

THE REIGN OF SULTĀN SELĪM I IN THE
LIGHT OF THE SELĪM-NĀME 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, Selīm I (1512-1520), known by the generic title Selīm-nāme. 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 (Tevārīḥ-i Āl-i 'Osmān) of the famous scholar Kemāl Paşa-zāde, 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 Selīm-nāmes 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'deddin Efendi and 'Alī Çelebi.

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 Kemāl Paşa-zāde's history indicated as follows:

D: Kemāl Paşa-zāde defter ix, Dresden.

F: " " " defter viii and ix, Fatih.

K: " " " defter ix, Cairo.

KPZ 8: Kemāl Paşa-zāde defter viii

KPZ 9: " " " defter ix

KPZsn: Kemāl Paşa-zāde, Selīm-name, Topkapı Sarayı, Hazine, 1424.

M: Kemāl Paşa-zāde defter viii and ix, Millet.

R: " " " defter ix, Revan.

P: " " " defter viii and ix, Paris.

V: " " " defter ix, Veliyüddin.

Other Abbreviations Used are:

AT = Aḥsenü 't-Tevārīh, by Ḥasan-ı Rūmlu, Vol. I (Persian Text), ed. C.N. Seddon, Baroda, 1931.

BSOAS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

BTTD = Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi, Menteş Kitabevi, Istanbul.

Cevrî = Selīm-nāme, Millet Ali Emīrî, 1310, Istanbul.

EI¹ = Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1st ed., Leyden, 1913-42.

EI² = Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd ed., London, 1960, in progress.

- GS = Gulām Server, History of Şāh Ismā‘īl Şafavī, Aligarh, 1939.
- GN = Ġazāvāt-nāmeler ve Mihaloğlu ‘Alī Begin Ġazāvāt namesi, by A.S. Levend, Ankara, 1956.
- GOW = Babinger, Fr. Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke, Leipzig, 1927.
- Ḥadīdī = Tevārīḥ-i Ḥadīdī li-ḥażret-i Āl-i ‘Osmān, British Museum, Or. 12896.
- HS = Ḥabībū ’s-Siyer by Ḥāndemīr, Teheran 1333 Ş.
- IA = Islām Ansiklopedisi, Istanbul, 1950, in progress.
- Ibn ’İyās = Bedā’i‘u ’z-Zuhūr fī-vaḳā’i‘u ’d-Dühūr, (Arabic text) Vol. iv-v. edited by Muhammed Muştafā, Cairo, 1960, 1961.
- IdrSN = Idrīs-i Bitlīsī’s Selīm-nāme, British Museum, Add. 24,960.
- Ish = Selīm-nāme by Ishāḳ Çelebi, Bibliotheque Nationale, A.F., 141. Paris.
- KA = Künhü ’l-Aḥbār, by ‘ĀLĪ 4th rükn, Süleymāniye, Es‘ad Ef., 2162.
- Keş = Keşfī Meḥmed Çelebi, Selīm-nāme, Süleymāniye, Es‘ad Ef., 2147.
- Mün = Müşe‘ātü ’s-selātīn, by Ferīdūn Bey, Vol. ii, Istanbul, 1275.
- Niş = Me’āsir-i Selīm Ḥān, by Celāl-zāde Nişancı, British Museum, Add. 7848.
- ‘OM = ‘Osmanlı Mü’ellifleri, by Bursalı Mehmed Tāhir, i-iii, Istanbul, 133-1342.

- OT = Osmanlı Tarihi, I.H. Uzuncarşılı, Vol. ii, Ankara, 1960.
- RZS = Rahīm-zāde-i Şafavī, şerh-i cenghā ve ta'rīh-i zindegānī-yi şāh Ismā'īl-i Şafavī, Teheran, 1341 Ş.
- SN = Selīm-nāmeler by Ş. Tekindag, Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi, 1 (1970), Istanbul.
- Sa'd = Sa'dī b. Abdülmüte'āl, Selīm-nāme, Topkapı Sarayı Revān, 1277.
- SO = Sicill-i 'Osmānī, by Mehmed Süreyya, Istanbul, 1308-1315.
- Sücüdī = Sücūdi, Selīm-nāme, Topkapı Sarayı, Revān, 1284/1.
- Şük = Şükrī, Selīm-nāme, British Museum, Or. 1039.
- TCYK = Istanbul Kütüphaneleri Tarih-Coğrafya Yazmaları Kataloğları: 1. Türkçe Tarih yazmaları, 2. Fasikül, Istanbul, 1945.
- TD = Tarih Dergisi, Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, Istanbul.
- TTKB = Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten, Ankara.
- TT = Tācū 't-Tevārīh by Sa'deddīn Ef. Istanbul, 1279.
- TTSN = Selīm-nāme, by sa'deddīn Ef. it is appended to the published version of his history, Tācū 't-Tevārīh.
- TTYK, = Karatay, F.E. Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütuphası, Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu, 1-11, Istanbul, 1961.
- Yusuf = Çerkezler kätibi Yusuf Selīm-nāme, John Ryland Library, Turkish ms. No. 136, Manchester.

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I. Preliminary

Among the various ways in which historical materials are used in the study of history, the use of historical materials as sources of information is perhaps the most common. This is because historical materials are often the only sources of information available to the historian. In the study of history, the use of historical materials is essential. The use of historical materials is essential because they provide the only sources of information available to the historian. The use of historical materials is essential because they provide the only sources of information available to the historian.

I INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this book is to provide a comprehensive introduction to the study of history. It is designed for students who are new to the field and for those who wish to refresh their knowledge. The book covers the basic concepts and methods of historical research, as well as the major historical events and figures. It is written in a clear and concise style, making it easy to read and understand. The book is divided into several chapters, each covering a different aspect of history. The first chapter discusses the nature of history and the role of the historian. The second chapter discusses the sources of historical information and the methods of historical research. The third chapter discusses the major historical events and figures. The fourth chapter discusses the history of the world. The fifth chapter discusses the history of the United States. The sixth chapter discusses the history of the United Kingdom. The seventh chapter discusses the history of France. The eighth chapter discusses the history of Germany. The ninth chapter discusses the history of Italy. The tenth chapter discusses the history of Spain. The eleventh chapter discusses the history of Russia. The twelfth chapter discusses the history of China. The thirteenth chapter discusses the history of India. The fourteenth chapter discusses the history of Japan. The fifteenth chapter discusses the history of the Middle East. The sixteenth chapter discusses the history of Africa. The seventeenth chapter discusses the history of Latin America. The eighteenth chapter discusses the history of Oceania. The nineteenth chapter discusses the history of the Pacific. The twentieth chapter discusses the history of the Arctic. The twenty-first chapter discusses the history of the Antarctic. The twenty-second chapter discusses the history of the universe. The twenty-third chapter discusses the history of life on Earth. The twenty-fourth chapter discusses the history of man. The twenty-fifth chapter discusses the history of the future.

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 Selīm-nāme 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 Selīm 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 Selīm 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 Topkapı Sarayı) in which Çağatay Uluçay traces the stages by which Sultan Selīm secured his throne¹ with the short Selīm-nāme

1. 'Yavuz Sultan Selīm Nasıl Padişah Oldu,' Tarih Dergisi, vi (1954) 53-90; vii (1954) 117-143; viii (1954) 185-200.

which Sa'deddīn Efendi placed as an appendix to his Tācū't-Tevārīh illustrates the attitude towards history of those distant generations. Yet whatever his ultimate purpose, it cannot be maintained that the treatment given to Selīm by Sa'deddīn 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.

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The development of historical writing among the Ottomans received a new and invigorating stimulus in the reign of Sultan Süleyman Ḳānūnī. One need not dwell at any great length on the histories of Aşık Paşa-zade, Ruḥī, 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 Heşt-Biḥişt of Idrīs-i Bitlīsī 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 Selīm 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 Selīm-nāme 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 Ta'rīh-i Āl-i 'Osmān of the great Kemāl Paşa-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 Ebu 'l-Faẓl) might equally well have served the purpose as sources of ^{stylistic elegance and} 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 Kemāl Paşa-zāde 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 Tazarru'āt of Sinān 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 Selīm-nāmes it would be possible to show a consistent progress towards the language of Sa'deddīn Efendi in the Tācū 't-
Tevārīk, which was to become the standard for written Ottoman for centuries.

2. Selīm-nāmes

The following works were used in the present study, and they constitute the basic materials for all subsequent narratives for the reign of Selīm I.¹ In as much as the texts used for comparison (defter viii and ix of Kemāl Paşa-zāde) 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. Ḥakīmüddīn Idrīs b. Ḥüsameddīn 'Alī, known as Idrīs-i Bitlīsī, was the author of the first elaborate history written in Persian of the Ottoman Dynasty from its origins down to the *middle* of the reign of Bāyezīd II, entitled the Heşt Bihişt.² Left incomplete at the time of his death

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1. The versified Selīm-nāme of Muḥyī Çelebi, the only known copy of which is in the İzzet Koyunoğlu library in Konya, was not available for study. cf. Ş. Tekindağ, 'Selīm-nāmeler', Ta'riḥ Enstitüsü Dergisi, pp. 212-215. Various other works of this title are mentioned by A.S. Levend, Ġazāvāt-nāmeler, p.22-sqq.
 2. On Idrīs, cf. V.L. Menage EI2, i, 1207-1208. For the manuscripts of his two historical works, cf. C.A. Storey, Persian literature: a Bio-Bibliographical Survey, i, 412-416.

(Zil-H, 926/1520) was another work, also in Persian and similar in style, devoted to the reign of Sulṭān Selīm I, given the title Selīm-nāme (or Selīm ṣāh-nāme). The task of editing this was done by his son, Ebu 'l-Faḏl, in the reign of Sulṭān Süleymān, though it was not brought to completion until the time of Selīm II, to whom the work was dedicated. Ebu 'l-Faḏl makes it clear that it was only the dedication to the latter Sulṭān 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 Idrīs 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 Selīm to provide future generations with a model of sovereignty and to assure thereby the perpetuation of his own name.² Idrīs 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 Idrīs 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 H̄vāca Efendi and 'Alī. 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. Işhak Çelebi, the author of one of the earliest Selīm-nāmes was born in 969/1465 in Üsküb where his father was a swordsmith. After completing his studies and entering the learned profession, he passed through several medreses, reaching the Şahn in 937. In 942 he was appointed kāzī of Damascus, and he died in this office in 944/1537.¹

1. The biography of Işhak is given by İsmet Parmaksızoğlu in his article: 'Üsküplü İshak Çelebi ve Selimnamesi', TD, iii (1951-2); the basic sources for his life are Mecdī's translation of Taşköprü-zāde's Şakā'īku 'n-Nu'mānīye, Istanbul, 1269, pp. 468-471; 'Aşık Çelebi, Tezkere-i Şu'arā, ed. G. Meredith Owens, London, 1972, pp. 42a-44a; Kınalı-zāde Hasan Çelebi, Tezkere-i Şu'arā, British Museum, Add. 24957, f.46a-48a; Riyāzī, 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 Selīm-nāme deals with the events in the life of Sulṭān Selīm 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 Bāyezīd and the revolt of Sulṭān Ahmed against Selīm. It contains particularly detailed information about these years, and is one of the most important sources for the Şāh-Ḳulu revolt in Anatolia.

Ş. Tekindağ 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 Kemāl Paşa-zāde, which we know was written towards the end of the reign of Sulṭān Bāyezīd II, and it is evident that the latter was familiar to Işhak. It is clear that there is also a similarity in content between this Selīm-nāme and the other version of the Defter 8. Moreover, it is highly unlikely that any laudatory work written during the reign of Selīm 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.¹ As explained above, the

1. The Dresden Ms. E.391, which Babinger describes as ^{the} History of Kemāl Paşa-zāde, contains between ff.24a-171a the text of Işhak's Selīm-nāme (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 Işḥak took advantage of the favourable reception which literary works of this title would receive from the Sulṭān, 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 H^voca 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 Sulṭān, was employed by him in several offices, reaching finally that of Defterdār 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 Tebrīz. Probably, this earlier work was in Persian, for in the surviving Selīm-nāme he complains of his reluctance to write in Turkish, saying: Türkī dil dürr-i yetīm gibi nā-ṭırāş ve ṭabī‘at-ḥarāşdur, 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

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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 Süleymānīye ms. Es‘ad Ef., No. 2147.

4. Of Sücüdī, another contemporary of a Selīm-nāme, even less of a biographical nature is known, Āşık Çelebi saying that he came from Kalkandelen, and Laţīfī that he was from Priştine. He had been the dīvān kātibi of Piri Mehmed Paşa, and during Selīm's reign held the office of silāhdār kātibi, probably accompanying him on the Persian and Egyptian campaigns. He died while performing the pilgrimage early in the reign of Sulţān Süleymān.¹

Although he does not refer to Ishāk Çelebī's work, his own Selīm-nāme is in the nature of a zeyl, taking up the narrative where it leaves off, and continuing down to the death of Selīm. Sücüdī gives no clue 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 Çaldıran (ff.14a); and this would support the account that he was a Silāhdār kātibi). His work is written in a simple, unpretentious style, quite in contrast to Ishāk Çel. and Keş. and there is no evidence that it was used by any of the later authors of Selīm-nāmes.²

1. The known sources for his life are mentioned in Ş. Tekindağ, SN, 216-217.

2. The Ms. used here is Topkapı Sarayı, Revān, 1284/1.

5. Celāl-zāde Muṣṭafā Çelebi, known as Koca Nişancı, (900-975/1492-1567) was another contemporary of Selīm I who wrote an account of the reign,¹ deriving first-hand information from the vezīr Pīrī Paşa. The work was written in the reign of Sulṭān Süleymān, when Celāl-zāde was already an old man in his seventies, employing a style both simple and dignified, and given the title Me'āsīr-i Selīm Hān. Due to his privileged position in the Dīvān, where he served as re'īsülküttāb 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 Selīm as being always in the right. For example, he did not revolt against Bayezīd, but rather tried to break the power of the selfish vezīrs who were misleading his father; and it was Aḥmed who disputed the throne with him, rather than the reverse. In scope too, it is wider than the other histories, beginning with Selīm's birth and continuing down to his death.

He makes explicit acknowledgement of his reliance on Kemāl Paşa-zāde in only one^{instance}; but the general sequence and description of event corresponds so closely in the two works

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1. For his biography and the other books which he wrote, cf. M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, IA, iii, 61-63; I.H. Uzunçarşılı, T.T.K. Belleten, No. 87 (1958), pp. 391-sqq., p. 401-sqq; Ş.Tekindağ, SN., p. 211-sqq.

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 Münşe'āt-i Selaṭīn of Ferīdūn 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 Sulṭān Süleymān I, a certain Sa'dī b. 'Abdülmüte'āl, 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 viii 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.

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1. The work was used in the British Museum Ms. Add. 7848; 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 Sarayı, 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 mersiya 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 Hindi! He was a close associate of the Dulkadirlü Şehsüvâr-oğlu 'Alî Bey, after whose death he passed into the service of Halîl-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 Sulţân Süleymân, 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 mesnevî 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 Şehsüvâr-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-ı kemâl-i Şükrî. cf., also, Ş. Tekindağ, SN, 216; Rieu, Cat. Turk. Mss., p. 174. The Ms. used here is the British Museum, Or. 1039.

about Selīm. When Şükrī later showed his work to Ḥalīl-oğlu Kocı 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 Selīm's appointment as governor of Trabzon and his campaign into Georgia and ends with the accession of Süleymān.

Şükrī's work contains details lacking in most of the other early Selīm-nāmes, being very precise in identifying individuals and places. It was used extensively by Ḥ'oca Efendi in the Tācü 't-Tevārīh, where many of its verses are quoted verbatim (often with the attribution limünşi'-hi.) Through this latter work it passes into later general histories, such as 'Alī's Künhü 'l-Aḥbār.

6a) A prose version of Şükrī's work was made by a certain Yusuf, known as the Çerkesler kātibi. 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 vālīs of Egypt down to the year 1041.¹

6b) In 1037, a certain Cevrī² re-versified the work into the Turkish of his age at the request of a certain 'Alī who

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. *Hop*, iii, 297.

was the kethüdā of the rūznāmeci Ibrāhim Ef. (died, 1047; cf. 'OM, i, 102). This 'Alī is said to have found Şükrī's work reliable but unpleasant to read.

Gerçi vardur sözlerinüñ sıḥhatı
 Ḥatırum gösterdi aña rağbeti
 Līk yokdur ḳālīb-i nazmında rūh
 Zevki virmez ādeme feyz-ı fütūh
 Her ne deñlü olsa ma'nası dürüst
 Dil-güsā olmaz yine elfāz-ı süst

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

8. With Ḥāce Sa'deddīn Efendi (943-1008/1536-99) we arrive at the distillate of all these preceding Selīm-nāmes, and the section devoted to the reign of Sulṭān Selīm in his Tācū't-Tevārīh 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, Alı Emīri, 1310. The ta'rīh for the completion of the work is given on 5a:
 (1037) حیرایله جاویر اوله نام علی This is actually a mu'ammā; the total of the beyt as it stands comes to 1123. The solution is: omit ile (46) which is purely conjunctive to ḥayr and cavīd, and read nām as nā-mīm (i.e. without 40); thus, ḥayr and cāvīd will be 'Alī, if one deducts mīm (40).

2. For his life, cf. Ş.Turan, IA, xi, 27-32.

works of Iṣḥāk, Idrīs, Şükrī, Kemāl Paşa-zāde and Ḥadīdī.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, Ḥasan Cān, and other presumably reliable eye-witnesses, there is no mistaking the fabulous nature of the work.²

The popularity of the Tācū 't-Tevārīḥ 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-ı Perīşān it was to Sa'adeddīn 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.

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1. The verse history of the Ottoman Dynasty by Ḥadīdī (British Museum, Or., 12896) has not been used in its entirety for this study, being almost wholly derivative from other works, notably KPZ. Sa'adeddīn 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.

9. Another general history of the Ottomans is to be found in rūkn iv of Muṣṭafā b. Aḥmed 'Ālī's Kūnhü 'l-Aḥbār.¹ 'Ālī 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 Rūmilı. He died in 1008/1599, the same year as Sa'deddīn 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 Kūnh he drew mainly on the Tācū '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 Kūnh and the identification of their sources, does not adequately reflect the interesting and original quality of this remarkable work.

1. For 'Ālī, cf. Ibnü 'l-Emīn Maḥkūd Kemāl's introduction to his Menākib-i Hünerverān, (Istanbul, 1926). The manuscript of the Kūnh used for the present study is Süleymaniye, Es'ad Ef., No. 2162.

3. Kemāl Paşa-zāde

Defters 8 and 9

The sources for the biography of Şemseddīn Ahmet b. Süleymān b. Kemāl Paşa (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 ‘Osmān, Ankara 1957, and an extensive bibliographical survey of his numerous works has been made by [Nihāl] Atsız.¹

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

While still a müderriş, he was commissioned by Sulṭān Bāyezīd II to write a history of the Ottomans and like his contemporary Idrīs-i Bitlīsī 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. Şarkıyat 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

P: Bibliothèque Nationale, supp. turc., No. 157.
(ff. 100a-116a).

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1. Şerafettin Turan, introduction to Kemāl Paşa-zāde, Tevārīh-i Āl-i 'Osman, l. defter, Ankara, 1970; Halil Inalcık, 'The rise of Ottoman Historiography', Historians of the Middle East, London, 1962, p. 167.
 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 Sulṭān 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 pādişāhımız (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 Sulṭān 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 rearranges 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 Kemāl Paşa-zāde's history of the reign of Sulṭān Selīm down to the year 920, after the Battle of Çaldıran. In 922 apparently he presented it to the Sulṭān, and there may be a connection between this and his appointment as ḳāżī-ʿasker 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-41b (H.O. Fleischer, Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium Bibliothecae Regiae Dresdensis, Libsia, 1831, No. 70; Babinger, GOW, p. 62)
- F: Fatih, No. 4221, ff. 209b-236a. (TCYK., p.124)
- K: Cairo, Dāru 'l-Kütübi 'l-Mısrī, No. 50/8846, ff.74b-118b. (Ali Efendi Ḥilmī Dāğıstānī, Fihristü 'l-Kütübi 't-Türkİyyeti fi 'l-Kütübhaneti 'l-Hidiviyye, p. 224 Mısır (Egypt) 1306.
- M: Millet, Ali Emiri, tarih, No. 29, ff. 23b-67b. (TCYK, p. 123).
- P: Paris, Bibliothegue Nationale, Supp. turc. No. 157, ff. 118b-148b. (Blochet, i, 239).
- R: Topkapı Sarayı, Revan, No. 1278, ff. 116b-143a. (TTYK, 11, 347-48).
- V: Süleymaniya, Veliyeddin Ef., No. 2447, ff. 112b-141b. (TCYK, p. 123).

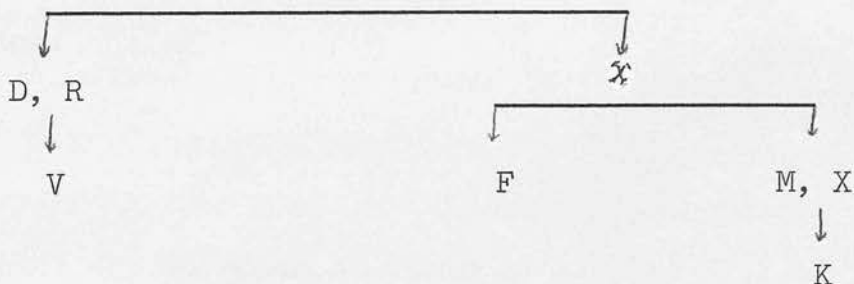
None of these mss. seems to contain the original 922 version of Kemāl Paşa-zāde's work, each presenting some variations in language and the sequence of narration, and in the amount of verse included. For the present edition, V was chosen as a basis, because it would appear to represent the final recension 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 Sultān 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 Şāh Ismā'īl. 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.

922 version



These sections of Kemāl Paşa-zāde's Ta'rīh are, as can be seen from the commentary, at the basis of practically

all subsequent Turkish Selīm-nāmes, 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 Sulṭān 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 'Āşık Paşa-zāde, Neğrī, Rūḥī, 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 Kemāl Paşa-zāde 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 Kemāl Paşa-zāde's work, and by none more so than these two defters in which he writes from his own knowledge and experience.

[191a] Bu dāsītān merḥūm Sulṭān Bāyezīdūñ evāḥir-i ḥayātından, sene-i erba'a 'aşere ve tis'a-mi'eden semāne 'aşere ve tis'a-mi'eye gelince[ye] degin vāḳı' olan havādiş-ü-vaḳā'i' beyān ider.

Merḥūm Sulṭān Bāyezīd Ḥān -- eskene-hü 'llāhü te'ālā ma'a 'l-Ḥulefā'i 'r-Rāşidīne fī ğurefi 'l-Cinān -- devletle serīr-i ḥilāfete cülūs itdükde seb'a-i seyyāre mānendi yedi ferzend-i ercümendi vardı; meydān-ı zamānda her biri yegāne-i rüzgār, sāni-yi Sām-ı Suvār, sāliḡ-i Rüstem-ü-Isfendiyār, ḥāmis-i Çār-Aḫyārdı, şeş-cihāt-ı kā'ināta şeref virüb, heft-iḳlīmūñ her biri bir ṭarafına şehriyār olmağa sezāvārdı. Egerçi ol mihr-i sipihr-i salṭanat serīr-i salṭanata cülūs itdükden soñra sekiz yüz doksanında burc-ı 'izz-ü-celālden bir aḫter-i devlet daḡı ṭulū' itmişdi, ismine Sulṭān Muhammed tesmiye olunub, dārü 'l-mülk-i Kefede emīr-i nām-dār ve sālār-ı serdārken sene-i 'aşere ve tis'a-mi'ede ecel-i maḫtūmi irüb, āḫirete gitmişdi. Ḥāzret-i Pādişāhuñ cümle kerāmātındandur ki, sinīn-i 'ömri sittīn ile seb'in arasında iken evladınıñ a'dādı üç yüzden ziyāde olub, ol ziver-i efser-i sa'ādet olan gevherler şadef-i şerefdin zuhūr bulmuşdı, eknāf-u-etrāf-ı büm-ı Rūm ol hümālara āşiyān olub, āsümān-ı mülk-i 'Osmān nücüm-ı ḳurūm ile ṭolmuşdı.

İçlerinde şāhib-ḳirān-ı 'ālem, sulṭānū selāṭinū 'l-'Arabi ve 'l-'Acem ve-'r-Rūmı ve-'t-Türki ve-'d-Deylem, māh-ı sūtāre-sipāh, merḥūm Sulṭān Selīm Şāh -- tābe şerāhu -- gerçi tertīb-i sinde sā'ir ḳarındaşlarından kiçidi, emmā

darb-ı şimsîr-ü-hüsn-i tedbîrde cümlesine gâlibdi; her ne yirde bir nâm-dâr dilâver var ise anuñ hizmetine t̄alibdi.

Darb-ı şimsîrle muqaddem idi

Hüsn-i tedbîrle müsellemler idi

[191b] Ermenāye -i Şuğrā vilāyetinüñ, ki Tırabzun dārü 'l-mülkidür, eyāleti 'ināyet olup-dururdu; serḥadd-i Gürcistānda sedd-i İslām olub, āḡār-ı mehābeti-yle ol vilāyet t̄olub-dururdu. Kızılbaş-ı evbāş t̄ā'ifesinden Şāh İsmā'il-i gümrāh zuhūr idüb, Azerbāycanı alıcaḡ, Bayındır Etrāki beglerinüñ ve leşkerinüñ cem'ini tefrîḡ-ü-temzîḡ idüb, Ḥasan Ḥānuñ ḡānedānına nār-ı ḡahr-ü-bî-dādı şalıcaḡ, ol diyāruñ civārında olan vilāyeti ḡabt itdi; ba'zın sulḡla, ba'zın ḡarble 'anveten fetḡ idüb, kendi mülkine rabḡ itdi. Bayındır beglerinden Menşür Beg ve Feraḡşād Beg, daḡı anlaruñ nazīri bir nice emirler rikāb-ı kām-yābında mülāzım olub yürürlerdi; ol māh gibi rif'atde iken nāḡāh ḡāh-ı felākete düşen ā'yān, dergāh-ı āsümān-iştibāhında yine 'izzet-ü-cāh bulub-t̄ururlardı. Mezkūr vilāyetden envār-ı 'adāleti-yle ḡulmet-i deycūr-ı şerr-ü-şürü def' itdi. Ercincān nāḡiyetinden daḡı nice def'a ceḡş-i bed-kîş-i Kızılbaş savaḡla def' itdi. Şıḡāt-ı rüvātdan mesmū'dur ki, mezkūr Şāh-ı gümrāh Zülḡadır-Oḡlı 'Alā'üddevle Beg üzerine geliceḡ, 'Alā'üddevle muḡābele itmeyüb, Elbistān ḡaḡlarına çekiliceḡ, ılgār itmek lāzım gelüb, aḡmāl-i eşḡāl-i anda bırakmıḡdı, ḡayl-i cerrārı sebük-bār ḡılıb; seyl-vār aḡmıḡdı, bilesince aḡır t̄opları vardı, orda yire gömdürmıḡdı, içlerine faḡfūrî-ḡiniler t̄oldurub üstlerini yumdurmıḡdı, soñra kendü

başılıb gidicek Erzincāna uğramayub, tođru yoldan Tebrīze
 'azm idicek ol esbāb-u-esķāl anda kalmıřdı. Sulţān Selīm Őāh
 [192a] ol ķazīyeden āgāh olub, ħaber almıřdı, fi 'l-ĥāl
 ħayl-i cerrārla Tırabzu[dan] ħıkub seyl-vār ol diyāra irdi,
 Erzincān öñündeki Őāhrāya deryā gibi girdi. Kimse māni '-ü-
 münāzi' olamadı, bildügin itdi, ol günc-i ħākde medfün olan
 Genc-i Kārūnı çıkarub aldı gitdi. Ol diyāruñ sipehsālārılıđın
 yanındađı serdārıların birine virdi. Őāh-ı gümrāh Tebrīze
 geldükden Őoñra ol esbāb alınduđın bildi, ādem gönderüb
 Őaleb kıldı. Cenāb-ı kām-yābdan cevāb-ı Őavab bu minvāl üzerine
 Őādır oldu ki, Ol gedā-yı bī-ser-ü-pāy bu esbāba neden
 müsteĥakkdür? Ejdehā-peyker toplar meydān-ı rezm-i sulţān-ı
 ũlu 'l-'azme münāsib, fađfūrī-ħiniler dīvān-ı 'ālā-Őān-ı
 Kayşara lā' ikdur.

Kiři miķdārını bilmek gerekdür

Ķara boncuķ kaçan olsa gerekdür

Pamukdan ve ketenden toķunan bez

Ķarīr olmaz gerek aħ u gerek dür

Mes'ũli maķbũl olmayıcaķ, sözi geħmeyüb yüz bulmayıcaķ,
 ādemi me'yũs olub gitdi, Őāhına virilen cevābı iletđi. Mezkũr
 mađrũr bu ħaber-i Őerer-eşerden bir pāre od oldı, seyl gibi
 aķdı yil gibi esdi, ķum gibi yerinde ķaldı.

Der zikr-i ħazā-yı Gürcistān:

Ĥicret-i Ĥazret-i Risāletũñ -- 'aleyhi 's-selām-- toķuz

yüz on dördüncü yılında, ol sāl-i ferhunde-fālūñ evā' ilinde, müşārün-ileyh Sultān Selīm Hān gazā nīyetine sefer-i zafer-eşere taşmīm-i 'azīmet itdi. Tırabzun civārında olan küffār-ı nekbet-fercāmuñ şevketin def' i-çün cihāda şalā-yı 'āmm idüb, ol iklāmde 'azīm cem'iyet itdi. Çün sāz-u-seleb-i sefer müretteb görildi, [192b] hayme-i riḥlet şahrā-yı 'azīmetde qurıldı; bir seherden himmet-i bülendi gibi semend-i rām-licāma süvār oldı, hemān dem ādem deñizi cūşe gelüb, ḥurūş-i kūs ile şeş-gūşe-i 'ālem tıoldı.

Deşt ile der tıoldı ḥayl-i seyl-cūş

Kūhsāruñ içi oldı pür-ḥurūş

Tırabzun civārında olan küffār diyārına ki, Gürcistān dimekle iştihārı vardır, içi çengelistān-u-orman, kenārı pür-seng-ü-ḥāre kūhsār, reḡgüzārı düşvār ve tıardur. Bir kenārı kūhsār-ı düşvār, üzerinde kuş ucmaz, kalan yürümez, dem olmaz ki, üstün tıuman bürümez. Bir yañı 'adem zındānı gibi 'amīk-[u]-saḥīk derelerdür ki, içine cīn-[ü]-peri girmez, derinliginden 'aql-ı dūrbīn ḥaber virmez. Yakın zamanda içine yāḡī ayāḡı girmemişdi, eyyām-ı kadīmde girenler daḡı ḥayr idememişdi.

Atla giren yayan yol bulmaḡa

Cān virür idi kaçub kurtılmaḡa

Āzerbāycān begleri ki, ma' mūre-i mezkūrenūñ bir kenārı anlaruñ diyārınuñ civārıdur, ol vilāyeti ḡāret itmege diş bilerlerdi, arḡadan baḡarlar, aḡızları şuyı aḡardı. Elleri irdükçe çeng-i ceng-ü-çengāl-i cidālle ucdan bucaḡdan ilerlerdi, emmā ḥayr itmezlerdi, alduḡlarından virdükleri

X çok olurdu. Bāzār-ı kārzārda aşşı [ağırından] ziyānları artuk olurdu. Ol diyāruñ küffārı bir nice def'a Tebrizüñ nevaḥīsine ilgār idüb, çok vilāyet gāret itmişlerdi, irdükleri il-[ü]-boy[1] ve girdükleri şehir-ü-köy[i] nār-ı ḥasāretle yakub gitmişlerdi. Karakoyunlunuñ ve Akkoyunlunuñ begleri ol yurduñ kurtları-yla dā'imā müdārā iderlerdi. [193a] kendü ürilerin sürülerin kurtarmağa kāni' olub, sizüñ sizde, bizüm bizde dirlerdi. Şoñra Terākimenüñ devri āḥir olub, ol mülküñ bedeninde Kızılbaş zāhir oldı, zulm-ü-ta'addī elin uzatmaduk yir komadı, ol aña el yokamadı, emmā Gürcistāna el qarub, ayak sokamadı. Bir nice def'a ol būma hücum ağzın acdı diş kayuramadı, ol yirde acın toyuramadı, ol uca ḥurūcın duyuramadı,

Dimediler it misin ādem misin

Seyl mi yā kadre-i şebnem misin

Şehzāde-i ālem-penāh ol vilāyete bir mehābetle girdi ki, kūh-şüküh 'adū-yı kīne-cūyuñ pāy-ı şebātın yirinden ırdı, kār-ubār-ı karar-ı küffār-ı güm-rāhı berg-i gāh gibi yile virdi. seyl gibi gül girmediği yolsuz dereleri tolaşdılar; yil gibi ādem ayağı basmadığı tağlar başından aşdılar. Ol diyāruñ şehriyārı mizmār-ı kārzāra gelemeyüb, dāmen-i şahrāyı elden komadı, ol bed-sīret şūrete gelmeyüb, vilāyetinüñ ḥimāyetine kādir olamadı. Lā-cerem ḥayl-i cerrār seyl-vār ol il-ü-günüñ inine uzunına yayıldılar, gereği gibi toyum oldılar, ol bed-rāylar akbah-ı hezīmetle münhezim oldı, kaçanı kaçdı, öleni öldi. On biñden ziyāde sāde-rū [ve] müşk-bū esīr-i dil-pezir ele girdi. Ol günc iklīme dinc akıncı girüb, diledüğü gibi

ğāret-ü-ḥasāret idüb, alub viridi. Şehzāde-i kām-kār diyār-ı Gürciye girmekle 'āleme mehābet bıraḳdı, māl-ı ḡanīmet dāru 'l-mülk-i Tırabzuna deryā-mişāl aḳdı. [193b] Ḥazret-i Pādişāh-ı cihān-penāha fetih-nāme irsāl idüb aḫvali i'lām itdi, ol şān-ı 'ālīye lā'ik olan iḥsān-u-taḥsīni cenāb-ı kām-yāb-ı āfitāb-himmetden gördi. işitdi. Ferzend-i ercümendi olan sultān-ı cihān, sāhib-kırān-ı zamān, manzūr-ı Subḫān Sultān Süleymān Ḥāna -- eyyedehu fī külli ānin ve şe'nin -- Kefe vilāyetinüñ eyāleti ki, murādı-ydı, himmet olunub, ri'āyet olındı.

'Urūc itdi semā-yı i'tibāra

Terāḳḳī itdi evc-i iştihāra

Sā'ir şehzādelerüñ daḫi ol eḡnāda evlād-ı emcādları ri'āyet olunup-dururdu, ol tāc-dārlaruñ her birine bir diyāruñ şehriyārlığı himmet-ü-'ināyet olunup-dururdu. Merḫūm Sultān Şehinşāh oḒlı Sultān Muḫammede Nigde sancāḒı erzānī görilüb, ve merḫūm Sultān Aḫmet oḒulları Sultān 'Alā'üddīne ve Sultān Süleymāna ve Sultān 'Osmāna Bolı ve Çorum ve 'Osmancuḳ sancāḒı iḥsān olınmışdı, merḫūm Sultān Maḫmūd ve Sultān 'Alemsāhuñ oḒullarına Kaştamoniye ve Kangırı sancāḒları himmet olunub, etrāf-[u]-eknāf-ı büm-ı Rüm ol hümālara āsiyān olub, āsümān-ı memālik-i 'Osmān nücüm-ı ḳurüm ile ṭolmışdı.

Her birisi *bulubeni'tibār*

Bir diyāra olmuş idi şehriyār

Bu dāsītān Korkud Hān[un] deryāyı geçüb

Mışra varduğıdur.

Sābıkā beyān olınduğı üzre Sulṭān Korkud Hān ferāğ-ı bāl ile ḥalvethāne-i ḥamūlde çarāğ-ı 'ilmi yakub, 'amelle meşğul olmuşdı. Mehāmm-ı enām ve ümür-ı cümhürdan çün fāriğ olurdı, ehālī-[vü]-mevālī-yle kıl-ü-kāl ve cevāb-ü-sü'āle düḥul idüb, ḥakka vuşul [194a] bulurdı. Ziyāret-i Haremeyn-i Muḥteremeyn dā'iyesi ḥāṭırası ḥāṭır-ı 'āṭırında in'ikād bulmuşdı, çār-dīvār-ı dār-ı mübīn ol rükn-i rekīnle tamām olduğın bilüb, mezbūr tāt-at-ı mebbürenün sebiline istiṭā'at bulub, Ḥacca ikdām kılmışdı.

