by the Janissaries) of what was transpiring. Bāyezīd and his vezīrs sent a messenger to Amasya, inviting Sultan Ahmed to come to Istanbul; however, when the Janissaries heard of this they rioted and ransacked the house of the five following members of the divān:
The Grand Vezīr Hersek-oğlu Ahmed Paşa; Muṣṭafa Paşa; Beylerbeyi Hasan Paşa; Kāḏī-ʿasker ʿAbdurrahmān Çelebi Mūʿeyyed-żađe; Cafer Çelebi Nişancı Bey.
On the following morning they went to Bāyezīd and demanded that all five should be dismissed from office, and he, hoping to win them over to the side of Sultān Aḥmed, agreed to this request. But it was to prove of no avail.

Sultān Aḥmed arrived at Üskudar and encamped on Maltepe; he wished to send his vezīr Yularhasdī Sinān Paşa to Bāyezīd for discussion, but the Janissaries refused to allow anyone to cross the Bosphorus. They maintained that to allow one son access to the father and exclude the other two would lead to civil strife. Seeing that there was no possibility of achieving his objectives, Sultān Aḥmed returned to Karaman, convinced that he would have to defeat the Janissaries if he was to get the throne.

At this time the Safavid supporter, Nur ʿAlī,¹ came from Azerbaycan at the head of an army of ten to twenty thousand men, sacking Kara Ḥişār and Niksär and massacring their people. As they approached Amasya, Sultān Aḥmed sent troops under Sinan Paşa against him, but these suffered defeat and Sinan was forced to flee. Nur ʿAlī then went to Tokat, where he received the support of the people, most of whom were partisans and mūrīds of the Safavids. Disturbed by this turn of events, many leading members of the army and the government decided to call upon Selīm and messengers were sent to him requesting him to come.

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About this time Korkud arrived in Istanbul, and sought to win over the army to his side, pointing out that on the death of his grandfather, Sultan Mehmed Gazı, it was he who was crowned successor in the name of his father, Bäyezid, and he recalled to them how lavishly he had bestowed gifts on them at that time. However, the soldiers had already decided that Selim should succeed to the throne. They allowed Korkud to visit his father, but all the while he was in Istanbul they kept him under observation.

Ish (87b-109b) is identical with KPZ 8. Niş (80a-86b), too, differs very slightly from them, adding to what they relate only at the time of the riot, the Janissaries seized Yularkası Sinan Paşa and they gave him warnings which he was told to communicate to Sultan Ahmed.

Sükk (32a-40b) contradicts Niş in his account. Sultan Ahmed arrived in Üsküdar and Bäyezid wished him to cross to Istanbul, but the Janissaries would not permit this. They denounced Sinan Paşa to Sultan Ahmed cautioning him about accepting his advice, and they urged him to return to his sancak. Selim at this time was encamped at Silistre, which Bäyezid now gave him as sancak.

The Paşas and the leaders of the Janissary corps were agreed that the country was in a dangerous condition and that, as the Sultan was now very old, it was necessary that the succession be settled before his death. They decided that Selim was the person to replace him, and notified the Sultan.
of their opinion. Bāyezīd agreed to this, claiming that he, too, had come to the same conclusion, and that he wanted to give certain advice to the son who would follow him on the throne:

Kāfirūn katline eyle ihtimām
Kim anunila dutdi din û mülk nizām
Pādişah oldunsa *adlı pīşe it
Zhulm û bī-dād eyleme endīše it
Merhamet it *aciz û bī-qāreye
Şefkat eyle bī-kes û āvāreye
Tāngri-ğūn it ehl-i *ilmе ihtīrām
Derdmendūn ḥātrīn hoş gör mūdām
Mūfsidūn neslini kes ger şāh isen
*Adle meyl it bende-i Allāh isen

He goes on to speak of Selīm:

Didi er dūşmändan alsa intikām
Tīg-i cūr’etle ṭutar *ālem nizām
Muttasifdur bu şifat ile Selīm
Yokdur a’dādan anun gönlinde bīm
Men her içde behre-vergördüm anı
Tīg ü tedbīrinde ergördüm anı

He instructed that messengers be sent at once to Selīm. When this news arrived Selīm was very pleased.

At this time Korkud arrived in Istanbul, and was welcomed by the Janissaries, some of whom wished to assume the throne, claiming that he was a man of learning who, when he had previously been on the throne, had increased their salaries. The Janissaries split into two groups over this issue, but when Korkud heard of this, he said: "I did not come to Istanbul to seek the throne for myself, but rather to recommend that it
be given to Selīm";¹ and he spoke in the same vein to his father, who was very pleased by his attitude.

Kim Selīmi istedūb ihsān ide
Göz gőrürken ol şehi sulțān ide

There are two points that should be noted: first, there is no mention of the Janissaries riot; second, Korkud renounces the throne in favour of Selīm.

TT (ii, 186-199) agrees with KPZ 8 and Ish., with certain passages taken from Idr and Şglk. For example, the names of the individuals whose houses were raided are taken from Idr.

KA (212b-213a). The vezīrs were occupied with intrigues to secure the throne for Sulțān Ahmed, but the Janissaries, because they favoured Selīm, told Bāyezīd that so long as he was alive they wanted no other ruler. Sulțān Ahmed came and encamped at Gebze, but the Janissaries would not allow him to cross to Istanbul. The vezīr Muṣṭafā Paşa wanted to go to Üskūdar to meet him, but that night three Janissaries raided his house. The houses of the second vezīr Ḥasan Paşa, the Rūmili Kādī-‘askeri Mū‘eyyed-zāde, and the Nişancı Paşa were also raided. All, except Muṣṭafā Paşa, were removed from office, Molla Ḥalīl becoming Kādī-‘asker and Ibrāhīm Paşa-zāde Nişancı. (This event took place at the end of Cem. II).

¹ Ç. Uluğay, viii, 185-188.
Ahmed now returned into Anatolia, and he took the city of Konya by force, a deed which further alienated the troops from him. Selim assembled his soldiers and prepared to make a second bid for the throne, and he marched to Yenibag inside the walls of Istanbul. He seems also to have used Idr and KPZ 8 as sources. He alone mentions Hasan Paşa as second vezirs.

Cev. 27b-36b and Yusuf 6b-7b = Şük 32a-40b; Sa'd 35a-41a = KPZsn = 35a-40b.
9. The arrival of Selīm in Istanbul and his Accession (208a-208b).

KPZsn (40b-45b) begins similarly to KPZ 8, but later adds certain new and interesting information. Selīm paid his respects to his father, who afterwards received a visit from Korkud, also. The partisans of Sultān Ahmed urged Bayezīd not to make Selīm the ruler but instead appoint him commander of the army and send him against Sultān Ahmed. On hearing of this, Selīm grew angry; he had a platform raised in front of his tent and addressed the troops. He explained that a powerful enemy had seized part of the country and brought humiliation to the Sultān and hardship to the people. In order to counteract this it was clear that a new Sultān should occupy the throne. He protested that he was merely a creature of God like themselves, and made no pretension to the sultanate; however, a new sultān was necessary, and if they wanted someone other than himself he would respect their wishes, and serve him faithfully. The important point was that the country had been invaded with impunity by a band of Turks and Ottoman might had been disgraced. "If we keep fighting among ourselves, how can good order prevail in the country? The people are in confusion and suffering from injustice. The followers of Sultān Ahmed are tyrannizing the region of Anatolia, and its people are greatly disturbed. He regards himself as king in that region, and indeed since the defeat of 'Alī Paşa, others have begun to regard him as such, and certain provinces are now in his hands. I have been asked to go against him,
but only a king can fight a king. If you do not want me for your sovereign, find someone else; but if you want me to suppress him I cannot do it merely as a military commander. Why am I restrained from this beneficial course by unnecessary delays?"

On hearing these words, the soldiers said they wanted a king to lead them, and that Selim should be that king; for their part, they would follow him loyally.

Hearing of this, Bayezid thought it a favourable moment to proclaim Selim the new king (Fri., 7 Saf. 918), and he offered him certain advice. Selim returned to his camp, for he did not wish to enter the Palace before his father had vacated the throne; and here he received the congratulations of vezirs, the şeyhs and the 'ulemā.

IdrSN (56a-58a). Selim arrived in Istanbul, and encamped at Yeşi Bağçe, where he was welcomed by his supporters. These then went to Bayezid and informed him of the state of the country, saying "Everyone knows the part played by Sultan Ahmed in recent events; whereas Korkud, despite his learning, is without children. Therefore, only Selim deserves the throne." Bayezid agreed, and summoning Selim before him handed over the throne with certain words of advice (7 Saf. 918)

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Cülüs-işeh şü der şehr-i Şafir şüd} \\
&\text{Delrl-i zahir-i fetsh-u-zafer şüd} \\
&\text{Zi Hicret nüh-şad-u-hecdeh güżeştte} \\
&\text{Ki ez valid veliyü 'l-\'ahd şeştte}
\end{align*}
\]

The leading statesmen, 'ulemā and kazīs then came to offer
their homage. He left all the officials in the posts they held. Then he assembled the vezirs and the troops and delivered an address to them, after which he disbursed the gifts usual on such an occasion.

Ish (109b-116b) is more or less similar to KPZ 8, except that the date of the transfer of power is given as Sat., 8 Şaf. 918. The author here mentions the prayers made by Selīm on this occasion, asking God to make easy the task he had undertaken.

Kes (13a-18b) begins his history with this event, mentions that Bāyezīd had grown old and wanted one of his sons to replace him on the throne. When he disclosed this intention to the Dīvān, they expressed a preference for Selīm. The children in the street were already singing (a ta’rīf):

Şeh-i ehl-i Rūm oldi Sultan Selīm = 918.

Bāyezīd accepted the wishes of his councillors and proclaimed Selīm sultan on Sat., 7 Şaf. 918. He then spoke certain words of advice to his son.

Niş (86a-90a). Arriving at Yeni Bajç, Selīm went to meet his father, after which he returned to his camp. The vezīrs wanted Bāyezīd to name him commander-in-chief of the army and send him to Anatolia. When Selīm heard of this he accepted, and gave orders that the troops be made ready. But the soldiers refused to accept him merely as a general; they wanted him to be their king. When this was made known to Bāyezīd, he insisted that so long as he was physically capable,
he would surrender the throne to no-one; but the vezirs were afraid to report this decision to Selîm. Thereupon, Bâyezîd relented, and capitulating to circumstances, turned the throne over to his son. (Sat. 8 Şaf. 918).

Şük. (40b-42b). The statesmen and Korkud came to welcome Selîm. On this occasion Korkud explained that his intention in coming was to assure that there would be peace between them, and then he returned to his own province of Manisa. Selîm now encamped at Yeşî Bag where he disclosed his intentions to the troops.

Çok sefer itsem gerektr bî-direnk
Şam-u-Şark ehli-yle var gönümde cenk
Nîyetüm bî-şekk budur iy ehl-i Rum
Belki Hindistân olubdur ârzûm
Emrûme uymaz taḥallûf zerrece
Gözûme gelmez bu ‘ālem terrecê
Zerrece cevr ehlin öldürsem gerek
*Adl ile āfâkî toldursam gerek

He said that if they wished they could make him their ruler, and to this they agreed. Selîm then went to his father and received the throne; after which he returned to Yeşî Bag.

TT (ii, 199-204) is based on KPZ 8 and Ish., and like the former it gives the date as Sat. 7 Şaf. 918. The verses from Şük quoted above are repeated here (p. 200) with the ascription li-münși-hi.

KA (213a-213b) has Bâyezîd saying to Selîm that he wanted to put him at the head of the army and send him against Şâh İsmâ‘îl. Selîm replied that the army would not fight unless they had their sovereign at their head, from which Bâyezîd
inferred that his son wanted the throne. In as much as the vezirs and the troops desired Selim, Bayezid with no other course left open to him, surrendered the throne.

Cev. 39a-41b and Yusuf. 8a = Şük 40a-42b; Sa'd 41a-46b = KPZsn 40b-48b.
10. Selīm assumes the throne; Korkud goes to Midilli; and Süleyman is summoned to Istanbul. [112b-113b].

KPZ at the end of the 8th Defter mentions the arrival of Selīm in Istanbul and his accession to the throne. At the beginning of the present Defter, the narrative begins with the defeat suffered by Selīm at the hands of his father, after which he is reported as coming to Istanbul at the same time that both Bāyezīd and Korkud were in the city. The father, of his own will, now surrendered the throne to Selīm (Sat., 8 Șaf. 918; in Defter 8, this was given as Sat. 7 Șaf.). As the accounts in the other Selīm-nāmes about these events have already been given, in connection with KPZ 8 they will not be repeated here.

KPZsn (45b-46b). Sultan Korkud recognized that Selīm was going to be the new ruler, so after consulting him and Bāyezīd he returned to the quiet of his sancak in Manisa. There is no mention of Midilli. In ff. 49b-50b the summons of Sūleymān to Istanbul and his subsequent arrival there is narrated in detail.

IdrSN and Keş make no mention of either Midilli or of Sūleymān at this time.

Ish (116b-117a) is substantially the same as KPZ 9. Selīm gave the island of Midilli to Korkud. He called on the Begs of Rumili to pay homage to himself, and they came to the capital to pledge their allegiance. Next he brought Sūleymān
from Kefe to Istanbul. Later, in ff. 121b-122b, Süleyman’s arrival in Istanbul is briefly described.