Kulluk it Ḥakka tāt-atun var iken

Tāt-ata istiṭā'atun var iken

Hicretün toköz yüz on beşinci yılında, ol 'ām-ı ferruḥ-encāmuñ evā'ilinde Ḥicāza gitmege, varub Ḥacc itmege taşmīm-i 'azīmet itdi; nā-gāh men' ideler, memnū' olursa ḥırmān, olmaz ise 'isyān, iki maḥzürün biri lāzım gele diyü isticāzet itmedin gitdi.

Ḥuddām-ı Sidre-makāmuñ 'avāmına ve ḥavāşşına 'azīmetini i'lām itmedi. Aḥlāş-ı aşḥābından altı, yedi yarar ḥidmetkār ihtiyār kılub, gice ile Anṭalya Ḥişārından çıkub, kenār-ı deryāya indi, dün yarusında kimse tuymadan merkeb-i bād-pāya bindi, dest-i ihtimāmla bādbān-ı himmeti kaldurub, keştī-yi ikdām-ı daryā-yı 'azīmete şaldı, tevfiḳ-ı Ḥak refiḳ-ı ṭarīḳ olub, maḳsada muvāfiḳ

rüzgar bulub, bir aylık yolu bir haftada aldı; طوب Dimyāṭa
 çıkub ol taraflara şeref virdi, Şāhzāde-i 'aşruñ ol būma
 kudūmı haberi Mışra irdi, Mışır sultānı işidüb, nihāyet mertebede
 şād oldı.

Didi Mışra zihī lütf-i İlähī

K'ola Şehzāde-i 'aşruñ penāhı

Zimām-ı ihtimāmını ol cenāb-ı kām-yābuñ ri'āyeti cihetine
 döndürür; havāşş-ı huddāmi-yle kendünüñ bār-u-büngāhını karşı
 göndürür. Şudūr-ı dīvān-u-rü'ūs-i erkānına buyurdu ki, yedi
 günlük yol istikbāl ideler; varub Mışra girince, her biri bir
 menzilde ziyāfet tertībini idüb, [194b] gereği gibi ikrām-u-
 iclāl ideler. Ol gün ki Mışra varub girmelü oldı, Sultān ḥadden
 ziyāde ta'zīm eyledi; ol diyārda süvār-ü-piyāde, bende-vü-
 āzāde kımayub taşra çıkarub, merāsım-i tekrīmi taqdīm eyledi.
 Ol mihmān-ı 'azīzi bir sarāy-ı sürür-efzāya kondurdu, ferāvān
 nūzl-ü-ni'met gönderdi, 'ālī ziyāfetler itdi, gice gündüz geldi,
 gitdi. Şehzāde daḥi ol diyārda görecek yirleri görüb, Kuds-i
 Şerīfe gitmek istedi. Evvel daḥi kāsdi Tırablūsa çıkub, mevsim-i
 Hacc irinciye degin ol maḳāmda turmaḡ idi, Sultān işidüb,
 gemi-yle arkurı ādem gönderüb, da'vet itmişdi; ol daḥi da'vete
 icābet sünnetdür diyü Mışra 'azīmet itmişdi. Görmege toymaḡ
 olmaz diyü göçüb gitmek isteyicek, müsāferet tamām olub, zaḫmeti
 def' itmek isteyicek

Sultān işidüb didiki zaḫmet ola ḥāşā

Minnet bilürem ḥidmetini ben kulunı ey şāh

Varını nişār eylese yoluñda 'acebmi

El-‘abdü ve - mā-yemlikühu kāne li-mevlāh

Sultān Korkudun Hacca gitdügi, deñizi geçüb Mıŝra yitdügi istimā‘ olıcağ [olunıcağ] Hudāvendigār buyurdı ki, hadem-ü- haşem[i] ber-ķarār-ı sâbık yerlü yerinde turalar; Kendünün sâliyānesi ki, [otuz kez yüz biñ] Aķcadür, ardınca iledüb, sefer-ü-ħazarun mühimmātını göreler. Sultān tarafından dađı yevmī beş yüz Eşrefī ta‘yīn olmışdı; dāru ‘s-sürür-ı Mıŝırda Hacc mevsimine muntaẓır kalmışdı.

Haremeynün şafāsı almışdı

Göñlini ol hevāda kalmışdı

Emmā atasının ħüsn-i riżāsı hem-rāh olmaduđı ecilden ziyāde bī-ħuzürdü, ol sebebden yine vařan-ı evvele ‘avdet eylemegi tercih eyleyüb, zimām-ı ihtimāmını ol cānibe döndürdü; [195a] deryādan yine gemi-yle gelüb, ol cevānibde bulunan tuħaf-ü- turefden bulduđın cem‘ idüb ma‘zeret-nāme ile kapuya göndürdü. ‘İnde ‘l-vuşul ‘uzr-ü-me‘mūli maķbūl olub, Teke ve Manavgat sancākları ‘ināyet olinub, kemāl-mertebede ri‘āyet olındı.

Beyān-ı zelzele-i ‘azīme der Koştařınīye-i kübrā.

Sene-i mezküre Cemāzī ‘l-Ülāsının yigirmi altıncı gicesi ki, Se-şenbe gicesidür, İstanbulda ‘azīm zelzele vāķı‘ olub, gūy-i zemīne velvele bıraķdı. Muķaddemā bir ‘azīm gürüldü- gümüldü zāhir olub, ‘aķabince zelāzil işdidā-ı imtidāt bulub, nice dūr-u-ķuşūr yıķdı. Ĥaķ te‘ālā kemāl-i kudretinden şol münkir-i ĥaşr olan ĥaşerāt-ı ‘arżun şübehātın izāle itmek için hevl-i kıyāmeti āşikār itdi, cevāmi‘-ı kebīre ve mesācid-i

keşirenüñ mināreleri düşüb, kubbeleri mānend-i kubbeye-i şehāb pāre-pāre olub, sūr-ı ma'mūr-ı Kōstantīnīyenüñ ekşer yerleri yıkılub gitdi. Yıkılan binālar altında nice ādemler kalub, başları, ayakları hürd olub, tas-u-^{içinde}toprak yumıldı kaldı; sakflar dīvāra taqılub, seng-ü-çüb bir birine şıkılub, altında niceler ölmedin gömildi, kaldı. Hayli zamāndan soñra Ba'zını kazub taş toprak arasından çıkardılar, henüz diri-ydi, emmā bet beñiz gitmiş, hayratinden kendüyi tağıtmış şanki sinlerde yatanlaruñ biri-ydi. Nicelerüñ uyğudan gözi açılmadın ecel eli ağzın yumdı, ne kabri kazıldı, ne kefeni dikildi, ne kimse yumdı ne gömdi. Ol tāmme-i kübrāda şunlar ki, tamı yıkılurken uyandılar, añsuzuñ kayāmet kopdı, gökler başlarına yıkıldılar şandılar. 'Avret-[ü-] oğlan, pīr-ü-cüvān ol hādisede telef olan, [195b] kemān-ı kazādan atılan tīr-i tedmīre hedef olan biñ vardı belki artuğ idi. Yıkılub harab olan evler ve mesciidler ve kiliseler üç biñden ziyāde idi. Sakf-u-bābı ve ocağı, penceresinüñ camı ve minārelerinüñ şerefeden yukarusı yıkılmışlarınuñ hadd-ü-'addi yoğıdı.

Azdı çün halk Vāhid-i kahhār

Eşer-i kahrini idüb izhār

Rūm mülkine zelzele şaldı

Rūm mülkine velvele şaldı

Havl ile taldı içi baħr-ü-berüñ

Üstine geldi altı nice yerüñ

Hāli halkuñ olub harāb-u-yebāb

Ol gice oldı şanki yevm-i hesāb

Ol leyl-i pür-veylde halk serāsīme olub, şerār-ı nār-ı 'azābuñ tef-ü-tābı vehmi-yle çok kişiler h^vāb-ı ğafletden uyandılar, erkek-ü-dişi her kişi hā'ir-ü-bā'ir olub, ne kadar kalb[i] kāsī-vü-'āsī var ise me'āsīden tā'ib-ü-ā'ib olub uslandılar. Çün Ma'müre-i mezküre vech-i meşrūh üzre harāb olub, sarāy-ı 'āmirenūñ dā'iresinde olan divār-ı üstüvāra ve harīm-i kerīme olan binālara ihtilāl irdi; sāhat-ı rāhat-fezā-yı kuşūrı kuşurından Şehriyār-ı kāmkaruñ hātır-i 'ātırına konan gerd-i fütür keder-ü-infi 'āl virdi.

Gördi çün şehr ü zelzele hālin

İtdi ihrāc 'arzuñ iškālin

Taht-gāhı koyub hemān ol ān

Cānib-i Edirneye oldı revān

Hişāruñ ve sarāy-ı üstüvāruñ 'imarete hācet olan yirleri termīm-i ta'mir olınsun diyü eşnāf-ı 'ibādden mehere-i şehere ve eṭrāf-ı bilāddan 'amele-i kemele ihzār olınmaq emr olındı.

Emr-i 'ālī-şāna idüb imtişāl

Akdı erbāb-ı binā deryā-mişāl

Zikr olan bināların mühimmātı huşuşı taḥşil-ü-atekmil olınub, mücidd-ü-sā'ī mu'temedler [196a] akdām-ı ikdām üzerine ṭurub, iki aya komayub itmām itdiler; ma'müre-i mezkürenūñ nazīrini ihdāsa Sulṭān-ı kader-tüvānuñ iktidārını i'lān-u-i'lām itdiler.

Sulṭān Selīm Hān Rüm-iline geçmesine bā'ış ne olduĝu.

Hākān-ı sa'id merḥūm Sulṭān Bāyezīdūñ muddet-i hidmeti, ki otuz iki yıldür, ihtitāma karīb oldı, vücūd-ı şerīfini, ki

merkez-i dā'ire-i hālm-ü-cüddür, cünüd-i 'ilel her cānibden ortaya aldı. dest-i takdīr pençe-i tedbīrin burub, [ayaq] zaḥmeti ḥużūrın uçurub, nıkrīs zaḥmeti, ki maraḫ-ı mevrūsi-ydi, ḥudūş bulmuş, mizācına tamām müstevlī olmuşdı.

Öñünde balġam uyub tīz-ṭab' şafrāya
 Olub hevāsına tābi' anuñla baş koşmuş
 Şoñında ḥiddet-i şafrāya döymeyüb balġam
 Elinden al beni diyü ayaġına düşmüş

Bu sebebden cihāngirlik rikābından ayak çeküb, 'inān-ı 'ālem-sitānı elden koşmuşdı, büm-ı Rūmda ḥuşūm-ı kudūmla nerd-i neberdi ğāyibāne oynayub, bisāṭ-ı pür-neşāṭ-ı rezmüñ temāşāsından göz yummuş, el yumuşdı. Ol sebebden şarşar-ı neket-eşer-i şūr-u-şerr esüb, kā'ināt pür-āşüb olub, emvāc-ı efvāc-ı ḥavādisle şeş-cihāt-ı heft-kişver ṭoldı; ḥuffāş gibi müstetir olub, büm-ı şūm gibi bir bucaġa bas şokub, zalām-ı şām-ı fitne büm-ı Rūmı kaçıan tutar diyü munṭazır olub, cerād-vār eṭrāf-ı bilāda münteşir oldı.

Çalındı kūs-i fitne her cihetde
 Belürdi nice fetret memleketde

[196b] Ol zamānda Ṭavāşī 'Alī Paşa vezīr-i a'zam olub, rü'ūs-i ḥadem arasında şadr idi, ve Mustafa Paşa vezīr-i şānī olub, şāhib-i şā'ib-tedbīr, müşīr-i celīlū 'l-ḳadr idi. Ve sā'ir erkān-u-a'yānuñ ekşeri kendü hevālarına teḳā'üd ve inzivālarına mülā'im olduġı eçlden merḥūm Sultān Aḥmede intisāb idüb, atasi yirine pādişāh olduġın isterlerdi. Leyl-ü-nehār efkārı ol kāra mevküfdı; şubḥ-u-şām ihtimāmları ol merāmuñ itmāmına maşrūfdı.

Bu fikr ile erkân olur bî-ķarār

Ki tahta nice geķe ol Őehriyār

Sultān Aħmet merħumuñ her zamān ķapuda ādemīleri eksük degüldi,
 biri gelür biri giderdi; serīr-i salṭanata cülüs-i hümāyūnları[na]
 müte'allik aħbārı bedraķa-ı rāh idüb, beŐāretle 'ādet iderdi.
 Andan gelen ādemlere bu vechle ri'āyet sā'ir birāderlerine
 mūcib-i ihānet olmuŐdı; merħüm Sultān Ķorkud incindüğinden
 MıŐra gidüb, aħvāl-i vilāyet tamām iħtilāl bulmuŐdı. Merħüm
 Sultān Selīme defa'ātla aħķām-ı Őerīfe irsāl olınub, " eṭrāf-ı
 vilāyetde olan a'dā ile, eger ĶızılbaŐ ve eger Gürcīdür,
 muŐālaħa-vu-mūdārā üzerine ol, teķŐār-i a'dāya rıżāmuz yokdur,"
 diniliceķ, merħüm Sultān Selīm bī-ħużūr olub, endīŐe baħrine
 ṭalmıŐdı. Aħirü 'l-emr rāy-ı 'ālem-ārāsı aña müncerr olur ki,
 tebdīl-i meķān eyleye, Rümili yaķasına geķüb, Kefede ferzend-i
 ercümendin görüb, Őıla Őevābın bula, yine yirine gele. Babasından
 bu ma'nāyı istīzān itmek iķün her ķend ki ādemler gönderüb
 ibrām itdi, me'mūli maķbūl olmayub, ādemi me'yūs-u-maħzūl geldi,
 gitdi. Tekrār ādem göndericeķ, sancağına bir miķdār teraķķī
 olındı, anuñla tesellī [tesellā] bulub,,ferāġat ide Őanıldı.
 [197a] Ķün Őamīm-i dilden ol 'azīmet taŐmīm olınmuŐdı, bir nice
 pāre sefā'in-ü-merākib ile Kefe cānibine 'azīmet itdi, Őehre
 yaķın varıcaķ,,sultān-ı cihān, manzūr-ı Sübhān, ķahramān-ı
 ķurūm-ıRüm-u-İrān, PādiŐāhumuz olan Süleymān-ı zamān --'azze
 naŐruhu-- ħaķķ-ı übüvveti ri'āyet itdi, devlet-ü-iķbāl-miŐāl
 istikbāle çıķub, ħadden ziyāde 'izzet-ü-ħidmet itdi, ķudūm-ı
 ferħunde-rūsūmı-yle ol ṭaraflara Őeref virüb, in'ām-ı 'āmmı ol

iklīm-i k̄adīmūñ muq̄imlerine yetdi.

Vardı ol şehre daği viridi şeref

Behre-i luṭf aldı andan her ṭaraf

Kefeden kapuya ādem gönderüb, Rūmilinde sancağ istedi. Cemī'-i erkān-ı devlet bu haberden bī-ḥuṣūr olub, mesveret itdiler; ittifākla maḥall-i 'arṣa varub, eytdiler, " Şehzāde ḥazretlerinüñ Rūmiline geçmesi k̄anūn-ı k̄adīme muḥālifdür; 'azīm fitneye bā'is olur; sā'ir şehzādeler daği isidüb, her biri Rūmiline geçmek isterler, anları kim teskīn kılar? Münāsib oldur ki, yine eski sancağına gitmek ikdām olına; itā'at itmez ise, ol bahāne ile Sulṭān Aḥmed ḥazretlerinün da'veti maşlahatına ihtimām olına." Çün bu emrūñ itmāmı maḥall-i kelām idi, irsāl-i peyām için mevālī-yi Rūmdan a'lemü 'l-'ülema'i 'l-müteşerri'in Mevlānā Nūreddīn, ki elsine-i enāmda Şarı Gürz dimegle meşhūrdur, ihtiyār olınub, risālete gönderildi. Mevlāna-yı mūmā ileyh Kefeye yakın gelicek, erbāb-ı devlet-ü-ikbāl, ber mūcib-i fermān-ı ferḥunde-fāl, istikbāl idüb, i'zāz-u-iclālle şehre getürdiler. Ertesi dīvāna gelüb, mā-hüe 'l-maḥṣūdı i'lām itdi; Şehriyār-ı kāmkar cevāb-ı şavāb neyse virüb, Mevlānā-yı mezkūra bī-ḥadd-ü-kıyās nuḳūd-u-ecnās-ı in'ām iḥsān idüb, ziyāde ikrām itdi. Dönüb gelicek [197b] Ḥudāvendigār ḥazretine Şehriyār-ı kāmkaruñ itā'at-[u]-inkıyādın ve 'irz-ı memlekete müte'allik ḡayret-i ābā-vu-ecdādın 'arz-[u]-takrīr eyledi; emmā eski sancağına gitmeği teklīf-i mā-lā-yuṭāk k̄abilinden idügin işitdügi gibi bī-ḳuṣūr söyledi. Emmā Rūmilinde olması erkān-ı devletüñ eyledükleri tedbire dāmen-gīr olması muḳarrar olmağın

ziyāde girān geldi. Tekrār ādemler gönderüb, " Anaṭolı sancaqlarından birini ihtiyār it, virelüm " denilicek, Ḥazret-i Şehriyār " Babam ḥazretlerinüñ mübārek cemālin görüb, ellerin öpmek be-ğāyet murādımdur, bi-nefsih ḥużūr-ı şerīflerine 'arz idecek każāyā vardır. Ol maşlahat nihāyet buldukdan soñra, emr-i şerīfleri teveccühle şudūr-u-zuhūr bulur ise imtişāl olına " diyü cevāb virdi. Erkān-ı devlet bu cür'etden ıztırāb-u-ḥayrete ve ziyāde ḥavf-ü-ḥaşyete düşüb, tedbīr-ü-meşverete meşgūl oldılar.

Beyān-ı fitne-i cem'-i sitemkār

Hurūc-ı

ظالم از او کار افکار

Sābıkā beyān olduğu üzre Sulṭān Korkud mahrüse-i Mışırdan gelüb Anṭalya şehrinde bir miqdār ikāmet itdükden soñra, ol vilāyetüñ Etrāk-i nā-pākinden, ki şüretā ādem ve ma'nāda bir nice ḥayvān-ı lā-yefhem idiler, ṭab'-ı şerīfi ziyāde bī-ḥużūr-u-mükedder olduğu ecluden, ol yörede ikāmet itmekden ferāğat idüb, Şaruḥan vilāyetine, ki kadīmī taḥt-gāhi-ydi, [198a] gitmege nīyet itdi; aḥmāl-i eşkāl ve ḥazā'in-ü-emvāl üzerine k̄pusu ḥalkından bir miqdār ādem koyub, kendüsi ziyāde isti'cālinden gice ile çıkdı gitdi. Ol ḥavālīde olan evvbāş-ı kallāş böyle 'acele ile gitmeden Ḥazret-i Ḥudāvendigār vefāt itdi şanub, 'isyān izhār itdiler; Şehzādenüñ ḥazā'in-ü-emvāline ta'arruż kaşd itdüklerinde ol ḥidmete mübāşir olanlar muḥārebeye ikdām idüb, muḥkem kārzār itdiler. Bu ḥādişe sene-i seb'a 'aşere ve tis'a-mi'e evā'ilinde zuhūr buldı, ri'āyet-i merāsım-i ādāb, ki

ol müfsidlerin yüzünden götürülüb, halleri mekşûf olduğu mücib-i tuğyân oldu, bu kazîye-i gayr-i merzîyenün aşlında sebebi ve bâ'isi oldu: Şâh İsmâ'il-i gümrâh Büm-ı şüm gibi Gılân vilâyetinde künc-i humûlde siñüb otururken Bayındır beglerinün fetreti zamânında fırsat bulub, Erzincana ki geldi, Anaçolıda olan hulefâya-vü-ehibbâya âdem şaldı. Tekelü Etrâkinün Dike Burun füttâklerinden yanına varanlar takaddümle takarrüb bulub, Kızılbaş içinde merdânelik ve yoldâşlığ ile meşhûr oldular, 'ömrinde tîmâr yimeyen, diyârında kendüye kimse âdem dimeyen, bî-kârlar tümen begleri olub, hâdden ziyâde i'tibâr buldılar. İşiden çıkdı gitdi, mevhûm yirden ötürü muhakkağ yirin, yurdun terk idüb, çiftin çibuğun tağıtdı, evin ocağın yıkdı, yakdı harâb itdi. " Anda varan begler olurmuş " diyü zikr olan tã'ife-i hã'ife kalanları dañi kemân-ı intikâmı kurmuşlardı, zalâm-ı şâm-ı fitne büm-ı Rûmı kaçan tuta diyü eyyâm-ı fetrete ve hengâm-ı fırsata nâzır-u-muntazır tırmuşlardı.

Sultân Korkud gice ile Ançalyadan çıkub gitdügin görüb, fırsattur diyü huruç itdiler; kendülere muvafakat itmiyen Müslümânların mälların ve esbâbların gâret kılub, zirve-i işyâna 'urüc itdiler. Şâh Kulu dimeğle ma'rûf mülhid-ü müfsid, ki Şâh-ı gümrâhuñ [193b] dâ'îlerinden, mezheb-i bî-aşl-ı Şî'ayı şâyi' itmege Rûma gelen sâ'îlerindendi, Teke Etrâkinün Dike Burun füttâklerinden Gazâl-oğlu ve Çakır-oğlı ve Ulama ve Kara Mağmüd nâm müfsidler, ki fesâd pınarlarının başları-ydı, mezkûr Şâh Kulu ile ittifâk ve 'ahd-ü-mişâk itmişlerdi. Cem'iyetle huruç idüb Şâha gideler, önlerine gelen

ehl-i İslāmla cidāl-ü-kıfāl ideler. Bu każiye vākı' olıcaķ, bir birine haber idüb, 'azīm cem'iyet itdiler; civārlarında olan re'āyānuñ māl-u-menāliñ ve ehl-ü-'ayālin kendülere mübāh bilüb, bildükleri fesādı idüb, ziyāde şena'at itdiler. Ba'zı Müslümānlar şa'b tağlara kaçub, ol zalemenüñ şerr-ü-şürından ba'īd oldılar; ba'zılar halāsa mecāl bulamayub, zārūrī ceng idüb, şehīd oldular. Daħi Sulṭān Korkud Mışırda iken kara'in-i hāriciye inzimāmı-yle ol havāricüñ hurūca ikdām itmelerini ol cevānibüñ hukkāmlı bilmişlerdi; zikr olan ma'nā-yı menhiye irtikābları vuku' bulmadın devlet-i ebed-peyvendüñ menhileri vākıf olub, bāb-ı sa'adet-me'ābda olan nevvāb-ı kām-yāba i'lām kılmışlardı. Emmā ihtilāf-ı ahvāl-i eyyāmī olmağın ol każāyā 'alā mā cerā Hudāvendigāra 'arż olınmadı; Antalya Hişāri dizdārına ve kādīsine ādem gönderilüb, ol haberüñ şıdkı ve kizbi aşlı ve faşlı taḥkik kılınmadı.

Dimediler ol següñ ahvālını

[199a] Bağy-u-tügyādan yaña ikbālını

Ol zamānda Anaṭolm vilāyetinüñ beglerbegisi Kara Göz Paşa idi " ol cevānibde olan ümerāya *عقربا* " bu ictimā'ı istimā' idicek, ne tekellüf çekdi, ne tevaḥkuf gösterdi, fī-'l-hāl yanında hāzır bulunan ma'züllerden ve sipāhilerden bir miqdār ādem cem' eyleyüb, üzerlerine irsāl itdi; iki leşker bir birine buluşub, çok Müslümānlar şehīd olub, āhirete intikāl itdi. Zikr olan müfsidler ölüm eri olmuşlardı, merāret-i mevti halāvet-i hayāt üzre ihtiyār kılmışlardı. Lā-cerem gālib gelüb, mezkūrları tağıtdılar. Paşa-yı mazbūr 'askerinüñ inhizāmın işidicek,

tevaḳḳuf itmeyüb, taḡıtılan erbāb-ı tīmār ve kendüye maḥşüş olan nōker-ü-ḥidmetkārla rezme 'azm idüb, 'adū-yı bed-kirdārı karşıladı; şimşir-i ābdārla meydān-ı kārzārı germ idüb, miḡ-ı ḥün-bār-ı gerd-i neberdele miyān-ı meydānı şuladı. Bir vechle muḥārebe oldı ki, mecrūḥ olmaduḡ ādem ḳalmadı. Kızılbaş mekr-ü-ḥile tarīkine sālīk olub, Paşanın şecā'atından inhizām olur gibi oldular, Ol ḥālete müsāhede iden ma'zūller yağmaya taḡıldılar. Paşa " mekr-ü-ḥiledür, şaḳınuñ " diyü-gördi, memnū' olmadılar. Anı gördi ki, Kızılbaş askeri eṡrāfın aldı, ibtidā az görinen melā'in gitdükçe çoḡaldı. Cihān Paşanın gözine teng-ü-tār olub, ol Etrāk-i nā-pāk elinden şehīd oldı; mettebe-i şehādet, ki murādı-ydı, buldı.

Şehādet şerbetine ḳandı cānı

Maḳāmı oldı Cennt gülistānı

[199b] Mezkūr Paşa niçe müddet evc-i āsümān-ı sa'ādetde şahbāz-ı bülend-pervāz olmışdı; Sulṡān-ı ercümend-i ḥilāfet-maḳāmuñ semend-i sa'ādet-licāmına ḥidmet itmeḡle ser-efrāz olmışdı. Ḳaşṡamoniye sancaḡı himmet olınmazdan muḳaddem emīr-i aḡur idi, seferde ve ḡazerde 'ayn-i 'ināyetle manṡūr idi. Ḳaşṡamoniye sancaḡından Anaṡolı beglerbegisi olup-dururdu, müddet-i emāretinden çok zamān geḡmedin şehādet mertebesin bulup-dururdu.

Mezkūr Paşa şehīd olıcaḡ, yanındaḡılar tārūmār olıcaḡ, 'ömri piyādelikle geḡmiş aḡac ayaklu Etrāk-i nā-pāk, güzel bedevī atlara ve pūlād-ı Hindī ve Dimişḡī ḳılıçlara mālīk oldılar, Kūtahya Ḳal'asın muḡāşara ḳıldılar. Gördiler ki,

suhūletle alınmaz, eṭrāfına od urub gitdiler; oradan ṭoḡru Anatoḷı vilāyetinüñ kadīmī taḥṭı olan Bursa şehrine 'azm itdiler. Emmā serdārları-vu-pīr-ü-pīş-kademleri olan Şeyṭān Kulu bī-tevaḳḳuf Bursa cānibine gidüb, ġāret itmegi tecvīz itmedi, ol ṭarafda olan re'āyādan bir ādem buldurub getürdi, ba'zı ahvāl sordı, Ḥazret-i Ḥudāvendigāruñ ḥayātde olduğuna vāḳıf olıcak bī-ḥuzūr oldu. Leşkere sebep-i za'f-ı kalb ve tefriḳa olmasuñ diyü bu ḥaberi ketm itdi; kimesneye bildirmedi, eyitdi: " Muḳaddemā bize bir taḥaşşun idecek ḳal'a gerekdür, vaḳt-i zarūretde aña sığınavuz; muḥtemeldür ki a'dā ġālib ola, biz maḡlūb-u-menkūb ortalıḳ yirde ḳalavuz. Bursa emri soñra āsāndur " diyü, Alaşehir cānibine çekildiler. Ol zamānda Aydın ili sancāḡı begi olan Ḥasan Aḡa ve Şaruḥan sancāḡı [begi] olan İskender Beg Ve Menteşe begi olan Sinan Beg bir yire gelüb, ittifāk itdiler. Emmā içlerinden birisi ser'sker-ü-serdār ta'yin olmaduḡı [200a] eclden tedbīrleri tedmīre mübeddel oldu; birbirine serfūrū itmekden teḥāşī itdükleri eclden cümlesi inhizām buldı. Mülāhide ol vilāyetleri yıḳub yaḳdı, istedüḡi gibi virüb oldu, ba'de-hü Anṭalya ḥiṣārına geldi. Şehir ḥalkından merdāneligi olan yigitler ālāt-ı ḥarble ṭaşra çıkub, biraz dem muḳkem kārzār itdiler; emmā anlara nisbet 'adedde az olmaḡın münhezīm olub, yine ḥiṣāra girdiler. Esnā-yı muḥāşarada, 'Ali Paşanuñ kendülerüñ üzerine geliyor iḡüḡin ki işitdiler, ol ḳal'anuñ muḥāşarasından ferāḡat eyleyüb, Kızılḳaya didükleri ḥaşın mevzı'a gelüb ḳarār itdiler.

Çü sūsmār-ı gürizān be-zīr-i seng āmed

Bu dāsītān 'Alī Paşa def'-i a'dā için

Anaṭolıya 'ubūr itdügidür.

Rāvī eydür, çün mezkūr yāğī-yi bāğīnuñ 'isyānı haberi pādişāh-ı sürüş-hüşuñ gūşına girdi, Leheb-i ğazābı işti'āl bulub, fitne sākin iken ıztırāb viridi. 'Alī Paşa ol zamānda vezīr-i a'zam olub, pādişāhuñ kadīmī emek-dārı ve eski hidmet-kārı-ydı. Eyitdi " Anaṭolıda ādem olmayub, begler kötülügindendür. Bir kaç Etrāk-i nā-pākūñ ne kadar iktidārı ola ki, bu kadar fesād eyleye, daği haklarından gelinmiye? " Bilmedi ki düşmene haķāret nazarı-yle nazar itmek 'ayn-ı sefāhetdür. Düşmenüñ karınca ise sen anı aşlan bil, şīr-i ner cengine tedbīr ider gibi tedbīr kıl. Fikir kılmadı ki, ol taḫkīr itdügi Etrāke kendü daği bu kadar 'askerle cevāb virmedi, Kara Göz Paşaya ğayret-engīz-ü-'itāb-āmīz aḫkām-ı şerīfe [200b] şehīd olduğı haber[i] gelicek Hudāvendigār ziyāde müte'ellim oldı. 'Alī Paşay eyitdi, " Hudāvendigār hażretinüñ devletinde cemī'-i murādātım hāşıl olmışdur; āḫir vaqtümde bir hidmetde bulunub, ḫayr du'ānuz almak ziyāde maḫşūdumdur; eger tevfiķ-ı Haḫḫ refiķ olub ğālib olursam, zihī sa'ādet; eger şehādet müyesser olursa, zihī devlet."

Ölüm iki degül birdür cihānda

Döşekde ölme ḫanda, ḫanda ḫanda

Pādişāh daği ḫayr du'ā eyleyüb, dört biñ nefer Yeñiçerī ve dört biñ daği kapu kulından ḫoşub, cemī'-i Anaṭolı beglerine emr-i şerīf vardı ki, düşmen yarağı ile hāzır olalar, müşārün-ileyh Paşanuñ sancağı dibinēcem' olub, fermānına muntazır olalar.

Tetimme-i dāsītān-ı s̄abıku 'l-beyēn.

S̄abıkā beyēn olıduğı üzre, Sulṭān Aḥmed ḳarındāşı Sulṭān Selīm Ḥānuñ Kefeye geçdügin işidüb bī-ḥuzūr oldı; erkān-ı dīvānı cem' idüb eyitdi. " Ḳarındāşum Ḳorḳud Ḥān nāmūs-ı salṭanatı ri'āyet itmeyüb, maḥzā Mışır sulṭānı ile 'ahd-ü-mişāk ve münāsebet-ü-ittifāk için diyār-ı 'Araba 'azīmet itdi; ol maşlahat tamām olub, 'uhūd-u-mevāşik tamām mü'ekked olduḳdan şonra, yine sancağına 'avdet itdi. Ol bir ḳarındāşum Selīm Ḥān daḫi oḅlını görmegi bahāne-i şehāne idüb, Rūmiline geçdi. Babam marīz-ü- bī-mecāl olub, kendü ḫāline iştiḡālinden, yilāyet aḫvāli kemāl mertebede iḫtilāl bulub-durur. Münāsib oldur ki, muḳaddemā varub, Ḳorḳudu te'dīb eyleyem, andan Rūmiline geçüb, ḳarındāşum Selimi çıkarub, babam yirine pādişāh olam." Ḥāzır olanlar bu tezbiri begenüb, taḫrīk-ü-taḫsīn itdiler. Ertesi hemān [201a] sefer tedārikin idüb, Ankara cānibine müteveccih oldı. Ḳapuya ādem gönderüb, ḳarındāşlarınınuñ bi-lā icāze ḫareket itdüklerinden şikāyet idüb, anları te'dīb eylemek için icāzet istedi.

Ḥudāvendigār bu ḫaberdan incinüb, emr etdi ki, yerine vara, " Bir ḳarındāşuñ bi-lā taḫrīb yerinden ḳalkub ḫareket itmekle bu ḳadar fesād oldı. Senüñ memleketüñ ḫod Ḳızılbaşa ḳarīn olub, ekşer-i re'āyā ol mulḫidüñ eḫibbāsındandur, me-bādā ki, fitne-yi 'azīme bā'is olub, vilāyet ḫarāb ola. Biz senüñ ḳarındāşlarını dām-ı ri'āyetle ḳayd-ı ḡaflete düşürmek tezbirindeyüz. İn şā'a 'llāh 'an ḳarīb sühūletle ol me'müle ḫayyiz-i ḫuşūle vuşul bula.

Sulṭān Aḥmed tekrār ādem gönderüb, " Bu vilāyetde Kızılbaş ṭā'ifesinden bir kaç mülāhide zuhūr idüb, Etrāk-i bī-'aql-ü-dīnden yanlarına ḥayli melā'in cem' olmışdur. Rikāb-ı hümāyūnumda bu miqdār 'asker-i cerrār varken bu ḡazā-yı ekberi koyub gitmek teklīf-i mā-lā-yutāḡdur," diyicek, Ḥudāvendigār mesrūr olub, " 'İnāyet-i Bārī yārī kılub, ol Etrāk-i nā-pāki ortadan götüresin, bī-mani '-ü-dāfi' gelüb, serīr-i salṭanata oturasın. Emmā gerekdür ki, 'Alī Paşa ile dā'im müşāvere idüb, bir biriñüze mu'āvin-ü-zāhir olasız. " 'Alī Paşaya daḡi ḡukm-i şerīf gönderilüb, vech-i mesrūḡ üzre sipāriş olındı. Ba'dehü Rūmilinde olan sancaḡ beglerine ulāḡlar gönderilüb, ḡapuya da'vet olındılar. Onlar daḡi maşlahat tevviż-ı salṭanat idügin bilüb, bir miqdār eglendiler, 'Alī Paşa ile Kızılbaş'ı evbāşuñ şavaşı ne vechle şüret bulur, bu serencām-ı kār ve aḡvāl-ı rüzḡār nice olur görelüm, diye ḡatlandılar.

[201b] Bu cānibden merḡūm Sulṭān Selīm Ḥān, sene-i seb'a 'aşere ve tis'a-mi'e yılında, ol sāl-i ferḡunde-fālūñ evā'ilinde Kefeden Aḡḡırman semtine 'azīmet itdi. Menāzil-ü-merāḡilde vāḡı' olan re'āyāyı 'ādet-i mu'tādı üzre kemāl-i 'adālet ile ri'āyet itdi. Ḥudāvendigāruñ eyyām-ı ferāḡatinde erkān-ı devletūñ begligi vardı, tecerrüd-i mülki sebep-i helāk olmuşlardı, yüze bakacak yüzleri yoḡ idi, anuñ çün perīşān olmuşlardı. Aḡir-i kār Şehriyār-ı kāmkaruñ cür'et-ü-iḡdāmını ḡusūmete ḡaml idüb, tekrār Rūmili beglerine " Mu'accilen gelesiz " diyü ulāḡlar gönderdiler. " Çün ḡaraż maḡzā babasınūñ elin öpmekdi bu deñlü

kerr-ü-fer ve *‘azīm* leşkerle gelmek ne lāzımdı, " didiler. Muḳābeleğe, belki muḳāteleğe taşmīm-i ‘azm itdiler. Emmā, cūn Rūmili beglerinūñ cūmlesi gelüb cem‘ olmamışlardı, iḳdām itmeyüb, ḥāzır bulunan ḳapu ḥalkı-yle ve sancak begleri-yle muḥāfaḳa-i ‘askere mülā’imdür, diyü Edirne ḳurbinde olan ovaya ḳıḳdılar. Rūmili beglerbegisi Ḥasan Paşaya emr oldı ki, Ḥunḳāruñ tuḒını bir menzil ilerü iledüb, Muşallāḳurbinde naşb eyliye. Ol ḥidmet ḳapucı başlarına mufavvaż idi, emmā maḥall-i ḥaḳar olmaḒın ḥazer eylediler. Mezkūr Paşa tuḒı olub giderken, ḳarşudan Şehriyāruñ tuḒ-ı sa‘ādet-fürūḒı zāhir oldı, Paşaya ḳ deḥşet gelüb, ilerü varamayub, yine gerūsine ḳekildi.

Ḥudāvendigār emr eyledi ki, ‘ale ‘s-seher leşker-i zafer-rehber süvār olub, kendü taḥt-ı revāna bindi, Çuḳur Çayırı dimeḒle ma‘rūf mergzārda ḳondı. Bu cānibden ḥaḳret-i Şehriyār daḒi bir mürtefi‘ yirden ‘atasinuñ ‘askerin temāşā ḳıldı. NāḒāḒ sebze-puş bir ‘araba ile Ḥıẓr ḥaḳreti gibi ‘iyān oldı, vālid-i sa‘īdi anda olduḒın bilüb, gözleri yaşla ḳolı. Ḥudāvendigār daḒi emr itdi ki, ‘arabanuñ örtüsün götüreler, [202a] tāki keddüyi görmezse, bār-u-büngāhuñ ve ḥayme-vü-ḥār-gāḒın ırakdan temāşā [ḳıla]..Her ḳend ki, dikkat idüb naḳar şaldı, rıḳḳatle göz yaşı ḥā’il olub, görilmedi. Ol gice iki ‘asker bir birine ḳarşu muḳābil ḳarār ḳıldılar, ertesi dīvānı ‘ālī-şāna ādemī gelüb, "Bu ‘atebe-i ‘ulyānuñ ziyāreti iḳün mesāfet-i ba‘īdeden iḥrām-ı iḥtirāmı giyüb, yüz sürmeḒe gelevüz; sebeb-i taḳşır nedür ki, deşt-būs şerefinden maḥrūm olub, bu deḒlū iḥānete müsteḥaḳ olavuz. Cevānib-i müteferriḳadan gelen ḳevā’if-i muḥtelifeye

ta'zīm-ü-iclāl, bu muhlış-ı bī-iştibāhlarına hakāret-ü- izlāl kemāl-i diyānetlerine münāsib degildür." Varan ādemlerine vāfir ihsān eyledi. " Anlaruñ ri'āyeti ehem-i mühimmātdandır; anuñ tedārükindeyiz; in şā'a 'llāh ber-murād olalar. " Ba'dehu Mevlānā Nüreddīni da'vet idüb, emr eyledi ki, Hāzret-i Şehriyāra varub buluşa, Hudāvendigār cānibinden taḥıyyet-ü-selām bula, feth-i kelām-u-'arż-i merām eyleyüb, maḳşūd-ı aşlī nidügin bilüb gele. Varub bu ḫaberi getürdi ki, " Benüm aḳşā-yı murād-u-muḳtażā-yı fu'ādım babam ḫāzretlerinüñ mübārek ellerin öpmekdür. Çün şe'āmet-i ṭāli'-ü-nühüset-i rāci' 'ā'ik-u-māni' olub, naşīb olmadı. Elden ne gelür, emr kendüleriñdür. Bārī Rūmilinde, serḫadd-i İslām olan yerlerde, bir vilāyetüñ eyāleti himmet olına. "

Pādişāh bu cevābı işidüb, ḫayr du'ā eyledi. Vüzerā yine bu miḳdār meyl-i ḫāṭır fehmi idicek mekr-ü-iḫtiyāle başlayub, eyitdiler. " Taḫta ḫarīb yerde sancaḫ tevciye olunmaḫ cā'iz degildür; āmme-i nāsuñ ol cānibe meyli ve maḫabbeti vardur; nāgāh bir fitneye sebep olmaya. [202b] Münāsib oldur ki, memleketüñ eṭrāfında ḫıfz-u-ḫirāseti vācib olan yerde bir sancaḫ ta'yīn olına, tāki sāye-i himāyetinde olan cevānib maḫfūz ola. Bosna ve Semendre ve Mora sancaḫlarınıñ birin iḫtiyār itsün," didiler. Şehriyār-ı kāmḫār daḫı Semendre ḡāzīler ocaḫı olmaḫın ḫabül eyledi. Mevlānā Nüreddīn gelüb, ḫüsn-i ḫabülin 'arż idicek, zerrīn-külāh-u-simīn-kemer, bir niçe ḡılmān-ı meh-peyker ve bir niçe ṭavīle esb-i ḡüzīn-i zerrīn-zīn ve bir niçe ḫatar cimāl-u-biḡāl irsāl olındı ve nuḫūd-[u]-emvālüñ



sürh-u-sefīdinden ol kadar in'ām olındı kı, şūret-i erkām cerīde-i evhāma sığmak müyesser degüldi. Ve 'ahd-nāme yazıldı ki, " Mādām ki Hüdāvendigār hayātda ola, kimesneyê yerine pādişāh itmeye; ol maşlahat Hāk celle ve 'alānuñ irādetine ve meşīyetine mufavvaż ola."

Hāzret-i Şehriyāra Semendre sancağı tevciye olınıcak, şol beg-zādeler, kim zulmet-ābād-ı felāketde kalmışlardı, zerre-vār ol āfitāb-ı 'ālem-tābuñ yanına cem' oldılar. Vüzerā eyitdi. " Şehzāde bu üslüb üzre bu vilāyetde bir müddet daħi iķāmet iderse, muķāvemet 'asir olur. Münāsib oldur ki, ādem gönderüb, Semendre serhadd-i küffārdur, hirāseti mühimm kenārdur, diyü sancağına gönderile." Hāzret-i Şehriyāra bu haber gelicek buyurdi ki, " Memleket içinde olan re'āyādan bir nice Etrāk-i nā-pāk işyān eyleyüb, Müslūmanlara ne miķdār ızrār eylemişlerdür. Anlaruñ def'i ehemmi-mühimmātdandur; şöyle ki, ol maşlahat tamām ola gitmemüz āsāndur." Tekrār ādem gelüb, " İmtisāl gāyetde murāddur," diyü iķdām olındı. Ol daħi atası rızāsın [203a] gözleyüb, bir kaç menzil ilerü gitdi; Zağrada yanında olan ümerā-vu-erkānı cem' idüb, turmağla gitmenüñ kankısı enfa' olduğın müşāvere itdi. İçlerinden bir şā'ib-tedbīr, ki söz tarzında lā-naẓīr idi, eyitdi. " Şimdi rikāb-ı hümāyūnuñuzda otuz biñe yakın ādem cem' olmışdur; Anaṭolıyı pāymāl idüb, ehl-i ḍalāl aḥvāli ber-ṭaraf olmayınca, bu diyārdan intikāl münāsib-i ḥāl-ü-me'āl degüldür. Der-i devlete cem' olan 'askere niçün icāzet verilmeye, ictimā'-ı 'askerden murād işlāḥ-ı memleketse, niçün sizüñ mu'āvenetüñüzle olmaya. Eger Sultān

Ahmedi getürüb pādişāh itmeki-çün ise niçün anlara icāzet virilmeden bu vilāyetden gidile. Tīr-i tedbīr hedef-i işābete muķārin olması maķşūd ise, vācibdür ki, şāhid-i murāddan gözümüz ayırmayavuz; işümüz ilerü varduğun dilersevüz lāzimdür ki, ser-rişte-i kārı elümüzden çıkarmayavuz."

Dirīğ sūd ne-dāred çü reft kār ez dest
Çün ol emīr-i kelāmuñ kelām-ı cevāhir-intizāmına hāṭır-ı şerīf mā'il oldı, lā-cerem leşkerine istirāhata ruḥṣat virilüb, kendü sa'ādetle bir kaç gün ikāmete nīyet kıldı.

Tetimme-i dāsitān-ı Sultān Aḥmed bā-'Alī Paşa
Merḥūm Sultān Aḥmed kendüyi 'arūs-i cülūs-i mülk-i Rūma nāmzed i'tikād idüb, özini dāmād bilmışdi. Kızılbaş teveccühi maķşūd bi 'l-'arż idüb, maķşūdına vāşıl olmaķ isterdi. 'Alī Paşa daḥi bunca rüzgārdı Sultān Aḥmedüñ hevādārı, belki bir bende-i maşlahat-güzārı-ydı, zimām-ı ihtiyārı Şehzādenüñ teveccühi semtine tevcīh eyledi. Bir şahrāda şeref-i mülā.ķāta munṭazır oldı. 'Ale 's-seher emr eyledi ki, cümle bölükler kāmūn-ı kadīm-i 'Osmānī üzre bölük-bölük yol üstinde iki cānibden [203b] biri birine karşı şaff bağlayub ṭurdılar; devletle karşıdan zāhir olıcaķ, du'ālar ve şenālar idüb, önüne düşüb, otağına getürdiler. Ol daḥi her ṭā'ifenüñ 'alā ḥiddetin menziline nūzl-ü-ziyāfet gönderüb, vāf ir in'ām eyledi; Paşayı ḥalvet-i ḥāşşa da'vet idüb, ḥvön-ı iḥsān ile ṭoyladı. Memlekete müte'allik aḥbārı nuķl-i meclīs idindiler. Şehzāde ḥazretlerine ol gün ol kadar inşirāḥ-u-irtiyāḥ ḥāşıl olub sevindi, ki kendüyi ol gün

hemān memālik-i Rūma pādişāh oldı şandı, İttifāk ol esnada Kıpūdan 'Alī Paşaya bir mühimm için ulāk gelmişdi; ol ādem Sultān Selīmūñ Edirneye gelüb, Semendre sancagı virildügin diyicek, Paşa bu haber mūcib-i melāl ola, diyü Şehzādaye dinilmesinden men' eylemişdi. Mezkūr ādem ol haberūñ ihfāsını nev'an hıyānetden 'add idüb, Şehzādeyi şikār üstinde tenhā bulub söyledi; ol daği bī-ħuzūr olub, 'askere tefriķaya sebep olmasuñ, diyü ifşāsından men' eyledi.

Bu cānibden, Kızılbaş sığınduğı Kızıl Kayanuñ iki tarafdan yolu vardı, biri Paşanuñ 'askerle tırduğı maħalden idi; biri daği Karaman vilāyeti cānibi-ydi. Karaman beglerbegisi olan Haydār Paşa iki sancak begi beglerdi. Haber geldi ki, ol güm-rāhlar Karaman cānibine hücūm idüb, Haydār Paşa ile olan 'askerle muķābil olub, ol iki biñ kişi tārūmār olub, Haydār Paşa şehādet mertebesin bulur. 'Alī Paşa bu haberi işidicek şikārın aldırmiş şāhīn gibi şerm-sār düşer. Fi 'l-ħāl kapu halkından ve Yeñiçerī tē'ifesinden ve sā'ir erbāb-ı tīmārdan ılgara ikdidārı olanı cem' ider, mezkūrlaruñ 'akablarında kovub, [204a] Şarmısaķlı nām menzilde ardlarından irer. Ol mem'ūnlar ziyāde yorgun ve bī-mecāl olmuşlardı, görürler ki Paşanuñ yanınca gelen 'asker kendülerūñ nişfınca yok, kaçmak tehbīrin iderken, kaçmayub tırurlar. Paşa daği 'akabından ılgarla gelen leşker cem' olub 'alay bağlayınca, şabr itmez, tehevüren hücūm idüb, bir birinūñ üzerine yürürler. Merħūmuñ ecel-i maħtūmi ezel-i āzāalde merķūm olduğı üzre yetişüb, esnā-yı muħārebede mecrūh olur, ol cerāhatden düşüb, şehādet mertebesin bulur.

Ꞑıldı ol mefhar-i erbāb-ı cinān

Pādişeh yolına cānın ꞑurban

Mezꞑūr Paşa düşicek Şeytān Ꞑulı didikleri müfsīd-i pelīd ceng içinde nā-bedīd oldu, yer delindi yere mi girdi, göge mi çıktdı, kimse bilmedi. 'Adū-yı kīne-cūy tarafından çok ādem düşüb, tamām inkisār-u-inhizām gelmişdi, emmā ol necm-i sa'ādet üfūle varmağla, 'asker-i zafer-rehberüñ yıldızı düşüb, ittikā-vu-ı i'timād idecek kimesneleri ꞑalmamışdı. La-cerem ceng-ü-cidālden el çeküb, bir cānibe 'azm itdiler. Baꞑıyetü 's-seyf olan mülāhide daꞑı başların alub, bir cānibe çekilüb gitdiler.

Bu canibden, Sultān Aḥmed 'askerle oturub, aḥbār-ı nuşrete intizārda iken Paşanuñ düşdüğü ḡaberi geldi; vālih-ü-müteḡayyir ꞑalub, baḡr-i ḡayrete ḡaldı. İttifāꞑ ol esnāda Ḥudāvendigāruñ Ꞑonyada olan oğlı Sultān Şehinşāh ecel-i mev'ūdi-yle āḡirete gitdüğü ḡaberi gelür; resm-i 'azā itmāma yetişmedin 'Alī Paşanuñ düşdüğü, leşker şınduğı ḡaberleri vuşül bulur; binā'en 'alā hāzā 'ālī dīvān olub, erkān-ı a'yān cem' olur; memleket aḡvāli tedbīr ꞑılunur. Ekşer-i erkānuñ re'yi ana münceer olur ki, Rumili ꞑapuda ḡāzır iken Sultān Aḡmedi getürüb, zimām-ı aḡkāmı eline vireler. Erkānuñ ulularından birisi, memleketi iştirākle taşarrufa [dikkatle] tebdīl-i mülke cevāz göstermedi, eyitdi: " Ma'ꞑūl oldur ki, Şehzādeleri yine yerle[rine göndireler,] [204b] Sultān Aḡmed yerine varmaꞑdan imtina' iderse Ꞑaraman eyāletin zamīme ideler." Mezꞑūr 'Alī Paşanuñ fevt olması-yle istiklāle gelüb, ber-ꞑarār-ı sābıꞑ memlekete istedüğü gibi mutaşrrıf olmaꞑ fikrine düşmişdi, āḡar

tedbire rāzı degüldi.

Emmā, çün Pādişāh-ı 'ālem-penēh, tevātür-i tevālī-yi ālām-ı rūhānī ve şiddet-i kuvvet-i emrāz-ı cismānīden ziyāde müte'ellim olmışdı, " Oğlum Sultān Ahmedî getürmege tarīk-ı şavāb-u-vech-i ma'kūl neyse aña meşkül oluñ, min ba'd pādişāhuñuz oldur " didi. Emmā, çün ol emrūñ itmāmı dükeli Rūmili sancağ beglerinūñ kabūline mevķūfdı, zıkr olan begleri getürüb, Hudāvendigār huzūrında ğılāz-u-şidādla yeminler virdiler. Anlar da " Pādişāhuñ kullıyuz, cānımız, başımız Hudāvendigār uğurına fedā " didiler. Şehriyār hazretinūñ def'ine dañi bu vechle tedbir eylediler ki, sancağına gitmeği teklif ideler; kendüler İstābul cānibine 'azīmet ideler; sancağına gitmeyüb, Edirne'de karar iderse, Sultān Ahmedî getürüb, İstābulda tahta geçürüb, 'anuñ def'ine mübāşeret ideler.

Hicretūñ tokuz yüz on yedisi Rebī'ü 'l-Āhirinde İstābul cānibine 'azm olındı, Rūmili 'askerine destür virilmeyüb, bile alub gitdüğinden maķşūd-u-nīyeti ve aķsā-yı himmeti n'idüğü ma'lūm olub, bilindi. Rūmili beglerinūñ ba'zı Hudāvendigāruñ Şehriyār-ı kāmķarla eyledüğü mu'āhedenūñ hilāfın görüb, hazret-i Şehriyāra mütāba'at itdiler; İstābula 'azīmet iden 'askerūñ ardına düşüb, işūñ soñın gözetdiler. Çorlı Şuyı kurbinde vāķı' olan meşūm şahrāda konılab, otururken yetişdiler.

Şehriyār-ı kāmķār 'asker-i cerrārına ışmarladı ki, [205a] kimesneye müte'arriż olmayub, ebsem turalar; olcānibden ibtidā ne zāhir olur göreler. Bu cānibden vüzerā Hudāvendigāra eyitdiler. " Fırşat eldeyken fevt itmeyüb, cenge āheng itmek

gerekdür. Bunlar ılgārla gelmişler, zebün-u-bī-mecāl olmuşlardır, söyle ki, yine te'hîr olına, sū'-i tedbîrle saltanat elden gitmesi muqarrerdür." Her çend ki, Hudāvendigār riżā virmedi, ikdām itdiler. Egerçi 'āciz olub, ihtiyârı ellerine verdi; emmā kendü nūr-ı dīdesine du'ā idüb, " Hakk te'āla kazādan şaklaya " derdi. Cenge icāzet olıcağ, kırk biñ miqdârı ādem bir uğurdan hücüm idüb, at saldılar.

Deryā-yı maşāff cūşa geldi

Seylāb-ı belā hurūşa geldi

Hażret-i Şehriyār, atası tarafından *قول* hātırı-çün ne vaż' zāhir ola diyü tururken, gördi ki, ol 'asker-i bī-mer kara bulut gibi yerinden kopub, üzerine yürüdi; gerd-i neberd 'ālemi bürüdi. 'Askerini men' ideyim diyü kıbil olmadı, nevā'ir-i harb-ü-kıtāl ol vechle işti'āl bulmamışdı ki, āstīn-i teskīn ile muntafī olaydı. Nā-çār el-bādī azlem diyü ümürin Hakkā tefvīz eyledi. Şadā-yı darb-u-harb ile şark-u-ğarb tolub, ol hādise-i kübrāya kevn-ü-makān serāsīme ve hayrān oldu.

Hażret-i Şehriyār etrāfına bakdı ki, gördi, yanında olan 'asker-i bī-şümār tārümār olub, anlarıñ yirine a'dā-yı hāksār tolmış; ol mäh-ı 'ālem-penāhı hāle gibi ihāta kılmış, hamīyet kemerin bağlanub, gayret kılıcın kuşanan merdāne yigitlerden, bir kaç nefer kimesne kalmış. ol yegāneler ki, kadīmī hıdmetkārları-ydı, naqd-i hayātı maşārifine şarf eylemişler.

[205b] Hażret-i Şehriyār ol bed-kirdārlarıñ taħrīki-yle babasınıñ bu vechle sitem-kārlığın görüb, bübārek hātırına fütür geldi; ol girdāb-ı belādan kenār-ı selāmete çıkmāğı kendüye lāzım-u-vācib

bildi. Qara Deñiz sâhiline dek, bir iki menzil yerdür, yürüyüb karar kılmadı. Varna didükleri iskelede, ki Qara Deñizün yanındadır, nüzül eyledi. Etrâfdan inhizâm-u-inkisârdan perişân olan 'asker-i cerrâr kevâkib-i sevâbit-ü-seyyâr gibi zâhir olub, pervâne-misâl ol şem'-i cem'-i salţanat yanına cem' oldılar. İki üç biñ miqdârı âdem olduğınlayın Rümili beglerinden birin anlara baş diküb, Aşkirmân cānibine gönderdi. Kendü ba'z-ı havâşş-ı hademi-yle anda bulunan gemilerine girüb, Kefeye şaldurdı. Nihâl-i bâğ-ı devlet-ü-iqbâl, semere-i şecere-i salţanat-ı iclâl, Bülend himmet ü bisyâr dâde endek sâl Hülâşa-i Âl-i 'Osmâ, manzûr-ı Sübhân, oğlı Sultân Süleymân edâma 'llâhü devlete-hü fî külli ânin ve zamân Kefe diyârında sa'âdetle mütemekkin olub, sâye-i hümâyûnında 'âlem hurrem olmışdı. Hazret-i Şehriyâr dañi 'inan-ıhtiyârın ol cānibe munşarîf kılub, ol kevkeb-i salţanat ne yirden tulu' itdi-yse, yine ol tarafa rücû' kıldı.

Bakîye-i dâsitân-ı sâbıku 'l-beyân

Mezkûr Sultân Selîm Hân bu vech ile münhezim-ü-perişân olduğına cemî'-ı kapu kulları ve Yeñiçerî tã'ifesi ziyâde münkesirü 'l-kalb olmışlardı. İstanbula gelindükde 'âli' divân olub, ümür-ı salţanat meşveret kılandı. Vüzerâdan ba'zı, ki mühimmât-ı memleket anlaruñ hüsn-i tedbîrine [206a] mufavvağdı, eyitdiler: " Münāsib-i hâl oldur ki, Sultân Selîm Hâna ri'âyet-i tamâm قلو kıllına, ba'de ol huşuş âsândur. Şimdi Sultân Selîm ile huşümet olunursa muķâvemet münteni'dür. Cemî'-i

re'āyā-vu-'asākir bizi koyub, aña mu'āvenet itmek mükerredür. Sulṭān Aḥmede daḥi Karaman vilāyeti virilüb, bir kaç gün tünd-bād-ı fitne sākın olduğdan soñra, yine ol maşlahata mübāseret olına." Bu tedbīr-i dil-pezir tamām maḡbūl olub, Sulṭān Aḥmede i'lām olıcaḡ, ḡabūl itmedi. Hudāvendigār bildi ki, oḡlı ifā-yi 'ahdden ḡayri nesne ile mütesellī olmaḡ müyesser degüldür, ol tedbīrde olub, Rūmili 'askerine icāzet virmedi. Sulṭān Aḥmed daḥi tevaḡḡuf itmeyüb, ba'zı muḡarrıklar mektūbları-yle İstanbul cānibine döndi. Maldepesi dimekle ma'rūf yirde, ki şehirle mā-beyni bir menzil yirdür, tevābi'i-yle gelüb ḡondı. 'Arz-ı intisāb iden erkān-ı a'yān tehniyet-i ḡudūm için el öpmege, pīşkeşler ihzārına meşḡūl oldılar. Şöyle tedbīr olındı ki, Şehzāde İstanbula geḡüb, babasınıñ elin öpe, ba'dehü Rūmili begleri da'vet olınub, Sulṭān Aḥmedi ser-'asker idüb, Sulṭān Selīm üzerine göndireler. Ol maşlahat tamām olduğdan soñra iş ḡolay olur. İrtesi 'ale 's-seher deryāyı geḡmek muḡarrer ḡılındı.

Yeñiçerī tā'ifesi bu ittifāḡı işidüb, Hudāvendigār Sulṭān Selīmle itdüḡi 'ahd-ü-mişāḡı naḡz itdüḡine bī-ḡuzūr oldılar. Bir yire gelüb, tedbīr itdiler. Bunlaruñ nısfı 'Alī Paşa ile Anaḡolıda bile olub, Sulṭān Aḥmedi görmişlerdi; Cür'et-ü-şecā'at-ü-saḡāvetine ve sā'ir aḡvāli[ne] tamām vāḡıf olmuşlardı. [206b] Eyitdiler: " Kendü re'āyāmuz olan bir niçe Etrāk-i nā-pāk ḡurūc-u-zuhūr idüb, bunca fesād eyledi. 'Alī Paşa bu miḡdār 'asākir ile varub, mülāḡı oldı, yine su -i tedbīr ile ihmāl-ü-müsāhele[den] ḡayri nesnesi zāhir olmadı. Al-i 'Osmānuñ ḡayretin

yirde haşır koyub, anlaruñ haqlarından gelimeyen, riyāset-i 'āme, ki Haq te'ālādan kullarına nübüvvete mu'ādil bir sa'ādetdür, anuñ haqqından gelinmek mumteni' hāletdür."

Lā-cerem ol gice, cem'iyet ittifāqla mezkūr Sultān Aḥmede izhār-ı intisāb iden erkān-ı devletüñ evlerin başdılar; esbāb-u-emvālden bulınanı yağmalayub; kemān-ı şevketlerin yaşdılar. Nukūd ve ecnās-ı akmışe-vü-libās ve evānī-yi sīmīn-üzerrīn bir vechle mebzūl oldu ki mücrim-ü-'āşī gibi kimse yüzine bakmazdı. Esbāb-u-emvālden ayrılduklarından ol kadar infi'āl gelmezdi, nite ki Sultān Aḥmedüñ tarīk-ı saltanatı münsedd olduğundan bī-ḥuzūr olmuşlardı. Sultān Selīm haqqında vākı' olan kuşūr-ı hizmetden ve sâ'ir mekīdet-ü-muḥālefetden helāk olub, itdüklerin bulmuşları.

Bu cānibdan, Sultān Aḥmed daḥi 'arūs-ı cülūs der-āğuş itmek hevāsına düşüb, ol gice cām-ı sürūr-encāmıla şabāḥ çıkarmışdı. Seherden ādem gelüb, olan vākı'ayı diyicek, Şehzāde yine bī-ḥuzūr olub, İstanbula geçmege iqdām itmedi, men' daḥi olındı. Bir kaç gün ol maqāmda ārām itdi, gitmedi, Kapu halkı ve Yeñiçerī t̄ā'ifesi kendüden teneffür-ü-i'rāz eylemelerine sebep-i küllī, umūr-ı saltanatda līnet-ü-mülāyemet üzerine olub, şiddet-ü-şalābet üzerine olmaduğın bilüb, "Siyāsetde kuşūrüm ne dür?" [207a] didi. Anaḥolı vilāyetin muḥaddemā zarbı kabza-i teshīre alub, andan tahta gelmek kaşd itdi. Hażret-i Hudāvendigārdan def'ātle istimālet-nāmeler ve ri'āyetler 'arz olındı. Kaḥ'ā mütenaşşıḥ olmayub, peder-i ferḥunde-aḥterinüñ pend-i südmendi kulagına girmedi. Evvelā vilāyet-i Yünāna, ki

şimdi Karaman dirler, kaşd eyleyüb, qarındaşı Şehinşāh marhūmuñ oğlı Sultān Muḥammad üzerine, ki dedesi berāti-yle babası yerine şehriyārdı, vardı. Her nice ki, men' olındı memnū' olmadı. Ḥazret-i Ḥudāvendigār nuḫūd-ı himmetini Sultān Aḥmede ḥarc idüb, mevki'inde vākı' olmaduğundan kemāl-mertebede bī-ḥuzūr oldı. Emmā 'ārından kemāl-i infi'ālin vüzerāya izhār itmeyüb, ol ḥuşuşı cānib-i Ḥaḳka ḥavāle kıldı. Eglenmeyüb, Sultān Selīm Ḥān tarafından ādem gelüb, ma'zeret mektübün getürdi. Vākı' olan kārzār-ı bī-iḥtiyār için i'tizār kılmış. Ḥazret-i Ḥudāvendigār zarūret zamānında za'iyet mālına uz itmeyüb, 'adālet itdüğine āferin-ü-taḥsīn itdi. Mektüb getiren ādemlern[e] ri'āyet idüb, kendüye Rūmilinden Semendre ve Yangbölü sancaqların virdi.

Sultān Aḥmed fermān-ı 'ālī-şāna imtişāl itmeyüb, Konyayı muḥāşara itdüğü 'irz-ı saltānata iḥtilāl gelmişdi. Mecnū'-ı kapı kulları andan i'rāz idüb, ḥazret-i Şehriyāra havādār olmuşlardı. Sultān Aḥmed Karamanı zabt idüb, Sultān Muḥammedi kendüye tābi' itmeyle mecnū'-i Anaḫolı vilāyetine mālīk oldum şandı. Sultān Muḥammed 'amūsınuñ üzerine gelüb, kal'asın istedüğü ḥaberin 'arz eyledi: " Kal'anuñ içine gir, kimseye virme. [207b] Biz senüñ tedārükiñdeyüz " dinildi. Niçe müddet muḥāşarada kaldı; mu'āvenet için kimse zāhir olmadı; nāçār olub, muşālahaya rāzı oldı. Sultān Aḥmedüñ böyle varub, Konya şehrini, ki burc-ı evliyā-vü-dürce-i aşfiyādur, muḥāşara itdüğüne kapu ḥalkı ve Yeñiçerī cemā'ati ziyāde bī-ḥuzūr oldılar; " Ferman-ı 'ālī-şānla taşarruf olınan sancağın taşrrufına māni' olmak 'işyān-u-ḫuğyāndur " diyü, müctemi'an dīvāna geldiler.

Ḥazret-i Ḥudāvendigār daḡi anlaruñ inkisārından ziyāde inkisārı vardı, be-ğāyet incinüb, ḡatırını Sultān Aḡmetden i'rāz itdi, vüzerāya: " Maşlahat neyse tedārük idüñ " didi. Aḡir-i kar şöyle tedbīr olındı ki, Sultān Selīmi getürüb ser-'asker ideler, Sultān Aḡmed ebsem olmaz ise üzerine varub, def'-i zarar ideler. Fi 'l-ḡāl ḡukm-i şerīf irsāl olındı.

Ḥazret-i Şehriyār ol zamānda cengde zāyi' olan ḡazīnesin ve kitābların bi 't-tamāmı ve 'l-kemāl babası yine kendüye irsāl itdügin görüb, Kefeden göçüb Aḡkirmana, andan daḡi göçüb, Prāvadi dimekle ma'rūf kaşabada ḡonub, oturdu. 'Inān-ı iḡtiyārın ḡazret-i Kirdigāruñ yed-i iḡtidārına teslīm idüb, el-leyletü ḡublā mücibince seḡerden ne ḡādişe vuḡū' bula diyü, gözedüb-tururdu. Yeñiḡerī Kethudāsı olan Bal yemez gelüb, da'vet ḡukmin getüricek, tīr-i maḡşudı nişāna vuşul buldı, şimdiye degin çekdügi meşekḡat-ı ālām-ı azḡān ihlāle mütebeddil oldı.

A'ādīden ḡayri kimesnede ḡuşşa-vü-ḡasāvet ḡalmadı. Hemān te'ḡīr itmeyüb, devletle İstanbul cānibine, ki dārü 'l-mülk-i selāḡīn-i Rüm-u-Yünān olub, leḡāfet-i mebnā-vü-ḡaşānet-i binā ile müşārün ileyh bi 'l-benāndur, قاضی 'azīmet ḡıldı. [203a]

Bu cānibden erkēn-u-a'yāndan merḡūm Sultān Selīm ḡāna bed-ḡümān olanlar ser-'askerlik iḡün da'vet olınuḡın görüb, ḡased itdiler. Mekr-ü-iḡtiyāl sebīline sālīk olub, Sultān Ḳorḡuda ḡaber gönderdiler: " Saltānatdan şafāñ var ise neylerseñ eyleyüb, mu'accelen gelüb, Yeñiḡerī iḡine gir " didiler. Sultān Ḳorḡud ḡarıdaşı Sultān Aḡmed 'asker-i girānla üzerine teveccūh itdügin iḡidüb, bī-ḡuzūr olmışdı. Hemān üç dōrt nefer ādemle

ılgar idüb, Miħaliçe gelür; andan gemiye girüb, İstanbula
vuşul bulur. Tođru Yeñiçeri odalarına gelüb, mescide nüzul
ider. Babası işidüb bî-ħużur olur. 'Ale 'l-ğafle icāzetsüz
geldüginüñ sebebi sorulduķda " Sultān Aħmetden ihtirāz idüb
geldüm " der. Sultān Selīmüñ da'vetine beşāret ħükmi gitdügin
işidür. Sevdā-yı salṭanatla dām-ı miħnete giriftār olduđın
muħaķķaķ bilür, birķaç gün żarüri ikāmet kılur.

Ķudüm-ı Sultān Selīm be-şehr-i Ķoştanṭınıye.

Bu cānibden, Sultān Selīm şehre ķarīb olıcaķ ber-mücib-i
fermān-ı 'ālī-şān cemī'-i ekābir-ü-a'yān ve erkān-ı dīvān
ķavī-vü- nā-tüvān istikbāl ideler. Ta'zīm-ü-iclālle devlet-ü-
ikbāl-misāl ķarşu çıkub, şehre getüreler. Mecmū'-ı 'ālem ayađ
üzerine geldi, küçe-vü-esvāk 'avret-ü-ođlanla ṭoldı. Sipāhīnūñ
dülbendinden, Yeñiçeri[nüñ] aķ börkinden şehrūñ içi gül-ü-
zanbaķı açılmış güleşene döndi. Sultān Ķorkud dađı ķarşu çıkub,
iki ķarındaş bir biri-yle at üzerinde vāfir muşāħabet idüb,
Edirne Ķapusından iķerü girildükde ayrılub, Sultān Selīm
Yeñibāğçeye ķondı. [208b] 'Ale 'ş-şabāħ semend-i himmet-bülende
süvār olub, vālid-i sa'īdi Sultān Bāyezīdüñ elin öpmek iķün
sarāy-ı semā-simāya müteveccih oldı. Ķapu ħalkı öñince her ne
ki var, piyāde-vü-süvār yürüyüb, meclis-i ħāşşa vuşul buldı.
Ķudāvendigār ħāżreti ođlınuñ bu ķadar iṭā'at-u-inķiyādın görüb,
mübārek ellerin ķaldurub du'ā eyledi. Yeñiçeri ve ķapu ħalkı
ziyāde muħabbet idüb, ħāżret-i Şehriyāri ħvāh-u-nā-ħvāh serīr-i

salṭanata geçürmegi taṣmīm-i 'azm itdiler. Vüzerā ḥāle vākıf
 olub, ḥaḳıḳat-ı ḥāli Pādişāha 'arz idicek, Pādişāh-ı 'ālem-
 penāh daḥi şafā-yı ḥātır-u-ḥüsn-i rızā ile ḳabül eyledi. Sene-i
 semāne 'aşere ve tis'a-mi'e Şaferinüñ evā'ilinde tefvīz-ı
 salṭanat beşāreti gelüb, zemīn-ü-zamān behcet-ü-sürürla ṭoldı.

Ol zamān geçmişdi Hicretten ṭokuz yüz on sekiz
 Heftüm-i mäh-ı Şafer Şenbe günü Şāh-ı kerīm
 Tāht-gāh-ı Rūma geçdi fażl-ı bi-'smi 'llāh ile
 'Adl ile bu mülki dil-şād eyleye Sulṭān Selīm
 Bundan şoñra vaḳı' olan vaḳā'i 'Defter-i Tāsi'de silk-i kilke
 getürülüb, mezkūr ve mestūr olsa gerekdür; gerdan-ı ḥāme-vü-
 güş-ı nāme ol cevāhir-i zevāhirle zīb-ü-zīnet bulsa gerekdür.

[112b] Ed-Defterü 't-Tāsi' mine 'd-defātiri

'l-mevsūmeti bi 's-Süleymāniye fī siyeri

'l-Ḳayseri 't-tāsi' mine 'l-Ḥulefā'i 'l-'Osmāniye.

İktizā-yı kazā-yı ezeli ve muktezā-yı te'sir-i taqdīr-i
Lem-yezeli şunun üzerine cārīdür ki, serir-i gerdün-nazir-i
hilāfete şāhib-şadr olanlarıñ birisinin gurre-i kadri evc-i
kemāle irdükden sonra hażīz-ı zevāle rücū' idüb, bedr-i 'ümri
selḥ olur. Birisi daḥi hilāl-mişāl ufq-ı sa'ādet-ü-iqbālden
tulū' idüb, āfitāb-ı 'ālem-tāb gibi zuhūr bulur.

Çarḥ-ı gerdünda böyledür kânün

Ay tolunsa güneş tulū' eyler

Bu gelür yirine ider iqbāl

Menzile çün ki ol rücū' eyler

Sünnetü 'llāhi 'lletī kad halet min kabli ve len-tecide
li-sünneti 'llāhi tebdilā.²

Olur her 'ālemüñ bir kāmranı

Ki ol karnüñ olur şāhib-ķırānı

Cihāndan ol gider bir gün yerüni

Biri daḥi dutar anuñ yerini

Bu kazāyānuñ terkīb-ü-temhīdinden vebu muḳaddemātuñ
tertīb-ü-tenzīdinden maḳsūd oldur ki, sābiķā beyān olınuđı
üzre nāşib-ı rāyāt-ı bāhire, fātiḥ-i Şāmat-[u]-Ḳāhire, ḳāhiru
'l-mülük-i ḳahramānu 'l-ķurüm, sultānu 'l-'Arab ve-'l-'Acem
ve-'r-Rüm, şāhib-ķırān-ı zamān Sultān Selīm Ḥān, vālid-i
sa'īdi Sultān Bāyezīd Ḥān ile hengām-ı muḳābelede mađlūb olub,

başılıb, firār ihtiyār itmisken, erkānı devletiniñ ve a'yān-i
 haşmetiniñ ekseri meydān-ı dār-u-gİRde tu'me-i şİR-i şimsİR
 olub gitmişken kenār-ı diyār-ı Tātārdan ve serhadd-i deşt-i
 Bulğārdan şunğār-ı āhenīn-minğār gibi [113a] hümā-yı salṭanat-ı
 şikārına pervāz urub geldi, irdi. Peder-i ferhunde-aḡteri
 İstanbulda serİR-i āsümān-nazİRinde mütemekkin ve birāder-i
 mehteri Sulṭān Korkud merḡum, merḡum şehriñ içinde sākın iken
 vehm itmeyüb aralarına girdi. Vālid-i mācidi daḡı gördi ki,
 devlet Hüdā-dād olmiyıcak ādemī-zād iḡdāmı müfīd olmaz imiş;
 ezel-i āzalde muḡarrer-ü-merḡum olan ümūra muḡālif olan
 maşlahat² şüret bulmaz imiş.