Niş (86a). When Sultan Bayezid learned that Korkud was trying to influence the Janissaries, he gave him the island of Midilli. However, he did not go there, returning instead to his sancak of Manisa. Later, in ff. 96a-97a, in the course of describing the wars between Selim and Sultan Ahmed, it is related how Süleyman was brought from Kefe to Istanbul by his father and left there as his kā’im-maḥān. Having done this, Selim went by way of Iznik to the plain of Yenți Şehr.

Şük (41a). Korkud welcomed Selim on his arrival in the capital, and explained to him that the only purpose in his own presence there was to help settle the misunderstanding between him and Sultan Bayezid, and that he had presented his views to the latter. After this he went to Manisa. No mention is made of Süleyman.

TT (ii, 204) Selim added Midilli to Korkud’s other territories, and sent him back to his sancak of Manisa with many presents. He summoned Süleyman to the Capital. At this time a certain militant leader "evsaţ-i umerādan" demanded that the salaries and provisions be increased, and he was punished by death for his insolence. (This latter incident is taken from IdrSN.)

KA (213b). Korkud, after protesting that he had no ambitions for the throne, and wanted only a life of retirement,
was given the island of Midilli. After this, gifts and promotions were made to the Janissaries. Then Süleyman arrived by sea.¹

Sa'd: 46b-48b and 51b-52b = KPZsn 45b-46a.

¹ Ç. Uluçay, 7, 127, speaks of Selîm writing to the Han of the Crimea, announcing that he had assumed the throne and asking him to send Süleyman to Istanbul.
The Death of Bāyezīd. (113b-114b)

KPZsn (45b-49b). Having surrendered the throne to Selīm, Bāyezīd achieved what he desired, and now he intended to go to Dimetoka in order to spend the remainder of his life in prayer. He was to be accompanied by Yunus Paşa, the beglerbegi of Rūmili, whom Selīm had agreed to release from his other duties for this purpose. He was seen off by Selīm, the leading statesmen and the people. However, his health being poor, the exertions of travel proved too much for him, and he died near Haşköy in the vicinity of Edirne, having never reached Dimetoka. Selīm was greatly distressed by this news, and he ordered Yunus Paşa to bring the corpse to Istanbul for burial. The funeral services were held outside the mosque which he built in Istanbul, and he was interred in his own tomb in its courtyard. Alms were given by Selīm to the poor of the city. The other sons of Bāyezīd, too, were greatly grieved by the news of their father's death, Ahmed, in particular, taking it deeply to heart. Neither in KPZsn nor KPZ 9 is a date mentioned for this event, and in the latter even the place of death is omitted.

IdrSN (59b-60a). Bāyezīd, having handed over the throne and proposing to spend the rest of his life in retirement, left Istanbul for Dimetoka in Șaf. 918. However, before reaching his destination, he died at a place called
Söğütlü Dere\(^1\) in the vicinity of Edirne, on 10 Reb I 918. His body was brought back to Istanbul and buried in his mosque.

Ish (117a-121b). Selim allowed his father to go wherever he wished, and he chose to go to Dimetoka rather than stay in Istanbul. Selim gave him the city, and assigned to his service Yunus Paşa, the Beglerbegi of Rûmili, and the defterdar Kasım Çelebi, along with experienced officials from the Palace; moreover, he offered him whatever he wanted of money and goods. The journey, however, was too exhausting for the old and infirm Bâyezîd, and he died before reaching Dimetoka, at an unspecified place near Edirne. Selim was greatly distressed by this news; he performed the services of mourning and distributed alms to the poor.\(^2\)

1. Ş. Tekindağ, 'Bâyezîd'in Ölümü Meselesi', TD., 24 (1970), identifies the place of his death from a document in Topkapı Sarayî as, the village of Abalar, near Hafsa (Havza): The article contains the most detailed information about the circumstances of his death, however, Tekindağ and S. Tansel both interpret the passage in Keşfi as giving the symptoms of his final disorder; it is, in fact, a description of daybreak in medical terminology.

R. Knolles, Generali Historie of the Turkes, 496: "The Turks report that he died a naturall death: but Antonius Vitrius, a Genoway, who at that time serued in Baiazet his chamber, and was present at his death, reporteth, that upon his death bodie the evident tokens of poyleon were to be feene."

R.Z. Safavi, 273, repeats the rumour that Bâyezîd died of a poison which Selim's agents placed in his ablutions water.

2. Hadîdî, ff. 218a-b, goes into detail on the funeral ceremonies held after his death.
Keşf (18b-23a). Having given advice to Selīm, Bāyezīd resolved to pass his last days in prayer, and he selected Dimetoka as a residence. His intention, however, was not to be realized for he died before reaching there, on the morning of Monday, 5th Reb. I, 918. He was buried in the mosque which he had built in Istanbul.

Niş (90a-92a). Bāyezīd wished to spend the remainder of his life in Dimetoka, and consequently the city was assigned to him with an annual income of 800,000 akça. Selīm appointed the Janissary officer, Yunus Ağa, to be his lala. On the journey, Bāyezīd died at Söğütlu Dere near Edirne, on 17 Reb. I, 918. His body was brought back to Istanbul and buried in a tomb in the precincts of his own mosque. [The text seems to indicate that this türbe was built after his death.]

Şük. (42b-44b) Bāyezīd requested from Selīm a place in which to reside and an income on which to live. He was allowed to select any place he wished, and he chose Dimetoka. Selīm sent Yunus Paşa with him. However, he died before reaching Dimetoka. Selīm received the news with great sorrow, and the people of Rūm put on the black of mourning. His body was buried in the imaret which he had built.

TT (ii, 204-210) derives from Ish.; however he takes the name of the place where Bāyezīd died (Söğütlu Dere) and the date from Idr.

KA (213b). Selīm accompanied his father on foot a short distance on the road, and received his blessing. Bāyezīd
proceeded on to Dimetoka, accompanied by the begler-begi of Rûmili, Yunus Paşa, and the Defterdar Kasım Çelebi. He died on the journey - his age was 57 and he had reigned for 32 years - in 918. The cause of his death is not specified (ba'zi marâz), but 'Alî adds: [ba'zîlari kâvlince pîrlik za'fî ve gumûm-ı kesîre ve sa'îr vesâvis izdiyâdindan.] Cev 41a-43a and Yusuf 8b = Şîk 42b-44b; Sa'd 46b-48b and 49b-51b = KPZsn. 45b-49b.
1. The Revolt of Sultan Ahmed; Bursa is Captured by his son 'Ala'uddin; Ahmed's Flight to the Arab lands on the approach of Selim. (114b-116a)

KPZsn (51b-54a). Disturbed by his brother's accession, Sultan Ahmed, on the advice of the people in his suite, left Ankara and went to Karaman, from where he prepared to wage war against Selim. On his way, he visited numerous injustices on the people, some of whom submitted to him out of fear. In places where there were fortresses, the people took refuge therein, and suffered siege.

Again his confidants suggested to him that it would be a clever move if he allowed the impression to be spread abroad that one of his sons had revolted against him. He could then gather about himself the discontented and unruly elements, and thus two groups could be acting against Sultan Selim at the same time. Ahmed agreed to this and informed his son Murad, who was his deputy in Amasya, to pretend that he was in revolt; and when Murad did so, within a few days several thousand Kizilbas rallied to his side. However, these committed so many injustices and outrages against the people, that there was a danger that popular support against Selim would be lost. Therefore, Ahmed informed his son to rid himself of these Kizilbas by exterminating them. Murad consulted with a certain Kara Iskender (probably a Kizilbas leader) who was in his

suite. The latter expressed the view that the people would obey anyone who held power, and Sultan Ahmed no longer had any hope of this. Therefore, it was only to the Kizilbas that one could turn for refuge. Sultan Ahmed did not know what was good for him. But since the Kizilbas were not strong enough to resist his troops, they took advantage of the situation and began to tyrannize the people. Sultan Ahmed sent troops against this now unwelcome body of supporters, and in a battle between the two sides Kara Iskender was slain. On hearing this, Murad Çelebi did not go to join his father, but moved instead towards Tokat. Shortly before this, Şah Ismai‘Il had sent troops into Anatolia under the command of "Nūr ‘Alī"¹ and Tokat was placed under siege; the people of the region were terrorized and made to recognize Şah Ismai‘Il as their ruler. When Murād arrived he joined up with these Kizilbas troops at Kazova, and together they went to the Şah. Ismai‘Il, however, fearing that the troops were rendering obedience to Murād rather than himself, had him killed.²

1. On Nūr ‘Alī, cf. Rahīm-zade-i Şafavi, p. 269, where it is made clear that this individual is the same as Şah Külu (also Şeytan Külu). Other names by which he is known are: Nūr ‘Alī Beg, Şah ‘Alī, Şeytan-oglı.

2. Ghulām Sarvar, p. 73, relates the affair of Sultan Ahmed’s son Murād, and Nūr ‘Alī differently. According to him Murād died of natural causes; and the army under the command of Sinān Paşa that went against Nūr ‘Alī was sent by Sultan Selīm and not Sultan Ahmed.
At this time Selıım was awaiting the arrival of his son from Kefe. When Süleyman arrived, he left him in Istanbul as his deputy, and immediately set out for Ankara. Sultan Ahmed fled before him to the Malatya and the Arab regions. Selıım did not follow him, instead, he appointed one of his followers to govern Amasya, and he himself directed his progress towards Bursa. [This paragraph is substantially the same as KPZ 9. What precedes, however, is lacking there; the affair of Nur "Nar" 'Alı and Murad conforms with the account in IdrSN.]

IdrSN (60b-61b). Angered by Selıım's accession, Sultan Ahmed proclaimed himself ruler of Anatolia, having the ḥutbe read and coins struck in his name and sending men to take control of the various provinces. Selıım sent out orders that the troubles in Anatolia should be put down. He lavished gifts and honours on the commanders and troops of Rümili and Istanbul, and having secured their good-will and support, in 918 he crossed over to Anatolia and took the road to Ankara. Meanwhile, Sultan Ahmed had sent his son 'Ala'uddin to take Bursa, but the people of the city demonstrated their loyalty to Selıım by opposing him; and unable to achieve anything, he returned to his father. When news of this spread throughout Anatolia, other places, too, resisted the agents of Ahmed and declared for Selıım, reading the ḥutbe in his name. Selıım apparently went to Ankara by way of Bursa, sending ahead certain emırs, such as the Emir-i ahur-i kebır and the son of Malkoç Beg,
to put down any opposition that might lie in the way. These went as far as Malatya and Darende, where Sultan Ahmed had fled before Sultan Selim, intending to take refuge either in Egypt or with the Kızılbaş. Selim's men entered the Arab lands; but they informed their master that it was difficult to operate against an enemy in foreign territory, and he ordered them to return. Selim remained with his troops for five months in Ankara, returning to Bursa for the winter. Here, Mehmed, the son of the late Sultan Şahinşah, came from Karaman and offered to serve Selim. Other males of the royal line did the same.

Ish (122b-125). When Sultan Süleyman arrived in Istanbul, Selim set out against Ahmed, certain of whose supporters had now come over to his side. Ahmed intended to seek refuge with the ruler of Egypt, but knowing the friendship that existed between him and Selim, he abandoned this idea, and instead sent messengers to his brother offering submission and obedience and renouncing all ambitions for sovereignty. These were told that if he were sincere in his proposals, his wishes would be granted; if not he would be destroyed.  

1. in Ḥadīṭī, 220a, 
Irub ser-hadde didi Ṭur 'Alī Beg
'Arab ḥaddine geçmezüz budur yeg
Çeriyyi cem' idüb itdi ferāğat
Didi yokdur Şehinşehden icāzet.

2. For the correspondence between Selim and Ahmed, cf. Č. Uluçay, vii, 140-141.
Selīm organized the territory of Anatolia and distributed its provinces; then he went to Bursa to visit the tombs of his ancestors, arriving in the city in Ramazan. The army was disbanded, and only the palace troops remained with him.

Keş (23a-27b) mentions that after the death of Bayezid, Selīm crossed to Anatolia merely for relaxation and hunting, but his enemies here were put into great fear. When winter came he took up residence in Bursa.

Niş (92a-100a). The first act of Selīm was to select worthy men to serve him, among the Piri Paşa and the dīvān kātibi Seyyidī (Sīdī). Sultan Ahmed’s advisers proposed that one of his sons should go over to the Kızılbaş so that he might collect an army from among them and fight against Selīm. Accordingly, Ahmed had his son Murād profess adherence to the Safavīds and wear the red head-dress. Twenty-thousand of the Şah’s supporters collected about him, but when he asked them to lend help to his father they refused to do so without Şah Ismā‘īl’s permission. When Murād went to the Şah to get his consent, he was murdered and another person was substituted for him.

Selīm discussed with Pīrī Paşa and the other members of the dīvān his fears that the Sultan Ahmed might flee to the Memluks, the Kızılbaş or the Europeans and become a problem for himself in the future. Pīrī Paşa advised that letters should be sent to Ahmed in the names of his former supporters at the Court; and immediately Selīm had seals made and the forged letters despatched. This deceived Ahmed; Selīm, after
the arrival of his son in the capital, crossed to Anatolia and proceeded to Yeñi Şehr. Here the two brothers met in battle, as a result of which Ahmed was captured and executed. This account omits Sultan Ahmed’s flight to Malatya and his son ‘Ala’uddin’s attempt against Bursa. Moreover, it has Ahmed dying before the other princes.

Şük. (44b-50a). After the burial of his father, Selim collected the troops of Rumili, and announced his intention of taking control of Syria and the East. The army agreed to this, and Selim was crowned Sultan. Shortly afterwards news arrived that Ahmed had seized all of Anatolia and his son ‘Ali (sic!) had occupied Bursa and put its subaşı to death. Selim, despite the fact that his father had advised him not to do any harm to his brothers, saw this as a provocation on Ahmed’s part and prepared for war. As soon as ‘Ali heard of his arrival on the Asiatic shore, he abandoned Bursa and joined his father; the peoples of Anatolia who had been intimidated by Ahmed now came and took refuge with Selim, who sent Malkoçoğlu Tür ‘Ali Beg ahead to take Amasya, while he himself went to Ankara. On the approach of Malkoçoğlu, Ahmed fled towards Syria, and Selim now appointed Davud Paşa-oğlu Muştafa Beg Beglerbegi of Anatolia with his seat in Amasya. ‘Ali Beg pursued Ahmed, who had taken refuge in Darende; but again Ahmed did not dare to risk a battle and fled to Malatya, whereupon ‘Ali Beg returned to Sivas. With the approach of winter, Selim moved from Ankara to Bursa
where he disbanded the army, with the exception of his own personal troops. At this time news came from Malkoç-oğlu that he had imprisoned Mustafa Beg because the latter was in secret agreement with Ahmed.

TT (ii, 222-229). With certain modifications, this account is substantially that found in Şük. For example, the date of Selim's crossing to Anatolia is specified as Thurs., 15 Cem I, 918. However, it does not mention the correspondence between Selim and Malkoç-oğlu on the matter of pursuing Ahmed. More significantly, it states that after Muştafa Beg had been sent to Amasya as beglerbegi of Anatolia, Sultan Ahmed returned and retook the city. He pardoned Muştafa Beg, and actually made him vezir.

KA (234a-235a). More or less the same as TT. (the date of the crossing is not given).

Cev 43a-46b and Yusuf. 86-96 = Şük 44b-50a; Sa'd 52b-55b= KPZsn 51a-54a.
2. Selim kills Korkud and other Members of the Dynasty (116a-118a).

KPZsn (54a-55b). While Selim was in Bursa, he had the members of the Ottoman family who were living there put to death, claiming that they were responsible for certain disorders destructive to the state. He, also, received information that his brother Korkud was collecting an army, so he led a body of trusted men against him. On his approach, Korkud and one of his close associates disguised themselves as beggars and fled. Selim, happy that he would not have to fight a battle, sent out scouts to discover where his brother was hiding; these finally located him in a cave near Göl Hisar in Hamid Ili and killed him. Selim was very distressed at this; he had the body brought to Bursa and buried in the tomb of Sultan Orhan.

The variations between this account and KPZ 9 are striking: here the names of the murdered princes are not mentioned; and the place of Korkud's death in KPZ 9 is given as Egrigöz, and his executioner named as the kapucı başı Sinan Ağa.

IdrSN (61b-62a). Mehmed (the son of Prince Şahınsah) fled from Sultan Ahmed in Karaman to Sultan Selim in Bursa. At this time there were in Bursa the following princes of the royal line: the four sons of Sultan Mahmund, Orhan, Musa, Emir beg and Mustafa; and 'Osmân, the son of 'Alemşah. All of these were treated with fatherly affection by Selim; but certain ill-disposed individuals were using them to stir up trouble. One

1. For detailed information on the children and grandchildren of Bayezid, cf. Ç. Uluçay, 'Báyezíd II in Ailesi', TD., 14 (1959), 105-124.
day when Selim ordered certain Janissaries to be punished for some misbehaviour, they demanded to know why they should be treated in this way when there were eleven people in the realm who were capable of actually overthrowing the throne. Inflamed by these words, Selim gave orders that all (such rivals) be done away with. He then left Bursa and for five days diverted himself with hunting, but at the same time made his way to Manisa to capture Korkut. His troops were given orders to surround the palace, but Korkut, accompanied by a certain Pervâne (دژً) escaped by a secret exit and hid in a cave. Selim ordered that a vigilant watch be kept over the entire region, including the sea, so that not even a bird could escape from Anatolia. Korkut had given his horse and gold to a native of the region who was providing him with food; but the appearance of a person of low degree on such a fine animal aroused suspicion; and the governor of the district, Kasim Beg 'Acemi, learned from him the whereabouts of Korkut. The cave was surrounded, and a message sent to Selim, who dispatched men from Bursa to kill Korkut. His body was brought back to here and buried alongside Sultan Orhan.

Keş (27b-28a) treats the incident very summarily. At the beginning of winter Selim came to Bursa. There were certain individuals there who were opposed to him, and these he killed. When spring came, he returned to Istanbul.

Niş (100a-b). Fearing that the sons of his brothers who were in Bursa might flee the country, Selim had them killed. This took place before Ahmed's death was known. The names of the slain are given as: Mehmed, the son of Şahınsah; 'Osman, the
son of 'Alemşah; Mūsā, Orhan, and Emırhân, the sons of Maḥmūd. From here he went to Saruhan, where he killed his brother Ḵorkūt.

§ük (50a–55a). Selīm regarded it as dangerous for the state that Sultan Aḥmed was still at large and that certain sections of the people favoured Ḵorkūt. He left Bursa with his troops, taking with him Mehmed, the son of Şāhınşah; Mūsā and Orhan, the sons of Maḥmūd; Osman, the son of 'Alemşah. On the pretext of reviewing the troops, he selected from them several men whom, unknown to the Paşas, he instructed to tie up the young princes. Sinān Paşa was put in charge of the operation. The children were brought into Selīm's presence and killed.

They were buried in Bursa.

Selīm, with a body of troops, went to Manisa to take Ḵorkūt; but, being unable to locate him, he returned to Bursa. Ḵorkūt had heard of Selīm's approach, and accompanied by a companion named Piyāle, fled in disguise to the mountains, where he remained in a cave for three weeks. His intention was to escape to Teke ili and from there seek refuge with the Infidels; however, on reaching Teke ili, he was in a very poor condition. Piyāle, using Ḵorkūt's horse, entered a village, where he employed a Turk to make preparations for their escape by sea, leaving the horse with him. While this Turk was going about arranging these matters, his fine horse aroused suspicion; under torture, he betrayed the location of Ḵorkūt. Kasim Beg, on being informed of this, arrested Ḵorkūt and sent word to Selīm
who at first sent Karaçin-oğlu to bring the prisoner to him. Later he dispatched Sinân Beg with instructions to kill Korkut; he overtook Karaçin-oğlu on the road, and together they went to where Korkut was being held and stayed in a house. From there they sent a message to Piyâle to come to see them. When he left his master's side to do this, two men went and killed Korkut in his sleep. When Piyâle arrived later, he at first thought that his master was sleeping, but on discovering he was dead, he became greatly distressed. The body of Korkut was taken to Bursa and buried alongside Sultan Orhan. Although offered high employment, Piyâle refused and remained in Bursa as the keeper of his master's tomb.

TT (ii, 229-234). Selîm selected certain ağas to kill the young princes, keeping the matter secret for fear that protests might be made from some quarters. The name of the princes are given as: Mehmed, the son of Şahînsâh; Musa, Orhan and Emin, the sons of Mahmûd, 'Osman, the son of 'Alemşâh.

Selîm became aware that Korkut was preparing to cause trouble, so he had forged letters sent to him in which it was given to appear that the army wanted to depose Selîm in favour of himself. Korkut replied and sent one of his retainers to make further inquiries. When Selîm learned of his response, he at once set out for Manisa. The rest of the narrative is identical with Şük.

KA (234b-236a). While in Bursa, Selîm heard that Sultan Ahmed had re-taken Amasya, whereupon he killed, Mehmed, the son of
Şahinşah; Müsă, Emîr and Orhân the sons of Mahmud; Osman, the son of 'Alemşah. The information about Korkud¹ is the same as in TT.

Cev 46b-51b and Yusuf 9b-10b = Şük 50a-55b; Sa'd 55b-59b = KPZsn 54a-55b.

¹ On Korkut, M. Tayyib Gökbilgin has contributed a very informative article to the IA, vi, 855-860.
3. Sultān Aḥmed returns from Mamlūk territory to Anatolia; his death (118a-119b).

KPZsn (55b-57a) learning that Selīm had left Ankara for Bursa, Aḥmed returned and seized Amasya, placing its military governor (mīr-līvā) in confinement. Here he passed the winter, and when spring came set out in the direction of Istanbul with his army. This, in fact, was what Selīm intended he should do, and during the time he was wintering in Bursa he contrived to have letters sent to Aḥmed in the name of the most prominent men of the realm urging this action on him. Now, Selīm went forth to meet him on the plain of Yeğnişehr, and, taken by surprise, Aḥmed was left with no alternative to waging a battle. However, even before the fighting commenced, Aḥmed suffered mass desertions from among his supporters. No mention is made of a battle, and we are next told that Aḥmed finding no means of escape, was taken prisoner and killed. Selīm was very moved at his brother’s death; he had the corpse taken to Bursa and buried among his ancestors.

IdrSN (62b-63b). There now only remained in the realm as a rival to Selīm his brother Aḥmed, who, during the lifetime of Bāyezīd had been favoured as successor by many of the vezirs who still enjoyed support from this quarter. Muṣṭafā Paşa, for example, was in correspondence with him,1 and paid for this with his life, while others were even now hoping to regain the privileges they had enjoyed under Bāyezīd by replacing Selīm

1. For the correspondence between Aḥmed and Muṣṭafā Paşa, cf. Ḥadīdī, 22a-b.
with Ahmed. Knowing this, Selim had falsified letters sent to Ahmed in the names of such individuals, in which they were supposed to have acknowledged his superior claim to the throne, pretending that they had unwillingly accepted Selim as sovereign. However, they did not find his attitude appropriate for such an exalted station, for he had even killed the young princes and Mustafa Pasha in the cruelest fashion. "Selim's army has been disbanded for the winter, and he remains in Bursa with only his private guard. Come to Istanbul at once, and if Selim tries to oppose you, your former supporters will come over to your side."

Deceived by these letters, Sultan Ahmed immediately left for Yenisehir as the first stage of his move to Istanbul, being joined by supporters on all sides. Selim was delighted by the success of his ruse, and he came out with his army to meet Ahmed at Yenisehir. In the course of battle Ahmed was taken prisoner, and on Selim's orders, put to death on the spot.

One son of Ahmed, named Murad took refuge with Sah Isma'il, and died there; two others, 'Ala'eddin and [name omitted in text], fled to Egypt for refuge, and there they died of plague. Thus, there remained no one who could claim the throne; Selim pardoned those who had been supporting Ahmed, and returned to Istanbul.

Sük (55a-62a). Selim sent falsified letters to Ahmed in the name of the begs of Rum, containing complaints about himself and

1. Ibn Iyas, IV, 289-291, gives the names of these sons as Süleyman, 'Ala'eddin and (V.49) Kasim. Another son of Sultan Ahmed, 'Osmân, is said to have been strangled on the orders of Sultan Selim, and is buried in Amasya in the 'Osmân Çelebi turbe. Cf. Çajatay Uluçay, 'Bâyezîd II in Ailesi', TD, 14 (1959), 110.
indicating that the people were anxious for the success of Ahmed. Deceived by this, Ahmed went immediately to Karaman, and Selim was informed of this move by Hemdem Paşa, the beglerbegi, who added that Ahmed had laid waste the places through which he passed. This was exactly what Selim wished his brother to do; he sent the Imrahor Başı Mehmed Ağa against Ahmed, and ordered Muștafa Paşa, to leave Kütahya with the army of Anatolia and join him. Together they were to oppose Ahmed, try to discover what his intentions were, and to inform Selim. The news came back that Ahmed had made camp at Ermeni-derbendi; whereupon, Selim assembled his troops and left Bursa for İnegöl. Ahmed now realized that he had been the victim of a ruse, and returned to Yeğüşehir, pursued here by Selim. He camped on one section of the plain, where he awaited the arrival of Mehmed Ağa and Muștafa Paşa before giving battle.

In the morning both sides made preparation for battle. However, before any fighting commenced Ahmed withdrew his troops to the mountains. Selim sent Muștafa Paşa after him, with orders to engage Ahmed, but, in the course of the battle, he was to pretend that he was defeated and flee in the direction of Selim's camp. Ahmed would give pursuit and thus be drawn into the situation which Selim desired. And so it happened, and a fierce battle was waged between the two brothers. Ahmed's horse was exhausted and he was forced to dismount; when he was brought a fresh animal, he refused to mount it, telling his followers to leave him there to die. Dukagin-oğlu happened to pass by, and, recognizing Ahmed, tried to console him; however, he also sent
Sa'ddet Giray, the son of Mengli Giray, to Selim with the news. He sent back the Kapucı-başı Sinan Ağa, who was to tell Ahmed that he had instructions to take him to Istanbul, but on the way he was to kill him. Ahmed asked if he could see his brother, and Sinan let him believe that he was taking him to Selim. However, when they had been going for about an hour, he suggested that Ahmed should have a fresh horse. When Ahmed dismounted, he strangled him with his bowstring. The body was taken to Bursa for burial. Selim pardoned Ahmed's followers, and returned to Bursa.

TT (ii, 234-237). For the death of Muştafa Paşa and the fate of Ahmed's sons, the information is drawn from IdrSN. The affairs of Sultan Ahmed are based for the most part on Şük.

KA (236a-236b). Like TT, relies on IdrSN and Şük; or, perhaps, the information is taken directly from TT. In addition, however, it uses the Tabakatü 'l-Memālik to supply details of Ahmed's death: Ahmed wrote to Selim asking that his life be spared, and that he be given a place to reside. Selim, however, found his brother responsible for the death of numerous Muslims in the Şahkulu rising by not using his army against him, and therefore he killed him. Again KA. drives from Nişancı the names of the sons of Sultan Mahmud; viz., Muştafa, Süleyman and Orhan. However, in another place (235a) KA gives the names as Musa, Emir and Orhan.