Devlet ü salṭanat ān-est ki Allāh dihed
 Lā-cerem kendü ḡusn-i ihtiyārı-yle salṭanat-u-[ra'iyetini]³
 ferzend-i arcümeni Sulṭān Selīme teslīm itdi. Ol cüvān-
 baḡt-u-pīb-tedbīre 'adālet āyetin telkīn idüb, salṭanat
 aḡvālin kemāl-yle ta'līm-ü-tefhīm idüb⁴, eyitdi.

Tü-rā bād īn tāc u taḡt-ı mihān

Me-rā küşe'ī bes büved z-īn cihān

Bu ḡāl-i ferhunde-fāl, ki nevādirı aḡvālden idi, ḡazret-i
 Risālet-menziletün ta'rīḡ-i Hicretiniñ tokuz yüz on sekizinde
 Şafer-i muzafferün sekizinci günü Şenbe güninde vāḡı' oldı.
 Ol hümā-yı devletün büm-ı Rūmda şubḡ-u-şām neveti urulub,
 çār-bāliş-i pādişāhī cülūs-i hümāyūni-yle cemāl-ü-ārāyiş buldı.
 Mesālik-i memālik pür-mehālik olmişken emn-ü-emān ṭoldı.

Çü geçdi devlet ile taḡta Hüsrev

Cihān ṭoldı yine āvāze-i nev

Bulub āfāk hüsni-i i'tidāli
 Küdüretten zemāne oldu hālī
 İrüb büy-i şafā Deşt-i Tātāra
 İrer kand-i haber tā Kandahāra

'Arūs-ı cülüs-ı hümāyūnuñ nişārında dirhem-ü-dīnār ezhār-ı bahār gibi 'āleme şaçıldı. Nergis-ü-ğoncanuñ kāsesi-vü-kīsesi pür-sīm-ü-zer olub, eli -vü-avucı [113b] tarlaruñ gözi-vü-göñli gül-i ter gibi açıldı. Şudūr-ı dīvāna in'ām-u-ihsān, ki lā'ik-ı nām-ı kerīm-i sultān-ı 'azīmü 'ş-şāndı, oluğdan soñra kapu halkına, ki ol zamānda otuz beş biñ miqdārı var idi, her birisine ikişer biñ Akça virdi. Huddām-ı sidre-mağamuñ süvārinuñ beşer ve piyādesinuñ² ikişer Akça cihet-i aşlīlerine zamīme kılınub, havāşş-u-'avama in'ām-ı 'āmmı irdi.

Cihānı cūd ile ābād kıldı

Nice zindānī³[yı] āzād kıldı

[Sultān Korkuda Midillü sancağı tevcih olınub, oğlı hażret-i Sultān Süleymān için hukm-i şerif irsāl olınub, da'vet kılındı]⁴

Beyān-ı 'arżihāl-i fevt-i Sultān

'Azā-dārī zi-şāh u cümle erkān

Sābıkā tahrīr-ü-taştir olınuğı üzre, ki merhūm Sultān Bāyezīd Hān saltanatden ferāğat idüb, bākīye-i hayātını 'ibādete ve tātā'ate şarf itmege Dimetoka cānibine 'azīmet itmişdi. Mağām-ı ma'hūda ve merşad-ı meshūda varmadın ecel-i mahtūmı, ki levh-i ezelde merhūm idi, gelüb yetişüb āhirete riħlet itmişdi. Mezkūr vākı 'a-ı şākı 'a vākı' olıcağ, fi 'l-hāl sultān-ı melek-ħisāle

ulaqlar irsāl olındı. Şehriyār-ı kāmkar bu haber-i şerer-
 eşeri işidicek, hümā-yı pür-şafā-yı hātır-ı ‘aştırın gamām-ı
 gam bürüyüb, cām-ı huzūrı müdām-ı sürürdan boşaldı. Dolāb-vār
 gözlerinüñ küzelerinden¹ seylāb-ı eşk revān oldı. Tağyīr-i
 hey’et-ü-tebdīl-i kisvet idüb, maħrūse-i mezbūrede olan
 ‘ulemā-vu-şulehā ve sā’ir ümerē-vu-vüzerā ile sultān-ı
 mağfīret-nişābuñ tábütuna karşı gitdi. [114a] Āyīn-i selātīn
 üzre sehre getürüb, ‘imāret-i ‘āmiresinüñ kurbinde binā olınan
 kabır-i ma‘mūresinde² defn itdi. Rūh-ı pür-fütūh için mersūm-i
 ma‘lūm üzerine fuqarā-vu-mesākīne in‘ām-ü-ihsān oldı ve
 ‘imāretlerde bī-ħadd-ü-nihāyet ni‘metler pişüb, ac-u-
 muħtāclaruñ kīse-i āzı ve kāse-i hırsı tıldı.

Ser-ā-ser teft eyyām-ı ta‘āzī

Be-ħatm-i Muşħaf u miskīn-nevāzī

Müddet-i hayāt pür-āfāt bir köpridür ki, āna uğrayan tırmaz
 geçer; ‘İmāret-i kā’ināt bir müsāfir-ħānedür ki, içinde konan
 eğlenmez göçer.³

Cümle halk ehl-i sefer ‘ālem müsāfir-ħānedür

Bir muķīm ādem bulunmaz ħayme-i eflākde

Mi‘mār-i rüzgār kaᅅı .sāhib-devletüñ binā-yı sarāy-ı sa‘ādetin
 yaptı ki, şoñra yıķmadı? Cihān-dārlardan bu cihān dārına kim
 girdi ki, āħir-i kār kabā-yı beķādan ‘ārī olub çıķmadı?

Cevāhir-i zevāhir-i aħterle ārāste olan efser-i āsūmānī nice

tāc-dāruñ⁴ başından girü kalubdur; Mifreş-i münakkaş-ı

sebze-zār-ı bahārla ārāste olan serīr-i zemīn niçe taħt-gīri

üstinden yire çalubdur. Rüzgār-ı zōrkāruñ kemīn-i kīninden,

eger şehriyār-ı rüy-i zemīndür, ve ger bende-i kemīndür, hiç bir kimse emīn degüldür. Ne Me'mūn kurtıldı ne Reşīd, sākī-vü-sa'id, takī-vü-pelīd, cihānda bir Velīd-i hālīd kalmaz. Ne Yezīd kalur ne Bāyezīd -- Ve kezālike yef'alu 'llāhu mā yeşā'ü ve yahkümü mā yürīd.--

Bu dāsītān sultān-ı cihān serīr-i saltañata cülüsün Sultān Ahmed işidüb izhār-ı 'işyān itdügin ; Şehriyār-ı kāmkar devlet ile Anañolı vilāyetine 'ubūr idicek, muķābeleye kudreti olmayub, kaçub 'Arab memleketine gitdügin beyān ider. [114b]

Çün merhūm, mağfūr² Sultān-ı merķūmuñ eyyām-ı aḥkāmı ~~ihxxx~~ ihtitām-u-encām buldı, şadā-yı kūs-ı cülüs-ı Şehriyār-ı cedīdle gūş-ı hūş-ı ahrār-u-'abīd tıldı, vilāyet-i Rūmuñ etrafında olan selāṭīn-i taht-nişīnden 'azīmü ş-şān elçiler gelüb, vāfir pīşkeşler getürdiler; pāye-i serīr-i āsümān-nażīrīnde sāye-vār zemīn-būs idüb, ta'ziyet hıdmetin ve tehniyet maşlahatın yirine yetürdiler. Anañolıda ve Rūmilinde olan nām-dār serdārlar ve şāhib-şevket begler³ varsa gelüb, dīvān-ı 'ālī-şān ekābir-ü-a'yān⁴ tıldı. Mūnaḳkaş-u-mūzehheb kemhālar ve kaṭīfelerle ve altun gümüş kāseler ve kadehlerle şahn-i dīvān āsümān-mişāl pūr-āfitāb-u-hilal oldı. Ḳurūm-ı Rūmdan bir kimse kalmadı ki iṭā'at kılmadı, illā birāder-i mihteri Sultān Ahmed, ki ol zamānda dāru 'l-mülk-i Amasyyada vālī-yi 'ālī-şāndı, inḳiyāt itmedi. Ḳaramana gelüb, Varsak-ı pūr-nifāḳuñ ve Turgud-ı

'anūduñ cünūd-ü-rünūdın cem' eylemege meşgūl olub, zimām-ı ihtimāmını ol taraflaruñ teshīrine dönderdi. Ferzend-i ercūmendi olan Sultān 'Alā'eddīn bir miqdār 'askerle Burusa cānibine gönderdi.

Ṭaleb āgāz kerd ez mülk-i mevrūs

Sipāh-i zulm-rā mī-kerd mebsūs

Zi şehir-i Bursa vü cümle tevābi'

Be-māl-ü-mülk-i merdūm geşt ṭāmi' ²

Ḳadem-i şūmla ma'mūre-i mezkūreye Ḳudūm idicek, ol vilāyetüñ ra'īyeti gāret-ü-ḡasāretten ḲorḲub, ḡarūrī istikbāl itdiler; şehirüñ ekābīr-ü-a'yānı vāfir pişkeşler çeküb, zāhiren ziyāde ta'zīm-ü-iclāl itdiler. Ra'īyetüñ bu miqdār raḡbetine aldanub, maḡrūse-i mezbūrede babası Sultān Aḡmed adına ḡuṭbe oḡudub [115a] ve sikke kesdürüb, āyīn-i selāṭīn üzre icrā-yı kavānīn itdi. Çün bu aḡvāl, ki mūcib-i iḡtilāl-i niḡām-ı salṭanat idi, ḡazret-i Pādişāh-ı cihān-penāh işitdi, evvelā ³ ve in ṭā'ife-tāni mine 'l-mū'minīna 'Ḳtetelū, fe-eşliḡū beyne-hümā feḡvāsı muḡtaḡāsınca resm-i āyīn-i selāṭīn üzre ta'zīm-ü-tekrīmle resūl gönderilüb, sebīl-i iṭā'ate da'vet Ḳılındı. Vücūh-ı a'yāndan birisi ol ḡidmetüñ taḡdīmüne ta'yīn olınub, semend-i risālete bindi, varub buluşub, netīce-i şulḡuñ mebādīsi tertībinde muḡaddemāt-ı tergīb-ü-terḡībden söylemedük nesne Ḳomadı. Çün nuş-u-pend sūdmend olmaduḡı bilindi, çün Sultān-ı cihān Ḳarındaşınıñ tevsen-i nefsinde licām-i iḡsān-u-in'āmla rām olacaḡ başı yoḡ, çün gördi, fermān-ı vācibū 'l-iz'ān fe-in baḡat iḡdā-hümā 'alā 'l-uḡrā fe-Ḳātilū 'lletī teḡḡi ḡattā tefī'e ilā emri 'llāhi, ⁵ emrine imtişāl itdi. Ol fitne odunu, ki ḡülşen-i mülki külḡhana

döndürmüş idi, söyündürmesine ikdām-u-ihtimām idüb, kıtāle¹
 iqbāl itdi. Mezkūr sāl-ı ferhunde-me'ālūñ³ şühürunda² Cemāzi
 'l-evvelinūñ yigirmi dördinci⁴ gününde İstanbul ma'berinden⁵ 'ubūr
 eyledi, Üsküdar yaqasını dāmen-i gerdün gibi bayraqlarla⁶ gülgün
 idüb, ejdehā-kirdār nızeler ve şır-peyker 'alemlerle⁷ deşt-ü-
 hāmūni māl-ā-māl kıldı.

Bahri geçdi leşker-i deryā-şükūh

¶Toldı seyl-i hayl ile deryā-vu-kūh

Rāvī eydür, Sultān Aḥmedūñ oğlu, Sultān 'Alā'eddīn maḥrūse-i
 Burusaya geldükde, vilāyete şalgun şalub, zu'afā-yı ra'āyāyı
 ziyāde⁸ incitmişdi. Taḥşīl-i māl maşlahati-çün āyīn-i salṭanata
 uymaz⁹ niçe a'māl-i şākka teklīf itmişdi. Lā-cerem, Sultān
 Selīmūñ [115b] hayl-i seyl-hücūmla Anaṭolı yaqasına kudūmın
 işidicek, Yeñiçerī gemilerle Budamiyeye¹⁰ gelüb çıkdı¹¹ diyü ad
 itdiler, şehir içinde buldukları Aḥmedlünūñ başına üşüb,
 cem'iyetlerin tağıtdılar. Şehrūñ levend-ü-evbaşı başlarına taş
 tı gibi yağdırdılar. Nize gibi serkeş geçenlerūñ niçesi tuğ
 gibi baş kaba ve āteş gibi yalıñ ayak olub, eginlerinden
 kabā-yı bekā şoyıldı. Biñden ziyāde ādemi esīr-ü-dest-gīr
 olub tıtıldı.

Be-nām-ı şāh kerde şīt-ı tekbīr¹²

Şüde bā-ḥaşm-i devlet der zed-ü-gīr

Gitifde her yekī mihmān-ı ḥod-rā¹³

Sitāde dād ḥānümān-ı ḥod-rā

Zi cūş-i 'ämme vü rindān-ı bāzār

Zi serdārān muraşş' şüd ser-i dār¹⁴

Birün hasta zi künc-i her dükkānī
 Zi bahr-i hūn-ı düşmen cān-sitānī
 Berāy-ı ser-zeden sātūr-ı kaşşāb
 Çü tīg-ı Hindī ez hūn dāde-eş āb
 Be-şimşīr-i haṭībān-ı cevāmi '
 Ğazā kerde muḳīmān-ı şavāmi '
 Zi dir'-i derzī vü ez kavş-i hallāc
 Ne bā tīr-ü-kemān kes būd muḥtāc ¹

Sultān 'Alā'eddīn bu ḥādiseyi işidüb, qarāra ihtiyārı
 kalmayub², hemān baş kurtarmaḳ ardınca oldı. Esbāb-u-metā'in⁴
 koyub, kendü başı-yle gücle kurtıldı. Peder-i sergeşte-aḥterine
 vuşul bulub, Sultān-ıcihānuñ Anaṭolı cānibine kudūmın ve
 Burusa aḥālīsiniñ kendünüñ üzerine hücumın bāb-u-faşlı ile
 tafşıl-ü-takrīr itdi.⁵

Çü şehzāde be-nezdīk-i peder geşt
 Be-göftā baḥt-ı mā yek-bāre ber-geşt
 Ra'īyet kerde der rāh-eş sipāhī
 Zi dest-i zulm-i mā der dād hūvāhī
 Ez-īn küstāhī-yi mülk-ü-ra'īyet
 Büved zāhīr sipeh-rā nīz niyyet ⁶

Hemān te'hīr itmeyüb, şart-ı fart-ı ihtiyātı ri'āyet itdiler;
 yanlarında olan 'asker-i ğāret-gerle te'hīr itmeyüb, 'Arab
 vilāyetine 'azīmet itdiler.

Hudā endāht ḥavfī der zamīr-eş
 Ki hūvāhed sāht düşmen destgīr-eş ⁷
 Hemān dem kerd rū der kişver-i şām

Ki tîre dîd baht-eş-râ ser-encâm

Şûd-eş ser-geşte her ferzend sū'î

Ne-mânde piş-i şâhân âb-rûyî

Bu cānibden, Sulţān-ı cihān devlet-ü-sa'ādetle¹ ve rikāb-ı kām-yābında mülāzemet iden cünūd-i karīnū 'n-nuşretle tođrı Anķara Őhrine gelüb, Sulţān Aĥmedüñ muķāvemete tākātı olmayub,² 'Arab vilāyeti cānibine 'azīmet itdügin işidicek, aķabince ılgarla bir miķdār ĥayl-i cerrār irsāl eyledi. 'Arab ser-ĥaddine duĥūl itmiş bulunduđı eelden, vuşūl bulmadı.³ Altmış üç⁴ gün ma'müre-i Anķarada sâkin olub, oturdu. Aşār-ı envār-ı 'adāletle zālām-ı zulmı def' idüb, deycür-ı şerr-ü-şūrı götürdi.⁵ Eţrāfda perākende olan Őehzādeler kendü ihtiyārлары-yle gelüb, iţā'at itdiler. Her biri envā'-i 'avāţıf-u-'avārifle ri'āyet olındı; hengāme-i germ-ā-germ tađılub, eyyām-ı Őitā irmişdi, göçülub Ramazān-ı sa'ādet-nişānuñ⁶ onıncı güninde maĥrüse-i Burusaya duĥūl-ü-ĥulūl eyleyüb, ol kış nihāyet bulınca anda iķāmet olındı.

Ķış irişdi Őehr-i Bursa içre Şāh

Ķışladı vu terh kıldı 'azm-i rāh

Zīre kim vaķti-yle gerekdür her iş

Vaķdi gözlemege cān ile dürüş

Bu dāsitān Sulţān Selīm Ĥān birāderlerinin

ve birāder-zādelerinin vüçüdları noķtasın

şafĥa-i 'ālemden ĥakk itdügin,⁷ iĥtilāl-i

'azīme bā'iş olan ümür-ı mehāmm tamām olub gitdügin bildirir.

[116b] Çün Hadīs-i kadīm: El-mülkü 'akīmün ve mislū
'l-leyleti hublā eseri menkūldur; ve lā-yectemi 'u esedāni
fī-ğābetin ve lā-faḥelāni fī-'ānetin ḥaberi maḳbūldur. Bir
kişverüñ iki server-i şehriyārı ve bir leşkerüñ iki serdār-ı
sipehsālari olmak olmaz. Bir künāmda iki şir ve bir niyāmda iki
şimşir şıgmaz.

Çü şeh başdudur memleket aña ten

Yaraşmaz iki başlu olmak beden

Şıgar bir kilim içine on gedā

Bir iklīme şıgmaz iki pādişāh

Nizām-ı intizām selātin-i 'izāmuñ aḳkām-ı saltanatda istiklāline
mevkūfdur; bir vilāyetde birkaç pādişāh² olıcaḳ, sipāh-u-ra'iyet
bī-ḥuzūr olub, ihtilāl-i 'azīme ihtimali vardur. Lā-cerem,
muḳtażā-yı rāy-ı ḥazm-āzmā ile 'amel olunub, sene-i mezbūre
Şevvālinün yigirmi yedinci gicesi Sultān Şehinşāh oğlu³ Muhammed,
ki Nigde diyārinuñ serdārı-ydı, ve Sultān 'Alemsāh oğlu Sultān
'Osman, ki Kanḡırı sancaḡınuñ⁵ sipehsālārı-ydı, ve Sultān Maḥmūd
oğulları Sultān Orḡan, Sultān Mūsā ve Sultān Emīrḡan, ki sancaḳ
yerlerdi, aḡsām vaḳtinde sarāya da'vet olunub, ḳapucılar
odasına getürildi. Egerçi bunlaruñ ikisi daḡi nā-resīde tıfl
idi, emmā cihān-dīde pīrlere tedbīri-yle⁶ 'amel olunub,

'Ākıbet şir-zāde şir olur

Mīr-zāde büyüer emir olur

didükleri ḡaḳ idügi bilinüb, ol leyl-i pūr-veylde⁷ beşinüñ daḡi
maşlaḡatleri görildi.

Böyledür hāli cihānuñ her zamān
 İnķilāb üstindedür kevn-ü-mekān
 Bulduğın bu ejdehā eyler ğidā'
 Bir durur yanında sultān-u-gedā
 Bir nihāli besler āb-ı lütf ile
 Düşürür toprağa āhir 'ünf ile
 Minħeti miħnet şafāsı pür-keder

[117a] Bir vefā gösterse yüz biñ cevır ider¹

Ba'dehü Sultān Korkudı ele getürmek maşlahatı için
 'asker-i zafer-rehberden² dört biñ miqdārı ādem ifrāz itdi,
 şikār adına Burusadan çıkub, Şaruhan vilāyeti cānibine³ ilğar
 itdi, gitdi. Egerçi āsitāne-i sa'ādetinde hizmet iden
 sipehsālārlardan⁴ kañgi serdāra emr itse ol hizmete giderdi;
 haşmüñ kārubar-ı emāretin tārümār idüb, maşlahatın tamām iderdi;
 emmā anlar ki bu meydānda haşmla dutuşub, niçe kerre şınımışlar
 ve şınımışlardur;⁵ vüfür-ı şevkete mağrūr olub, kişi düşmenin
 h̄vor görmek olmaz dimişlerdür. Düşmenüñ eger karınca ise sen
 anı aşlan bil, sīr-i dilīr[le] cenge āheng⁶ ider gibi tedbīr kıl.

Ne merdüm k' eylemez fikr-i 'avākıb

'Ukūbet 'ākıbetdür aña āķib

İşiñ evvelde fikr iden ma'ālin⁷

Yimez⁸ soñra peşīmanlık malālın

Hazer her kārda āķıl işidür

Ğurūr u zör u zerr cāhil işidür⁹

Sultān Korkud merħüm, ol zamānda dāru 'l-mülk-i Ma'nisada
 siñüb otururdu. Sā'ir şehzādelerüñ Burusada hüsām-ı intikāmla

telef oldukların işidüb, bî-ḥużūr olub-dururdu. Bu ḥabar-i şerer-eşeri işidicek ḥarmen-i qarārına od düşdi, nidesini bilmeyüb, şaşdı. Ol āfitāb-ı cihān-tābuñ pertevine döymeyüb, māh-ı nev gibi şabāḥ olinca göymeyüb, ilk aḥşamdan encüm gibi encümenin tağıtdı; şoḥbet üzerinde idi, hemān bāde-i 'işreti elden koyub, tāc-u-taḥtdan el yuyub,² iki yarar ḥizmetkārla³ ṭurmadı gitdi.

Māh-ı nev gerçi şāh-ı encümdür
 Döyemez āfitāb pertevine
 Gün ḳatında ki [117b] şāh-ı 'ālemdür
 Māh-ı nev ne ola ye pertevi ne

Teke vilāyetinde bir şa'b-u-ḥaşīn kūh-sārda bir teng-ü-tār ḡār bulub, içine girdi.

Oldı geh Mecnūn gibi şahrā-nişīn
 Girdi geh ḡāra esed gibi hemīn
 Cünbüş itse bīşede bir cānever
 Şanub ādem ūrküb eylerdi ḡazer

Birḳaç gün geçdükdən soñra żarūret-i zāt-u-ma'īšet için,⁶ ki lāzıme-i beşerīyetdür, bir ādemīsi ṭaşra çıḳdı,⁷ andan ṭuyulub, boḡaz ucından boḡazı ele virüb, başdan çıḳdı.

Ögrenüb-durur ādemī zāda
 Zād lāzımdür ādemī-zāda⁸
 Zād ucından durur ki ḳulluḡ ider
 Bendeler gibi nice āzāde

Bu cānibden, Sultān Selīm Ma'nisaya varub, Sultān Ḳorḳudı bulmayıcak, ol vilāyetleri żabt idüb,⁹ dāru 'l-mülkine¹⁰ 'avdet

eyledi. Birkaç günden sonra, merhûm-ı merķûmuñ tutulduđı haberi geldi yetdi. Kapucu başı Sinān Ađa karşı gönderilüb, Egrigöz dimegle ma'rûf menzilde emri tamām oldı. Ezel-i āzāalde ecel-i mahtûmı ol yerde muķadder imiş, geldi buldı. Cemī'-i erkān-ı dīvān ve ekābir-u-a'yān hizmet-i mütāba'atı taķdīm idüb, tābütını karşıladılar. Āyīn-i selāṭīn üzre getürüb, kendü vaşiyeti mūcibince ecdād-ı şehādet-nihādından Orhan Ğāzī mezārı civārında ķodılar.

Ey gönül dā'imā ğam ile geçüb
 Ferah adını anma dünyāda
 Perde-i ğafleti götür gözden
 Nazar eyle bu çarķ-ı cellāda
 Kāse-i serden eyleyüb sāgar
 Hūn-ı nā-ħakdan idinür bāde
 Şunar ol cāmı her kişiyeye dimez
 Bu gedādur o pādişāh-zāde³
 Kani Korkud Hān ki şevket ile
 Mişli bulunmaz idi dünyāda

[118a] Hāşılın yıķdı nār-ı ħasretle
 Hırmınen-i 'ömrini virüb bāda
 Didi Hātif vefātına ta'rīķ
 Meskenüñ ola 'arş-ı a'lāda

4 ملك اوله عرشى اعلامه

Bu dāsitān Sultān Aħmed merhûm 'Arab vilāyetine 'azīmet itmişken yine Rūma mürāca'at idüb, Yeñişehr şahrāsında

Şehriyār-ı kāmkaruñ nehr-i kahrine
ğark olduğın beyān ider.¹

Felek çü kār-sāzī-hā nümāyed

Nuhust ez perde bāzī-hā nümāyed

² Merhūm Sultān Ahmed, nīyet-i ikāmetle 'Arab vilāyetine
'azīmet idüb gitmişken, tekrār yine kāmnet getürüb, Rüm
memleketine ³ 'avdet idüb, ⁴ gelmesine sebep bu olmuşdı ki,
kendüye izhār-ı intisāb ⁵ iden hevā-dārları cānibinden mektūblar
varub, Sultān Selīm için " 'Askeri eṭrāfa perākende itmışdür,
Bursa muzāyaka mekānı olmağın Yeñiçerī ṭā'ifesi İstānbula
gitmişdür; maḥall-i fırsat ve hengām-ı ruḥṣatdur fevt itmek
olmaz; bir iki aya dek Rüm 'askeri bir yere gelmez, hem Āl-i
'Osmānuñ neslinden kimse kōmadı " didiler.⁶

Olalı bu şahş Rūma pādişāh

Niçeler kōnını dökdi bī-günāh ⁷

Şimdi sensin Rüm içinde mu'teber

Hem saña Merhūm itmışdi nazar

Rüm a'yānı vu sancağ begleri

Çapu halkı paşalar Yeñiçerī

Muntazırlardur size ey Şehriyār

Bī-tekellūf gel ne hācet intizār ⁸

Hemān yetişmek ardınca olasın diyü muḥaddimāt-ı tağrīr-u-takrīr
olınmışdı.⁹ Egerçi bilürdi ki [118b] kendüde ol māye yoğdı, ki
ol 'asker-i deryā-şümārla muḥābele idebileydi, kābilmidür ki,
nūrle zıll, mārle mūr muḥātele idebileydi? Emmā umardı ki,
ḥayl-ü-ḥaşem, belki ümerā-yı mu'azzāmdan ba'zı kimesneler

kendüye meyl idelerdi; fırsat hengāmında ve huşümet maķāmında Şehriyār-ı kāmķarı koyub gidelerdi. Vāķı 'ā erāzil-i nāsda havā-yı nefis-i ħasīse mā'il olur bī-ķıyās ve visvās-i İblīs-i pūr-telbāse tābi' olur çokdur. 'Araź-ı ġaraź için cevher-i 'irzın ħāke şalar, māl için 'aķār-ı vaķārın māymāl ider bī-pāklara ħadd-ü-nihāyet yokdur. Şekli insān sīreti ħayvān beşerüñ ekşeri behā'imdür. Vādi-yi cehl içinde sergerdān çārsū-yı hevāda şā'imdur. Cā'iz idi ki, ol cemā'atden tevaķķu' olinan şenā'at şādır olaydı, hengām-ı cengde bī-nām-u-nenklerden cināyet zāhir olaydı. Emmā Şehriyār-ı rüşen-żamīr tedbīr-i dil-pezīri ile ol ihtimāli ref' ve ol ihtilālüñ sebīlin sedd idüb, dest-i sīm-bārı ve keff-i zer-nisārı ħayl-i rezīli ħabl-i bezlle şedd itmiski. Dirhem-ü-dīnārla māl-ā-māl kīse-i miknāṭis-ħaşşīyet, ol pūlād-nihādlaruñ ħalb-i şalbin şöyle celb kılmışdı, ki mecāl-i in'itāf-u-ihtimāl-i inĥirāf bi 'l-küllīye selb olub gitmişdi. Lā-cerem, mezkūr Sulṭān Aĥmedüñ didügi gibi olmadı. Umduġını bulmadı. İbtidā ki, 'Arab ser-ħaddinden Rūma 'avdet eyledi, toġru Ķaraman vilāyetine geldi. Mezkūr kişver-i ma'mūruñ tüvāngerlerine māl-i emān diyü emvāl-i bī-kerān şaldı. Ol ħalkı derhem idüb, aldığı dirhemi 'askerine üleşdirdi. Ol māl sebebi-yle māl-endīş olan eşķāt-u-erzāli yanına devşürdi.

Be-māl-ı bī-ħesāb-ı ħaķķ-ı mazlūm

Müretteb geşt leşker līk meyšūm

Bu cānibden, [119a] Sulṭān-ı cihān Selīm Ḥān² birāder-i mehterinüñ Ķaraman vilāyetine³ kudūmın ve 'asker-i cerrārla üzerine

hücūmın işidicek, ne tevaḳḳuf itdi ne tekellūf çekdi, şehrden taşra çıkub, eṭrāfda olan 'askerūñ ihzārı mümkün olana ulaḳlar gönderdi; birkaç gün ol şahrāda ikāmet idüb, mevāzi'-i ḳarībede olan 'asker-i muşter-me'āşirle ḫāzır olub, zimām-ı ihtimāmını ol maşlahatūñ temşiyetine döndürdi. 'Adū-yı kīne-cūy Eskişehir geçdügin işidicek Yeñişehrden cānibe göçdi. Ol gün ki, irtesi ceng olıardı, daḫi ḳonaḡa ḳonmadın Şehriyār-ı kāmḳār at üzerinden bölükleri gezüb, 'asker ḫalkına istimālet virdi. " Ğayret demidür, himmet gemisini deryā-yı 'azīmete şolmaḳ gerek, dest-i ihtimāmla bādbān-ı ikdāmı ḳaldurub, lenger-i ḳarārı almaḳ gerek " dirdi. Yarındası 'ale 'ş-şabāḫ, ki sene-i tis'a 'aşere ve tis'a-mi'e Şaferinūñ sekizinci günü-ydi, semend-i sa'ādete süvār oldı. Meymene-vü-meysere, ḳalb-ü-cenāḫ yeksere düzilüb, ol şahrā ādem deryāsı-yla ṭoldı. Sulṭān Ahmed daḫi ḳarşudan sancaḳların çözüb, alayların düzüb, taḡ arasından şahrāya çıka-geldi. Ḳarşusundaḡı şahrā-yı vaşī'ü 'l-fezāya naẓar şaldı, gördi ki, Yeñiçerīnūñ alayı Ak Deñiz gibi akub geli-yürir. 'Azab alayı güyā bir lālezārdur, bād-i bahār öñince mevc urur. Atlu ṭā'ifesi daḫi ḳollu ḳolundan bölük-bölük yürümiş, ḳılıç mevcleri ile deşt-ü-deri bürümiş. Ol 'asākir-i bī-ḳıyāsdan ḳalb-i nā-sipāsına ḫavf-ü-hirās ṭoldı. İsti'cālle tehevür idüb, geldüğine nedāmet idüb [119b] baş ḳurtarmaḡ ardınca oldı.

Görse 'āḳıl 'adūsini ḡalib

Baş ḳurtarmaḡa olur ṭālib

Ṭuruşub uruşmadın, seyf-ü-sinān birbiri-yle görüşmedin ṭurmadı,

girüsine kaçdı. Genc-ü-mālî ezhār-ı bahār gibi saçdı. Ol
 kaçıcak a'vân-u-enşârı tārümār oldu, kimi kırıldı, kimi diri
 tutıldı. Ol cem'-i keşîrden sehl âdem kurtıldı.

Gerçi kim başa ayak olur tayak

Baş gidicek pâydar olmaz ayak

Kendü daħi kaçarken at ile tekerlenüb, düşüb, başına âdem üşüb
 tutıldı, Sultân-ı cihānuñ fermân-ı kader-tüvāni-yle kapucu başı
 Sinān Ağa karşı varub, def'-i fitne için âhirete gönderildi.

Aña daħi felek borcın ödetdi

Cihān benim der iken hiçe şatdı²

Dāru 'l-mülk-i Burusada selāṭīn-i 'ālî-şān-ı Āl-i 'Osmāna
 maḥşūş olan maḳābirde defn olındı. Kendözine zīr-i zemīni
 ta'yīn idüb, yer yüzini dāver-i güzīne teslīm itdi. Hıṭṭa-i
 pāk-ḥāki³, ki kaşşām-ı każā-vu-kader ol iki birāzer arasında
 taḳsīm itdi,

Ān rüy-ı zemīn girift ü in zīr-i zemīn

Anaṭolı vilāyetinde olan umūr-ı cümhūr silk-i intizāma gelicek,
 Sultân-ı cihān Geliboli ma'berinden Rūmiline göçüb, İstanbula
 'azīmet eyledi. Yolda vezīr-i a'zam Hersek-zādenüñ çiftliğine
 uğrayıcak ḥayli pīşkeş çeküb, 'azīm zıyāfet eyledi. Ol aradan
 toḡru dāru 's-salṭanat-ı İstanbula gelüb, birkaç gün oturdı.
 Memlekete müte'allik olan meşāliḥ-ü-mühimmātı görüb, envār-ı
 'adāleti ile ol dārda⁴ olan deycūr-ı şerr-ü-şūrı ve zalām-ı
 zulmi ref' idüb götürdi.

Zalām-ı zulmi 'dli eyledi dūr

Ḥarāb-ābād-ı 'ālem oldu ma'mūr

[120a] Bu dāsītān ḥāzret-i şāḥib-ķırān,
 fātih-i mülk-i cihān Sultān Süleymān
edāme 'llāhü eyyāme-hü ilā āḥiri 'z-zamān
 dāru 'l-mülk-i Ma'nisaya emīr olub, ol
 taraflara şeref virdügin beyān ider.

Çün Şehriyār-ı kāmķār Anaṭolı diyārında intişār bulan
 şerār-ı nār-ı fitneyi şimşir-i āb-dātla söyündürdi, ķarındaşlarınıñ
 ve ķarındaşı oğullarınıñ taht-ı eyāletlerinde olan vilāyetleri
 ķadīmden āsitāne-i sa'ādetinde maķām-ı ḥızmetde kıyām iden
 serdārlara üleşdirdi.

Der rezm āred ü der bezm be-baḥşed²

Mülkī be-süvārī vü cihānī be-sü'ālī

Şaruḥan vilāyeti, ki ķadīmden içinde mülük-i 'azīmü 'ş-şān
 ğura-gelmiş idi, ferzend-i ercümendi olan sultān-ı selāṭin-ı
 'Arab-u-'Acem,³ ķāhirü 'l-mülük ve ķahramānu 'r-Rüm, mefḥar-i
 dūdīmān-ı 'Osmān Ḥāzret-i Sultān Süleymāna erzānī görildi.
 Merḥūm Sultān Korkud feterātından berü ol vilāyet birkaç gün
 ķarcaşub,⁴ cüybār-ı pür-āşüb-ı şūr-u-şerr taşub bulanmışdı,
 yine ğuruldı. Şehzāde-i cüvān-baḥtuñ ķadem-i meymūnı ve
 sāye-i hümāyūnı-yle ol taraflar müşerref olub, vilāyet-i
 Şaruḥan emn-ü-emān ğoldı. Riyāset-i kāmīle ve siyāset-i
 şāmilesi-yle eṭrāf-u-cevānib maḥfūz-u-maźbūṭ olub,⁵ zu'afā-yı
 re'āyā āsüde-ḥāl oldı.

Ḥarāmī ķalmadı rāh-ı revānda

Meger Mirrīḥ rāh-ı keḥkeşānda

Giceyle kimse seyr itmezdi bī-gāh

Meger kim pāsbān-ı encüm-ü-māh¹

Şehzāde-i ercümend mahrüse-i İstanbuldan çıkub sancağına
gitdükdən soñra, [120b] Sultān Selīm dañi Edirne cānibine
göçüb, sarāy-ı semā-sīmāsında karar itdi. Ol diyāriñ kenārları
şayd-u-şikāra mülā'im olmağın ziyāde severlerdi. La-cerem, ol
kış anda oturağ olub, geh 'ayş-ü-'işret geh şayd-ü-şikār itdi.

Z-ān ki cüz der şikār ne-tvān-kerd

Verziş-i kārzār-ı ceng-ü-neberd

Şuğl-i erbāb-ı dil ne lehv büved

Ver büved lehv tiz sehv büved²

Bu dāsitan vilāyet-i Āzerbaycānda

salṭanat Bāyındır uruğından gidüb, ol

memleketüñ bedeninde Kızılbaş zühür

itdügin, Sultān-ı cihān 'asākir-i nuşret-

nişānla varub, maḫhūrı meksūr itdügin bildürür.

İbtidā-yı kışsa-i muḫārebe-i Kızılbaş ve keyfiyet-i zühür-ı ān
cemā'at-ı ḫallāş:³

Ḥazret-i Şāhib-ḫırān, ḫahramān-ı ḫurūm-ı Rūm-u- Īrān

Sultān Selīm Ḥānuñ zamīr-i münirinde, ki cām-ı cihān-nümā idi,

bu 'azīmet-i 'ālī-nehmet muşammem olmışdı ki, çün tevfiḫ-i Ḥaḫ

refiḫ-ı şefiḫ olub, salṭanat seririne ḫadam başa, uvr-ü-

sitemüñ yayın yaşub, 'adl-ü-dād ve gurūr-u-cihāduñ ḫılıcın

Şerī'at 'ārşında aşa; evvel vehlede'te'ḫır itmeyüb, Şāh

İsmā'il-i güm-rāhla cenge āheng idüb, ḫitāle iḫbāl ide, ol

bāz-ı dağā-bāzuñ, ki her zamānda havā-yı vağāda pervāz ider,⁴

perr-ü-bālin yolub, iḳdām-ı intikām ile ol bed-fi 'āli pāymāl ide. Çün serīr-i gerdün-naẓīr-i hilāfet cenāb-ı celālet-me 'ābına müyesser olub, sebeb-i inḫilāl-i 'aḳd-ı cümhür ve bā'is-i ihtilāl-i niẓām-u-intiẓām-ı umūr ihtimāli [121a] olan 'uḳdeler güşād buldı. İbtidā-yı salṭanatdan sene-i kāmile tamām olduḳda huşemā-yı devlet ve şürekā-yı salṭanatdan kimesne ḳalmayub, ḫāṭır-ı 'āṭırlarından melāl-ü-infi 'āl zā'il oldı.

Yılına varmadın bī-zaḫmet-ü-bīm²
 Muḫālif ḳalmayub pāk oldı iḳlīm
 Muḫālifden arıdub mülk-i Rūmı
 Musahḫar eyledi her merzbūmı³

Mülk-i ḳadīm-i Āl-i 'Osmānda umūr-ı cümhür silk-i intiẓāma geldükden soñra ol nār-ı fitnenüñ, ki şerārı diyār-ı 'İrāḳ-u-Ḥorasāna intişār bulmuşdı, inṭifāsı fikrinde oldı.⁴ Ol sefer-i 'azīmüñ muḳaddemāti-çün naşb-ı nefis idüb, leyl-ü-nehār ol bed-kirdāruñ tedmīri detbīrinde oldı.

Bu eḡnāda intiẓām-ı silsile-i kelāma ihtimām iḳtiẓāsı-yle mezkūr Şāh-ı maḫhūruñ āḡār-u-aḫbārından ve mezāhib-[ü]-kirdārından, ki ehl-i ihtibārda maḫall-i i'tibārdur, bir miḳdār zıkr idelüm. Ol bed-nihāduñ ve ābā-vu-ecdādınuñ evc-i ḫurūca 'urūcları ne keyfīyetle vāḳı' olub⁵ ve ne ta'rīḫde vukū' bulduḡın icmālen taḫrīr-ü-taştīr idelüm, yine maḫşūda gidelüm.

Hükmi-istiṭrād ile bu dāsitān
 Lāzım oldı kim ola bunda beyān⁶

Mezkūr bed-siret-ü-fāsīd-‘aķīdetüñ kışşası , ki içinde ehl-i ħibrete ħişşe-i ‘ibret çoķdur, tafşıl olınsa, defter-ü-tümāra şıgmaz; emmā mücmeli ve muħaşşalı budur ki, müfsid-i fāsīd-nihād ve mülħid-i bed-‘itikād idi. Sefk-i dimāyı ve sebī-yi ħarā’ir-ü-emāyı ‘ādet idinmişdi, ħimā-yı maħārimi bilmezdi, hetk-i sūtūrı ve fetk-i şudūrı ve sā’ir fücūrı raĝbetle işlerdi. Hiç birisinden perhiz kılmazdı. Mezheb-i bī-aşl-i Şī‘ayı şāyı’ idüb, ‘avāmmı, ki en‘āmdan ađalldur, ol dāmla şikār kılmışdı.¹ Ĥazret-i ‘Alīnūñ ħaķķında² [121b] ve sā’ir Ĥulefā-yı Rāşidīnūñ buĝzında mütevaĝĝil olub, şı‘ār-ı ibāħatı āşikār kılmışdı. Şetm-i şaħābe-i kibāra ve sā’ir kebā’ire, ki aşħābı evvelden ketm³ ide-gelmişlerdi, ‘alā vechi ‘l-i‘lān irtikāb itdürdi; evvel emrde kendüye mütāba‘at itmiyenlere ħadd-i mu‘tāddan ħāric ‘azāb itdürdi. Çün ol taĝī-[vu]-bāĝī aşħāb-ı fetvāya ve erbāb-ı taķvāya ħan yaĝı [ve] kızıl düşmendı. Ķalbinde, ki menba‘-ı deycūr-ı cehldi, nūr-ı ‘ilme buĝzı var idügi gün gibi rüşen idi, lā-cerem, cadde-i ehl-i sünnet-ü-cemā‘atde sābit-ķadem olan mevālīden⁴ ķanda bir ‘ālim-i ‘āmil ve kāmīl-i mükemmel varsa, nehc-i ķavīm ve şırāt-ı mustakīm-i sünnet-ü-cemā‘atden rücū‘ it, diyü üzerine cebr iderdi. Ba‘zı Ed-đarūrātü tübīħü ‘l-maħzūrāt ruħsatı-yle ‘amel kılub, aşħāb-ı kibāra buĝz izħār kıldı. Emmā ekşeri dönmeüyüb ölince ‘azāb-u-‘ikāba şabr iderdi. Mevlānā Sa‘deddīn Taftāzānī evlādından dāru ‘l-mülk-i Herāt Şeyħu ‘l-İslāmını, ki ol zamānda muķtedā-yı enām idi, altmış⁵ ‘aded talebesi-yle, ve merħüm Şeyħ Şehābeddīn evlādını tevābi‘i-yle kendüye mütāba‘at itmedükleri

eclden katl itdürdi. Kubbetü 'l-İslām olan mu'azzam şehrleri envār-ı Şerī'atdan boşaldub, zalām-ı zulm-ü-bid'at ve zulmet-i zındıka-vu-đalāletle toldurub, meşāhid-i ahyār ve ma'ābid-i ebrār olan medāris-ü-mesācidi harāb itdürdi. İmām-ı hümām Ebī Hanīfe-i Kūfīnūñ² ve şeyhu 'ş-şüyūh Seyyid 'Abdulkādir el-Geylānīnūñ ve Şeyh Ebī İshāk-ı Kāzerūnīnūñ ve Şeyh Muhammed Şābūnī-yi Hemedānīnūñ ve Kitābu 'l-Envār şahibi Mevlānā Yūsuf-i Erdebīlīnūñ ve bunların emşāli nice şahib-kemālūñ müteyemmen meskenlerin ve müteberrek mezārların yıkdurub, yaqdurub tūde-i türāb itdürdi. [122a] Mā-ħaşal-i kelām ol bed-fercām ehl-i İslāma itdügi zulm-ü-ta'addīyi sükkān-ı Beyt-i Muħaddese Buhtu 'n-Naşr-ı Ğaddār ve esbāṭ-ı Benī-İsrā' ile Fir'avn-i bed-kirdār itmemişdi.

Dime bunca dürlü fesād ol la'İN

İdüb nice oldu belādan emİN

Bu imhāli şanmañ ki ihmāldür

Ve ümlī le-hüm enne keydī metİN

Ol pür-mekr-ü-keydūñ ceddi Cüneydī dañı Erdebīl ocağında şeyh-ı celīlü 'l-ħadrken bir def'a nār-ı fitneyi yaqmışdı.^{3a} Cihād³ adına 'alem kaldurub, ħayl-i cerrārla seyl-vār Gürcistāna aqmışdı. Ol diyāruñ bir kenārın urub, harāb eylemişdi.⁴ Dönüşde Şirvān vilāyetine ħaylī ħasāret eylemişdi.⁵ Soñra Şirvān Şāh elinde maħhūr oldu. Bir zamāndan soñra oğlı Ħaydar Şāh⁶ zuhūr buldı. Cüvān-ı şīr-dil idi, şūr-u-şerre⁷ mā'il idi. Sultān-ı İrān Uzun Ħasana dāmād olub dururdu. Ol ħānedāna istinādla şevketi izdiyād bulub dururdu. Sultān Ya'ķub zamānında zirve-i

iktidāra 'urūc itdi. Atası kanın alub, helāk için sipāh-ı Ye'cūc-kirdār ile Şirvān Şāh üzerine hurūç itdi. Şirvān Şāhuñ anuñla muķāvemete kudreti yoğ idi, Sulţān Ya'ķūbdan istimdād itdi. Aralarında 'alāķa-i muşāheret var idi, aña binā'en imdād itdi. Türkmān leşkerini gönderdi, vardılar hayl-i Erdebīli tağıtdılar. Mızmār-ı gīr-ü-dārda serdārların katl eyleyüb, ol bed-kirdārları çil yavrusı gibi tārūmār itdiler. Çün Sulţān Ya'ķūb öldi, yerine² oğlı Baysunğur Mīrzā beg oldı. Tağallüble soñra Rüstem Mīrzā zuhūr buldı, İrān-zemīne fitne tıoldı.

Herc-ü-merci-yle tıolub İrān-zemīn

[122b] Oldı ol ma'mūre pūr-vīrān-zemīn

Şeyh Haydaruñ ulu oğlı Hoca 'alī Erdebīlden hurūç itdi. Mīrzā Rüstemuñ emri-yle İbe Sulţān üzerine varub cem'iyetini tağıtdı, kendüsini dutub öldürdi. Pıñarı başdan kesüb, fitne ocagınuñ odunu söyündürdi. Soñra Mīrzā Aħmed elinde Rüstem Mīrzā helāk olub, rüy-ı mäh-ı ikbāli siyāh oldı. Çok geçmeyüb İbe Sulţānuñ 'isyāni-yle Mīrzā Aħmeduñ hāli daħi tebāh oldı. Hasan Hānuñ nebireleri tebire-i hilāfı hurūşa ve deryā-yı maşāfı cūşa getürdiler, dāmen-i mülki keşākeş-i pençe-i ihtilāfa düşdi. Ol şehzādeleruñ herbirini bir serdār kenārına alub, kūs-ı istiklālī çalub, memleket balına zenbūr-ı şerr-u-şūr üşüdi. Anı bilmediler ki, devlet hüsni ittifākāt-ı hasenedendi; bu ittifāk bozılıcaķ ol devlet karār bulmaz. Tāk-ı metīn-i saltanat bünyād-ı ittifākla ābād olur, metīn ihtilāfla ol esās harāb olıcaķ bu ķubbe pāydār olmaz.

Devletuñ aşlı ittifāk durur

Ol esās ile tāk-ı mülk turur¹

Belī, çün Haḳ Te'ālā diledi, ki şem'-ı devlet fūrūğın yandura ve revğandan dūr ide, ol şem'in yağı-yla bir cem'un daḫi çerāğ-ı bahtın uyandurub pūr-nūr ide, ol ocagıñ kadīmlerini helāk idüb, kâ'im-i maḳāmların ahdās kıldı, ol ahdāsıñ arasında mevādd-i hilāl ve esbāb-ı ihtilāl ihdās kıldı.²

Ol esnāda Şeyḫ Ḥaydarıñ kiçi oğlu Şāh İsmā'il fırsat bulub, ḫurūç itdi. Üç yüz miqdarı ādemle toğru Erzincāna indi; ol bed-nihāduñ ecdādınuñ ḫulefā-yı bed-rāyı-le³ Anaḫolınuñ ekşer yerleri ḫolı-ydı, işiden çıkdı gitdi. Ol zamānda merḫūm [123a] Sulṫān Bāyezīd Ḥān İnebaḫtı ve Motūn ve Ḳorōn fethine ihtimām idüb dururdu; Anaḫolı vilāyetinüñ 'asker-i sefer-rehberin ol sefere⁴ bile alub, gidüb dururdu. Mezkūr diyār-ı ma'mūruñ ḫavālīsi ḫālī ḫalub dururdu; anuñ-çün ol bed-siret ol araya gelüb, oynamağa fırsat bulub dururdu. Çün bir müddet ol nāḫiyetde ikāmet itdi, yanında ḫaylī ādem cem' olub, şīt-ü-şadāsı 'ālemi ḫutdı.

Herne yerde varise bir bed-nihād

Müfsid ü mülhid mubāhī-i'tikād

Vardı ol bed-kīşe itdi ittibā'

Oldı Erzincānda ḫaylī içtimā'

Ḥayl-i cerrār her ḫarafdan seyl-vār aḫub vardı, ḫabāb-ı pūr-tāb gibi bir demde şişüb ḫabardı; ol bed-fi'ālūñ hilāl-i baḫtı evc-i ikbālde kemāl buldı. Küçe-i fakırda adı Ḥoca Kemāl iken Şāh İsmā'il oldı. Bu ḫaḫīye-i ḡayri-merzīye Ḥazret-i Risālet hicretinüñ ḫokuz yüz beşinci yılında vuku' buldı. Mışır sulṫānı

¹
 Kānşū Ğavrīnuñ daħī Mışr tahtına cülüsü mezkūr senede vākı' oldı.

Mezkūr bed-nihād evvel cādde-i fesāda kadem başdı, Şirvāna el urub, ol vilāyeti ħarāb eyledi. Şirvānşāh-ı sefīd-rīşe bu kadar iş idüb komadı, diriyle ²şişe şançub kebāb eyledi. Ol zamānda Ğasan Ğān bendelerinden ³Mīrzā Yusūf oğlı Mīrzā Elvend ⁴diyār-ı Āzerbāycānda şehriyār idi, mezkūr mağħūrı Kur Şuyı kenārında karşıladuğda, bilesince otuz biñ miqdārı süvār-i kārzār vardı. Turuşub ⁵uruşmadın, seyf-ü-sinān biri biri-yle görüşmedin şındı, gerüsine döndi. On beş ⁶[biñ] miqdārı Türkmān ol vākı'ada yere düşdi. Şāh-ı güm-rāh [123b] ol aradan toğru Tebrīze toğrulub, bī-münāza'-u-müdāfa' geldi şehre girdi. Ağkoyunlu cemā'atinden bulduğına emān virmedi, kırdı. Atasınıñ kanın alub, pīr-ü-civān, 'avret-ü-oğlan kırk, ⁷elli biñ miqdārı Koyunluyı ⁸helāk idüb, Ğasan Ğānla Mīrzā Aħmedi kodı, sā'ir ümerā-wu- selāṭīni mekābirinden çıkarub oda yakdı. A'dāsınıñ irisın [ve] uşağın kırmağla ve ölüsin dirisin yakub, külini göge ⁹şavurmağla kulüb-ı nāsa mehābet bırakdı. Dāru 'l-mülk-i Tebrīzi, ki kubb-e-i İslām idi, envār-ı Şerī'atden boşaldub, zulmet-i dalālet ve zalām-ı zulm-ü-bid'at ile toldurdı. Ol güm-rāh-ı kabīh-siret kendü anasını, ki Ğasan Ğānuñ kızı-ydı, kendüye ħayr-ħ^{vāh} olub, küfr-ü-ilhāddan ve zulm-[ü]-bī-dāddan men' itdügi-çün kağıyub, kendü eli-yle öldürdi. ¹⁰Ba'dehü seyl-vār 'İrāka akub, Kāzvīni ve İsfahānı, Kūmı ve Kāşānı ve Reyi ve Hemedānı ve Semnānı ve Dāmğānı aldı. Ol vilāyetlerde bulduğı ¹²ehl-i sünnet-ü-cemā'ati kırub, ¹³kadīm ħāne-dānlara cārüb-ı ğāreti çaldı.

Türkmāndan bulduğun kıra kıra

Od gibi girdi irdügi yire

Buyruğuna şöyle rām etbā'ı kim

Gir der ise göz göre oda gire /

Mīrzā Elvend Diyārbekrde siñüb otururken sākī-yi ecel elinden cām-ı himāmı nūş idüb, deryā-yı fenāya taldı. Yerine Sulṭān Ya'kūb oğlu Mīrzā Murād kaldı. Aḳḳoyunludan yanına otuz biñ miqdārı ādem cem' olub, Kızılbaşla 'azīm ceng itdiler. Emmā Aḳḳoyunlu beglerinüñ devleti dönmişdi, jeng-inekbetle āyine-i bahtları tonmışdı. Düşmen-i bed-nihāduñ hamlesine dōyemeyüb, bār-ı taḥammüli şacdılar, dipiye uğramış koyun sürüsü gibi [124a] kaçdılar. Sulṭān Murāduñ nār-ı kārzārıla kār-u-bār-ı karārı dutuşdı, hunca biñ ḥadem-ü-ḥaşemden bir kaç yüz ādemle kaçdı Bağdāda düşdi.

Yāğī-yi bī-dād aldı tahtını

Kendü Bağdāda ilette rahtını ²

Yaḳdı cānın ḥasret-ü-derd-i diyār ³

Gözlerinüñ yaşu aḳdı Dicle-vār

Kızılbaş, Türkmān beglerinden yigirmiden⁴ ziyāde tuḡlu [ve] naḳḳārelü beglerüñ boynın urub, Fārs vilāyetine girdi. Ol iḳlīm-i ḳadīmüñ daḡı muḳīmlerini incidüb, 'İrāḳ-u- Āzerbāycāndan beter eyledi. Ol arzuñ tül-ü-'arzın gezdi, ne Şīrāzı ḳodı ne Yezdi. Dāru 'l-mülk-i Şīrāz⁵, ki ḥāl-i ruḥsār-ı heft-kişverdi, ṭāvus-ı pūr-zībe ve 'arūs-ı dil-firībe beñzerdi. Mezkūr Yezd, ki mu'azzam şehrdi, yer yüzinde nişāne-i dehrdi, yıḳub, yaḳub esbāb-ı tecemmülātın aldı. İki⁶ daḡı ḥarāb olub, āşār-ı 'imāretten

hālî kaldı. Fîrûz-Küh¹ dimegle ma'rûf olan hişâr-ı üstüvârı alub, hüsâm-ı intikâmla halkına katl-i 'âmm idüb, Bağdâda geldi. Şarım Kürdi-yle² 'azîm ceng idüb, ol cevânibe seyl-i istilâyı şaldı. Sultân Murâd a'vân-ü-enşârı-yle mällarını ve 'iyâllerini kaçurub, Şâma ve 'Araba ve Halebe³ tağıldılar, 'adū-yı kîne-cūyla muqābele⁴ kâbil degil idügin bilüb, hemân başın kurtarmak ardınca oldılar.

Kaçdılar mevc-i bî-karâr gibi

Tarumar⁵ oldılar şerâr gibi⁶

Sultân Murâd Halebe gelüb, Halebden Zülkadrlü oğlu 'Alâ'üddevle⁷ Beg yanına geldi. Ol aralıkdan, kiçi depenüñ başında oturmaqdan ulu tağun eteginde turmaq yeg[i]dügini bilüb, 'Alâ'üddevleyi koyub gitdi, merhûm Sultân Selîm dergâhına⁸ 'azm itdi. Mezkûr Şehriyâr-ı [124b] kâmkâr ol Emîr-i şehîrüñ maqdem-i mükerremine rağbet gösterüb, hâdden ziyâde ta'zîm itdi; Kızılbaş elinden alduğı hişârlarun cemî'isini ol mihmân-ı kerîme teslîm itdi.

Çünin kerd büzürg-ân çü kerd bāyed kâr

Bu cānibden Sultân Murâd gidüb, Bağdād hālî kalıcaq, haşm-ı bed-nihād gelüb, ol şehri alıcaq rıfzla mütehhem olub, hālî mübhem olanlar kurtuldılar, anlar ki, aşhâb-ı sünnet-ü-cemâ'at idi garkâb-ı 'azābda boğuldılar. Ol kişverde envā'-ı fesādı bu gūl-nihād, Moğoldan artuq itdi. Anun 'azāb-u-ikābı dirilere maşşüş idi, bu ölüleri bile incitdi. Ol zālîm-[ü]-bî-dād Bağdâda bir iş itdi ki, şerha kâbil degül, ceys-i bed-kişün⁹ fesādını beyāna lisān mütehammil degül.

Dime bunca dürlü fesād ol la'in

İdüb nice oldı belādan emīn

Bu ihmāli şanmañ kim imhāldür

Ve ümlī le-hüm inne keydī metīn¹

Bundan şoñra Tīmūr-ı Gürgānī neslinden Hüseyn Baykara, ki Hōrāsān sultānı-ydı, sene-i işnā 'aşere ve tis'a-mi'ede fevt olıcağ, evlād-ı emcādınuñ ihtilāfı-yle encād-ı ecnādınuñ mābeynleri mevādd-i hilāfla tolıcağ, Moğol aşlından Çengīs neslinden Yünüs Hān oğlı Şeybek Hān, ki kisvet-i hażreti ihtiyār itmegin Yeşilbaş 'unvānı-yle iştihār bulmuşdı, Āb-ı Āmūyı geçüb, Belhi ve Nīşābūrı, Mervi ve Herātı tutub, tamāmet-i Hōrāsān vilāyetine müstevlī olmuşdı. Mezkūr Kızılbaş bid'at-ü-dalālet-ü-ta'aşşubla² meşhūr olmağın, kendü sünnet-ü-cemā'at³ mezhebinde taşallub ile mezkūr olmağın, aralarında tekābül-ü-tezād⁴ oldı; mābeynlerine mevādd-i ihtilāf toldı. Āhiru 'l-emr sene-i sitte 'aşere ve tis'a-mi'e Şa'bānınuñ yigirmi sekizinde Merv kurbinde ceng [125a] itdiler. Kızılbaş, hayl-i seyl-reftār-ı Tātāruñ bī-ḥadd-ü-şümār olub kendüye galebesini bilmişdi, kemīn-i kīnde bir miqdār 'askerle pusuya girüb hile kılmışdı. Evvel vehlede inhizām süretin gösterüb tārümār olmuşdı. Tātār 'askeri 'akablarınca ılgar idüb, gārete perākende olıcağ, pusuda olanlar 'ale 'l-gafle çıkdılar. Şeybek Hānuñ yanında sehl ādem kalmışdı, ol şīr-dilīri bir sürü hınzīr⁵ tenhā avlayub, niçe şikence ile şıkdılar.

Kaçan kim üşer başına mūrlar

Düşer ayağa peççe-i şīr-i ner⁶

Baş gidicek ayak pāydār olmaz, begleri düşüb alayları bozulıcağ,⁷

hayl-i cerrār-ı Tātār tağılıb gitdi.

Mezkūr maḫḫūr ol aralıqdan toğrı Herāta 'inān-rīz olub, ol vilāyete müstevlī oldı. Dāru 'l-mülk-i Herāt-ı Cennet-şifāt āsar-ı 'imāretden dūr olub, dūr-u-kuşūrı ḫālī ḫaldı. Her günci genc-i mälla mālī iken kāse-i iṭānbūr ve kīse-i iflās gibi ḫālī ḫoyub, ol gülzāruñ berg-ü-bārın bād-ı ğāret aldı. Per-i tūtī-yi pīrāste gibi berg-i sebzle ārāste bağlarını ḫışm odınuñ düd-ı-yle bāl-i zāğa döndürdi. Ol maḫām-ı rāḫat-encāmda ārām iden ehl-i İslāmı tağıdub, 'ulemā-i 'izāmdan 'Allāme-i Taftāzānīnūñ nebīresi Şeyḫu 'l-İslāmı telāmīzesi ile ḫatlı idüb,¹ nār-ı ḫahrıla şehrūñ sīnesin pūr-dağ idüb, eski ḫonağa döndürdi.

Nehr-i ḫahrı şehr ü kūyı ḫıldı ḫark

Nār-ı ḫışmı ol diyārı ḫıldı ḫark

Semerḫanda 'asker gönderüb Māverā'ünnehrde nehr-i ḫahrı aḫıtdı. Hindde ve sindde Ḥaṭā ve Ḥatana velvele bıraḫdı. 'Arabda ve 'Acemde, yakında ve ırakda ol bāğī-yı tāğī-yle müdāfa'a-vu-mümāna'aya² ḫādir kimesne ḫalmadı. Nevāḫī-yi İrān-zemīnde, miyān-[u]-meydānda [125b] ve kenār-u-kemīnde bir serdār ḫalmadı, ki ol ḫaddār ayāğın almadı. Çün ḫayl-i seyl-ḫurūş-u-Nīl-cūşuñ şīt-ü-şalābeti-yle cihān mışrı ḫoldı, ol ejdehā-yı āteş-feşānı yutmağa³ bir 'aşā ve ol Fir'avni nehr-i ḫahre ḫark itmege bir Mūsā zāhir oldı.

Ḥaberdār ululardan naḫl olınur

Ki her Fir'avne bir Mūsā bulınur

Çün nevbet-i salṭanat şāhib-ḫırān-ı zamān Sultān Selīm Ḥāna degdi, āteş gibi cihān serkesleri fermānına baş egdi.

Mezkûr t̄āgī-yi bāgīnūñ seylāb-ı pür-şitāb-ı fücürinuñ nihāyet-i t̄uğyānı eyyāmında ve tennūr-ı şerr-ü-şūrınuñ gāyet-i galeyānı hengāmında, bezm-i rezmi germ itdi. Ol bed-fercām ehl-i İslāma belīye-i 'āme ve t̄amme-i kübrā idi. Ol sebebden Gebr-ü-Tersāy¹ koyub, ol bed-rāyı aray-ı-gitdi. Kerrenāy-ı gāzā-yı garrāyı çaldırub, Çaldırān Ovasında ol menba'-ı fücür ve mecma'-ı şerr-ü-şūrūñ² dernegin t̄ağıtdı. Nitekim maḥallinde silk-i kilke getürülüb, mezkûr-u-mestūr olsa gerekdür. Gerden-i ḥāme ve gūş-ı nāme ol cevāhir-i zevāhirle zīb-ü-zīnet bulsa gerekdür. İn şā 'allāh te'āla.³

[126a] Bu dāsītān-i 'acībū 'l-beyān ezhār-ı bahār-ı leşker-i cerrār-ı⁴ Şehriyār-ı kāmkarla deşt-ü-kūhsār t̄olduğın, bahār-ı zaferle dāmen-i gülşen pür-berg-ü-bār olduğın beyān eyler.

Ḥazret-i Risālet-menziletūñ hicret ta'rīhinūñ t̄okuz yüz yigirminci yılında⁵, ol sāl-i ferruḥ-fālūñ Rebī'-i bedī'inūñ evā'ilinde, çün ki cüyüş-i vuḥūş cūşa, kūs-ı seḥāb-ı bahārī ḥurūşa gelüb, sipāh-ı giyāh ayağ üzerine⁶ t̄urdu, kenār-ı deşt-ü-kūhsār ḥiyām-ı eşcār-ı pür-envārla ordū-yı sulṭān-ı cihān-cūya⁷ dönüb, meydān-ı hāmūnda ezhār-ı gün-ā-gün münakkaş sāyebānlar t̄urdu.

Görüb berķ-i tīzūñ sinānın giyer

Havā ebrden cevşen-i āhenīn

Havā jāleden nāvek-endāz olub

Giyer sebzeden sebz kaftān zemīn §

Dīvān-ı 'ālī-şān-ı āsümān-nişāndan Anaṭolıda ve rümilinda olan serdārlara ve sipehsālarlara aḥkām-ı ḳader-iḥkām-u-ḳazā-maḳā, şimāl-isti'cāl ulāḳlar[la] irsāl olındı. Eşnāf-ı ecnāddan bende-vü-āzāde āheng-i cenge¹ āmāde olub, maḳām-ı ārāmlarından ve maḳarr-i ḥaḳarlarından ḳalkub emr-i irtihāle imtisāl itmekde isti'cāl olındı. Ol zamānda Rümili vilāyetinüñ beglerbegisi Ḥasan Paşa idi. Mevākib-i kevākib-şümār arasında şan yıldızlar arasında bedr idi.² Sinān Paşa Anaṭolı memleketinde beglerbegi-ydi. Egerçi tavāşīdi, emmā iş eri-ydi, zamānında olan beglerüñ begi-ydi. Çün fermān-ı vācibü 'l-ittibā'-u-mümteni'ü 'l-imtinā' istimā' itdiler, 'asākir-i ma'hūdeleri-yle menāzil-i mev'ūdelerinde ictimā' itdiler. Kapu ḥalkı, ki gūş-i hūşları [126b] dā'im ḥalka gibi ḳapuda, kendüler āfitāb-ı seher-ḥīz gibi her şabāḥ ḥizmet işiginde dikilüb, ṭapuda⁵ ḳā'im ṭururlar, yarağ-u-yatla, kimisi⁶ atla ḥāzır oldılar. Pādişāh-ı ḥilāfet-penāhuñ nehḳatına nazır oldılar.

Heme 'ālem gūşāde-gūş tā ū key küned fermān⁷

Bu dāsitān Şehriyār-ı kāmkar, 'ālem-i 'ālem-gūşā-yı⁸ ḡazāyı ḳaldurduḡın, mülāḥideyi maḥşer yirine cem' itmege nefīr-i şūr-şafīr-i dār-u-gīri ḳaldurduḡın beyān ider.

Sābıḳā ta'yīn-ü-tebyīn olınduḡı üzre, çün sefer-i zafer-eşere ḥurūc yarağı görildi, mezkūr 'ām-i ferḥunde-encāmuñ şühūrında Muḥarrem-i muḥteremüñ yigirmi üçüncü günü dü-şenbe gününde dāru 'l-ḥilāfe-i Edirnededen göçildi. Şehriyār-ı kāmkar

ol rüz-i pîrüzda rikâb-ı kâm-yâb-ı hilâl-misâle ayak başub,
 himmet-i bülendi mânendi bir semend-i zamân-sür'ate süvâr oldı;
 resm-i ma'hûd-ı 'Osmânî üzre vüfûd-ı el'tâf-ı yezdânî tûlû'
 idüb, rahmet buludları âşikâr oldı.

Şehâb u bād olub sakka vu ferrâş

Şuladı vu süpürdi rehğüzârı

Havâ âyînesinde kalmadı toz

Meger meh-rûlaruñ haţt-ı ğubârı

On ğün deyince İstanbula gelüb, Fîl Çayırı dimegle ma'rûf
 menzilde kındı. Cemşîd-i hürşîd-ğulâmuñ huddâm-ı sidre-mağâminuñ
 hiyâmi-yle ol şahrâ tölub, yeşil çemenler üzerinde aq çadırlar,
 çiçekleri açılmış ağaçlara döndi.

Çetr zi her sū be-felek ser-keşîd

Ebr ser ez şerm be-çâder keşîd

Ol mağâm-ı rāhat-encāmda birkaç ğün [127a] ārām olınduktan
 soñra 'ālî divān olub, ol 'aşrda cādde-i Şerî'atde sâbit-
 kadem ve ehl-i sünnet-ü-cemā'at arasında kalem-i fetvâ ile
 ve 'alem-i takvâ ile müselleme ve muqaddem olan mevālî divāna
 da'vet olındı, Kızılbaş-ı evbâş tã'ifesinuñ muhârebesi huşuşı
 söyleşilüb, muhtażâ-yı Şerî'at nidügi istiftâ kılınub, bu
 maşlahat müşâvere olındı. Anlar dağı rāy-ı şavâb icmā' idüb,
 bu cevâb-ı müsteţâbı tahrîr itdiler ki: " Her ki, ol dâll-ü-
 muđille intisāb ide, ve ruşsat virdügi ef'âle irtikâb ide,
 mübâhı mübâhu 'd-demdür. Cem'in tefrîk ve eşyâ'ını temzîk
 itmek gerek, sâ'ir harbî kâfirlerden anlaruñla muhârebe
 ehemme-ü-aqdemdür. A'vân-u-enşârı sâ'î-yı fesâddur. Her ne

diyārda ve bilādda var ise emān virmeyüb, helāk itmek gerek. Āyet-ü-Ḥadīs hükmi-yle 'āmil olub, vech-i arzı ol ḥabīslerün levş-ü-revş-i ilhādından pāk itmek gerek."

Be-şāh-ı cihān vācib-est in ki tīg

Ber āred küşed ḥaşm-rā bī-dirīg

Be-def'-i çünin fitne-i rüzgār

Zi şeh tīg u tevfiķ ez Kirdgār

Sultān-ı İslām ol mālik-i ezimme-i aḥkām olan 'ulemā-yı a'lāmuñ fetvāları muқтаzāsınca 'amel idüb, ol 'azīm-i kadimle 'azm-i rezmi taşmim eyledi; kibār-ı enşārdan İstānbul ḥişārı civārında medfün olan Ḥazret-i Ebū Eyüb-i Enşārınüñ ve cedd-i mācidi Sultān Mehmedün ve vālid-i reşidi Sultān Bāyezidün maḳābirini ziyāret idüb, ol maḳāmlaruñ ḥuddāmına in'āmı ta'mim eyledi. Sene-i mezbüre Şaferinün [127b] yigirminci güninde, ki Āle 'ş-şabāḥ mellāḥ-ı zamān fülk-i feleke nürānī bādbānla zīnet virdi, Sultān-ı mihr-i sipihr-serir deryā-yı semāyı 'ubür itmeg-içün fülk-i felek-simāya girdi. Beşiktaş dimegle meşhür olan ma'berden 'ubür eyledi. Ḥavāşş-ı ma'ālī-iḥtişāş ve sā'ir mevālī-yi ḥāşşı-yle Anaḫolı cānibine mürür eyledi. Aḫabınca dergāh-ı sa'ādet-desthāhında gāh-u-bī-gāh ḥāzır bulınan sipāh-ı zafer-penēh Aḫdeñizden ḳara buludlar gibi geçüb gitdiler. Üsküdar yaḳasını dāmen-i gerdün gibi al bayraqlarla gülgün idüb, deşt-ü-hāmünü şafḫa-i Engelyün gibi ḥiyām-ı gün-ā-günla pür-naḳş-ü-nigār itdiler. İki gün anda ḫurub, ba'zı mühimmāt-u-maşālih görüb, üçünci gün devletle ḳalkub yörüdi. Gürüh-gürüh ve fevc-fevc kūh-şüküh gürühlar ve deryā-mevc alaylar deşt-ü-şahrāyı

bürüdi. Birkaç günden sonra Yañışehr öñindeki şahrāya gelinüb,
Rümili vilāyetinüñ ve Anaṭolı memleketinüñ beglerbegileri
taht-ı eyāletlerinde olan vilāyetlerüñ begleri ve leşkeri ile
pişkeşlerin çeküb, şeref-i zemīn-būsle müşerref oldılar.

Be-‘azm-idest-būs-eş Kāf-tā-Kāf

Kemer beste küleh-dār-ān-ı eṭrāf

Ordu-yı hümāyūn, baht-ı rüz-efzūn-ı pādişāh-ı rub’-i meskūn
gibi günden güne ziyāde olub, şahrā-ı vü-cibāl huyūl-ü-cimālle
māl-ā-māl oldu. Şahrā-yı ma’hūd ve beydā-yı meşhūd, hiyām-ı
gün-ā-gün ile eścār-ı pür-envārı müzeyyen -ü-mülevven olmuş
gülşen-ü-gülzāra dönüb, pür-şükūh gürūhlar ile dāmen-i şahrā
ve pīrāmen-i kūh ṭoldı.

Konmuş idi çerī gürūh-gürūh

Gülşene dönmiş idi dāmen-i kūh

Ol maḥallden göçilüb Konya şehrine, ki Karaman vilāyetinüñ
[128a] tahtgāhidur, nüzül buyurdu. Sulṭān-ı cihānuñ ol mekānda
nehr-i ihsān-ı ferāvānı revān olub, günc-i niyāz ve gūşe-i
ihtiyācda ac-u-muhtāc komadı, göñlin gözin ṭoyurdu.

Çü Husrev devlet ile geldi şehre

Virir her kişiye ihsānı behre

Ma‘müre-i mezkūrede medfūn Ḥazret-i Şeyḫ Şadreddīn Konavīnūñ²
ve sā’ir e’imme-i dīn ve erbāb-ı keşf-ü-yakīnūñ³ müteyemmen
mezārıların ve müteberrek meskenlerin ziyāret idüb, ol maḫāmuñ
muḫimlerinüñ kīse-i āmālini genc-[ü]-mālla mālī kıldı. Huyūl-ü-
cimāl diñlendirmek maşlahati-çün birkaç gün oturaḫ oldu. Dergāh-ı
āsümān-iştibāhında mülāzım ve her zamān⁴ rikāb-ı kām-yābında

lāzım olan kapu halkınıñ piyāde-vü-süvārinüñ her neferine biñer akça in‘ām eyledi; sâ‘ir Rümilinüñ ve Anaṭolinüñ erbāb-ıtīmārına biñde ellişer akça hesābı üzre baḥşiş virüb, in‘ām-ı ‘āmm eyledi.

Se rüz u se şeb baḥşiş-i ‘āmm kerd

Sipeh-rā besī luṭf u in‘ām kerd

Maşlahat neise görildükden soñra yine göç buyurılıb, birkaç gün yörilüb, Sivas Ovasına çıkdı. Ordu-yı cihān-peymāy ol şahrāya konub,¹ düm-i nize şerāyāya indi,² kubbe-i bārgāhı süreyyāya çıkdı. Şahīl-i ḥayl ve şavt-ı feresden, şadā-yı derāy³ ve şit-i ceresden mezkūr şahrānuñ eṭrāf-u-eknāfı gul-gul ṭoldı. Kızıl oṭaqlarla deşt-ü-der⁴ lālezāra dönüb, münakkaş ḥaymelerle rüy-ı havā gül-gül oldı.