Cev. 51a-53b and Yusuf 10b-11a = Şük. 55a-62a, Sa'd 59b-61b = KPZns 55b-57a.
4. Süleyman is given the sancak of Saruhan; Selim goes to Edirne. (I20a-120b)

KPZsn (57b-60b). Selim left Bursa and entered Rumili by way of Gelibolu. On the way he attended a feast on the estate of the sadrazam Hersek-oğlu Ahmet Paşa, where his son Süleyman came to meet him. From here, Süleyman was sent to Manisa as governor, and proceeded on to Istanbul. After a few months here, he went to the region of Edirne for hunting. (The hunting-ground is given the name Töndurma. ) Next he went to Edirne itself, where he received those who had come to congratulate him on his accession; and declared an amnesty. He refused to receive the envoy of Şah Ismā‘īl, having him thrown into prison instead.

IdrSN (63b). During the civil war, certain Christians on the frontiers began to stir up trouble and they hoped that the struggle between the brothers would last a long time. With the approach of winter, Selim entered Edirne and attended to affairs of state. An embassy bearing gifts arrived from Kanşu Gavrî ( ), and the treaty that existed between the Ottomans and the Mamluks in the time of Bāyezīd was renewed. Selim sent envoys to the Christian lands demanding the payment of the tribute. There had been a treaty of several years standing between Bāyezīd and the King of Hungary; Selim refused to recognize this, imprisoning his envoy and making preparation against him. About this time also, envoys arrived from Boğdan, Eflak and Venice to congratulate Selim in his accession. However, as the most pressing danger at this time was seen to be
the Safavid presence in the East, Selim decided to abandon operations in Europe and direct his attention here. In this section of the history, no mention is made of Süleyman being sent to Saruhan.

Niş (101b-102a) Süleyman was given the sancak of Saruhan and Kasım Paşa was appointed as his lala. At this point there is a long description of Saruhan.

Şük (62a-62b). After Selim arrived in Istanbul and took up residence, he instructed his vezir to have Süleyman brought from Kefe, feeling that this province was not suitable for him. When Süleyman arrived he was given the sancak of Manisa. As winter was approaching the Sultan left Istanbul, for Edirne where he passed the season.

TT.(ii, 222-225). Here, too, information is given about the arrival of Süleyman in Istanbul and his meeting with his father. It also (pp. 238-233) repeats the details found in IdrSN., on the envoys that arrived to congratulate Selim. None of the other sources refer either to Süleyman or these embassies.

Cev 53b-54a and Yusuf 11a = Şük 62a-62b; Sa'd 61a-62b = KPZsn 57b-60b.

1. E.Z. Karal, TTK, Belleten, V (1942), 37-44, has published the letter of instruction which Selim sent to Süleyman on his taking up the government of Saruhan. Cf., also, M.T. Gökbilgin IA, vol. 11, 99-155, s.v. Süleyman I.
III

The Persian Campaign

1. The preparations for war made by Selim.

Details of the descent of Şah Isma'îl and the Safavids in general.¹ (120b-126b)

Amongst all the sources, this contains the most detailed information about Şah Isma'îl and his ancestors: Isma'îl's grandfather, Cüneyd, while Şeyh of a monastery in Erdebil proclaimed a cihad and invaded Gürçistan and Şirvân. However, he suffered defeat at the hands of Şirvân Şah. After him his son, Haydâr Şah, assumed power, and he was a man given to evil-doing. He enjoyed a certain distinction by virtue of being the son-in-law of Uzun Hasan. In the time of Sultan Ya'kub his power was at its greatest. He attacked Şirvân Şah, but the latter, with the help of Sultan Ya'kub repulsed him. Haydar's son, Hoca Ali, next held the power, but he did not last very long. On the order of Mirzâ Rûstem a certain Ibe Sultan proceeded against him and killed him. However, about this time the descendants of Uzun Hasan fell out among themselves and anarchy raged in their territories.

Next the youngest son of Şeyh Haydâr, Şah Isma'îl, emerged. His first act was to take advantage of Sultan Bâyezîd's pre-occupation with the Moria and launch an attack against Erzincan.

¹. Most of the sources for this period of Safavid history have been used by Gulâm Server. Cf., also T. Yazıcı IA, Vol. II, 53-59, s.v., SafevÎler.
In many parts of Anatolia the followers of his forefathers were numerous, and these flocked to his support. Although his proper name was Hoca Kemal, he changed this to Şah Ismā'īl in 905,1 the same year in which Kanșu Qavri ascended the throne of Egypt (123a). Proceeding against Sirvān Şah, he destroyed his city, and from here he marched on Tebriz, where he defeated an Akkoyunlu army of between 40-50 thousand men. He had the tombs of past emîrs and sultāns desecrated, and with his own hand he killed his mother who was the daughter of Uzun Hasan. Next he proceeded against İrāk and captured the cities of Kazvīn and Isfahān, destroying their people who were sunnī.2 In Diyarbekr he waged war against Sultān Murād, one of the Akkoyunlu beys, forcing him to flee to Bağdad. Ismā'īl now entered Fārs where he burned and ravaged the cities of Sirāz and Yezd. Arriving at Bağdad, he defeated Sarım Kūrdī and added this region to his domains, once again massacring the sunnī population. Murād Bey had fled before his arrival, going first to ‘Alā'üddevle, and from there to Sultān Selîm (at that time governor of Trabzon).

In the year 912, Hüseyn Baykara, the Timūrīd ruler of Horāsān, died and contention broke out amongst his descendants. In 916 Ismā'īl defeated in battle the Tatar troops of Şeybek Han Ibn Yûnûs Han, from the line of Cengiz Han. Şeybek was captured and tortured to death. This accomplished, Ismā'īl

proceeded against Herat and destroyed the city; he sent an army to Semerkend with the same result.

Wherever Şâh Ismâ‘îl set foot the Şerî‘a disappeared and innovations emerged; trying to replace Sunnîsm with şî‘ism, he destroyed mosques and medreses and desecrated the tombs of men such as Ebû–Hanîfe, 'Abdûlki‘adîr el–Gîlânî and Mevlânâ Yusuf–î Erdebîlî. The news of these acts of cruelty and destruction spread throughout the world of İslâm, and Selîm, in Trabzon, began to think of putting an end to Ismâ‘îl, that scourge of Muslims. Thus, once he had put the affairs of the state into order he directed his efforts to this purpose.

KPZsn (60b–62b). After having put the affairs of Anatolia into order, Selîm, like his ancestors, decided on warfare, and his first object was Şâh Ismâ‘îl, the leader of the heretics. In the year 905 Şâh Ismâ‘îl was ruler of all Persia. Because of his tyranny the Muslims in the region abandoned their homes and fled in all directions. He destroyed their mosques; and although he professed to be a follower of the Twelve Imâms, in fact, he stood without the Seventy-two Millet and his actions were in conflict with the prescriptions of the Four Books.¹

¹ Cf. Hadîdî, ff. 224a–226b.

(Contd.)
Şeybek Han, who ruled Horasan after Hasan Baykara, advanced against him with a strong Mongol army. However, he was to meet death at the hands of Şah Isma'Il. After this victory, Isma'Il launched a general massacre of the people of Horasan.

Selim, while still in Trabzon, had determined to rid the world of Şah Isma'Il, and now he received from the 'Ülemā fetvāsanctioning such an action. Throughout the winter he sent instructions to all provincial troops that they should appear at the appointed place. (This information seems to have been taken directly from KPZ 9).

IdrSN (63b-69a). Here the affair is treated in great detail, and can be summarized as follows: Selim, having done all that was necessary in Anatolia, realized that the most serious problem confronting him was that of the Kızılbaş. In Anatolia itself the adherents of this sect had been responsible for numerous troubles. Selim discussed the matter with his advisors and sought from the 'Ülemā a fetvāsanctioning such a war. They, in turn, pronounced that it was more important to fight against such as Isma'Il than against the Christians. Having done this, Selim made enquiries about how many supporters of the Kızılbaş

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Contd.)

Ki sevmezdi am kafir müsulmān
Harac-u-bāc alur Hindūsitāndan
*Arab sultanı korkar idi andan
*İnāyet eyledi İslāma Allāh
Getürdi taht-i Rūma bir ulu sāh

l. Ş. Tekindag, TD., xvii (1967) 53-55 for the documents mentioned in the text.
were present in Anatolia and, acting on this information, he had them all put to death. One of Ismā'īl's spies was captured and imprisoned, but on the orders of Selīm he was released, so that he might later be given a letter to take back with him.

Kes (31a-33b). Selīm left Istanbul for Edirne where he assembled the Dīvān and delivered an address to it, in which he expressed the wish that in his reign the affairs of the state and of the religion would be given a new direction. He expressed his intention of warring against Şāh Ismā'īl, who was oppressing the people and distorting the faith, and of removing him from the face of the earth. He ordered that all present should prepare for a campaign, and to this they all agreed. Orders for such preparations were also sent to the troops in the provinces. Selīm ordered that 40 thousand sheep (cārpā nūzāl) and 12 thousand 'azāb should be made ready and proceed to the plain of Yeğnişehr by way of Gelibolu.

Süc (2b-7b). This work takes up the narrative of Ish., at this point. After Selīm had eliminated all his rivals for the throne, he one day announced to the Dīvān in Edirne that he intended to follow his forefathers in waging war in the path of God and that his first effort would be made against Şāh Ismā'īl. The members of the Dīvān agreed with him and orders were sent throughout the provinces that 40 thousand nūzāl should be amassed and 12 thousand 'azāb conscripted. These troops of Rūmīli crossed into Asia from Gelibolu, while Selīm crossed at Üskūdar, their meeting place being designated as the plain of Yeğnişehr.
Niğ (118a-122a), also mentions the Divān assembled in Edirne and reports Selīm as saying to it: "For eight centuries Persia has been an Islamīc territory where many mosques were built in which ḥuṭbes were read. However, in recent times Şāh Ismā‘īl, the son of Şeyh Ḥaydār, from the line of the Erdebīlī şeyhs, has emerged and, departing from the ways of his ancestors, has collected about himself certain worthless Turks and entered upon the paths of wrongdoing. He has favoured that sect called the Şī‘a which curses and reviles the Companions. While I was in Trabzon and near to them I learned much about their activities. Were the times favourable they would abolish Islam and exterminate the Müsλims. Religion has been renounced and a path more odious than infidelity has been chosen. [At this point a comparison is made between the evils of the Christians and those of the Kızılbaş, the latter being found in every respect the more grevious]. If they do not repent they will prove a greater danger than the infidels. Consequently, my first campaign must be against them."

Most of the members of the Divān agreed with this, but some requested that a fetvā for the war be asked for from the Ḥülemā. After the fetvā have been issued, Selīm sent orders to the provinces that preparations for the campaign be made, specifying that 10 thousand ṣazab infantry be conscripted. It was decided that the campaign would commence on the 23rd Muh., 920.

Şük (62b-68b). Selīm ordered the Divān to be assembled. The Grand Vezir, Hersek-Ohlu was ill and had to be brought on a stretcher. Selīm addressed the Divān thus: "God has given
me troops and power such as has been given to no other ruler. We today are the frontier of Islām, and it is proper that we fight for Islām. However, a certain person has emerged from the city of Erdebīl and stained the world with blood. The people, thinking him the descendant of saints, obey him, and thus, with a crown on his head, he has made many disciples. Indeed, there are numerous such in Anotolia. The whole East as far as India is under his sway. His name is Ṣāh Ismā‘īl; he is an obstacle to the religion of the Prophet, no aspect of which has escaped his injury. The Kızılbaş, wearing crowns on their heads, make a profession of wrongdoing. They are now the true enemy of the religion and it's my intention to fight them. You should at once prepare for a campaign against Tebrīz; and if you have any difficulties, bring them to me." The members of the Dīvān replied "what does our law say about this?" Selīm grew angry and replied "I am the law,

Kim bu ḷānūn-u-kavā‘īd-ū-sūbūl
Gökden inmiş Hakk kelămı hod degül
Ne Resûlûn sünnetidür bî-hilâf
Ne bu güft-ū-güda vardur ihtilâf
Kendü devrinde ne iḥdâs itse Şâh
Ol anûn kânûnidür bî-iştibâh
Devr anûndur emr anûndur kânûn anûn
Behr anûndur berr anûn hâmûn anûn

and as your pâdişâh it is my intention to wage war with Ismā‘īl. He has destroyed Islām and I shall exact revenge on behalf of the people." The Paşas all expressed their agreement.

Dâniş ile şimdî sensin feylesûf
Bizde yokdûr ‘ilm-ū-‘ırfân-u-vûkûf
Selim ordered them to obey his orders and to complete the preparations. He sent messengers to all regions of Anatolia and Rûmili with the same instructions, except that the Beys who were on the frontiers should remain where they were.

TT (ii, 239-244). The text has been drawn from IdrSN, Şük., Süc., and Niş., and can be summarized as follows:

Selim consulted with the *Ulema about the behaviour of Şah Ismā’īl, and afterwards assembled the Divan. In his address to it he explained how his ancestors had conducted affairs and the purposes for which they fought, declaring that he, too, had the same objectives, namely to fight for the religion of Islām. Turning to the matter of Şah Ismā’īl, he explained how destructive he was to the religion and how merciless to all Muslims. As regards Kızılbaş activity in Anatolia, he expressed the fear that his power there would grow and his harmful activities make themselves felt, the reason being that the Turks in Anatolia supported him. They blindly accepted his guidance and were prepared to sacrifice everything for him. Those of them who were able to do so went to visit him, bearing many presents; while others each year sent him gifts through his agents (halifeler). They looked on his court as the kible-i ḫāṣat ve Ka*be-i münācat. They give their virgin daughters and sisters as presents to him through his representatives. When they hear his name they fall down in prayer. Having finished his address Selim ordered that they should all begin to make preparations for the war, and to this they all expressed consent. Similar
instructions went out to all the regions and it was ordered that 10 thousand *azāb should be conscripted. The army was to assemble at Yeğîşehr in the spring.