Ṭoldı şahrā ḥaymelerle bī-ḥisāb

Şanki deryānuñ yüzün ṭutdı ḥabāb

[128b] Rāvī eydür, ol feżā-yı dil-güşāda, ki

Ṭül-ı emelden ṭavīl ‘arż-ı ‘arāzdan ‘arīż

-dur,⁵ konıldukda leşkerüñ yoqlamasına mübāşeret kılındı.

Çerī çün bir yere cem‘ oldı yek-ser

Buyurdı şāh kim ‘arż ola leşker

Küh-şüküh gürühtar ve deryā-mevc fevcler alaylar bağlayub, ḥayl-i cerrār seyl-i nev-bahār gibi çağlayub, ol bī-ḥadd-ü-bī-kıyās ādem cevherleri şarrāf-ı gevher-şināsa ‘arż oldı. Kimi piyāde ve kimi süvār, ezhār-ı sebzezār ve eşcār-ı kühsār gibi ālāt-ı gīr-u-dār ve mühimmāt-ı kārzarla ārāste-vü-pirāste, ḥisāb-u-şümāra gelmez leşkerle, deşt-ü-der, niçe fersenk yir ṭoldı. Begler kol-ḳol, gürüh-gürüh olub ṭurdı. Nüker-ü-ḳul,

şag-u-şol fevc-fevc mevc urdı.

Çalkınub şahrāda leşker fevc-fevc

Cūşa geldi baħr-i āşūb urdı mevc

Yeñiçerīnūñ Aķ Şuyı çārsū-yı dehre aķub, 'azabuñ Kızıl Irmağı bāğ-u-rāğı deşt-ü-tağı şöyle dutmuşdı ki, kenārına göz irmez idi. Meydān-ı kārzārda leşker-i düşmen-şikāruñ öñin bağlayub turıcaķ, atluya geçid virmezdi.

Turmuş idi 'azab gürūh-gürūh

Lālezār olmuş idi dāmen-i kūh

Mevākib-i kevākib-şümāruñ izdiħāmından deşt-ü-hāmūndan mürūr müte'azzir olduğı ecluden, tīmārı üç biñden alçaķ olub, tavarı za'if olan erbāb-ı tīmāra icāzet virilüb, İskender Paşa oğlı Muştafā Beg ile mü'āvedet emr olındı. Defātir-i hazā'in-ü- emvāl ve sā'ir aħmāl-ü-eşķāl taħfif olınub, Sivas Kāl'asında konıldı. 'Asākir-i deryā-şümār sebük-bār olub, seyl-vār 'Acem vilāyetine aķdı. Ercincān Ovasına [129a] tölub, āfāķ-ı cihāna mehābet bıraķdı.

Çün irdi ser-ħad-i mülk-i 'İrāķa

Yüceldi fitne vü kopdı tarāķa

Muħkem yasağ olınmışdı, kimse kimsenūñ esbābın ğāret eylesesūñ diyü ışmarlanmışdı. Lā-cerem, ol vilayet itā'at idüb, ra'iyet olmağa rağbet göstermegin, kimse kimsenūñ esbābın ğāret-ü- ğasāret itmedi. Bay-u-yoħsulı rencide idüb, il-ü-güni incitmedi.

Degüldi il ü gün urmaķ murādı

Arayu-gitdi ğaşm-i bed-nihādı

Aras Şuyı dimegle ma'rūf nehr-i 'amīķuñ üzerinde olan ķaņtara-i

'azîme[ye] ki, âfâkda çifti yok tāk olub, Çoban Köprüsi dimegle meşhürdür, gelindükde, Gürcistân diyârı¹ şehriyârı Mîrzâ Çâpukdan ilçî geldi. Sultân-ı cihâna ve sâ'ir erkân-u-a'yâna me'kulât kısmından ve zahîre cinsinden hayli zevâde getürüb, kendüye lâzım olan hidemâtı edâ kıldı. Mezkûr ilçîye icâzet virilüb² 'avdet olındukda, yine ba'zı esbâb irsâl olınması ışmarlanub göçildi. Eleşkird dimegle ma'rûf şahrâya duhûl kılinub, Köse Tağı sağ tarafa kalub, Ala Tağ sağ cānibinden³ seçildi. Kat'â Kızılbaş-ı evbāşuñ 'asker-i pür-şür-u-şerrinden ol diyârda deyyār zāhir olmadı. Ol sipāh-ı gümrāhuñ sürh-ü-siyāhından eger-ü-haber zuhūr bulmadı.

Bed-în güne mähî zemîn-i 'Acem
 Şāh-ı Rüm āverd zîr-i kadem
 'Acem-rā be-peymūd Husrev besî
 Ne-geşt ez Kızılbaş peydā kesî

[129b] Bu dāsītān Hāzret-i şāhib-kirān-ı zamān, Şāh-ı bed-gümāna üç def'a mektüb gönderüb cenge da'vet itdükden,⁴ ol dağı çār-u-nāçār gayrete gelüb, 'asker-i şakāvet-rehberin cem' idüb, Çaldırān Şahrāsına 'azîmet itdügin beyān ider.

Sābıkā meşür-u-merķüm olan mefhüm üzerine ol vaktin, ki Hāzret-i hilāfet-menzilet 'inān-ı 'azîmetin 'Acem vilāyetinüñ teşhîri tedbîrine döndermişdi, deryādan 'ubūr olındukda mezkûr-ı maķhûra sābıkā dutulub maķbûs olan Kılıc nām cāsūsı-yle mektüb

göndermişdi. Tā ki muḳaddemā mütenebbih olub, var kuvvetin bāzūya getürüb, tedārükde taḳṣīr etmeye. "Taḳt-ı eyāletümde olan vilāyetlerüñ 'askerin cem' etmege eyyām müsā'id olmadı." diyü 'özü-bahāne yolına gitmeye. Ba'de-mā yümn-i iḳbālle şahrā-yı Erzincān-u-Ṭercān, ki ser-ḥadd-i vilāyet-i İrāndur, vuşul bulucaḳ, ol nevāhīde olan tilāl-ü-cibāl nişān-ı süm-i sütür-ı 'asker-i mansūr-ı deryā-miḡālden sipihr-i pür-hilāl olucaḳ, iki def'a daḡi ḡükm-i şerīf irsāl olunub, kıtāle da'vet olunmuşdı.

Mezkūr maḡhūr vilāyet-i Āzerbācānda Ucān Yaylaḡı dimeḡle ma'rūf mekānda otururken, zıkr olan mekātīb-i müte'ākib gelüb irdi. Leşker-i seyl-hücüm-ı Rūmuñ vilāyetine ḡudümü ḡaberi ḡül gibi berg-i 'ayşin yile virdi. Yine ḡayret idüb öḡin derdi, erkān-ı devleti cem' idüb bunu derdi.

Didi İsmā'il bin ḡaydar benem
 Şīr-i nerle ceng iden şaff-der benem
 Ben ḡarāsān mülkin aldum bī-şümār
 Eyledüm Gīlān-zemīnin tārūmār

[130a] Āb-ı Āmūdan ḡıyāsen tā Fırāt
 Vardurur bī-şübhe nişf-ı kā'ināt
 Üş benüm ḡükmüdedür bu zıkr olan
 Düşmen olmaz baña şāḡib-fıkr olan
 Ben varurdum gelmeseydi ol ferīd
 Çekmedüm zahmet zehī baḡt-ı sa'id ²

Çü Kısrā-yı deryā-dil āgāh geşt

Ki emvāc-ı Kayşar zi deryā güzeşt

Humār-ı hamr-ı şürürdan ayılıb, sekr-i gurūrı zā'il olub,
ağdām-ı iqdām-ı ihtimām üzerine tırdı. Fi 'l-hāl, eṭrāfa
şimāl-isti 'cāl ādemler gönderüb, zimām-ı ihtimāmın kıtāle-vü-
cidāle dönderüb yarağ-u-yasağın gördi.

Revān cem' eyledi serverlerini

'Acem iklīminüñ leşkerlerini

Mezkūr maḫhūr leşker-i pür-şür-u-şerrin cem' itmekde, Sulṭān
Selām Hān Şehsüvār Oğlı 'Alī Begi, ki mızmar-ı kārzarūñ
şehsüvārı-ydi, dil alub, haber-i şahīḥ getürmek için qarāvula
irsāl eyledi ve Türkmān beglerinden Ferruḫşād Begüñ Şeyḫ Ahmed
nām ādemisi teccessüs-i aḫvāl ve tafahḫuş-ı keyfīyet-i hāl için
Tercāndan Tebrīze gitmişdi. Şāh-ı gümrāhı Ücān Yaylağında
bulub, leṭā'ifü 'l-ḫiyel ile taḫmīka çeküb, muḫaddemāt-ı tağrīri
aḫsen-i eşkāl üzre taşvīr itmişdi.

Gerekdür ḫīle erlik ile bile

Ki erlik ondurur tokuzı ḫīle

Biter tedbīr ü bitmez ceşle iş

Anuñ çün derler Et-tedbīrū le 'l-ceş

Eyitdi ki "Beni Rūmili begleri ve Türkmān serverleri gönderdiler.
Cümlesi ḫadīmden muḫibb-i Āl-i 'Abā ve hevādār-ı evlād-ı
Murtażā olub, Şāhuñ ḫidmetine ṭālibler, cān-u-dilden bende-i
fermān olmağa rāğıblerdür.

Muṭī'end ez cān der-i şāh-rā

[130b] Berīd-i be-cān cümle bed-ḫ^vāh-rā

Cümlesi kemer-bend-i vifâkı miyân-ı ittifâka kuşanub, şöyle
 'ahd-ü-mişâk eylemişlerdür ki, miyân-ı meydânda, ki iki
 'asker-i kîne-ver muqâbil olıcağ, bād-i āşüb esüb gaygā-yı
 vağā ile şahrā-yı maşāff tolıcağ, ol emr-i maḥfiyi izhār ideler.
 Rüm 'askerin koyub, 'Acem leşkerine gelüb gideler. Şāhuñ ugrına
 cān-u-baş oynayub, dostına dost, düşmenine düşmen olalar."
 Mezkūr maḡrūr bu efsāneye i'timād idüb, aldandı; mezkūr begler
 cināyet-i ḥiyānete, ki cümle ḥiyānetden eşeddür, ikdām ideler
 şandı. Cāsūsa vāfir in'ām idüb, Hoy nām kaşabaya dek bile getürdi.
 "Yine sen muqaddemā var istimālāt eyle, ben daḥi Çaldırānda
 yetişirem," didi.

Rāvī eydür, zikr olan aḥbārı mezkūr cāsūs Şehriyār-ı
 kāmkaruñ nüvvāb-ı kām-yābına 'arż idicek, Çaldırān Ovasında
 ceng olmağ muḡarrerdür diyicek, ḡurebā zümresine ilḥāk olunub,
 vāfir baḡşış virildi. Bu eşnāda Şehsüvār Oḡlı 'Alī Begüñ daḥi
 ādemleri ḥayli başlar getürüb, ḥaber-i sābıkı taḥkik kılıcağ,
 biñ sikke-i Efrenci ile merḥūm Gedik Aḥmed Paşadan kalmış bir
 muraşşa 'şimşir var idi gönderildi. Ertesi Cemāzi 'l-Āḥirüñ
 selḥı-ydi, seherden āfitāb-ı 'ālem-tāb münkesif tūlū' idüb,
Ve-'ş-şemsü izā küvviret āyetinüñ mefhümü ma'lūm oldu, erbāb-ı
 tencim [ve] aşḥāb-ı taḡvīm zikr olan kūsūfuñ aḥkāmında " Maḡrib
 vilāyetinüñ şehriyārı maşrıḡ memleketine müstevlī olub, ḥuḡbeyi-vü-
 sikkeyi taḡyir ide " [diyü] taḡrīr itmişlerdi. " Maşrıḡ pādişāhına
 'azim nekbet-ü-zillet vardur." diyü taḡvīmlerinde taḡrīr itmişlerdi.
 Vākı 'ā eglenmeyüb, zikr olan kūsūfuñ 'aḡabınca, taḡrīr itdükleri
 aḥkāmüñ eseri vukū' buldı. [131a] Didüklerinden ziyāde

maḳhūr-u-menküb ve meksūr-u-maḡlüb oldu.

Ey besā ḥukm-hā-yı bī-kem-ü-kāst

Hemçü ilhām-ı vaḡy bī-güm-ü-rāst

Ki çehed ez zebān-ı ehl-i nücüm

Şidk-ı ān 'ākibet şeved ma'lüm

İrtesi Receb-i mürecebün gürresinde Kızılbaz 'askerinün karāvulı görildi; otaḡı hümāyün konmuşken, düşmen yakın geldi mülāḡaza olunub yine kaldırıldı. Esbāb-ı cidāl ve edevāt-ı kıtāl ihzār olunub, şafflar düzildi. Alaylar bağlanub sancaklar çözüldi. Aheste-aheste yörilüb ḡayli mesāfe kat' olındı. Soñra karāvuldan ḡaber geldi ki, " Mā-beyn daḡı ḡayli mesāfedur, bugün aḡşama dek mülākāt olunmaz; ilḡar idüb gelürse daḡı bir yere gelinmez." Lā-cerem, bir yüksek yerde otaḡ kuruldu. İhtiyāt birle ārām kılinub, maşāliḡ-ı kārzār ve mühimmāt-ı gır-ü-dār görildi. Muḡayyem-i mükerremi, Yeñiçeri muḡkem kuşadub, tınāb tınāba çatıldı, yaraḡ-u-yasaḡla şaḡ yatıldı.

ḡayme-hā beste tınāb ender tınāb

Güyī ez deryā hemī-ḡized ḡabāb

Şubḡa dek ol gıceyi ḡāziler diri tutub, ḡālik-i bī-niyāza tazarru'lar idüb, Cenāb-ı müfettiḡu 'l-ebvābdan istimdād itdiler. " Eyyām-ı şerif mübārek " diyü bir biri-yle muşāfaḡa kılub, isti'dād-ı esbāb-ı cihād itdiler. Seherden āfitāb-ı cihān-tāb toḡar, ne yüzden toḡa diyü gıce içi gibi zālām-ı ḡamām-ı ḡām-u-teşvişle her kişinün ḡalbi ḡararub tıururdu; şehsüvār-ı mihr güy-ı sipihre nā-ḡehān zerrin çevḡan urıcaḡ

Alay bağlandı şancaqlar çözüldi

Ol cānibden Kızılbaş-ı evbāş daḥi ḥadem-ü-ḥaşeminüñ
çeşm-i ḥorōs gibi ārāste şafflarını kat-kat pür-yarağ-u-yat
idüb, depesinden dırnağına dek gök demüre şöyle ğark itmişdi
ki, cüyüş-i cevşen-püş midür yoḥsa demür tağ midür bilinmeyüb,
nūker emīrinden² ve begler biri birinden seçilmezdi.

[132a] Karası ve ağı olinmazdı fark

Ser-ā-pāy olmuşdı pülāda ğark

Ol āyīne-i māh gibi rüşen cevşenlere güneş nūrı tokunub, āteş
şu'leleri hüveydā olmuşdı. Her fevci bir deryā-yı āteşin-mevce
dönüb, yalıñ kılıçlarla, ki ol oduñ yalıñları-ydı, deşt-ü-şahrā
tolmuşdı. Nām-dār serdārlarından Diyārbekr beglerbegisi
Muḥammed Beg, ki Ustācalu Oğlı³ demekle iştihārı var idi,
uğrāşlarda muḳaddemü 'l-ceyş, her işe yarar yoldāşı⁴ olub, mu'aḫḫam
sipehsālār idi, qarındāşı Karahān-ı bed-aḫterle on beş biñ
miḳdārı 'askerle meyseresinde koyub, Anaḫoli leşkerine muḳābele
kıldı. Kendünüñ vezīr-i a'ḫamı Seyyid 'Abdulbākī ile ḳādī'askeri
Seyyid Şerīfi beş on biñ miḳdārı ādemle sancağın ışmarladı.

Be-pāy-ı 'alem 'Abd-i Bākī be-mānd

Egerçi der eyyām bākī ne-mānd

Be-pehlū-yi ū nīz Seyyid Şerīf

Bahārī ki āverde rū der ḫarīf

Meymenesı tarafından kendü ḫulāşa-i ceysi-yle, ki yigirmi biñ
miḳdārı var idi, emmā her biri şavaşda on merd-i neberde
berāber idi, içi ḳara taşı kızıl, gören muşavver mevt-i aḫmer
şanurdı, şol ḳola Rūmilinüñ üzerine 'azīmet itdi. Şalābet-ü-şevketle

meydān-ı muhārebeye gelüb, mızmar-ı muzārebeye bir mehābet
bırakdı ki, kulüb-i ins-ü-cānı korkutdu.

Seyl-vār irdi hürüş u cüş ile
Toldı şahrā ceş-i cevşen-püş ile
Gürledi¹ baħr idi şan kim yürüdi
Kara tozdan gök yüzini² bürüdi

Muqaddemā Ustacalu Ođlı Şāhuñ şol tarafından kara tađ gibi
koyulub,³ Anađolı 'askerinüñ üzerine⁴ yürüdi, [132b] Sinān Paşa
dađı Anađolı 'askeri-yle karşılayub, mevc-i şimşir şahrā-yı
dār-u-giri bürüdi.

İki leşker irişdi vü karışdı
Kırışdı bir birine cān virişdi

'Azim ceng olub, cānibayden niçe nām-dār serdārlar toprađa
düşdi. Āhirü 'l-emr Sinān Paşa kendü serdārları-yle bir yerden
hamle idüb, ceş-i bed-kişüñ⁵ kalb-i şalbin tađıdub, 'adū-yı
bed-kirdāruñ ħirmen-i kararı şerār-ı kārzarla tutuşdı.

Karışub bir birine şunmadın el
Anađolı şıdı şol kolu evvel
İşüñ sağ olmasına oldu bu dāll
İşāret itdi feth-i āhire fāl

Mezkūr Paşaya tābi' olan cān-sipārlardan birisi Ustacalu Ođlına
rāst gelüb, sinān-ı cān-sitānla atından yıķub, ħüsām-ı intikāmla
mecāl virmeyüb başın kesdi. Ol düşücek, yanında bulunan
mendbūrlaruñ üzerine⁶ debūr-ı edbār esdi. Ol bed-gümānuñ ser-i
bī-sāmānın Pādişāh-ı cihān-penāha gönderüb, kendü sāz-u-selebi
müretteb ālātı-yla⁷ gedügin bekledi, tırdı. Muhammed Beg düşücek,

ol qolda olan mülāhidenuñ tu'ma-ı şir-i şimşir olmiyanı gelüb
 Şāhuñ kendü alayına katıldı. Mezkūr maqhūr muqaddemā Şehriyār-ı
 kāmkaruñ hāşşa alayına karşı yürüyüb, Yeñiçerī üzerine hücum
 itmişdi. Emmā muqābeleden tır-ü-tüfenk ve tob-u-zenberek yağmur
 gibi yağub, tob otınuñ dudı buludı şehāb-ı pür-'azāb gibi
 semāya ağub, ol heyl-ü- heylemānla gelen 'asker-i bī-meyl-ü-
 emānı qarcaşdurub, biri birine koyub perişān idicek, bir miqdār
 girüsine çekilüb gitmişdi. Ol cānibden zafer bulmayıcak, Rümili
 alayınuñ üzerine [133a] yürüdi. Rümili beglerinden Malkoç Oğlı
 'Alī Beg, ki hengām-ı dār-u-gırde hamle itse nerre şir idi,
 qarındāşı Tür 'Alī Beg, ki kemān-ı kaderden atılmış tır ve
 dest-i kazā ile şalınmış şimşir idi, ne bir ocaqda anuñ gibi
 yanar od kopmışdı ve ne bir ilde bunuñ gibi kıılıç görilmişdi.
 Rümili alayınuñ ucında tururlardı. Nā'ire-i kıtāl işti 'āl
 bulduqda bir tarafdān çıkub, ol hayl-i bed-kirdārı tārūmār
 itmek niyetin idüb tururlardı. Emmā mezkūr maqhūr, ki hīlede
 Dimme-naẓīr idi, ol tedbīrden habīr olub, muqaddemā anlaruñ
 üzerine yürüyüb, mā-beynde 'azīm ceng oldı. Anlara nisbet
 gāzīler gāyet azdı, berūden imdād-u-incād olinca anlaruñ
 mā-beyninde 'azīm ceng olub, şerār-ı nār-ı kārzār iltihāb buldı.

Depüb alay-ı Şāha İbn-i Malkoç

Tokuşdı Kurçı ile nitekim koç

Revān rahşın sürüb çün Rüstem-i Zāl

'Adū kanından olmuş cevşeni al

Koyunuñ gellesine girdi şan kurd

Ki itdi irdüginin kellesin hord

Kime tüş ola ol ceng-ü-çalışda
 İki pāra iderdi bir çalışda
 Çü na'ra uruban Allāh dirdi
 Niçe Kurçıya oldem Şāh dirdi
 Niçe Kurçı püşt olub sipāha
 Rivāyetdür ki el irgürdi Şāha
 Velī oldemde taqdīr-i İlāhī
 Ecel irdi elinden aldı Şāhı

Mezkūr olan serdārlar düşicek, gitdükçe bāzār-ı kārzār germ
 olub, gavğā-yı vağā ile şahrā-yı maşāff taldı. Rūmili beglerbegisi
 Hasan Paşa, ki cihān-dīde emīr idi, yanında olan Rūmili begleri
 ve 'askerleri ile 'adū-yı [133b] kīne-cūyuñ üzerine yürüyüb,
 ol iki leşker-i kīne-ver² mā-beyninde³ ātes-i cidāl-ü-kıtāl
 işti'āl buldı.

Tüfeng ü tīr ü tīguñ çāk-çāki
 Ker eylemiş idi sem'-i semākı
 Dutub kan bahri eṭrāfın sipihrūñ
 Başından aşdı mevci māh-u-mihhrūñ
 Kılıç barkından u ra'd-ı kemāndan
 Ecel ok gibi yağar āsūmāndan
 Olub āhen-siperler cā-be-cā cām
 Olur meydān saṭhı saṭf-ı ḥammām
 Bulunmazdı şu itmege dehān ter
 O ḥammām içre illā āb-ı ḥançer
 Şaçar od ejdehā-māned şimşīr
 Atılur ok yılanı gibi her tīr 4

Daḥve-i şuḡrādan 'aşr-ı evvele dek cānibeyden nā'ire-i kıtāl iştī 'āl bulub, Kızılbaş 'askerinüñ sâz-u-selebi müretteb-ü-dinc olub, Rümili leşkeri mesāfet-i be'ide kat' itmiş, yorgun argın, cebe ve cevşensüz olmağın kat kaldı. Evliyā-i devlet-i 'Osmānī cānibinden daḥi çok nām-dār serdārlar toprağa düşüb, Rümili beglerbegisi Ḥasan Paşa mecrūh oldı. Bu vākı 'a-i şākı 'a vuku' bulıcaḡ Karaçin Oḡli Aḡmed Beg gelüb, vākı ' hāli Sulṭān-ı cihāna i'lām itdi. Lā-cerem, fermān-ı każā-cereyān söyle şudūr buldı ki, Yeñiçerī 'askerinüñ tüfeng-endāz serbāzlarından bir çoşuñ 'asker Rümili leşkerine imdād-u-incād kaşdine yüzlerin ol cānibe döndürdiler. Tüfeng-i tārek-şiken havādan tolı gibi yaḡub, 'adū-yı kīne-cūyuñ yüzün, biñin bir uḡurdan Cehenneme gönderdiler. Terk-ü-miḡfer ve cevşen-ü-siper māni '-ü-dāfi' olmayub, şāhsār-ı vücūd-i bī-südlarında berg-ü-bār komadı kırdı. Kūh-şükūh gürūhların tūde-i berg-i gāh gibi tārūmār idüb, ḥirmen-i hayāt-ı bī-sebātların havā-yı fenāya virdi.

[134a] Bu resme ceng iderken şāh-ı gümrah
 Tüfeng doḡundı bāzūsına nā-gāh
 İle itdügi hoş geldi yolına
 Ki doḡundı każā okı kolına
 Egerçi çok virişdi vü alışdı
 Urub bī-ḥadd kılıç cāndan çalışdı
 Ve-līkin zōr-ı bāzū itmedi sūd
 Każā her cānibini kıldı mesdūd
 Diledi duta ejder birle pençe

Yidi dest-i kaẓādan hoş tabanca

Ol sipāh-ı şakāvet-penāhuñ Şāh-ı gümrāhı mecrūh olıcağ,
 hayl-i seyl-hücüm-ı Rüm talī'a-i şubḥ-gāh leşker-i aḥteri
 tağıdur gibi tağıtdı. 'Aşr vaqdi geçmedi ki, Cemşīd-i 'aşruñ
 öñinden ḥurşīd-i 'aşr gibi ser-nigün-'alem ufq-ı hezīmete
 üfūl itdi. Akbaḥ-ı hezīmetle münhezīm olub, baş korkusından⁴
 dāmen-i mülki şalı-virdi. Tebrīze, ki ol maḥalden on günlük
 yoldur, bir günde bir gicede alub, anda daḥi vehminden
 tıramayub,² geçüb gidüb Sultānīye dimegle ma'rūf ḥişār-ı üstüvāra
 girdi. Leşkerüñ arḳalarındağ³ zırhlar kendülere dām olub,
 kaçamayub destgīr oldı. Ba'zılar at güci-yle⁴ ol batağa batub,
 şancılıb ḳalub, buncadan berü itdüklerin bir demde buldılar.
 Ol bed-kirdārlaruñ tutulanı dutulub, kaçanları kaçub,
 gülzār-ı pür-bahār gibi berg-ü-bārla ārāste-vü-pīrāste ordusu
 ḳurulu-ḳaldı. Boğçalarda gül gibi rengin ḳabāları, bağçelerde
 ḡoncalar gibi dürülü-ḳaldı. Leşker-i ḡāret-gerüñ sīm-ü-zerle
 nergis-ü-ḡonca gibi gönli gözi tıydu ve tıldı; vāfir māl-ü-
 menālle māl-ā-māl aḥmāl-ü-eşḳāl,⁵ devābb-ü-bigāl-ü-cimāl
 ellerine girüb, her birisi geregi gibi⁶ tıydu oldı.

Virüb yağmaya ordu-yı ulusun

[134b] Alurlar fīli ile ḫabl-u-kūsın

Gelür sürüb yere ruḫ f-ıli ile

'Arūs-ı devlet ü nāmūs[ı] bile⁷

Bağdād ḫākimi Ḥülefā Begüñ kızını, ki Şāh-ı gümrāhuñ menkūḫası
 idi, Vidin begi Mesīḫ Begüñ ādemleri tıtub getürdiler. Şehriyār-ı⁸

kāmkār dīvān-ı 'ālī-şānda nişancı olan Tāc-Zāde¹ Ca'fer Çelebīye himmet eyledi, ki āyīn-i Şerī'at üzre nikāh eyleye, tā ki² eyyām-i devletinde, āsitāne-i sa'ādetinde hizmet iden bendeler ber-murād olalar. Ol daği ber mūcib-i şer'-i kavīm nikāh eyledi.³

Rüvāt-ı maqbūlü 'l-kelemdan mervīdür ki, zıkr olan kārzārda mezkūr bed-kirdāruñ serdārlarından vekīlü 's-saltānası ve vezīr-i a'zamı olan Seyyid 'Abdulbākī ve kađī'askeri Seyyid Şadr Şerīf ve Bağdād hākimi Hūlefā Beg, ki kayınatası-ydı, ve Herāt ve Hōrasān vālisi Lālā Beg ve Hemedān hākimi Tekelū Kāhī Beg ve Semnān-ü-Damgān şāhibi Sultān 'Alī Beg ve 'Irāk-ı 'Acem serdārı Pir Budak Beg ve Fāris-ü-Şīrāz sipehsāları Köse Hamza Beg ve İsfahān nā'ibi Tursun Beg ve korucıbaşı Şaru Piri ve Gence begi Serdār Beg, Damgān ve Sa'īd Çukuru begi Ağzıdar Beg ve Kazvīn-ü-Sultāniye hākimi Kara Sinān ve Meşhed-i 'Alī āsitānesi nakībi olan Seyyid Muhammed Kemāne⁴, ki şihhat-ı neseble meşhūrdur, ve daği niçe bunuñ emsāli⁵ adlu şanlı nām-dār serdārları tu'ma-i hūsām-ı intikām ve hedef-i sihām-ı himām vākı' oldılar.

Zi-düşmen der-ān 'arşa-i dār-u-gīr

Be hāk ender üftād heftād mīr

Heme şāhib-i mülk ü māl ü sipāh

Heme süde ber çarh-ı gerdān külāh

'Asākīr-i İslām ve leşker-ı Rüm-ı nuşret-fercāmuñ ümerā-yı 'izāmından muqaddemā Rümili [135a] beglerbegisi merhūm Hasan Paşa ve Mora sancağı begi Hasan Ağa ve Şofya sancağı begi Malkoç

Ođlı 'Alī Beg ve arındāşı Silistre begi Tūr 'Alī Beg ve Prizrin sancađı begi Sūleymān Beg, Anaolı vilāyeti sipehsālārlarından Karasi ili begi Mehmed Beg ve aysarıya sancađı begi Üveys Beg, Nigde begi Yürüyiş-Ođlı İskender Beg ve Beyşehir begi arlı-Ođlı Sinān Beg ve Rūmili kedhūdāsı ve bunlardan ğayrı nie nām-dār subaşılar ve adlu şanlı ğāzī yigitlerüñ āfitāb-ı hayātlarına kūsūf-ı memāt irişüb, şehādet mertebesin buldılar.

Zihī hayāt-ı nīkū-nām mürden-i be-şehādet

Ölümden urtulur yokdur cihānda

O derdi ekmez olmaz ins-ü-cānda

Kişinüñ 'ömri ünküñ āhir ola

Yeg oldur kim ğazā yolında öle

Bu dāsitān şavaşıda utulana mülāhide

'alā hide u'ma-i hūsām-ı intikām

ılınıđın, yoldāşlık idenler ri'āyet

olinub, erāf-ı memālike ve eşnāf-ı mesālike

feth-nāmeler irsāl olınıđın beyān ider.

ün şavaşı işi bitdi, bezm-i rezm āhir olub bāzār-ı kārzār tađıldı gitdi, hezīmet işi bitdi, ğāzīler ğanīmet aşın yidiler, bir birine sūr-ı sūrūr-baş-ı ğazā mübārek olsun didiler, 'adū-yı kīne-cūyuñ ordusu yerinde Sultān-ı 'ālī-şān iün evc-i āsümāna berāber sāyebān urıldı. İrtesi dīvān olub, Cemşid-i hūrşid-serīr yerine geüb, oturub, vüzerā-yı 'iām ve ümerā-yı kirām 'id-ı sa'id-ı cihādı mübārek-bād idüb, kenār-ı cūybārda şafşaf gibi

şaff-şaff tırıldı.

[135b] Bahar ezhārı gibi zīnet i'yān
 Olub şahn-i gülistān oldu dīvān
 Çalınub kūs-i feth ü tabl-ı şādī
 Şadādan tıldı deşt-ü-küh-u-vādī

Şehsüvār Ođlı 'Alī Beg bir miqdār merdān-ı kārzārla mezkūr maḫhūrı kova-gitmişdi. Nām-dār ādemlerinden ve yarar Ḳurçilerinden birkaç biñ kimesneyi ḥing-i cengden piyāde idüb, esīr-ü-destgīr itmişdi, ve sā'ir 'asker ḥalḳına daḥi yasađ olmışdı ki, kimse esīrin saklamaya, dīvāna getüre. Lā-cerem, fermān-ı 'ālī-şānla ḥayli esīr cem' oldu. Ol dīv-nijād-[u]-pülād-nihādlarla ḥavālī-yi dīvān tıldı. Emr-i vācibü 'l-inḳıyādla cellādlar ortaya girdiler, niyām-ı miđ-fāmdan tiđ-ı ḥün-āşāmı 'uryān idüb, ol bed-fercāmları kırdılar. Niçe yüz şimşīr-i bürrān berk-i tābān gibi oynayub raḥşān oldu. Kılıç şarkıldusu şark-u-ğarbe irüb, seyl-i ḥün ile dereler tıldı.

Niçe sūr-ıebdān u ḳaşr-ı beden

Ḥarāb oldu seylāb-ı şimşīrden

Zikr olan üserādan biri Ḳādī-Zāde Erdebīlī Mevlānā idi, ki cevdet-i tabī'at ve mezīyet-i fażīlet ile şöhret bulmuşdı, Mevlānā İdrīs görüb, bilüb Sulṫān-ı cihāndan şefā'at itdi. " Şākirdüm ve ođlumdur," didükde afv olinub, zincīrde on sekizinci olub on sekiz Akça 'ulūfe himmet itdi.

Ba'dehü şavaşda yoldāşlıđı zuḥūr bulan vüzerā-yı 'iżām ve ümerā-yı kirāmuñ ve sā'ir ḥuddām-ı encüm-iḥtişāmuñ dirlikleri artub, teraḳḳīleri buyurıldı. Piyāde-vü-süvār gerek ḳapu ḥalḳı, gerek

erbāb-ı tīmār kim varsa ri'āyet olinub, h̄vān-ı ihsānla toyurıldı. Anaṭolı beglerbegisi Sinān Paşaya Rūmili beglerbegiligi himmet olındı. Karaman Paşası Zeynel Paşa [136b] Anaṭolı beglerbegisi olub, Karaman beglerbegi[liği] Ferhād Bege ihsān kılınub, emīr-i 'alem ve kapucıbaşları ve ba'zı bölük ağaları h̄ālī olan sancaqlara çıkub, ol manāşıbuñ münāsibleri bulındı. Haber-i zafer-i Şehriyār-ı kāmkarı Rūm-u-Şāmda olan h̄aşş-u-'ämme, belki kaffe-i ehl-i İslāma i'lām itmek için şanāyi'-i belāğāti ve bedāyi'-i berā'ati cāmi' feth-nāmeler imlā olınmaq emr olındı. Ferzend-i ercūmendi olan kāhirü 'l-mülük, kahramānu 'l-kurūm, sultānu 'l-'Arab ve-'l-'Acem ve-'r-Rūm, Sultān Süleymāna ve Mışırda olan sultāna ve selāṭin-i hilāfū 'l-milleden Eflāke ve Boğdāna ve Deşt-i Kıpçākdaki Muḥammad Girāy Hāna şimāl-isti'cāl ulaklar gönderildi. Rāyet-i ilhād-ü-dalāletüñ intikāası ve āyīn-i cehāletüñ intifāası ve esās-ı zındıka-vu-rafzuñ indirāası aḥbārı Mışır-u-Şām-u-Halebde, Cezā'ir-i Bahırde ve sā'ir berārī-yi 'Arabda şāyi'-u-zāyi' olub, aḫṭār-ı 'ālemde iştihār buldı. 'Umūmen şehrler ṭonanub, sūrlar içi pūr-sürūr olub, kurā-vu-bilāduñ sevādı şād ile ṭoldı.

İrişüb 'āleme āvāze-i feth
 Cihān ṭoldı peyām-ı tāze-i feth
 Bilad-ı mülk olub ser-cümle tezyīn
 Feleklerde melekler kıldı taḥsīn

Bu dāsitān Sultān-ı cihān maḥrūse-i Tebrīze varub, ol ṭarafda vākı' olan ḥavādigi beyān ider.

Çün Pādişāh-ı İslām ol bed-fercāmuñ ordusu yirinde hīyām-ı iḳāmeti ḳurdu, iki gün dīvān eyleyüb, lāzım olan mühimmātı gördi. Üçünci gün göçüb [136b] Tebrīzden yaña 'azīmet itdi. Uğraduđı vilāyetlerde mehābet bırağub, Ḳızılbaş tevābi'inden ele giren erbāb-ı fesāda mecāl virmeyüb siyāset itdi. Māh-ı mezburuñ on altıncı günü Tebrīze ḳarīb maḥalde Surḥāb dimekle ma'rūf maḳām-u-me'āba ḳondı. Deşt-ü-hāmūn ordu-yı hümāyūnla māl-ā-māl olub, hīyām-ı gün-ā-gün ile deryā-yı pür-ḥabāba döndi. Mezkūr maḥalle gelindügi gün maḥrüse-i Tebrīzde olan 'ulemā-vü-şuleḥā ve sadāt-u-küberā, celīl-ü-zelīl, faḳīr-u-emīr, şağīr-u-kebīr, bernā-vu-pīr Şāh-ı cihān-gīri ḳarşulayub, atı ayađına aḥlas-ı gerdūn gibi altunlu bezler ve rengīn ve semīn ḳumaşlar döşeyüb, yolu uğrađına mihr-i sipihr gibi zer nişār itdiler. 'Avret-ü-ođlan, pīr-ü-civān ol Zıll-ı Yezdānuñ sāye-i emānında āfet-i zemāneden emīn olduđlarına sūrūr-u-ḥubūr izḥār itdiler.