KA (237b-238b). Selīm sent his father to Dimetoka and assigned him a yearly revenue of 20 yük akçe. Then he was officially installed as sulṭān on a throne set up in front of his tent. In his address to the troops he explained the necessity for a campaign against the Kızılbaş. Twice he asked for an opinion on this from them but no one replied; when he asked for a third time an oda kedbūdāsī with stipend of 9 akçe came forward and said that they had all been awaiting this opportunity and were happy that Allāh had at last granted it to them. Grateful for this statement of support, Selīm appointed him to the sancak of Selanik. After this, preparations were made on all sides for the Persian campaign.

Cev 54b-66a and Yusuf 1la-12a = Șūk 62b-68b; Sa'd 62b-66b = KPZsn 60b-62b.
2. Selīm leaves Edirne and goes to Eleşkird (126b-129a).

KPZsn (62b-66b). Everyone completed the preparations and began to assemble at the appointed place. Selīm had his son, Süleymān, brought to Edirne to represent him, and he himself set out. He did not enter Istanbul, however, but made his camp at a place called Filçayırı. From here he sent a letter to Şāh ʿĪsāʿīl in which he proclaimed the duty of Islamic sultāns to protect their lands from the evils of infidelity and innovation, and to wage war against all who would threaten such things. Everyone knows that Şāh ʿĪsāʿīl was destroying the religion in the lands of Persia and causing suffering to the people. "Thus ḥetvās have been given authorizing me to proceed against you, and if you do not repent, come to my court to seek forgiveness and renounce your kingdom to the person I will appoint, I will attack you and destroy you; then repentance will avail you nothing."

Orders were issued for the army to move against Persia in Muh. of 920. The troops of the court crossed to Üskūdar the following Saf., and after the Sultan's camp had been set up at Üskūdar, Selīm crossed to here from Beşiktaş. After a day or two here this force, also, set out and proceeded to the Persian frontier, its numbers being increased at every stage of its advance. On reaching the frontier the army was reviewed and was found to be of an excessive size. For the past twenty or thirty years there had been no war in this region and, consequently, many of the warriors had grown old and others grown soft from inactivity. All were happy to have this opportunity
of participating in a campaign. The Kızılbaş fled before the Ottoman army, and Selîm was afraid that Şâh Ismâ'îl would not come out to give battle. In order to allay this fear, Selîm appointed 40 thousand troops to remain in the region between Kayseri and Sivas, and with the remaining troops he entered Şâh Ismâ'îl's territories and proceeded towards his capital. About this time he sent another letter to the Şâh, again urging him either to come and seek peace or prepare for war. He mentioned that he was now in Persian territory and had still seen no sign of Ismâ'îl; so in order to make the contest more equal he was leaving 40 thousand of his men behind in Sivas and Kayseri. (Although this account is very brief it seems to be correct; no mention is made of the places which were passed through, nor of the fetva authorizing the war against the Kızılbaş.

IdrSN (69a-77b). In Muh. of 920, Selîm left Edirne for Istanbul and pitched camp at Filçayîrî, outside the latter city. From this place orders were sent out to the provincial troops instructing that all preparations be brought to completion. After mobilizing his troops and having appointed his son, Süleyman, as ka'im-makâm in Edirne, Selîm crossed to the Anatolian shore on 23rd Sef. 920, and on the 27th a letter in his name, written by Tâcî- Zâde Emîr Cafer Tugrâ'î, was sent to the Şâh by a Persian spy who had been arrested. (The text of the letter is given in f 71a-72b). The stages of the progress across Anatolia are given, the second halting-place being at Maltepe, where

Sinān Paşa, the sancak beyi of Bosna, was appointed Beylerbeyi of Anatolia. At Yeñişehir the troops of Rûmîli joined the army. On the 7th of Reb. 1, a halt was made at Sidiğâzî ( ), where the dervîses of the monastery were given gifts. Also, from here the vezîr Duğağin-Zâde Ahmed Paşa was assigned 20 thousand troops and sent on ahead to Sivas; and here, also, gifts were distributed to the army. On the 9th of Reb. 1, Konya was reached, and from here the advance continued on towards Azerbâyçân. On the 3rd of Cem. 1, a place called Üskünçe-Hâni ( ) was reached and here to each of the timariotes of Anatolia and Rûmîli a five percent increase in revenue was granted. On the 7th of Cem. 1, the bey of Sinop, Ahmed Bey, who was known as Karaca Paşa, was sent into enemy territory with 500 troops. On the 8th, the army was reviewed at Sivas and found to number 140 thousand; of these 100 thousand were retained for the Persian campaign, while 40 thousand who were ill, old, too young or too inexperienced in war were sent back, and assigned appropriate duties.¹

There were 60 thousand camels carrying the food for the Sultan's personal troops and servants, as well as the fodder for the animals used in the army; 500 men had been assigned to guard this camel-train in the rear. Apart from this, food had been sent in advance by sea from Istanbul to Trabzon, from where it was to be brought to Erzincan and Baybird.

¹. AT. 143, says Selîm's troops were 200 thousand men.
According to Ottoman practice if the Sultan were leading a campaign in Rumili or to the west of the Mediterranean, the troops of Rumili would hold the position to his right in time of battle. If the campaign were in Anatolia, however, then the troops of Anatolia would occupy this position and those of Rumili would hold the left. Accordingly, the troops were now assembled, with Selim in the middle of the army. 15 bolük of household guards and 20 thousand Janissaries enclosed him on the right and left. The right wing of the army was led by the beylerbeyi of Anatolia, Sinan Pasha, while the left wing was under the beylerbeyi of Rumili, Hasan Pasha.

Selim had expected that in response to the letter he had sent from Edirne, Şah Isma'il would come out to oppose him at Erzincan or thereabouts. However, when Erzincan was reached there was no sign of Şah Isma'il or his army. This caused great displeasure among the Ottoman troops, who claimed that rather than fight such a cowardly enemy it would be better to return, giving as a precedent the way Hudavendigar Sultan Muhammed Gazi "Fatih" had behaved towards Uzun Hasan. They sent the "beylerbeyi" of Karaman, Hemdem Pasha to put this proposal to Selim; he immediately put him to death. It was decided that the distance between Erzincan and Tebriz would be covered in forty daily stages. At this time, too, another letter was sent to the Şah

1. IdrSN says, f. 75b, that the first letter was sent from Edirne, but on f. 72b, he says that it was sent after the crossing to the Asiatic shore.
On the 27th of Cem. 1, camp was made at Akdepe across from Kemah. Here a letter arrived from Şah Ismâ'îl written in Turkish, and accompanied by a gift of ma‘âcîn. Selîm had the messenger who delivered this killed and sent a letter in reply, also written in Turkish.

On the 27th of Cem. II, in the region of Erzincan the Türkmen bey, Ferruhşad Bey, defeated Şah Ismâ'îl’s governor of Tercan, Ahmed Bey, and brought him prisoner to Selîm. He ordered that Ahmed Beg should be slain. At the end of Cem. II, Zeynel Paşa was appointed beylerbeyi of Karaman to replace the late Hemdem Paşa, and on the 28th of the month camp was pitched at Eskidepe, the place where Sultan Muhammed Gâzi "Fâtih" had fought Uzun Hasan. Selîm appointed Mustafa Bey, the bey of Yanya, and Mehmed Bey, the bey of Trabzon, to garrison Bayburd, giving them troops drawn from former timariots of Rûmîli and Anatolia. On the same day camp was pitched at a place called Söyken, and here a messenger arrived from Mîrzâ Çabuk, one of the beys of Georgia, offering his submission. Along with this message he sent to Selîm two young nephews of Zulkadir-Ogîlî ‘Alî‘üddevle who were taking refuge with him from Şah Ismâ'îl. Selîm treated them with great respect.

Kes (33b-41b). Selîm left Edirne on Sunday, 23rd of Muh. 920, and set out for Istanbul; on arriving here he encamped on

the plain of Kāgit-ḥāne where he remained for a few days attending to affairs of state. On one day in spring he ordered the Janissary ağa, Ayas, to have the troops cross to the Asiatic shore both from the Iskele and from Kāgit-ḥāne. Selīm himself, with the members of his dīvān, crossed by boat and the whole army assembled in the plain of Yeğîşehr. From here a letter was sent to Şāh Ismā'īl. The army arrived at Çaldıran on Wednesday, the 2nd of Rec. 920.

Süc (7b-15a). The account is identical with that of Keş., down to the arrival of the army at Yeğîşehr. It describes the content of the letter sent from here to Şāh Ismā'īl as containing a warning that unless he repented for his behaviour and became a sünnî Muslim, he would be punished for the things he had done. When the army reached Erzincan, another letter was sent to the Şāh taunting him with cowardice for not coming forward to give battle. If the size of the Ottoman army frightened him, he should know that 40 thousand troops had been left behind between Kayseri and Sivas. This is the most that could be done. So if Ismā'īl has any manliness he should come forward and give battle.

When a place not far from Tebriz was reached, it was learned that the Şāh was approaching, and orders were given to the Cebeci-bağı to issue munitions to the soldiers. The two armies confronted each other on the plain of Çaldıran on Wednesday, the 2nd of Rec. 920.

Niş (122a-136b). Selīm left Edirne on the 23rd of Muh. 920 and arrived at Istanbul on the 2nd of Saf. Here he camped by
Despina Koprüsü near Filşayırı. His son, Süleyman had been left in Edirne as his representative. After remaining 23 days in Istanbul he passed over to Anatolia and here he confided to Piri Paşa that he was very worried that when they reached the Persian frontier Isma'īl would not come forward to give battle, in which case the army would not have sufficient materials to go in pursuit of him. Because of this fear, he had Nişancı-Zade write a letter in Persian to Isma'īl. On the 21st of Saf. camp was pitched at Maltepe and here the troops of Rūmili which had crossed from Gelibolu joined the army. Sinan Paşa, the vali of Bosna, was appointed beylerbeyi of Anatolia. From here the army passed on to Yeşişehir, and on the 17th of Reb. I, Selim visited the tomb of Sılğazı in the neighbourhood of Kütahya, and 100 thousand akçe were given to the dervişes of the monastery. On the 2nd of Reb. II, they reached and the troops were given an increase in their wages. Dukagin-Oğlu Ahmed Paşa was commanded to go on ahead to Sivas with 20 thousand men. On the 7th of Reb. II, the servants of the Court were each given a gift of 1000 akçe. On the 9th of Reb. II, Konya was reached and here Selim visited the holy tombs. On the 2nd Cem. I, Üskübe-Hanı (أُسْکُبِهُ مِنْطَقَة) was reached, and here the timariots of Rūmili and Anatolia were granted a five percent increase in revenues. On the 7th of Cem. I, the sancak beyi of Sinop, Karaca Bey, was sent out with 500 men to gather information about the enemy; and on the following day the army was inspected in the region of Sivas. 40 thousand individuals who were inadequately equipped were
taken from the army and ordered to remain in this region under the command of Ishender Paşa-Oğlu. Duhagın-Oğlu here joined the army and after camping at the frontier city of Sivas for a time, they moved on towards Azerbāycan.

As there was no sign of Şah Ismā'ıIl, Selīm sent him another letter, and weapons and munitions were distributed among the troops. On the 21st of Cem. I, at a place called Akdepe opposite Kemāh, the kedijūdā of Erzincān came and paid his respect. On the 25th of Cem. I, at a place called Depebaşı in Yaşşığemen a messenger arrived from the Şah with a letter and a quantity of maceün. The messenger was immediately killed and a reply was written to the latter. On 26th of Cem. I, the Türkmen beyi, Ferruḥşād Bey, sent to Sultan Selīm the Şah's governor of Tercān, a certain Ahmed Bey; Selīm had him killed also.

In Cem. II, the beylerbeyi of Karaman, Hemdem Paşa, was killed for certain complaints he had made on behalf of the troops, and Zeynel Paşa was appointed in his place. On the 8th of Cem. II, a halt was made at Eskidere; the place where Fatih had fought a battle with Uzun Ḥasan; and here the sancak beyi of Yanya, Muṣṭafā Bey, and the sancak beyi of Trabzon, Meḥmed Bey, were sent with a body of troops collected from Rūmīli and Anatolia to conquer Bayburd. On the 18th of Cem. II at a place called Sövken "سیوکن"; messengers arrived from Mirza Çapuk, the ruler of Georgia, bringing with them two nephews of ʿAlāʿūddevle. These had previously been at the Court of Şah IsmāʻIl, but from there had fled to Mirza Çapuk for refuge.
§ük (68b-76b). Having placed Süleyman in Edirne as his representative, Selim left Edirne on the 22nd of Muh. 920, and in ten stages reached Istanbul where he pitched camp at a place called Filçayıri. Here he remained for 22 days, after which he moved on to Beşiktaş. Crossing to the Asiatic shore on Thursday the 24th of Şaf., he pitched camp at Üskudar, Withheld at Maltepe and other places, Yenigehr was reached, and here the army was augmented by other troops. Passing through Sıdıgazı and other places the army came to Akşehir and remained there for 8 days. It was at this place that Hasan Paşa joined the army with the troops of Rûmili. Dukagin-Oğlu was sent on ahead to Sivas and ordered to await the arrival of the army there. When a halt was made at Zengi the troops of Rûmili were inspected. Only 80 thousand troops were retained: those too old, too young or in poor health were sent back to Sultan Süleyman. With these 80 thousand troops Selim proceeded to Konya where a halt was made for 6 days. From here the army passed on to Kayseri where it remained for 4 days. The troops of Karaman and Anatolia here joined the army. After all the necessary arrangements had been completed, it set out once again moving by way of Engür gölü "貉 propel and Sultanhanı to Çubuk-şahrasi. From here Selim sent a letter to "Ala'udddevle inviting him to join in the campaign against Tebriz. To this "Ala'udddevle replied that Selim was only 30 years old, while he himself was 90. "Even if he were the Mehdi, I would not go to him."

Men aña varman eger hof Mehdi dûr
Zahir anuñ devri "<td> Mehdi 'ahdidur
From here the army moved on to Sivas and joined Dukoğlan-oğlu. Here it remained for 8 days, in which time Selim sent Mihal-oğlu, Mehmed Bey, Karaca Paşa and Ferruhşad Bayindir at the head of a body of troops against Erzincań, ordering them to send back information about Şah Ismai‘îl. Leaving Sivas the army passed through Yassigemen, after which it encamped on a mountain. A messenger arrived from Şah Ismai‘îl bringing a crown and a quantity of medicine "Tiryak". Selim ordered the crown and the medicine to be put to one side; for the day would come when the Şah would need them for his own troubles. The messenger was tortured and information exacted from him. Arriving in Erzincań the army halted for 8 days, and here the Şah’s governor of Tercan, Ahmed Bey, who had been taken captive by Ferruhşad was killed. Selim made a present of his horse and his cloth to Ferruhşad. Also, at his place a further 12 thousand men who were either infirm or inadequately equipped were extracted from the army and, under the command of Iskender Paşa-oğlu Mustafa Beg, sent to Sultan Süleyman.

One day the army officers approached Hemdem Paşa and said: "You are close to the Padişah, so tell him that it is not possible to march from Rüm to Tebris. We are tired, and without food and water. His grandfather, Mehmed Fatiş, after defeating Uzun Hasan at Tercan, did not continue in pursuit of him, but instead returned to his capital. Tell the Sultan to return. He has reached Erzincań and if the Şah had any courage he would have come out against him. Since he has not done so,
it's best to return and not to trust on luck." When Hemdem Paşa conveyed this message to Selim, he was killed on the spot. Mihal-Oğlu and Bali Voyvoda were given a body of troops and sent on ahead to gather information, also Muştafa Bey who was known as Polak "پلک" was sent to capture Bayburd.

Passing Üskülcü, Cinis and Alacalar, the army came to Çermük where the soldiers of Bali Bey brought certain captive Kızılbaş. Selim gave them the crown and the medicine and returned them to the Şah with a letter. In this letter Ismâ‘îl was told either to make war or to seek peace or else to run away. This greatly offended the Şah who exclaimed, "I am Ismâ‘îl, the son of Haydâr! even if he has the troops I have the secret power of the Haydâries on my side. I will show him the troops of Ḥorāsān. From Azerbâycan and ‘Irâk I will collect 100 thousand troops. I will send a speedy message to Bağdâd. If I send a message to Āmîd, Mardin and Kûrdistan telling them to come, they will come in one day. Half of creation lies between the rivers Oxus and Euphrates, and they are my subjects. Let Selim come I will show him my Indian sword."

Saying which he prepared his troops for war.

Selim camped at Sokmen where a messenger arrived from the ruler of Georgia, Mirzâ Çabuk, bringing with him two young nephews of ‘Alâ‘üdddevle, who had fled to Georgia from the Kızılbaş.

TT (ii, 244-257). Leaving Edirne on the 22nd of Muh. 920, Selim reached Istanbul on the 2nd of Şaf., and camped at a place called Filçayıırı near Ebu-Eyyüb. Here he remained for
several days visiting the holy graves. He summoned his son, Süleyman from Manisa and sent him to Edirne as his representative. The troops crossed to the Asiatic shore from both Iskele and Kâgit-hane; however, Hasan Paşa, the beylerbeyi of Rumili, crossed from Gelibolu with his troops. On the 24th of Şaf. a Thursday, Selim crossed and encamped at Maltepe, and here the váli of Bosna, Sinan Paşa, was appointed Beyberbeyi of Anatolia.

Previous to this Selim had gathered information about all the Kızılbaş in Anatolia, and of the 40 thousand that had been identified some were killed and others were imprisoned.

About this time a spy of Şah Isma‘îl was captured, but he was returned to his master with a letter in which Selim announced that the ‘ulema had given permission to wage war with him and that he was now on his way to do this. He invited him to repent and return to true Islam, because afterwards it would do him no good to be sorry.

The army arrived at Yeğişehir where it was joined by the troops of Rumili. On the 7th of Reb. 1. when Sidiğâzî was reached, gifts were distributed among the troops, and Dukaginzâde was sent on ahead to Sivas with 20 thousand men. On reaching Konya further gifts were given and the holy tombs were visited by Selim. At Kayseri the army halted for four days and were joined by the troops of Karaman. Selim proceeded on to Çibuk-Ovası, and from here sent a letter to ‘Ala‘üddevle inviting him to join in the campaign; however, he refused to do so. On the 2nd of Cem. I, at Üskülce-Ḥanî a five percent
increase in revenues was made to the timariots of Anatolia and Rumili. On 7th of Cem. I, Ahmed Bey who was known as Karaca Paşa, and Mihăl-Oğlu, Mehmed Bey, were sent to Erzincan with 500 troops. When the army reached Sivas it was met by Dukagin-Oğlu, Ahmed Paşa, and here Selim inspected the army. It numbered 140 thousand from which Selim separated 40 thousand who were either too young, ill, or poorly equipped and sent them to the region between Sivas and Kayseri as a precaution against Kızılbaş activities there. Another reason for reducing the army was the fear that there would not be sufficient food. Although Selim had brought an adequate amount of food and supplies with him and further quantities had been sent by sea from Istanbul to Trabzon, the lands through which they were passing, had been denuded of food. When Ustaclu-Oğlu Meḥmed Bey, the Şah's governor in Diyarberk and Kūrdistān heard of the approach of the Ottomāns, he fled to Azerbāycan, taking the people of the region with him as captives and destroying the crops. Another reason for Selim's reducing the size of his army was that he did not wish to frighten Şah Isma'īl to the extent that he would refuse to give battle.

On 25th of Cem. I, at Yağlığımen a messenger arrived from the Şah bearing a letter and a quantity of ma'ṣūn. The messenger was killed and a reply was sent to the Şah. When Erzincan was reached, certain members of the government supported by the Jannisaries, complained that there was no point in suffering hardship in pursuing an enemy who refused to put in an appearance. Selim rejected their advice and ordered the passage from
Erzincan to Tebriz to be made in forty days. Hemdem Paşa, whom the army had selected to carry this message to Selim, was immediately killed, and Zeynel Paşa was appointed in his place. This incident took place at the beginning of Cem. II. It was necessary to wait a week in Erzincan for the food to arrive from Trabzon, and during this time Selim sent Sahsuvar-Oğlu, "Ali Bey with a body of troops into enemy territory to gather information. In addition Ferruhşad Bey was sent to Tercan, and Mihal-Oğlu, Mehemed Bey, along with Bali Voyvoda were sent in another direction. Ferruhşad Bey succeeded in capturing the governor of Tercan, the Emir Ahmed, and bringing him to the Court. For this Selim rewarded him. When the army arrived at a place called Çermük, Bali Voyvoda sent him two Kızılbaş prisoners and a number of severed heads. Selim sent them back to İsmail with a letter and the ma‘cūn which had earlier been presented to them.

On reaching Eskidepe, the site of the battle between Fatih and Uzun Hasan, Polak Mustafa Bey, the governor of Yanya, and Mehemed Beg, the governor of Trabzon, were sent with some troops to take the citadel of Bayburd.

On 18th of this month, camp was made at a place called Sökmen, and here a messenger bearing presents arrived from Mirza Çapuk, and with him were the two young nephews of 'Ala‘üdddevle who had been seeking refuge from Şah İsmail with Mirza Çapuk. When the army reached Göllü the Küçük mīr-əşur was sent to Mirza Çapuk, whose own messenger was detained in the
Sultan's camp for a while longer. At Göle camp was pitched near a ruined castle, and here a certain Georgian in the service of the Şāh was brought captive, and from him the whereabouts of the Şāh were learned. He said that the last he knew Ismā'īl was near Tebriz, and that he was now probably in the city. Leaving here, the army pressed on to Eleskird.

KA (336b-242a) is an abbreviated version of the account found in TT. However, it records that Selīm sent to the Şāh a cloak and a staff along with the second letter. Ismā'īl sent Selīm certain presents of an insulting nature, among which was a woman's veil "mičcer" with the suggestion that he should wear it instead of a helmet "miğfer". ¹

Cev 66a-70b and Yusuf 12a-14a = Şük 68b-76b, Sa'd 66b-70b = KPZsn 62b-66b.

3. The two armies assemble at Çaldıran (129b-131a)
KPZsn., omits all the material contained here and proceeds
directly to the battle of Çaldıran.

IdrSN (77b-78a). On 28th of Cem. II, at a place called
Tana-sazı, an eclipse of the sun was witnessed. The people
of Bāyezīd, which was a region of Azerbaycān, came and offered
submission. Şahşūvār Oğlu Ali Bey sent here a Kızılbaş bey
whom he had been able to capture from the Şah's army because
of the excitement that prevailed there. On questioning this
Kızılbaş, it was learned that Çaldıran had been decided upon
as the scene for the battle and both sides began to make
preparations. The two armies came to the plain of Çaldıran on
the morning of Wednesday, the 2nd of Rec. 920.

(80a-81b) Introduces some variations in the account.
When Selīm decided to move by stages from Tercān to Tebrīz,
the region between Tercān and Ḥoy-Solmaz was completely
empty, with not a sign of man or habitation and all the crops
had been destroyed. The troops were distressed by this
deserted aspect of the countryside; for indeed, not a living
thing was seen in the area from Tercān to Erzurum, Ustaclu-
Oğlu Mehmed Hān having evacuated all the people at the news
of Selīm's approach, sending them to Azerbaycān by way of Bingöl
and Eleşkīrd.

When Selīm reached Eleşkird, the Şah's reply to his first
letter arrived, in which Ismā'īl asserted that his meşbes was
that of the Ehl-i beyt and that he followed the Twelve Imāms;
he added that he had arrived at Evcān-Yaylāsī. Selīm now travelled more rapidly, and upon reaching Kazgölü in the vicinity of Makūye, (اِخْرَاضَ) there arrived at his camp 100 heads of prominent Kızılbaş leaders sent by Şehsüvār-Əğlū ‘Alī Bey, who had been appointed to collect information about the enemy. He also informed Selīm that the Şāh was at the plain of Hōy. On Sunday, 28th of Şaʿb. 920, there was an eclipse of the sun [Şaʿb is possibly an error; all the other sources mention Cem. II]. This was taken as a sign that Selīm would defeat the Şāh.

Nīş (136b-141a). On 28th of Cem. II, camp was made at Tāناسāzī, and the following day the people of the city of Bāyezīd came and offered their submission. As the region was totally without grass and water many of the animals died. The shoes of the horses were worn out, as were the boots of the foot soldiers (‘azāb); the Janissaries had to have shoes made of skins, like village people. In every respect the army was growing weaker and it was no longer strong enough to proceed any further. They began to complain, asking why they were marching through this land, when there was no sign of an enemy ahead. They did not openly revolt, but they fixed their tattered skin-shoes to the barrels of their rifles. The Sulṭān, already annoyed by the absence of the enemy, was greatly angered at this. He immediately assembled the Dīvān where the situation was discussed. Most of the members of the Dīvān advised returning; however Selīm summoned the Defterdār of Rūmili, Piri Paşa, and
expressed his disappointment that the enemy did not advance, so that the Janissaries were now restless and the members of the Divān were advising him to return to the capital against his own wishes. Piri Paşa advised him to send spies into enemy territory; whereupon Şahsüvār-Oğlu ‘Alī Bey was dispatched with the 100 men. ‘Alī Bey managed to get close to the Şāh's camp when a drunken officer was in the process of mounting his horse, and he was able to capture him and send him back to Selīm, with precise information about the Şafavīd's position. On receiving this news, the Ottoman army immediately marched forwards and met up with the advance scouts of the Şāh. Now the Şafavīds, realizing that the Ottomans had arrived, made preparations for battle, and on the morning of Wednesday, the 2nd of Rec. 920, the two armies faced each other across the plain of Çaldirān.