Çıkarlar Şāh-ı Rūma ḳarşulayu

Yolını eşk-i çeşm ile şulayu

Döşerler at ayađına melekler ³

Feleklerde niçe altun benekler

Derilüb cümle ol cāyı laḥīfe

Döşerler at ayađına ḳaḥīfe

Çıḳub bāy-u-gedā heb Şāha ḳarşu

Varurlar çün kevākib māha ḳarşu

Yürüdükçe Şāh ol ra'na ḳumāşı

Döşenmiş ferşe ol zībā ferāşı

Dürüb derdi ḥoyum oldu şolaḳlar

"او سجد" O yine müjdeci şaldı ulaklar
 Urdular yüz sürüyüb pâyına baş
 Döşediler yolına bî-ḥadd kumāş
 Kaldurub bir yerden eller açdılar
 Her yañadan dürr-ü-gevher saçdılar
 Oradan varınca otağına ol
 Aṭlas-u-dībā idi ser-cümle yol^L

Şehriyār-ı kāmkar āyīn-i metīn-i Ahmedī ile kavānīn-i
 şer'-i mübīn-i Nuḥammedāyi ol diyārda izhār idüb, şi'ār-ı
 aḥkām-ı İslāmı āşikār itdi. Fişk-u-fücür, ki menba'-ı şerr-ü-
 şürdur, ve zındıka-vü-ilhād, ki ol bed-i'tikādlar arasında
 şāyi'dı, [137a] kimde sezdisi siyāset idüb, cihānı başına ṭar
 itdi. Sünnet-ü-cemā'at mezhebine revāc virüb, tüccār-ı füccāruñ
 bazār-ı kāsīd ve sūḳ-ı füsūḳı fāsīd oldı. Meşāhid-i eşrār olan
 ma'āhid aḫyār-ı ebrāra ma'ābid oldı.

Çün aldı kahr ile Tebrīzi Hüsrev
 Medāyin tahtını güyā ki Hüsrev
 Düşer Çīn-ü-Semerḳanda hirāsān
 Hirāsānı-yle pür oldı Harāsān
 Tolar şīt-u-şalābet Mışr ile Şām
 Diyār-ı Hind-ü-Sinde irdi ālām

Rāvī eydür, Cüm'a günü olduğda ḥazret-i Pādişāh-ı ḥilāfet-
 penāh, 'Accilū bi 'ş-şalāti kable 'l-fevt emrine imtişāl idüb,
 semend-i rām-licāma süvār oldı. Havaşş-ı ma'ālī-iḥtişāş öñine
 düşüb, mevākib-i kevākib-şümārla deşt-ü-hāmūn ṭoldı. Vüzerā-yı
 kār-fermāy her ṭarafdan hāle gibi ol māhı ihāṭa itdiler. Ümerā-yı

rezm-āzmāy ol Şehinşāh-ı gerdün-bārgāhuñ öñince gitdiler.
Yeñiçerī yarağa girüb, silahları-yle kendülere zīnet virüb
öñce yörüdüler. Harbelerinüñ yalmanı-yle çeşm-i mihri hīre
idüb, rū-yı sipihri bürüdüler.

‡ursalar ellerinde harbeleri

Yüzlerini gören kalur beleri

'Azab alayı, ki fevc-fevc yürirdi, güyā bir lālezār idi, bād-i
bahār öñince mevc ururdı.

Yürür idi 'azab gürüh-gürüh

Lālezār olmuş idi dāmen-i kūh

Tebrīzde olan pīr-ü-civān, kavī-vü-nā-tüvān, 'āvret-ü-oğlan,
gürüh-gürüh yollar üzre ‡urub, ol 'asker-i pür-şalābetüñ
esbāb-ı şevketin temāşā iderlerdi. Bir biri-yle kelāma [137b]
‡udretleri ve istifhāma ‡ākatları yogıdi. Mebhūd-ü-medhūş
‡ururlardı. Geregi gibi tezyīn ile,

Bu hoş resm ile hūb āyīn ile

Uzun Hasan cāmi'ine, ki raşānet-i mebnā ile meshūr-ı āfāk ve
bu ‡ubbe-i mīnānuñ altında çifti yok ‡ā‡dur, dühūl idüb, namāza
hāzır oldu. Mezkūr cāmi'-i şerīfüñ [ki] mücessem nūr-ı lāmi'
idi, içi ‡aşı māl-ā-māl olınuğundan ğayrı eṡrāfında olan
dūr-u-‡uşūr ve so‡a‡larıñ şa‡a‡ları ādem ile ‡oldı.

Rāvī eydür, Kızılbaş ol cāmi'-i şerīfi cebe-hūāne ‡ılmışdı.
Ālāt-ı hadīd ve esbāb-ı be's-i şedīdle ol ma‡ām-ı nazīfi
‡oldurmuşdı. Sulṡān-ı cihānuñ fermān-ı 'ālī-şāni-yle ‡athīr-u-
‡anzīf olinub, her cānibine rengīn ve semīn bisāṡlar döşenmişdi.
Ādet-i ma'hūd üzerine hoş elhān-u-şīrīn zebān cārī ‡ārīler

Kelām-ı Bārīden bir miqdār tilāvet itdükden soñra, haṭīb-i faṣīhü 'l-beyān minbere şu'ūd ve ḥurūc itdi. Çār-yār-ı aḥyārı, ehl-i sünnet-ü-cema'at mezhebi üzerine 'ale 't-tertib yād idüb, her birinün mükābelesinde Radıya 'llāhü 'an-hü şadāsı cāmi 'i dutdı. Bunca müddet mütemādī olmışdı ki, ol diyāruñ ahālisi ḥuṭbede Hulefā-yi Rāşidīn esāmīsin işitmemişlerdi, āh-u-nāle ve feryād-u-'ulāle eyleyüb, ol cāmi '-i kebīrün fiğān-u-zārıla içi ṭoldı.

Na'relerden ditredi çarḥ-ı berīn
Şayhalardan ifleđi rū-yi zemīn
Her ṭarafdan zāhir oldı velvele
İrdi ol sengīn bināya zelzele

Çün namāz-u-niyāz emri tamām oldı, Sulṭān-ı cihān atına binüb Tebrīzi [138a] ve eṭrāfın seyr eyledi. Ol diyār-ı ğarībe ve içindeki āşār-ı 'acībeyi 'ayn-ı i'tibārıla nażar kıldı; gördi ki, bir şehr-i ābāddur ki, sevādı 'arūs-ı dünyā yüzinde müşkīn ḥāldur. Gülistān-ı şafāda perr-ü-bālı açmış bir ṭāvūs-ı pür-zīb-ü-cemāldur.

Hiye 'l-Firdevsü fi 'd-dünyā cemālen

Eknāf-ı sebzezārı pür-ezhār-u-gülşen, eṭrāf-ı cūybārı şafā-vu-rūşen, āb-u-havāsı hoş-güvār, ṭoprağı hoş-bū² ve müşk-bār, her künci bir genc-i pür-ḥvāste, her kenārı bir nigār-ı ārāste.

Havāsı dil-güşā vu ḥāki 'anber
Şuyı selsāl gibi rūḥ-perver
Każā şahnına ol şehrün kaderden
Kabā-yı āl biçmiş lālelerden

Şuyınuñ remlı ol cennet-mişālūñ

Żamīrin avlamış āb-ı zülālūñ

Sulţān-ı 'Acemūñ ol şehr-i mu'azzamda olan āşār-ı celīlesinden Heşt-Bihişt dimekle ma'rūf sarāy-ı bī-hemtāyı, ki leţāfet-i mebnā ile meşhūr binādur, seyr-ü-temāşā itdi; ve andan ğayri daħi meşhūr ve müte'ārif olan emākīn-i laţife ve cevāmi'-i şerīfeyi görüb, otağ-ı gerdün-nitākına gitdi. Leyse 'l-ħaberü ke 'l-mu'āyene

Şenīde key büved mānend-i dīde

Bu dāsitān Sulţān-ıcihān mahrūse-i Tebrīzde kışlamayub, Rūm cānibine 'avdet eylesinūñ bevā'ışını ve gelürken menāzilde-vü-merāħilde vākı' olan ħavādişi beyān ider.

Muharrer-ü-mesţūr olan minvāl üzerine, çün Hāķān-ı 'azīmü 'ş-şān Sulţān Selīm Hān [138b] mezkūr Şāh-ı maħhūruñ seylāb-ıpür-şitāb-ı fücürınuñ nihāyet-i tuğyānı eyyāmında ve tennūr-ı şerr-ü-şürınuñ ğāyet-i ğaleyānı hengāmında üzerine varub, māl-ü-menālin tārāc-u-tālān, ve ehl-ü-'iyālin esīr-ü-nālān itdi.

Tār-u-mār oldı ħaşmet-ü-ħaşemi

Bozılub gitdi ħürmet-i ħaremi

On sekiz gün taħt-ġāhı olan Tebrīzde oturub, āfitāb-ı cihān-tāb gibi ol kişvere nūr-u-fer virdi.

Virüb ħurşīd-veş 'ālemlere nūr

Żalām-ı zulmi 'adli eyledi dūr

İttifāk, ol eṣnāda hengāme-i germ-ā-germ¹ ṭaḡılub, hengāme-i sermā ve eyyām-i ūṣitā irmişdi. Sultān-ı cihān-ı kader-tüvānuñ ol kış vilāyet-i 'Acemde kışlamak, ol yirleri ūṣimşir-i kişvergīrinüñ kabza-i teşhīrine almak tamām muṣā² idi. Emmā vüzerā-yıpür-ḥazm-ü-rāy Sultān-ı ercümendi ol himmet-i bülendi muḳtażāsından men' idüb eyitdiler:

Memālik zi-bī-dād-ı düşmen ḥarāb

Ḥudāvend-rā leşkerī bī-ḥesāb

Zemestān-ı Tebrīz ke-z bād-i saḥt

Be-lerzed zemīn hemçü berg-i dirāḥt

Me-bādā ki tengī küned rüzgār

Peşimānī ān-geh ne-yāyed be-kār

"Münāsib oldur ki muḳtażā-yı rāy-ı ḥazm-ārā ile 'amel buyurılıb, şarṭ-ı farṭ-ı ihtıyāṭ ri'āyet olına, zimām-ı 'azmi maḳām-ı ḥazme döndürüb, Rūmili ile 'Acem vilāyeti mā-beyninde ikāmet olına."

Miyān-ı dü kişver nümāyed nişest

'Acem-rā vu Rūm āvered zīr-i dest

Lā-cerem, bu tedbīr-i dil-pezirle 'amel olınub, mürāca'at emri muḳarrer kılınıcak, dāru 'l-mülk-i Tebrīzde olan aşḥāb-ı ticāret ve erbāb-ı şanā'atden şol cemā'at, ki mahāret-ü-ḥazāket ile şöhret [139a] bulmuşlardı, İstanbula getürilmek buyurıldı. Tīmūr Gürgānī neslinden Ḥüseyn Baykara Oğlu Bedī'uzzamān Mīrzā, ki Şeybek-i şeybānī, vilāyet-i Ḥorāsānı elinden alduḳda, kaçub Tebrīze gelmişdi, Sultān Selīm Ḥān Tebtīze geldükde sā'ir ekābīr-u-a'yānla bile karşı varub, 'arṣ-ı 'ubūdiyet-ü-iḥlāş eylemişdi. 'Avatıf-ı 'alīye-i şāhāne ile

behremend-ü-maḥzūz olub, sā'ir erbāb-ı kemālle İstanbula gitdi.

Hoş geçüb sāye-i ḥimāyetde

Turdı bir müddet ol vilāyetde

Çok zamān geçmeyüb t̄ā'un zahmetinden öldi, kibār-ı enşārdan
ḥazret-i Ebū Eyyūb -kaddese sırra-hu- mezārı civārında medfūn oldı.

Eyledi kesb-i ḥayāt-ı ebedī

Mesken idindi civār-ı Şamedi

Tetimme-i [dāsītān]-ı s̄abıku 'l-beyān

S̄abıqā taḥrīr olınan üslūb üzre çün mezkūr s̄āl-i ferḥunde-
fālūñ Receb-i müreccebinūñ yigirmi beşinci güninde 'inān-ı
'azīmet Rūm cānibine şarf olınub, Araş dimekle meşhūr olan
şuya gelindükde 'azīm seyl ḥādīs oldı; 'ubūr-u-mürürda 'asker-i
manşūr-ı nā-maḥşūrı bī-ḥużūr idüb, ḥayli at-u-ādem ğarḳ olmasına
bā'is oldı.

Küned āb ez letāfet sebze'ī-rā

Çü tünd .āyed dirāḥt-ān-rā küned pest

S̄abıqā Gürcistān sultānına mü'ekked ḥükm-i şerīf irsāl olınmışdı,
memleketinde bulınan ḡallāt-u-me'kūlātdan mümkün olduğı kadar
'askere zād-u-zevāda getürmek işmarlanmışdı. Şehriyār-ı kāmkar
ḥayl-i cerrārıla [139b] Gürcistān diyārı kenarına geldükde Mīrzā
Çāpuk tarafından ḥaber-ü-eser zāhir olmaduğına incinüb, naḳş-ı
'ahd eyleyüb, emr olınan ḥidemāta imtişāl itmedi şanub, toğru
yolca giderken dönüb ol vilāyeti ḡāret itmek kaşd eyledi.

Olub ejder-şıfat tünd-ü-ḡazab-nāk

Diyār-ı Gürciye 'azm itdi çālāk

Çerīler cūşa geldi yine ol ān

Diyār-ı Gürciye tıoldı hirāsān

Ol hāyl-i bī-meyl-ü-emān heyl-ü-heylemānla il içine giricek,
ol kenārlar ürkülük olub, halk hişārlara koyıldı, Dür-u-kuşūr
āşüb-u-şūr olub, merc-i Gürcistān herc-ü-merc tıoldı.

Kimi ehlin alub mālını şaçdı

Kimisi ürküben kühsāra kaçdı

Mīrzā Çāpukuñ cān başına sıçrayub, fi 'l-hāl isti'cālle resūl
irsāl eyledi, sipāriş olınan ümür vech-i ma'mūr² bī-kuşūr
Coban Köprüsinde ordu-yı hümāyūna vuşul bulur diyü, İspir
Kal'asınuñ ki,³

Kılā' içinde bāz-ı isperidür

miftāhın bile isāl eyledi, eyitdi.

Ki Sulṭān-ıcihānuñ bendesiyüz

Kuşūr-ı hıdmete şermendesiyüz

Ne deñlü varsa bunde mülk-ü-kişver

Şāhüñdür biz kamu maḥküm u çāker

Mezkūr ilçi gelicek, yine tođru yola dönülüb, birkaç gün
geçince, Çoban Köprüsine geldi, irsāl olınan zehā'ir-ü-zevāde
didüğinden dađı ziyāde anda hāzır-u-vāfir bulundu. Ol konakda
bir gün oturak kılınub, Mora begi Mustāfā Paşa, ki sabıkā
vezerātdan 'azl kılınmışdı yiri Rümili [140a] defterdārı Pīr
Meḥned Paşaya virildi. Anaṭolı defterdārı Şemsi Beg Rümiline
defterdār olub, Üsküb każısı Mevlānā 'Abdülkerīm-Zāde Anaṭolı
defterdārı oldı, ve Rümili każı'askeri Müeyyed-Zāde, ki monlā-yı
bī-nażır idi, emmā dīvāna tezkere ile gelür giderdi,⁴ ziyāde

pîr idi. Temādî-yi şiddet-i ahtar-ı esfârdan bî-ḥużûr olub, tekâ'üd ihtiyâr itdügi eelden yiri Anaṭolı każı 'askeri Zeyrek-Zādeye himmet olındı. Anaṭolı każı 'askerliđi Tāc-Zāde Ca'fer Çelebiye virilüb, nişancılık Edirne de Yeñi Medrese müderrisi olan Ḥoca Ođlı Meḥmed Çelebiye 'ināyet olındı.

Bu eṣnāda Fā'ik Begden berîd-i sa'îd gelüb, Bāyburd nām ihkām-u-ibrām ile iştihār bulmuş şa'b ḥişār sühületle feth olduđı haberin getirdi. Ol każîye-i merzîyenüñ aşlı budur ki, sâbıkā Tebrîze 'azîmet olunurken, kal'a-i mezbûra teşhîri tedbîr olinub, üzerine mezkûr Fā'ik Begi bir miqdār 'asker ile irsāl itmişdi. Sulṭān-ı İslām mülāhide-i bed-fercāmı ne vechle ḥüsām-ı intikāma 'alef itdügi haberi ol sūr-ı ma'mûr içinde maḥşûr olan maḥhûrlarunñ güş-ı hüşına yetişmişdi. Lā-cerem, dest-i zarā'atle dāmen-i emāna yapışub, Sulṭān-ı cihānuñ ḥimā-yı ḥimāyetine girmişler, ehllerini ve 'iyāllerini ḥayl-i bî-meyl-ü-emān pāymāl itmeden, kendüler nālān, māl-u-menālleri tālān olub, hevā-yı yağmaya gitmeden, seḫāb-ı każādan nāzil olan seylāb-ı belā öñinden kendüleri ırmışlar. Każîye böyle olıcağ, Bıyıklı Meḥmed Beg, ki Sulṭān-ı cihānuñ emîr-i āḫûrı-ydı, semend-i sa'ādet-licāmına ḥidmet itmeğle ser-efrāz olub, 'ayn-i 'ināyetle manzûr idi, Kara Ḥişārla [14ob] Bāyburd ve Trabzon sancağları birikdürilüb aña virildi. Maḥall-i ihtimām ve ser-ḥadd-i memālik-i İslām olmağın bölük ḥalkından beş yüz ādem bile konılub, ṭop-u-tüfeng ve siḥām-u-zenberekden mühimm ve lāzım olanlar görildi.

Çün aldı Ḥān-ı a'zam Bāyburdı

Virür ol mîr-i serdâra o yurda

Bu esnâda memâlik-i maḥmiye ile vilâyet-i 'Acem mâ-beyninde bir konağda ba'zı eşirrâ bir karyenüñ üzerine üşüb, yıķub, yakub ğâret iderken Hudâvendigâr ḥaḫretleri bi 'z-zât kendüler görür. Fi 'l-ḥâl leheb-i ğaḫâbı iştî 'âl bulub, zikr olan fesâda irtikâb idüb, bâdî olanları bulub getürüb, cümlesinüñ boyunların urur. Duḫagin-Zâdeyi ve Hersek-Zâdeyi getürüb, " Niçün tedbîrde taḫşîr idüb, bunları ḫabṫ eylemezsiz? Bu vâkı ' olan şenâ'i 'e bâ'is sizüñ kuşür-ı fehmüñüz ve kıllet-i 'aḫluñuzdur " diyüb, ikisin bile vezâretten 'azl eyler.

Büzürg-ân ḫurde ber ḫorden ne-gîrend

Bekr-i leḫi olar usup bir yurda

Bu söz kim söylenür dillerde ḫaḫdur

Uluları başmaḫ kiçileri aşmaḫdan yegdür.

Lâ-cerem, " Âsitâne-i sa'âdetde ḫidmet iden bevvâblardan ve rikâb-ı kâm-yâbda yüriyen şolaḫlardan ve Yeñiçerî ṫâ'ifesinden ğayri kimesne aḫ börk giymesüñ " diyü 'azîm yasaḫ oldu. Zikr olan yasaḫ, ki ilâ yevmi-nâ hazâ cârîdur, bu vâkı 'a-i sâḫı 'ada zuhür buldı.

Siyâset medâr-ı riyâsetdürür

Siyâset olıcaḫ riyâset ṫurur

Tebrîzden Kara Hişâra gelinceyedegin³, ki bir aylıḫ yoldur, yoluñ şu'ûbetinden ve zâḫire-vü-zevâdenüñ kıtlıḫından⁴ ziyâde zaḫmetler çekilüb, 'azîm kıtlıḫ ve meḫâ'ika vâkı ' olmuşdur.

Ḫüşe-i Cevzâdan aşmışdı bahâ-yı sünbüle

'Aḫd-i Pervîni virürseñ [141a] gelmiye bir cev ele

Dāmeni-yle ger vire gerdūn nūcūmuñ cevherin

Hırman-ı devrānda yok bir dāne gendūm kim ala

Açlıktan biñden ziyāde ādem ve yüz biñden ziyāde devvāb-u-biğāl ve huyūl-ü-cimāl kırılıb-dururdu. Bu każīye-i ğayr-ı merżīyeye Tebrizden 'ale 'l-ğafle göçilüb, zāhire ve zevāde tedārik olınmayub, Gürcistāna şapılıb eglendüğü sebeb olub-dururdu.

Sene-i mezbūre Şevvālinüñ on altıncı günü devlet-ü-sa'ādetle Amasīya şehrine gelindi. Mezkūr şehir-i ma'mūrüñ eşraf-u-a'yāni karşı gelüb, şerā'it-ı ta'zīm-ü-iclāl 'alā vechi 'l-kelem edā kılındı.

Vardı ol şehre daği virdişeref

Behre-i luṭf aldı andan her taraf

Kadem-i meymūni-yle² ol merzūbūm ma'mūr olub, sāye-i hümāyūni-yle ol taraflara daği şeref virdi. Nūr-ı 'adlle deycūr-ı şerr-ü-şūrı götürüb, mevākib-i kevākib-şūmārınuñ hareket-i bereketi her dāra girdi. Hengām-ı şitāyı ol maḳāmda geçürüb, geh 'ayş-ü-'işret geh şayd-u-şikār itdi. İn'ām-ı 'āmmı, ki tāb-ı āfitāb ve āb-ı şehāb gibi bir iklīme maḳşūş ve maḳşūr degülde, ol maḳāmuñ muḳīmlerine daği tevzi'-ü-ta'mīm olub yetdi. Bārān-ı ihsāni-yle ol mekānuñ daği zu'afā-yı re'āyasınuñ kişt-zār-ı ārzūda ekdüğü toḫm-ı murād bitdi.

Şeh-i āteş-ğazāb devlet-serāda

Olub āsūde hengām-ı şitāda

Gehi tedbīr-i rezm-āzmāliğ eyler

Gehi cām elde bezm-ārāliğ eyler

Temme

Kad vaka'a 'l-ferāgu mine 't-tahrīr, bi-'avni 'llāhi 'l-meliki
 'l-ḡadīr, bi-ta'rīḡi 'n-niṣfi 'l-evvel mine 'l-ḡamsi 'l-ḡāmis,
 mine 's-seb'ī 's-sābi' fī 'l-'aṣri 'l-ḡāmis, mine 's-sūlūsi 'l-evvel
 mine 'n-niṣfi 's-sānī, mine 's-sūdūsi 'l-ḡāmis mine 'l-'iṣri
 's-sānī, mine 'l-'iṣri 's-sālis mine 'l-'iṣri 'l-'āṣir, mine 'l-hicreti
 'n-Nebevīye, ---- 'alā ṣāhibihā efzālū 's-ṣalāti ve 's-selām ve
 ekmelū 't-taḡiyeti ve 'l-ikrām ilā yevmi 'l-ḡiyām.¹

TEXTUAL VARIANTS

- 65/1 hilāfete: F, M hilāfetde.
 2 F omits this ayet.
 3 bu każāyānuñ.... tenzīdinden: F, bu muḳaddemātuñ tertīb-ü-tenzīdinden, bu każāyānuñ taḳkīk-u-temhīdinden.
- 66/1 Hudā-dād... ādemī-zād: F, Hudā-dād, tevfiḳ-ı Haḳḳ refīḳ olmayıcaḳ ādemüñ.
 2 olan...maşlahat: M, olmayan maşlahat.
 3 ra'īyetini: All ms. rey'atini.
 4 Idüb: M, itdi.
 5 ḥāl-i ferḥunde-fāl: F, ḥāl
- 67/1 otuz beşbiñ: F, biñ.
 2 Süvārınuñ...piyādesinüñ: M, süvārına...piyādesine.
 3 zindānīyi: V, zindānı; M, zindānını.
 4 Sulṭān Ḳorḳuda... ḳılındı: M, K, omit. In V it comes after the following rubric; in D, R it is in the margin.
 5 F omits this mıṣrā'.
- 68/1 gözlerinüñ küzelerinden: M, gözlerinden.
 2 ma'müresinde: M, D, K, ma'müresine.
 3 ṭoldı...göçer: F, omits.
 4 tāc-dāruñ: M, tāc-dārlāruñ
 5 Mifreş-i münakkaş-ı... yef'alü; F, omits, but adds the following verse after the ayet.

الور فکر عم ایام دلگیر * قو افسون کو کل افسانہ یہ کیر

69/1 ve: V, hüve.

2 Mağfūr: M, mağfūrla.

3 begler varsa: M, begler ne deñlü varsa.

4 a'yān: M, a'yān ile.

70/1 taraflaruñ: M, tarafuñ.

2 F, omits all this verse.

3 mucib-i ihtilāl...ayīn-iselāṭīn: F, mucib-i ihtilāldur, ḥazret-i pādişāh işitd, ayīn-i selāṭīn.

4 evvelen: M, omits.

5 gördi... emri 'llāhi: F, omits.

71/1 ihtimām idüb: F, ihtimam-gösterdi.

2 kıtāle...şühūrunda: F, omits.

3 Ferḥunde-me'alūñ: M, ferḥunde-fālūñ.

4 yigirmi dördinci: M, K, dördinci.

5 Istanbul ma'berinden: F, Istanbul iskelesinden.

6 bayraklarla: M, K, albayraklarla.

7 ezdahā-kirdār nīzeler ve şīr-peyker alemlerle: F, Şīr-peyker 'alemler ve ejdehā-kirdār nizelerle.

8 ziyade: F omits.

9 āyīn-i salṭanata uymaz: F, 'iraż-ı şalṭanata muḥāl.

10 Budamiyeye: M, Budahiyeye (بودامیہیہ).

11 gelüb çıkdı: M, geldi; F, geldi çıkdı.

12 V, *بنام شاه کر صید و تکبیر*

13 V omits this 3rd mişrā'.

14 F omits the first 3 beyts.

- 72/1 F omits the last beyt.
- 2 kalmayub: F, D, kalmadı.
- 3 Oldı....kendü: F omits.
- 4 metā'in: M, emlākın.
- 5 Sulṭān-ı cihānuñ....tafşıl: F, Sulṭān Selīmüñ Anaṭolıya kudümüñ ve Bursa halkınuñ kendümüñ üzerine hücūmun takrır itdi.
- 6 F omits all this verse.
- 7 F omits the first beyt.
- 73/1 Sulṭān-ı cihan devlet-ü-sa'ādetle: V, Sulṭān-ı cihān sa'ādetle.
- 2 muḳāvemete tākatı olmayub: F omits.
- 3 vuşul bulmadı: M, F, K, müyesser olmadı.
- 4 Altmış üç gün: F Pādişāh altmış üç gün.
- 5 After götürdi F has one beyt as follows.
- Anḳara şehrinde turdı bir zamān
 'Ays-ü-nüşile şeh-ı gītī-sitān.
- 6 sa'ādet-nişānuñ: F omits.
- 7 ḫaḳḳ idügin: V, ḫaḳḳ itmek idügin.
- 74/1 faḫelāni: M, muhillān.
- 2 birkaç pādişāh: F, salṭanata müsteḫaḳ birkaç padişāh.
- 3 Muḫammed: M, K, F Sulṭān Muḫammad.
- 4 'Osmān: V, 'Osmānuñ,
- 5 Kaḅırısı sancağınuñ: F Kaḅırısı vilāyetinüñ.
- 6 pīrlər tedbīri-yle: F pīrlər tedbīr-i dil-peziyle.
- 7 pūr-veylde: V, pūr-leylde.

75/1 F omits this last beyt.

- 2 maşlahatı...rehberden: F tedbīrinde ‘asker halkından.
- 3 vilāyeti cānibine: F vilāyeti semtine.
- 4 sipehsālārlardan: M, sipehsālārdan.
- 5 emmā....şınımlardur: M, sunlar ki, nice kez haşimle tutuşub, şınamışlar ve şınımlardur.
- 6 cenge āheng: M, āheng-i ceng.
- 7 Işūñ evvelden fikr iden ma’ālin: M, Işūñ evvelden itmeyen ma’ālin.
- 8 yimez: M, çeker.
- 9 the sequence of the verses in M, K is 5, 6, 1, 2, 3, 4; F has only the last beyt; D has only the first two beyts in margin.

76/1 bu haberī....işidicek: F, ‘akābince każāyı Raḥmānī gibi leşker irişdügin işidüb.

- 2 Tāc-u-tahtdan elyuyub: K, in margin.
- 3 hizmethārīla: V, *حزمتكارل*
- 4 geh: F omits in both mışrā’s; M, omits only in the first.
- 5 urküb eylerdi: M, andan eylerdi.
- 6 zāt-u-ma‘īşetiçün, ki: M, zāt-u-gıda, ki.
- 7 taşra çıkdı: M, taşra çıkub.
- 8 F omits this beyt.
- 9 zābt idüb: F, zābt-u-teshīr idüb.
- 10 dāru ‘l-mülkine: F, Bursaya.

77/1 Egrigöz: V, Egrigör.

- 2 mütāba‘atı: in V *موتابعات* in the text; mütāba‘atı in margin.
- 3 opādişāh-zāde: V, M, K, D, R, bu pādişah-zāde.
4. the ta‘riḥ yields 913 instead of 918, in all the texts should be read (*تاریخ*).

78/1 beyān ider: M, F bildirir.

- 2 nümāyet...Merḥūm: F inserts hadīṣ and its explanation at this point:

Izā erāde ’llāhü emren heyye’e esbābe-hü

Kaçan bir emri ister Haḫ Te‘ālā
Anuñ esbābını eyler müheyyā.

- 3 Rūm memleketine: F bu cānibe.
- 4 ‘avdet idüb: M ‘avdet itdi.
- 5 kendüye ızhār-ı intisāb: M, kendüye intisāb.
- 6 Āl-ı ‘Osmānuñ..." didiler: F, Āl-i ‘Osmānuñ evlād-u-aḥvādın katl idüb, ol silsileden kimesne ḫomadı. Bu sebebden ḫalk negret itdi" dinilmişdi.
- 7 F omits this beyt.
- 8 in D all this verse is in the margin.
- 9 Muḫaddimāt-ı taḡrīr-u-taḫrīr olınmışdı: F, taḫrīr olınan muḫaddimāt, taḡrīr-u-taḫrīr olınacaq, Rūm cānibine ‘avdet itmek tedārikin gördi.

79/1 cināyet: F cināyet-i ḫiyānet.

- 2 Selīm Ḥān: M, şeh Selīm Ḥān.
- 3 birāder-i mehterinüñ Ḳaraman vilāyetine: F ḫarındaşınıñ Ḳaramana.

- 80/1 Ulaqlar gönderdi: M, ulaqlar gönderüb.
 2 bölükleri gezüb: F bölükleri selamlayub.
 3 ‘asker halkına: F omits.
 4 ğayretdemidür: F ğayret-ü-ħamīyetdemidür.
 5 gerek: F omits.
 6 yarındası: F omits.
 7 deşt-ü-deri bürümiş: F deşt-ü-hēmünı bürümiş
 8 Ol...görüşmedin: F, mekr-ü-ihtiyāle aldanub.
 isti ‘calle geldüğine bī-ħuzūr oldı. Ķalb-ı nā-sipāsına
 ol ‘asākīr-i bī-ķiyāsdan ħavf-ü-ħirās taldı. Baş
 kurtarmaja t̄alib olub.
- 81/1 Sultān-ı cihānuñ fermān-ı kader tūvāni-yle: M, Sultan-ı
 kader-tūvānuñ fermānı-yle.
 2 F omits this beyt but gives the following instead.
 Bu gülşende negül biter ne lāle
 K’ ana bād-ı fenā olmaz ħavāle.
 3 pāk-ħākı: M, ħāk-ı pāki.
 4 oldārda: M, ol diyārda.
- 82/1 maķām-ı ħizmetde: M, maķām-ı ħizmetinde.
 2 be-baħsed: F, V, K, D, baħşīd.
 3 ‘Arab-u-‘Acem: K, el-‘Arab ve-’l-‘Acem.
 4 karşışub: M, ħarışub.
 5 olub: M, omits.

83/1 F omits these two beyts but gives the following instead.

Ra‘īyet sāyesinde oldu hoş-ḥāl

Huzūr itdiler olub fāriḡu ‘l-bāl.

2 F omits the last beyt.

3 ibtidā-yı...kallāş: in D, K, it comes before the rubric; in R it is in the margin.

4 havā-yı vaḡāda pervāz ider: V, اول باز و غاده پرواز ایرر

84/1 perr-ü-bālın: V omits

2 oldu...yılına: D, خروج شاه اسماعیل ... منزهه ناقصه
۹۰۱

3 F omits the last beyt.

4 oldu: M, omits.

5 ne keyfīyetle vākı‘ olub: M, nice vākı‘ olduğın.

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

85/1 Şikār kılmışdı: M, şikār kıldı.

2 ‘Alīnūñ ḥaqqında: V, ‘Alīnin حیره

3 ketm: M, omits.

4 Mevālīden: M, mevālīdende.

5 altmış ‘aded: M, ‘altmış nefer.

86/1 meşāhīd-i ahyār: M, meşāhīd-i اختیار

2 Hanīfe-i Kūfīnūñ: M, Hanīfenūñ.

3 dime...cihād: F omits, but adds the following.

Beyān-ı ecdād-ı ān bed-nihād

Mezkūr makhūruñ silsilesi Ḥażret-i şeyḫ Şafīyeddīn Ishāka müntehī olur ki, emleḫü 'l-mütekellimīn Şeyḫ Sa'dīden tāc-u-ḫırka giymişdür. Tevārīḫ-i mu'teberede mestürdür ki, Cengiz Ḥān evlādından Sulṭān Muḫammed Ḥudābende 'Irāk-ı 'Acemle Āzerbāycān arasında Sulṭāniye şehrin yapub, itmām eyledükde [218b] taḫt-ı hükümetinde olan ekābir-i 'ülemā ve meşāhīr-i şuleḫāyı cem' idüb, ziyāfet itdi. E'āzım-ı küberādan dört yüzden ziyāde ādem cem' olmuşdı; şeyḫ-i 'ārif-i rabbānī 'Alā'üddevle-i Semnānī ve Şeyḫ Şerāfeddīn-i *درگزینی* - ḫaddese 'llāhü rūḫa-hümā - ol meclisde şadrdılar. Sulṭān Muḫammed istedi ki, Şeyḫ Şafīyeddīn ol meclisde bile ola, defa'ātla da'vet itdiler gelmedi, cemī'-i 'ömrinde selāṭīn loḫmasına el sunmuş degüldi, ol sebebden za'f-ı beden ve pīrligi behāne idüb gelmedi. Şeyḫ-zāde ziyāfetle me'nūs degüldi, ol ziyāfetde olan nefā'is-i eṭ'imedekl idüb tereddüd ḫılmadı. Ol ṭa'āmuñ netīcesi soñra evlādında zuhūr buldı. Şadreddīn 'avdet idüb babasına geldükden soñra eglenmeyüb, babası fevt oldu. Ba'de oḫlı Şeyḫ 'Alī seccāde-i irşāda oturdu. Andan soñra oḫlı [at this point R commences] Şeyḫ Cüneyd, ki Şeyḫ Ḥaydaruñ vālididür, ol ḫıdmete iltizām gösterdi. Mışır-u-Şām, Maḫribi ve Rūmı tāmam seyr idüb, yine yerine geldi. Veḫret-i māl-u-menāl ve kesret-i ehibbā-vu-ricāl ile maḫrūr olub, meşām-ı meşumına salṭanat hevāsı toldı. Diyārbekrde ol zamanda

Uzun Hasan istiklâlle emîr idi. Şulehâya hüsn-i i'tikâdı olmağın, mezkûr Şeyha ziyâde 'izzet-ü-hürmet kıldı. Oğlı Şeyh Haydara kendü kerîmesin nikâhla virüb râbıta-i muşâharetî berkitdi.

Ehibbâdan 'arîse diyü ol kadar māl geldi ki, kîse-i âmâlin ve kâse-i âzın māl-â-māl itdi. Ğaza....

continues as in text.

86/4 ħarâb eylemişdi: M, ġâret itmişdi; K, ġâret eylemişdi, F, ġâret eyledi.

5 After that F has different hand-writing.

6 Haydar Şâh: M, F, Şeyh Haydar.

7 şûr-u-şerre: M, şerr-ü-şûra.

87/1 ħanın alub: M, F, ħanın almağî-çün.

2 yerine: M, omits

88/1 in V, F this beyt written in prose.


2 ihdâs kıldı: M, ihdâs ide.

3 bed-râyi-le: M, bed-râsi-yle

4 ol sefere: M, omits.