Şük (76b-80a). Having sent Şahsüvār-Oğlu ‘Alī Bey to collect information about the enemy, the army moved from Sökmend to Gölli-Yurd. From there Selīm sent the Kücük Mīr-Ahūr to the Georgian Çabuk, keeping the latter's own messenger in his camp. On reaching Göle-Kalesi a Silahdār named Yaḥyā brought to the camp a Kızılbas named Kör Şādı whom he had captured; from this prisoner it was learned that the Şāh was still in Tebrız. When the army, passing by way of Tuzla-Suyu, reached Gayb Isığın Köyü, a certain Bali Çavuş, a member of the scouting party led by Mihal-Oğlu Mehmed Bey, arrived with the information that Ustaclu-Oğlu was in Ḥoyn.
On the 17th of August ( Ağustos ) snow fell on Aladağ. At Sakallı another messenger arrived, this time from ' Ali Bey, and brought some enemy heads and information about what this scouting party had been doing. It seems that an Ottoman spy named Şeyh Ahmed had gone to Şah Ismā ' Il and pretended that he had been sent by the Anatolian beys. The Şah, believing him, wrote a letter to the beys for him to take back; however while he was returning with the Kızılbaş escort he was captured by Şahsuvar-Oğlu ' Ali Bey and sent to Selîm. When Selîm heard what Şeyh Ahmed had to relate, he was very pleased and gave him lavish presents. On the 28th of Cem. II, a Sunday, while the army was camped at Tanasazi an eclipse of the sun took place. When the army arrived at the plain of Ovacık, information arrived that the enemy was approaching; whereupon Selîm immediately struck camp and proceeded on to Çaldırān, where he located himself on the summit of a hill and made preparation for battle.

TT (ii, 257-262). While the army was camped at Eleşkird and there was still no sign of the enemy, complaints began to break out among the troops; but Selîm addressed them and assured them that he would not return [Sa‘det-dÎn Efendi relates this on the authority of his father, Hasan Cân, who had been told by Selîm]. When the army was at Gazlıgöl, messengers arrived from Şahsuvar-Oğlu ' Ali Bey, bringing some Kızılbaş prisoners, from whom it was learned that the Şah was on the plain of Hûy. The incident of Şeyh Ahmed repeats
Şük exactly. From here the army moved to Tanasazi, and the subsequent events are taken without alteration from IdrSN. KA (242a-242b). When the army started to complain of their weariness Selîm addressed them. [The information is taken directly from TT., as Ali himself admits.] Çaldîrân was reached and the Şâh too, was already present there.¹

Cev. 70b-77b and Yusuf. 14a-17b = Şük. 76b-80a.

4. The battle of Çaldırān (131b-135a).\(^1\)

When Selīm reached Çaldırān on Wednesday the 2nd of Rec., he found the Şāh already there. Selīm sent cavuges to order the troops to make ready. He himself took up a position in the middle of the army with the Janissaries and the household troops in front of him, the army of Anatolia under Sinān Paşa being on his right and the army of Rūmili under Hasan Paşa on his left.

The Şāh divided his army into three groups, the one under his command holding the middle position while the other two opposed the two wings of the Ottoman army. Later he left his position and moved against the Rūmili wing of the Ottoman army, while Ustaclu-Oğlu attacked the Anatolian wing. When Ustaclu-Oğlu was killed in battle his troops joined those of the Şāh, whereupon Selīm ordered Sinān Paşa to give help to the army of Rūmili. Sinān Paşa wanted to take the Şāh's rear; however the latter now launched an attack on Selīm's front. Here the Safavīds met with the fire of the Janissaries' rifles and after two attempts at breaking through their line they were forced to flee, leaving behind nearly 10 thousand dead.\(^2\) The Ottoman troops began looting the Safavīd camp; capturing one

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1. J.R. Walsh, EII2, ii, 7-8, s.v. Çaldırān, also M.T. Gökbilgin, IA, iii ,329-331, s.v. Çaldırān Muharebesi; Ş. Tekindağ, TD (1967) xvii, 65-sqq.

2. Cf. GS. 81.
of the Şah's wives, whom Selīm gave to the Nişāncı Tacī-zāde Cafer Çelebi.

The plan and course of the battle are in general identical with the information given in KPZ9.; however, of those who died in battle only the names of Malkoç-Ogulları and Üveys Beg, the sancak beyi of Kayseri, are mentioned. One of the Malkoç-Oğlu is said to have been the sancak beyi of Tokat, and the other the sancak beyi of Sivas; however, in KPZ9., Malkoç-Oğlu 'Alī Bey is said to have been the sancak beyi of Şofiyə, and his brother, Tür 'Alī Bey, the sancak beyi of Silistre. Without mentioning names, 10-12 prominent Ottoman Beys are said to have lost their lives, and over 20 equally prominent Kızılbaş leaders. No mention is made of the death of Hasan Paşa, the beylerbeyi of Rūmili.

IdrSN (83a–88a). On the 1st of Rec. 920, Selīm camped at Gazlu-göl while his patrols passed on ahead to the plain of Çaldırān. Here they learned that the Şah himself was at Höy, but his advance party had arrived before them at Çaldırān. On the morning of Wednesday, Rec. 3, the Ottomans, having prayed for victory, prepared for battle. The disposition of the armies of Rūmili and Anatolia is as in KPZ9, but it is added that Şahsüvar-Oğlu and certain other beys formed the van of the army, and that Selīm had with him in the centre, Hersek-Oğlu Ahmed Paşa, Dukagin-Oğlu Ahmed Paşa, and Mustaya Paşa. The Ottomans held the high ground, with the plain open before them. That night the troops of the Şah came from Höy and camped on the
west of the plain. Both sides were in awe at the size of each other’s armies.

The two hosts confronted each other. The troops of the Şâh were arranged as follows: The Şâh left his adviser Seyyid ‘Abdulbâki, the son of Ni‘metullâh the second, to hold the camp, while he with 40 thousand mounted troops prepared to attack the Rûmili wing of the Ottomans. Ustaçi-Oğlu Mehmed Han, the governor of Diyârberkîr and Kurdistan, was in command of the left wing of the Şâh’s army. This consisted of ‘Arab and Turkish troops and Kurds from the region of Bağdad, notable amongst whom was the ruler of Meshed, Seyyid Muhammed Kemûne. He was opposed by the troops of Anatolia and Karaman, under Sinân Paşa and Hüsrev Paşa respectively.

The Şâh, with his cavalry, overran the foot-soldiers of the Ottomans, killing 14 of their Beys, among whom were the two sons of Malkoç, Üveys Bey and Süleymân Bey, the governor of Perezvin (§). However, the Ottoman line held, even though one of its commanders, Hasan Paşa, was killed. Selîm sent reinforcements to strengthen this wing, including a body of Janissaries. A section of the Şâh’s troops found a means of approaching the centre position where Selîm was located and launched an attack, led by Şâh Ismâ‘îl himself. Their attack was halted by the massed rifle-fire of the Janissaries. At this point Ismâ‘îl was unhorsed, and would have been killed on the spot had not one of his followers run forward shouting that he was the Şâh, thus allowing his master to escape. The
battle lasted from morning until sun-set, when, realizing he had been defeated, the Şah fled by night to Tebrız, and from there to 'Irāk with 8 soldiers. Selīm ordered his army to make camp and summoned back those who were pursuing the enemy.

Keş (4lb-46b). Şah Ismā'īl unwittingly found himself compelled to give battle. Dividing his army into two groups, one of which, under Ustaçlu-Oğlu, was assigned to attack the Anatolian wing of the Ottoman army, he led the other himself against the troops of Rûmili. The Ottoman troops held out well under their sorties, and in the course of the battle Sinān Paşa beheaded Ustaclu-Oğlu. [The names and the titles of the dead of both sides are as in KPZ 9.] The battle was over in a short time. Keşfi composed the following chronogram for those who fell in battle.

Ya Ilahi hazret-i Sultan Selimun hasre dek
Ruh-i hasmi sehm-i sehmile ola zir-i kavsde
Kim Kizilbas icre dusen ceyshake ta'rindur
Ya Rab olervah-i pukun cay ola firdevsde.

Süc (15a-22a). The disposition of the Ottoman and the Persian armies is as in the previous sources. When one of the Ottoman soldiers beheaded Ustaclu-Oğlu, the troops under his command joined the wing which was led by the Şah. [The names of the dead are as in KPZ 9.] The Kızılbaş troops were

1. Ibid., 81. Cf. GS., 81.
routed, only a few men remaining with the Şah. The latter fled, pursued by Şahsüvar-Oğlu 'Alî Bey.

Niş (14la-145a). It commences with a description of the distribution of both armies: Selîm was in the centre; in front of him were ranged the rifle-men and behind them the cannons were drawn up. On his right were the troops of Anatolia under Sinân Paşa and on his left the troops of Rûmîli. The Şah, too, divided his troops into two groups; one of which he placed under the command of the governor of Diyârbekr, Ustaclu-Oğlu, and sent against the troops of Anatolia, while he, at the head of the second group went against the Rûmîli wing. The battle raged until late in the afternoon. The head of Ustaclu-Oğlu was cut off and brought to Sinân Paşa. The Şah fled to Tebrîz. [Certain names of the dead are mentioned, as well as the incident of Taclu Hatun, the information being the same as in KPZ 9.]

Sûk (80a-95a). The battle arrangement is described as in the previous texts. However mention is made of a certain Molkoç Hacibi who was taken prisoner by Ismâ'îl; on being questioned about the Ottoman army he gave a very colourful description of its composition.

Selîm ordered his troops in the way already described, but the text adds that Zeynel Paşa, who led the troops of Karaman, was to be on the right of the troops of Anatolia. It is also mentioned that Alî b. Şahsüvâr and his brother,
Tur Ali Bey, were assigned to the troops of Rûmili. The Janissaries formed ranks in front of the Sulṭān under Ayas Ağa, and on either side of him the ‘azabs were to take up position. On the outside of these groups the cannon-carriages were to be positioned. Behind the troops, as a rear-guard, Kasım Bey, (Rum beylerbeyi) was to stand.

The battle was very fierce: Sinān Paşa killed Ustaclu-Oğlu; Hasan Paşa was brought back to the Sulṭān wounded in 17 places, and died immediately upon arriving. When the tide of battle seemed to be going against the Ottomans on the left wing, Selīm sent Ayas Ağa with a body of Janissaries to give assistance. Then the text goes on to say that Selīm himself joined in the battle.

When the Şāh realized that the battle was lost, he fled with a hand-full of men. Hüsrev Bey from the left wing and Mihal-Oğlu Muhammed Bey from the right wing gave pursuit, and overtook him at the Çaldîrân river. They drew him from his horse, and the crown fell from his head. However, certain Kızılbaş came up with a new horse and the Şāh was able to escape to a mountain top from where he beheld in amazement the vast army of the Ottomans. After this he withdrew towards Tébrīz, with eight of his men, arriving there the following day.

TT (ii, 262-277). The disposition of the Ottoman troops is described as in the other sources, Zeynel Paşa and the troops of Karaman also being mentioned as a part of the Anatolian wing.
The vezīrs Hersek-Oğlu Ahmed Paşa, Dukagin-Oğlu Ahmed Paşa and Mustafa Paşa remained in the centre with the Sultan. In front of the troops was Şeyhsüvar-Oğlu ‘Alī Bey, while the rear was held by Şadi Paşa. In this order the Ottoman army descended onto the plain of Çaldırān. [The organisation of the Safavīd’s army and the course of the battle are taken exactly from KPZ9 and IdrSN.] However, TT is the only work to mention the name of the Kızılbaş who sacrificed his life for the Şah-Mirzā Sultan ‘Alī. This person was brought to Selīm, but in the meanwhile another Kızılbaş brought a fresh horse for Ismā‘īl, who in this way escaped death.

The Ottomans mopped up all the Safavīd soldiers who remained in the vicinity and captured their women, including the wife of the Şah - Ismā‘īl had brought the women to the war in order to assure the constancy of the troops - The Şah watched the end of the battle from a piece of elevated ground; and he blamed Ustaçlu-Oğlu for encouraging him into this venture. Then he withdrew to Tebrīz; where the reception he received from the people was so unfriendly that he moved on towards the borders of ‘Irāk. [TT, 272-277 relates, on the authority of Sa‘ded-dīn’s father, Hasan Ğan, the incidents of the Şah’s flight and the capture of his wife, Taçlu Ḥatun.]
KA (242b–244b) is identical with TT, which it identifies as its source.¹

Cev 77a–80b and Yusuf 17b–19b = Şük 80a–95a; Sa‘d 70b–75a = KPZsn. 66b–71a.

¹. HS. "7cildin 4. cüzi" 547–48, does not clearly state that Ottomans were victorious over the Safavīds, nor does AT, 143–sqq.
Cf. GS. 82; I.H. Uzunçarsılı, OT, ii, 264–sqq and S. Tansel "Yavuz Sultan Selīm" 52–62.
5. The Aftermath of the Battle (135a-136a).

KPZsn (70b-71a). The Kızılbığ prisoners were brought together and killed, nearly 10 thousand men in all. The army remained at Çaldırân for a few days, at which time gifts were distributed to the troops and all the emîrs and vezîrs had their revenues increased. In addition, the children, relatives and servants of the emîrs who had died in battle were given appropriate incomes. News of the victory was sent to all quarters, and everyone was happy to hear it, in particular those refugees from Şâh Ismâ'îl now living in Rûm.

IdrSN (90b-91a). The captive Kızılbığ were slain and their heads brought to the Sultan's tent fixed to spears. Many of the military leaders of the Kızılbığ were killed; however, the women and children were spared. Those men of talent and learning who had been persecuted by the Şâh were liberated. ¹

Süc (22b-23b). Mention is made of the great booty collected by the Ottoman soldiers. After remaining two days at Çaldırân, during which time the news of victory was proclaimed abroad, the army set off for Tebrîz.

Niğ (145a-146b). The account is substantially the same as KPZ9, except that the slaughter of the prisoners is not mentioned - in fact it says that those who were captured were

¹. Cf. GS. 82.
set free - moreover, the names of the places to which the letters of victory were sent are more numerous than in KPZ9. Thus "to the kādi of Istanbul and other kādīs, to the king of Poland, Russia and Hungary, and to the beys of Venice and Chios."

Şük (95a-95b). There was a huge massacre of the Kızılbaş prisoners. The wife of the Şah was brought to Selīm, and he gave her to the Kādī 'asker. The army was given permission to loot, and a description is provided of the objects which they collected.

TT (ii, 277-279). The massacre of the prisoners and the looting of the Safavīd camp are described; on the following day the promotions and distributions of gifts to the army were made, and the letters of victory sent out.

KA (244a-245a). The army was commanded to encamp at Qaldiran and everyone was loaded down with booty. On Thursday, the 3 of Rec., a diwan was assembled and the letters of victory sent out.²

1. (§ §), 81;
   A.D. Alderson, The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty, shows Taci Hātun as one of Selīm's wives.
   cf. Ş. Tehindag, TD (1967) xvii, 70; also S. Tansel, 62-65.


KPZsn (71b-72a). After remaining a few days in Çaldirān the army moved on to Tebrīz. When the city was reached, it was welcomed by those people who were secretly faithful to Sunnism among the miscreant population. In addition to these, other people who feared for their lives pretended that they had abandoned their false faith and came forth to welcome Selīm. Secret orders were given to the troops not to cause anyone harm or to damage their property.¹

Idrīs (92b-93a). After the defeat of the Kızılbaş army, the Ottomans set off for Tebrīz by way of Hōy. Selīm gave orders that the country through which they passed should not be destroyed. Dukagin-Oğlu Ahmed Paşa, the defterdār Pirī Çelebī and Idrīs himself were sent on ahead with 400 Janissaries to prepare for the arrival of Selīm in Tebrīz, and to reassure the people that they would not be harmed, Idrīs had the special duty of restoring Sunnī Islām to the city. This party went by way of the plain of Merend (Mehend) to Tebrīz arriving there on Friday evening. There were still some enemy troops in the city, including Hüseyin Bey Helvacı who had for a while been its governor; he apparently remained here in order to collect the property of the Şāh and his soldiers which had been left behind. However, when the Sultān arrived with the main body

¹. Cf. GS. 82.
of the army the notables and people of the city came out to welcome him and camp was pitched on the banks of the Serāb-rūd.

Keş (44b-50a). Mention is made of the massacre of the Kızılbaş prisoners and the writing of the victory letters. After two days of looting the army moved on to Tebrīz where camp was pitched on the banks of the Surhāb river. The ḥuṭbe was read in the name of Selīm and coins were struck, also. The true religion was restored and the people were happy. Selīm remained 10 days in Tebrīz.

Süc (23b-25a). A party of reliable men was sent ahead to prepare for the arrival of the Ottoman army which a few days afterwards reached Tebrīz, welcomed by the people. Camp was pitched on the banks of the Surhāb river, and the name of Selīm was substituted in the ḥuṭbe and the coinage.

Niş (146b-147a). Three days after the battle, the army set out for Tebrīz. On the 9th of Rec., Dukagin-zade and Pīrī Paşa were sent ahead to secure the city. Three days after nevrūz - Sālis-i ʿId-i Nevruz - Selīm entered Tebrīz and pitched camp by the Surhāb. The people of the city gave him a magnificent welcome and spread clothes along the road he was to travel. The name of Selīm was mentioned in the ḥuṭbe and written on the coinage. The rites of the Ṣī'a were abandoned and true Islam restored.

Şük (95b-102a). On Wednesday, 2nd Rec., the army struck camp, and on the following day the march to Tebrīz began. The
first halt was made at Yukari-Sökmen, from where the army passed to Aşağı-Sökmen. At Hoy a day's rest was taken; leaving here, it passed on to Bağ-Dere and Evoğlu. It was from here that Selim sent the advance party to Tebriz under the direction of Dukagin-Oglu, the defter-dar Piri Paşa, the sekmen-başı and 'Ali bin Şahsüvār. The army moved to Ahta-hâne " and thence to Kuşçī-Çayırı. Here it remained one day. At this place a messenger arrived from the Kurdish bey, Hacī Rüstem, seeking Selim's pardon. Selim ordered Rüstem himself to come before him and then he accused him of supporting the Kızılbaş against the Ottomans; moreover, he was accused of having taken the citadel of Kemāh from Ali Bey and turning it into a tekke for the Şāh. Thereupon he ordered the Kapıcı-başı to kill Hacī Rüstem and his son, along with 150 of his followers.

From here the army went by way of Yamçı-gedüğü to Heft-çesme, where a certain Halid and 150 other individuals were executed. Leaving here, the road passed through Sehelān " and finally camp was pitched at the bridge over the Surhāb. Here the people of the city came out to welcome them.

On the west of Tebriz there was a high domed building from which a group of people came out to welcome Selim. When he inquired who they were, he was told that they were a group

1. Ş. Tehindag, TD (1967) xvii, 71.
Kalenders who followed Bedi‘uzzaman, a descendant of Hasan Baykara. While he was in power, governing Herat and Horasân, he waged war against the Kızılbaş and was defeated. He left everything and came here to a life of seclusion, and Şah Ismâ‘îl had even forbidden him to mount a horse. He now came forward to greet Selîm. Selîm replied, "Tell him to return to his place, and come to me formally at my divan."

Sellîm gave orders that all the treasures and valuable objects in Tebriz should be located. Moreover all the scholars, artists, merchants and men of wealth should be taken to Istanbul so that, henceforth, the Ottomans would have no further need of Persia in such matters.

When Bedi‘uzzaman came to the divân he was shown the greatest honour, being given precedence over the Paşas. He brought Selîm a copy of the Şah-nâme as a present. Selîm had him seated alongside himself on a jewelled throne, and sympathised with the misfortunes he had experienced, explaining that it was his intention to exterminate the Kızılbaş and annex their territories, and to restore Bedi‘uzzaman to his former position. If possible, he would give him also the rule of India and Sind. On parting, Selîm gave him numerous
presents and settled an income upon him.¹

The Kızılbaş had destroyed the mihrāb and mimber of the Ya‘kūb Ḥan mosque. Selīm had these repaired and appointed a hatīb and an imām. The Friday Prayer was performed there, the ḥutbe being read in the name of Selīm. The palace of Sultan Ya‘kūb, known as the Heşt-Behišt, was visited. Coins were struck in the name of Selīm, and a general amnesty was proclaimed. Selīm remained in Tebrīz for 9 days.

TT (ii, 279-283). Relies substantially on Şük for its information, specifying however that the income given to Bedi‘uzzaman was a 1000 Akçe-i ‘Osmanī per-diem. IdrSN is drawn upon only for the information concerning himself.

KA (245a-245b) is entirely the same as TT.²

Cev 80b-87b and Yusuf 19b-21b = Şük 95b - 102a;
Sa‘d. 76a-77a = KPZsn 71a-72a.

1. Ş. Tekindağ, TD, xvii (1967), 72-73.
7. Selim moves from Tebriz to Amasya (138a-141a)

KPZ relates here the details of Bediuzzaman and the people who were sent to Istanbul. This information was given in the 6th section of the other sources.

KPZsn (72a-73a). On the insistence of the army leaders, Selim, who wished to remain in Tebriz and renew his war against the Shah in the spring, left Tebriz. It is specified that two thousand families of artists and artisans were sent to Istanbul. The Janissary katib, Tali'i, wrote a kit'a containing this beyt which Selim greatly admired.

Diyar-i næzûk-i Rûmûn değer bir köyi bin şehre
Gerekse Heşt-Bihišt olsun degišmem anî Tebrize

On approaching the frontier the winter became severe. The army came by way of Sivas to Amasya, arriving on the day after the Kurban bayrami. Here the army was disbanded. While Selim was here he received the submission of Diyarbekr and certain other places. He appointed Biyıklı Mehmed Paşa emîr of Hamid.

IdrSN (94b-95b). Selim wished to remain in Tebriz to bring his operations against the Shah to completion; however, the leading men of the state and the army insisted upon returning, claiming that the troops should be allowed to see their families after all the hardship they had suffered since the spring. Moreover, they protested, there was not enough food or clothing to meet the requirements of such a large army. It was certain that Shah Isma'il would prevent the people in the neighbouring regions from sending such provisions to Tebriz.
On 23rd of Rec. 920, the army left Tebriz bringing with it Mirzā Bedī‘uzzamān and many families of the artisans and prominent figures of the city. On the 2nd of Ṣa‘b camp was pitched at Nahcivān, and here the defter-dār Piri Çelebi was made a vezīr. On 8th of Ṣa‘b Erivan was reached, and here Mustafa Paşa had the rank of vezīr taken from him. On 11th of Ṣa‘b the army arrived at Balūn (باليون); because the people of this place had revolted, it was turned over to looting. On 7th of Ram. camp was pitched on the plain of Sinur, and from here troops were sent to subjugate Bayburd, which they eventually did. On the same day the fortress of Kīgi was taken.

On the 9th of Ram. Hersek-zade Ahmed Paşa and Dukagin-Õglu Ahmed Paşa were deprived of the rank of Vezīr. On 5th day of Ṣev Amasya was reached.

Kuç (50a-53b). The army wished to return to Rūm, and when this was mentioned to Selīm in the dīvān, he gave his approval. Thus the army moved to Amasya. The Janissaries were sent to Istanbul under Ayas Ağa, while Selīm remained here with his household guards.

Sāc (25a-26a). As it was not suitable to remain in Tebriz, the army returned to Ottoman territories; on this return journey great hardship was suffered; on reaching Amasya the army was disbanded and Selīm remained there with his household troops.

Nīs (147a-148b). Although Selīm wanted to remain in Tebriz, it was clear that there was not sufficient food and
other necessities here to satisfy the requirements of the army, so it was decided to return to Rum. The departure took place on the 23rd of Rec., and Selîm took with him Bedî‘uzzaman and his followers as well as the scholars and artisans of Tebrîz. The route lay through Georgia, for Selîm knew this territory well since his time as governor of Trabzon, and was aware of the places that had plentiful food supplies. On 2nd of Şa‘b camp was pitched in the vicinity of Nahcivân; as the people were heretics (ra‘âzî), looting was allowed. On 8th of Şa‘b Revân was reached, and here, too, looting was allowed. On this day Muştafa Paşa was deprived of his vezirship. On 11th of Şa‘b Talin was reached; as its people had revolted, the castle was reduced and looted.

On reaching the Öngi river (أَوْنُگُيِّ) on 25th of Şa‘b, Piri Paşa replaced Muştafa Paşa as vezir. On 6th of Ram camp was pitched on the plain of Sînur, and with the exception of 2000 Janissaries the whole army was disbanded. The cities of Bayburd and Kûrgi were conquered and garrisoned by the Janissaries. On 9th of Ram, at a place called "Hersek-Oğlu Ahmed Paşa and Duhagîn-Oğlu were deprived of their vezirships. The reason was that they had not prevented certain of the troops under their command from looting the villages through which they passed. Amasya was reached on the 5th of Şev and, as the winter had become severe, the Janissaries were allowed to return while Selîm remained there with his household troops.
Şük (102a-108a). At the onset of the cold weather, Selim sought some place in which food was plentiful for his winter quarters, intending to return in the spring in order to bring his affair with Şah Ismā'īl to an end. On leaving Tebriz, Selim set out in the direction of Karabağ where the winters were known to be mild; however the Janissaries would not consent to stay here, and insisted that they return to Amasya for the winter and return again in the spring for a new campaign. On passing Nahcivan, camp was made at Karabağ Köyü. Selim was very annoyed that the Janissaries would not do what he wanted and he placed the blame for this on Mustafa Paşa. Consequently, he deposed him.

On entering Georgia, food arrived for the troops, and the services of a guide was secured from a certain individual named Nizām, who was a refugee here from Persia. Many animals died on the Georgian roads and groups of soldiers often lost their way. Although Selim had been very annoyed with Mirza Çapūk, he forgave him when quantities of food and other materials arrived.

Camp was pitched at a place called Yaylacuk, and here it was found that the price of an Istanbul Kileşi of flour had risen to 1400 akçe. Food was so scarce that money was like dirt.

On reaching Çoban Köprüsü Sinan Paşa was appointed Beylerbeyi of Rümili in place of Hasan Paşa and Piri Paşa was made a vezir. Leaving Erzurum the next camp was made at Tekir.
Here two soldiers arrived and said that, despite all the efforts they had made, Bayburd had still not fallen. Selim beheaded one of them and sent the other back to Bayburd with the message that if the place were not taken by the time he arrived all the officers would lose their heads. On receiving this threat, the troops besieging the place renewed their efforts and reduced it, sending the keys to the Sultan.

When the army passed Bayburd and arrived at Üçkilise the army was disbanded. The next halt was at Sinur, and while here Bayburd was made a sancak and given to Biyıklı Mehmed Paşa; Trabzon, Karahisar and Erzincan were made subject to it. At a place called Dayı Şeyhi "رط حس" the people came and complained that the soldiers had been destroying the villages. Selim placed the responsibility for this on Hersek-zade and Duhaginzade, both of whom he deprived of their vezirship. Bayram was celebrated at Niksar, and on the 2nd of Şev. Amasya was reached. Selim sent Sinan Paşa to winter in Ankara, to return again in the spring for another campaign. On entering Amasya, Selim was met by Şahsüvar-Oğlu ‘All Bey, to whom he gave all the territories of the Dulkadir.

TT (ii, 283-285). Repeats the information found in Şük. and KPZ9.

KA (245b-246a). Repeats TT.¹

Cev. 87b-92a and Yusuf 21a-25b = Şük 102a-108a; Sa‘d 76a-77b = KPZsn 72a-73a.

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