5 yanında: M, yanına.

89/1 Ķanşû Ğavrîñüñ: M, Ķânsâv Ğavrîñüñ

2 diriyle: M, V, 

3 bendelerinden: M, F nebîrelerinden.

- 89/4 Elvend: V, Levend.
 5  turuşub: M,  turub.
 6 biñ: V, omits; in F, M it is on the line as a margin.
 7 elli: M, omits.
 8 Koyunluyu: F, M, Akkogunluyu.
 9 göge: M, bile.
 10 öldürdi: M, öldürüb.
 11 ve Reyivve: F omits.
 12 vilayetlerde bulduđu: M, vilayetleri olduđuda.
 13  kadim: M,  kadim .

90/1 This verse written in V as prose.

2 Kendü . . . rahtını:

M, kendüsi Bağdāda şaldı rahtını;

F, Kendü Bağdāda şaldı rahtını;

D, Kendü Bağdāda rahtın;

K, Kendü Bağdāda - rahtını.

3  asret- -derd-i diy r: M, K,  asret-i derd- -diy r;

D,  asret-i derd-i diy r.

4 beglerinden yigirmiden: F omits.

5 Őir z: V, Őir z 

6 ikisi: F, ili.

7  im retten: V, retten.

91/1 F r z-K h: F, F r ze-K h.

2 K rdi-yle: M, K rdle.

91/3 Şama ve ‘Araba ve Halebe: F, K, M, Şama, ve Halebe
ve berr-i ‘Araba.

4 mukābele: M, mukābeleye.

5 oldılar: F, itdiler.

6 in F this beyt written in prose.

7 ‘Alā’üddevle: F, K, M, ‘Alā’üddevlenün.

8 Selīm: M, omits.

9 bed-kīşün: F, M, bed-kīşinün.

92/1 in M all the verse written in prose.

2 ta‘aşşub: M, omits.

3 sünnet-ü-cemā‘at: F, M, ehl-i sünnet-ü-cemā‘at.

4 tekābül-ü-tezād: V, نقابل نهر

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

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

7 düşüb: M, omits.

93/1 Dāru ’l-mülk-i Herāt...katl idüb: D, F, K, M, R,
Harāsān vilāyetinün bir cānibine nehr-i kahri aqıtdı.
Cādde-i ehl-i sünnet-ü-cemā‘atden kıdem-i kalem-ü-
fetvā ile müsellemler-ü-mukaddem olan ‘ulemādan ‘Allāme-i
Teftāzāninün nebiresi, ki ol vaqt Herātta şeyhü ’l-
Islām idi, kendüye mütaba‘at itmedügi-çün, tevabi‘i-yle
öldürdi. Ol vilāyetde medfün olan kirām-ı enāmuñ
mekābirinden çıkarub kemiklerin oda yakdurdı.

2 mümāna‘aya: M, mümāyakaya.

3 yutmağa: V omits.

94/1 Gebr-ü-Terşāyī: Gebr-ü-Şārını.

2 ol menba‘-ı ... şūruñ:

D, ol menba‘-ı fücūr-u-mecma‘-ı pūr-şūrūruñ;

M, ol menba‘-ı şūrūr-u-mecma‘-ı fücūruñ;

K, ol menba‘-ı fücūr-u-mecma‘-ı pūr şūruñ;

V, mecma‘-ı fücūr-u-mecma‘-ı pūr-şūrūruñ.

3 leşker-i cerrar-ı şehriyār-ı kāmkarla: V
leşker-i çerrārla.

4 hicret ta‘rīhinün̄ tokuz yüz yigirminci yılında: R, V,
hicretinün̄ yigirminci yılında.

5 üzerine: M, üzerinde.

6 pūr-envārla ordū-yı Sultān-ı cihān-cūya: M, berārāyla
ordū-yı cihān-cūya.

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

Mücellā tiğ çekmiş şuya süsen
Köpürmiş bād anuñ-çün āba cūşen
Görüb şu urur bī-dād hañçerini (sic!)
Urunmış lāle gül-gül miğferini

95/1 Cenge: V, cenği.

2 bedr idi: M, K, bedr-i āy idi.

3 ma‘hūdeleri-yle: M, ma‘hūdelerinde.

4 seher-hīzgibi: V, seher-hīzlar.

5 tapuda: V, tapuda-tapuda.

6 kimisi: M, kimi piyāde ve kimi atla.

7 fer mān: V, kurbān.

8 ‘alem-i ālem-güşāyi: V, omits.

- 96/1 hilāl-misāle: V, hilāl-misāl.
 2 maḳāmınuñ ḥiyāmi-yle: M, maḳāmı ḥiyāmi-yle.
 3 istiftā kıılınub: M, istifsār kıılınub.
 4 her ki: M, omits.
 5 eşyā‘ını: M, eşyā‘ın.
- 98/1 bürüdi: M, bürüdiler.
 2 medfün, ḥazret-ı Şeyḥ: F, K, M, medfün olan Şeyh.
 3 keşf-i yaḳınüñ: M, keşf-ı yaḳın.
 4 her zamān: M, her zamānda.
- 99/1 Ol şahrāya ḳonub: K, omits.
 2 Şadāyı derāy: V, şadā-yı deryā; M, şadā-yı derā:
 3 deşt-ü-der: M, deşt-ü-dere.
 4 dur: V, R omit.
- 100/ olduğu eelden: M olduğu cihetden.
- 101/1 Gürcistān diyāri: F, M, Gürcistan diyarınıñ.
 2 irsāl olınması: irsāl olınmasına.
 3 sađ cānibinden: M, F sađ cānibden.
 4 da‘vet itdükden: M, F, K, da‘vet itdügin.
- 102/1 ol nevāhıde: M, ol ḥavālıde.
 2 yine ğayret idüb...baḥt-ı sa‘ıd: F, K, M omit, in D,
 R written in the margin, but R repeats yine...derdi
 in the text.

103/1 Türkmen serverleri: M, F, Türkmen serdārları.

2 ẖidmetine ṯālibler: V, ẖidmetine tabi'ler.

104/1 mezkūr mağrūr: M, mezkūr makhūr.

2 cināyet-i ẖiyānete...eşeddür: M, ẖiyānet-i ẖiyānete, ki cümle habāsīden eşeddür.

3 Çāldırānda yetişirem: M, Çāldırānda yetişdim.

4 Sikke-i Efrencī: M, F sikkeyi efrencīye.

5 kalmış M, omits.

105/1 yörilüb hayli: M, yörinüb çok.

106/1 digü: V omits

2 M has a few illegible words here.

3 turgurdılar: M, turgurdı.

107/1 hadem-ü-haşeminün: M, F omit.

2 emīfinden: M, mīrinden.

3 Ustācalu Oğlu: V, Ustāclu Oğlu.

4 yarar yoldaşı: M yarār yoldāş

108/1 gürlledi: M, gözleri; R, gözledi.

2 gök yüzini: V, yer yüzini.

3 koyulub: V, koyub.

4 üzerine: M, üstüne.

5 Ceys-i bed-kīşün: M, K ceys-i bed-kīşinün.

108/6 üzerine: M, üzerlerine.

7 ālātı-yla: V alāyla.

109/1 üzerine: M, üzerlerine.

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 kılıç bī-ḥadd çalışdı;

D Urub kılıç bi-ḥadd cāndan çalışdı.

112/1 baş korkusundan: M, baş korkusına.

2 ṭuramayub: M, ṭurmayub.

3 arḳalarındaḡı: M, arḳalarında.

4 at güci-yle: M, atı-yle.

5 aḥmāl-u-eṣḳāl: F, K, M omit.

6 gibi: M, omits.

7 M, Alurlar ḥīle ile ṭabl-u-kūsın.

Gelüb sürer yere ruḡ fīl ile.

*Arūs-ı devlet-ü-nāmūsı bile.

F Gelür sürüb yere ruḡ fīle ile

*Arūs-ı devlet-ü-nāmūs bile.

8 Vidin begi: V din begi.

- 113/1 Tāc-zāde: F, K, M, Tācī-zāde.
 2 ol daḥi...eyledi: F, M omit; in D it is in the margin;
 in K āyīn-i şerī'at üzre niḳāḥ eyleye.
 3 Muḥammed Kemāne: V Muḥammed Kāne.
 4 bunun emsāli: M, bunun gibi.
- 114/1 Prizrin: V, Pirzīn (*پرزین*)
 2 vilāyeti: D, F, K, M omit.
 3 Oğlı: F omits.
- 115/1 kimse esīrin saḳlamaya: M, esīrin her kişi saḳlamayub.
 2 nijād: V (*نیجات*)
 3 zincīrde ... olub: D, ~~K~~, M cincīrde on sekizinci
 esīr olmağın; R, zincīrde on sekizinci esīr olub
 4 ḳirāmuñ: M, kirām.
 5 encüm: V repeats (encüm-i encüm-ihtişām!)
- 116/1 ḳāhirü'l-mülük, ḳahramanu 'l-ḳurüm: M ḳahramānu 'l-
 mülük, ḳāhirü 'l-ḳurüm.
- 117/1 maḳām-u-me'āba: M, maḳām-u- (*مقام*).
 2 zemānedēn: V zemānīden.
 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 b̄: M omits.
- 122/1 germ-ā-germ: V (گزما گزما)
2 tamām murādı: M, tamām murād.
- 123/1 dāsitān: V omits.
- 124/1 aṣūb-u-ṣūr olub: M, āṣūb: M, āṣūb-u-ṣūr-u-ṣer taldı...=
2 olınan ümūr vech-i ma‘mūr: M olınan umūrı
ber-vech-i mu‘mūr.
3 kal‘asınũ: F, V, ḳal‘asına (قالا)
4 gelür giderdi: M, gelür gider p̄r idi.
- 125/1 ‘askerligi: M omits.
- 126/1 zikr olan: M omits.
2 irtikāb idüb: M iden.
3 gelinceye degin: M gelinceye deg.
4 ḳıtlıgından: M (قتل)
- 127/1 kırılıb-dururdı: M ḳırıldı
2 meymūni-yle: M ma‘mūri-yle
- 127-28/1 Temme...’l-ḳıyām: omits in V; R gives at ff.150b.

1. The sons of Bāyezīd II.; the youth of Selīm 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 Selīm's birth recorded IdrSN, (48b-49b) ignoring the other Princes, treats exclusively of Selīm, and mentions that he was born in Amasya in 872 during the governorship of his father.¹ However, in the verses which follow this account the date of birth is given as 875.

Necābet be-evlād-ı ū dād-ı Hakk
 Be-bürd ez necībān-ı 'ālem sebağ
 Be-heftād u penc ez şad-ı heştümīn
 Be-dürç-i şeh üftād dürr-i semīn

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

Niş (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 preceded the event, said to be taken from KPZ.² 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-zāde Mehmed Kemāleddin Efendi, (Ta'riḥ-i Şāf. v. iii, p. 60/11-19) was Ayşe the daughter of 'Alāüd-Devle Dulḥadır.

2. None of the existing manuscripts of Kemāl Paşazāde contain this information.

..... and Circassian!¹ A certain Edā'ī 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 Aḳḳoyunlu and Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu families who fled to him for refuge from Şah İsmā'īl. Mention is made of certain conquests by him in Eastern Anatolia.

Şük. (11a-11b) merely offers a summary of Niş, adding that Selīm was still a child when he became governor.²

Oldı her ḥālinden ol mülkün ḥabīr
Gerçi him ṭıfl idi ol ma'nāda pīr

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

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

Türkī vü Fārisī vü Tātārī
Nazm iderdi nefīs eş'arı
Ehl-i 'irfān ile müsaḥabete
Mā'il idi dil-i pūr-envārı.

2. A note in Ç. Uluçay based on the In'ām Defteri indicates that the date of his appointment to Trabzon may have been 892. However, the date 887 is, also, given. In the Amasya Ta'rīḥi, iii, 237, the date 896 is shown.

Olmadın şehzāde şah-ı mülk-i Rūm
 Eyledi mülk-i Kızılbaşā hücūm
 Vardı Erzincāna olçapük-süvār
 Sürh-ser cem'ini itdi tārūmār

TT sn (619) repeats the story of the portents attending Selīm's birth found in Niş.

KA (232a-232b) gives 875 as the year of Selīm's birth. He refutes the popular notion of Selīm's cruelty. Previously (ff.183b) he had given summary information about the sons of Bāyezīd, and in another place (207b) he mentioned a campaign against Trabzon led by Şāh Ismā'īl'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 Şolāḡ-Zāde the name of the brother of the Şāh is said to be Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, and he mentions that Selīm 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 Kızılbās; neither give a date.

Niṣ (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 Bāyezīd, 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 - bE' mimma zāde - and they were also trying to bring Sulṭān Aḥmet to the throne, thinking him to be a man who would come under their control. At that time Ṣāh 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 Ṣāh 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 - Yürü Sultān Selīm maydān senüñdür - This, it is stated, was the dual purpose of the campaign against Georgia: Selīm wished to prevent the defection of the sipāhīs 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 civārında olan küffar-ı nekbet-encāmuñ şevketin def‘-içün cihāda şalā-yı ‘āmm idüb....."

Şüh (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‘küb. "We are not Sultan Hasan and Ya‘küb", 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 (ii, 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 = Şüh. 12a-14b; Sa‘d. 11a-12b = KPZsn 13a-13b.

3. Appointment of Sultan Süleymān 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 Aḥmet. 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 Süleymān 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 Aḥmet's territories. These would obviously be refused, so no reasonable objection could then remain to granting Kefe to Prince Süleymān. The affair went according to plan, and the young Süleymān 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 Süleymān 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 Süleymān 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

Süleymān to come to Kefe immediately, and this he did.

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

Niṣ (57a-59a), is in broad agreement with KPZsn. However, he mentions Şebhane K̄ara H̄iṣar and Bolu as the provinces originally requested by Selīm for his son, and adds that Sinan Paṣa, the Lālā of Sultan Aḥmet, urged the latter to agree to this in order to prevent Selīm from moving into Rūmili. Aḥmet, however, refused. Moreover, Süleymān 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 Niṣ. He gives Sinan Paṣa's argument in urging Sultan Aḥmet to agree to granting a place in his own territories to Süleymān as the desirability of having a potential enemy under his control.

Yā 'adu ḡayet ba'īd olmak gereh
Yā ḥuzūruñda bedīd olmah ḡerek.

When Kefe was finally granted to Süleymān Sinān Paṣa regarded it as disastrous for Sultan Aḥmet, believing that was how the people of Rūmili would support Selīm 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; Sa'd. 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 Şahkulu. "At this time Sultan Korkud, son of Sultan Bāyezīd fled to Egypt. Sultan Bāyezīd 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 Bāyezīd and the Sultan, the reason for Korkud's return being shown as his desire to please his father.

Niṣ (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 Bāyezīd 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 Bāyezīd 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 ḲorḲud'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 filūrī, 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 ḲorḲud back to Anatolia on their return home. Apparently, the corsairs had hoped to capture ḲorḲud.

KA (204a-206b) criticises certain historians, such as Idrīsī, for not giving more information about ḲorḲud's flight to Egypt and speculates that this may have been due to censorship at that time. He cannot see any reason for secrecy. ḲorḲud 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 Aḥmet, and
- b. a disagreement between himself and the eunuch 'Alī Paṣa about the ownership of a piece of land on the coast.

He set out on Muharrem 914 for Egypt, despite the protests of Mevlānā 'Alā'uddīn who had been sent by Bāyezīd 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 Rūm". On receiving this letter, Bāyezīd said, "There is no way but submission to fate". Korkud's men were left in their posts. Although the Sultan of Egypt did not meet Korkud personally when he landed [in Dimyāt], on his arrival in Cairo he was treated with great honour. Apparently the Sultan was given the impression that Korkud 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 Bāyezīd would approve of his entering the Hijaz, so Korkud returned to Anatolia in 917.¹

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1. Ibn Iyās (iv, 152) places the arrival of Korkud in Dimyāt in Safer, 915. Later (p. 154) he says that a disagreement had arisen between Sultan Bāyezīd and Korkud, 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 dīnars and provisions (p. 166). Korkud 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 Rūmili 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 Rūmili.

In addition, three thousand builders and carpenters were brought into the city; and three thousand müsellem and eight thousand yaya were ordered to guard them.

The other sources do not mention this event.

Yakubov to Kafe, [1775-1776].

Yakubov (1775-1776) describes his father now old and sick, wishing to retire in favour of one of his sons. His advisers said that all of his sons were capable of becoming sultans, and that the choice rested with him, a statement which conflicts with what Yakubov had previously said on this matter in connection with Shamsiyev's appointment in Kafe. [1775-1776]. The sources referred to above are of various dates and are not all in the same order. The latter mentions that Shamsiyev presented his father to Kafe, where he was to remain until his father had engaged in negotiations with the city, and Shamsiyev is asked to go only when his father is about to leave for Kafe.

Yakubov (1775-1776) also mentions the arrival in Kafe, but continues himself to describe the efforts to be made to meet his father, Shamsiyev in Kafe. These efforts were facilitated by the vizier and others surrounding the Sultan.

Yakubov (1775-1776) gives more or less the same information as

1. This passage indicates that between the two wars which are mentioned in the above-mentioned sources, there was a period of peace and that the Sultan was in Kafe during this period.

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 Bāyezīd's reign; Selīm's move from Trabzon to Kefe. [196a-198a].

KPZsn (7b-12a) describes Bāyezīd 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 Süleymān's appointment to Kefe. (15a-24a). The reasons advanced for Selīm's crossing to Kefe are at variance with what is said in the text: whereas the latter mentions that Süleymān preceded his father to Kefe, here it is Selīm who arrives first and engages in negotiations with Mengli Girāy, and Süleymān 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 Kefe, but confines himself to describing the efforts he made to meet his father, Bāyezīd 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.

KPZ 8. However, he gives the name of Bāyezīd's messenger to Selīm as Mevlānā Nūrullāh (Nūreddīn), instead of Sarı Gürz.¹ On 22a, in connection with the affair of Şahkulu, information is given about the attitude of the vezirs and Bāyezīd's illness.

Niğ (47a-53a, 57a-59a) states that until the reign of Bāyezīd 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 Bāyezīd'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 yezid. Throughout the Empire, affairs began to go from bad to worse.

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

1. In Ḥadīdī (f.212a) Şarukerz or Şarugerz "شرو کرز" while Ş. Tehindağ writes (T.D., xvii, 54f) Şaru Görez, Şaru Körez.

that Sultān 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 disorder. 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.

Şük (20a-22b) recounts that one day Selīm said: "Frustration is killing me [Ġayret beni helāk 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, Şāh Ismā'īl entered Anatolia and his follower, Şāh 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 Rumili at the time of the death of Ali Paşa, who was slain by Şāh Kulu.

7. The Şah Kulu¹ 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 troops² 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. When the enemy saw this, they returned and

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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 Karabıyık-Oğlı (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 Karagöz Paşa. 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 refaşa-ı Isma'īlīye in the Kızılkaya¹ region of Tekeli 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 Bāyezīd 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. Tekindağ 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 Selīm passed into Rūmili and Prince Aḥmed gathered an army and set out for Karaman. Korkud, 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 cave¹ in Teke Ili revolted. Niş is very critical of Korkud and Sultan Aḥmed, and describes Karagöz Paşa and his Lieutenants as ignorant men. He points out that Aḥmed 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 Selīm was entitled to the throne.

Şük (21a) mentions very briefly that Şah Kulu rose up in Rūm (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 (evā'il) of 917, and Ish in early Muharrem of the same year, TT has it taking place in the aşura of 916, which seems to be an error in the dating.

KA (208a-b) differs from the other sources in certain respects. Sultan Korkud, upset by his father's preference for Sultan Aḥmed and by Selīm's movement into Rūmili,² passed

1. The cave was near the village of Yalınlu 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 Selīm had been appointed governor of Menteşe and it was this that prompted Korkud to leave Antalya.

from Antalya (sic!) to Saruhan, leaving the former province in a state of anarchy. A certain Şeyh Bıyıkoğlu rose up in the city of Elmalı in the province of Teke, and claiming to be an agent (halife) of Şah İsmâ'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

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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 Hadîdî (f. 210a).

Kızılbaş Aydın iline akmışdı
 Ne yire uğradıysa yıkılmışdı
 Varub andan Alaşehir önüne indi
 Gediz Şuyı kenârına hondı
 Karasi Menteşe Aydın begleriyle
 Hem anda Şah Korkud geldi bile
 Heman Korkudı 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 Aḥmed. 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. Ḥadīdī, however, gives a different impression (209b-210a):

Ḥaber dār olmamış idi Şehenşāh
 Karagöz Paşa olmayınca āgāh
 'Alī Paşaya didi kim niçün siz
 Bu ḥadde irişe 'arz itmeyesiz
 Her ilün begleri var ḥālī yer yok
 Ḥarāmī tā bu ḥadde cem' olacak
 Oḭurma tūr yarağ it üstine var
 Kırub koma diyār içinde deyyār
 Yarar ādem yarağ olub hemān ol
 Kızılbaş üstine oldu revān ol.

Niṣ (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 Aḥmed 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 Aḥmed. 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 Aḥmed.

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 Aḥmed and Sultan Meḥmed b. Alemşāh. All three made juncture in Germiyan, at a place called Altuntas.

Sa'd (23b-26b) is the same as KPZsn (26b). Şühri contains nothing about this, and consequently it is, also, lacking in Cevrī and Yusuf.

73. Sultan Aḥmed's move from Amasya to Ankara
[200b-201b].

KPZsn (24a-25a): Sultan Aḥmed became disturbed when he learned that Selīm 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 Bāyezīd ordered the troops of Rūmili 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 Rūmili favoured Selīm. (Although the event is as stated, the account does not indicate a correspondence that went on between Sultan Bayezīd and Ahmed).

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

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

1. Ç. Uluçay states that when Sultan Korkud had explained the situation in Anatolia to his father, the beylerbey of Anatolia, Karogöz Paşa, the soncakbeg of Amasya, Sultan Aḥmed and the sancakbey of Niğde Sultan Mehmed (b. Şehinşāh) were ordered to suppress şahkulu (6-65).

Ahmed was greatly disturbed when a letter he wrote to the Hān of Crimea requesting that Sultan Selīm 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 Selīm'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 Grāy Hān, whom he told of his son Süleymān's appointment to the governorship of the region, incidentally asking for his support for his own cause. The Hān 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 Mevlana Nureddin. It differs, too, in that it speaks of the sancaks of Semendre, Yañbolu 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 Kızılbāş in the East, which if not curtailed was bound to result in trouble for the Ottomans. These Kızılbāş 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 Selīm were unassailable, and no one could refute them, Bāyezīd ordered that he should be granted what he wished. Selīm 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 emīrs 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 Selīm. However, the suggestion he made on the matter

of the succession of Sultan Aḥmed 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 Aḥmed 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 Sinān Paşa, who reminded him that he had earlier warned that such a thing might happen. A letter was then written to Mengli Girāy in which they pointed out that Selīm's crossing into Rūmili 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 Hān replied that Selīm was his honoured guest, his intentions were not yet known, but if he wished to enter Rūmili he would put no obstacle in his way. The Hān's son, Muḥammed Girāy, wished to respond more favourably, but was told by his father that if he wanted territories for himself he would ask Selīm for them. In a very interesting passage a conversation between Selīm and Muhammed Girāy is related in which the latter asked that when Selīm became sultān Kefe and its environs should be bestowed on him; he was told that Sultān seize lands and do not give them away. If he wanted money he could have it freely, but he should not ask for territory. Muḥammed, annoyed by this response, complained to his father that whereas Sultān Aḥmed who was two months distance away was prepared to give him this territory, Selīm, 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 Selīm, despite Mengli Girāy's efforts to prevent him. However, the latter sent his youngest son, Sa'ādet Girāy, to

stay with Selīm, whom he predicted would one day be Sultān, 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 Rūmili, and it was from here that he wrote to his father asking for a meeting.

Because of the earthquake which had devastated Istanbul, Bāyezīd 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.

Sarıgürz 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 Sarıgürz 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 Bāyezīd he advised that Selīm should be allowed to come to him as he wished.

Earlier in the work (24a-28b), Nişāncı mentioned that when Bāyezīd agreed to receive Selīm, his vezīrs 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 Selīm 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. Selīm thought that such a state was unnatural between a father and a devoted son, so he sent ships to Ahyol (آه یول) and went himself by land. He was met on the way by Mengli Girāy Hān who promised him the support of the Tatar armies if he should need them, but Selīm said that he already had sufficient troops and that besides he only wanted to visit his father. Despite this, Sa'adet Girāy joined him at the head of a troop of soldiers.

Selīm 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 Selīm, whether he was coming to seize the throne or merely to visit his father and consult with the statesmen. When a messenger sent by Selīm 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 Selīm once again requested the suncak of Semendre as his provence.

Yā alam ol mülki yekser şāh için
 Yā şehīd olam sebīlü 'llāh için
 Gösterem ol yolda āhir başımı
 Şād idem bir nice karındāşımı
 Çün beni redd itdi Sultān Bāyezīd

İşbu tedbîr ile itsün nā-bedîd
 Ger cefā gördüm vefāsın gözlerem
 Nā-murād oldum rızāsın gözlerem
 Şāha 'arż oldı Selîmün sözleri
 Eşk ile doldı şehîdün gözleri

Bāyezîd agreed to this request, and Selîm moved to Zağra where he assembled an army for a campaign against the Hungarian. Suspicious of his son's intention, Bāyezîd ordered the Court to return to Istanbul. Word of this reached Selîm, and he was, also, informed that Bāyezîd had written to Sulţān Aḥmed that Selîm now possessed an army in Rūmili 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 Şük in the account of his meeting with Mengli Grāy and his crossing to Silistre. It does not refer at all to Sa'ādet Giray. The remainder is the same as in Ish., with the exception that it puts the strength of Bāyezîd'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 Selîm.

Cev 26a-26b and Yusuf, 4b-6a = Şük 21a-30b; Sa'd. 19b-22a and 28b sgg. = KPZsn 20b-23b and 29b-31b.

- 7.4. 'Alī Paşa's meeting with Sulṭān Aḥmed, his death in battle against the rebels, and the reaction of Bāyezīd and the Dīvān to this. (203a-204b).

KPZsn (27a-29b) differs greatly from KPZ 8. 'Alī Paşa 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 Paşa that all had been lost, and consequently they, too, turned back. The rebels now set out for the territory of the Kızılbaş, 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 dispirited 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 Paşa and Sulṭān Aḥmed in Ankara, and together they set out for Teke Ili

which was the breeding ground of these rebels (rafaza-yı h̄āricīye). In the face of this, these Turks abandoned their land, and, intending to join Şāh Ismā‘īl, they traversed Anatolia to Karaman. So rapidly did they travel that ‘Alī Paşa and Sulṭān Aḥmed were unable to catch up with them. From Karaman, the rebels proceeded by way of Kayseri to Sivas. ‘Alī Paşa unaccompanied by Sulṭān Aḥmed, finally overtook them at a place called Gök H̄anı.¹ Because the troops of Karaman did not give him the support expected, and because of his own impetuosity, ‘Alī Paşa suffered defeat in the battle and lost his life, the Ottoman army being routed. The victorious rebels reached Azerbaijan, plundering and killing on the way, until they arrived at Tebrīz. Among those killed and robbed were Ibrāhīm Şebüsterī, the author of the Enbiyā-nāme,² and his son. At this time Şāh Ismā‘īl was in ‘Irak, but when he learned of the arrival of the followers of Şāh Kulu, he returned to Azerbaijan where he heard complaints about them from the people of Tebrīz and the relatives of those they had slain.

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1. The name of this place in IdrSN is given as Gök H̄anı; it appears as Gök Çay in TT., (but as Gök H̄an in Şolakzāde, 335) and Şar mışaklu 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 H̄anı has no support from any of the sources used for the present work.
 2. On Şebüsterī, 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 Azerbaijan. When the three hundred arrived in Tebrīz, Şāh 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 Şāh 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.

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

Niṣ (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 Kızılbaz 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 'Alī Paşa was slain. Of Şeytan Kulu nothing was heard. This event caused Sulţān 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 Mesīhī (d. 918):

Ḳalb-i Paşa ile peykān-ı 'adū
Ḳan yalaşdı vu Ḳarındaş oldu.

The passage subsequent to this is based on IdrSN; however the latter does not contain the strange story of how Şāh Ismā'īl boiled alive Şāh Ḳulu's followers and his vezīr. 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. Sulţān Ahmed asked for an oath of allegiance from the soldiers who arrived with 'Alī Paşa, but they refused, saying "Our Pādişah still lives".

1. On the death of Şah Kulu, of TT, ii, 178; also, Ç. Uluçay, 6, 72-73; Ş. Tekindağ, B.T.T.D. iv, 58, f.37.

Offered by this refusal, Sulṭān Aḥmed returned to his sancak and 'Alī Paşa was left to pursue the rebels alone. The encounter took place at a certain Sarmısaklı. The troops of Karaman betrayed 'Alī Paşa and during the battle went over to the side of the rebels, with whom they were in secret agreement. Both 'Alī Paşa and Şāh Kulu fell on the field of battle. KA adds that Sulṭān Selīm, after assuming the throne, held his brother Aḥmed 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 Sulṭān 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 Şırd 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-oğlu 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. Sulṭān Aḥmed was very pleased by this turn of events, and he came to Üsküdar where he encamped at Maltepe. Sulṭān Bāyezīd had by now returned to Istanbul, also.

IdrSN (54a-b). Selīm was informed by his supporters at Court that Bāyezīd had left for Istanbul and that the vezīrs had written to Ahmed urging him to come as soon as possible. Selīm 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 vezīrs were worried by this action on the part of Selīm, and they persuaded Bāyezīd to prepare an attack upon him, for which purpose they had even received a fetvā. However, rather than war with his father Selīm 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 Bāyezīd. Again the vezirs received a fetvā, and had all of them executed. Selīm 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 Selīm overtook his father.

Niğ mentions this incident contradictorily in two places of the work. On 28a-29b, it is narrated that on the day when Selīm was to meet his father, that the latter came out in a carriage for the interview. However, certain vezirs persuaded Bāyezīd to halt his carriage, and look at the army that was accompanying Selīm, and they raised doubts as to whether this could really be a friendly meeting. Thinking that with such an army behind him Selīm was planning to depose him, Bāyezīd 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.

Şük (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 Çorlu. 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 Sulṭān Aḥmed came to Üsküdar.

Ma'reke peykān ucından ṭoldı ḳan
 Ḳan buḥārından ḳızardı 'āsūmān
 Bī-'aded er düşdi ḥāk-ü-ḥūn ara
 Nice ḥūn ki Dicle-vü-Ceyḥūn ara
 Küştelerden püşteler irer bedīd
 Gālib oldu ṣoñra Sulṭān Bāyezīd

TT (ii, 156-162) is substantially the same as KPZ 8 and Ish, with occasional sentences taken from IdrSN and beyts from Şük. For example, the first two beyts of the verses given above are repeated here. On 160-61, Sa'deddīn relates on the authority of his father that when the troops of Selīm and Bāyezīd met in battle Ferḥād 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 Uğraş. 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 Kırım, the Hān came forth on horseback to meet him. The question arose as to who should dismount and greet the other, and finally it was the Hān who had to do so. Later, the Hān 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 Hān 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 Bāyezīd 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 olmadı-ysa şimdi nigār
Kim bilür rāmum ola digeŕ 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 "کوکون" Dağı. The battle took place in Cem I, 917; Bāyezīd reached Istanbul in Cem II.

Cev. 26a-27b and Yus. 6a-b = Şük. 30b-32a; Sa'd. 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 Aḥmed, 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 Yularkasdı Sinān Paşa, the lālā of Sulṭān Aḥmed, but he fled back to Üsküdar. Bāyezīd berated the vezīrs for having brought about this situation simply because they did not do as he wished, and he wrote to Sulṭān Aḥmed advising him to discontinue all his activities. Disappointed, Sulṭān Aḥmed returned to Amasya.

Sulṭān Selīm was in Kefe. The Tatar Hān 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 Sa'ādet Giray, the son of the Hān. 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 Aḥmed, 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 'Alā'uddīn 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 Miḥalic. 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.

IdrSN (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 Sulṭān Aḥmed 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-Ođlu Aḥmed Paşa; Mustāfa Paşa;
 Beylerbeyi Ḥasan Paşa; Kāḍī-asker 'Abdurrahmān Çelebi
 Mü'eyyed-zāde; Ca'fer 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 Sulṭān Aḥmed, agreed to this request. But it was to prove of no avail.

Sulṭān Aḥmed arrived at Üskudar and encamped on Maltepe; he wished to send his vezīr Yularhasdı 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, Sulṭān Aḥmed returned to Karaman, convinced that he would have to defeat the Janissaries if he was to get the throne.

At this time the Safavīd supporter, Nur 'Alī,¹ came from Azerbaijan at the head of an army of ten to twenty thousand men, sacking ̇ara ̇iṣār and Niksār and massacring their people. As they approached Amasya, Sulṭān Aḥmed sent troops under Sinan Paşa against him, but these suffered defeat and Sinan was forced to flee. Nur 'Alī then went to Tokat, where he received the support of the people, most of whom were partisans and mürīds 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.

1. More information on this riot by Nur 'Alī Ḥalife in the Ahsenü't-Tevārīḥ (Persian Text). p. 134; Ç. Uluçay, vii, 127. *sgg*

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, Sulṭān Mehmed Ğazı, it was he who was crowned successor in the name of his father, Bāyezīd, and he recalled to them how lavishly he had bestowed gifts on them at that time. However, the soldiers had already decided that Selīm 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 Yularkasdı Sinān Paşa and they gave him warnings which he was told to communicate to Sulṭān Aḥmed.

Şük (32a-40b) contradicts Niş in his account. Sulṭān Aḥmed arrived in Üsküdar and Bāyezīd wished him to cross to Istanbul, but the Janissaries would not permit this. They denounced Sinān Paşa to Sulṭān Aḥmed cautioning him about accepting his advice, and they urged him to return to his sancak. Selīm at this time was encamped at Silistre, which Bāyezīd 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 Sulṭān was now very old, it was necessary that the succession be settled before his death. They decided that Selīm was the person to replace him, and notified the Sulṭān

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:

Kāfirün katline eyle ihtimām
 Kim anuñla dutdı dīn ü mülk nizām
 Pādişah olduñsa ‘adli pīşe it
 Zūlm ü bī-dād eyleme endīşe it
 Merhamet it ‘aciz ü bī-çāreye
 Şefkat eyle bī-kes ü āvāreye
 Tañgrı-çün it ehl-i ‘ilme ihtirām
 Derdmendün hātırın hoş gör müdām
 Müfsidün neslini kes ger şāh isen
 ‘Adle meyl it bende-i Allāh iseñ

He goes on to speak of Selīm:

Didi er düşmāndan alsa intikām
 Tīğ-i cür’etle tutar ‘ālem niżām
 Muttasıfdur bu şıfāt ile Selīm
 Yokdur a‘dādan anuñ gönlinde bīm
 Men her işde behre-vergördüm anı
 Tīğ 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 istedüb ihsān ide
Göz görürken ol şehi sultān 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 Şük. 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 Sultān Aḥmed, but the Janissaries, because they favoured Selīm, told Bāyezīd that so long as he was alive they wanted no other ruler. Sultān Aḥmed came and encamped at Gebze, but the Janissaries would not allow him to cross to Istanbul. The vezīr Muştafā Paşa wanted to go to Üsküdar to meet him, but that night three Janissaries raided his house. The houses of the second vezīr Ḥasan Paşa, the Rūmili Kādī-‘askeri Mü’eyyed-zāde, and the Nişancı Paşa were also raided. All, except Muştafā Paşa, were removed from office, Molla Ḥalīl becoming Kādī-‘asker and İbrāhīm Paşa-zāde Nişancı. (This event took place at the end of Cem. II).

1. Ç. Uluçay, 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 Bāyezīd 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 Selīm should be that king; for their part, they would follow him loyally.

Hearing of this, Bāyezīd thought it a favourable moment to proclaim Selīm the new king (Fri., 7 Şaf. 918), and he offered him certain advice. Selīm 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). Selīm arrived in Istanbul, and encamped at Yeñi Bāğçe, where he was welcomed by his supporters. These then went to Bāyezīd and informed him of the state of the country, saying "Everyone knows the part played by Sultān Aḥmed in recent events; whereas Korkud, despite his learning, is without children. Therefore, only Selīm deserves the throne." Bāyezīd agreed, and summoning Selīm before him handed over the throne with certain words of advice (7 Şaf. 918)

Cülūs-işeh çü der şehr-i Şafer şüd
 Delīl-i zāhir-i fetḥ-u-zafer şüd
 Zi Hicret nüh-şad-u-hecdeh güzeşte
 Ki ez vālid velīyü 'l-‘ahd geşte

The leading statesmen, ‘ulemā and każīs 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.

Keş (13a-18b)^{who} 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'rīh!):

Şeh-i ehl-i Rūm oldı Sulţān Selīm = 918.

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

Niş (86a-90a). Arriving at Yeñi Bajçe, 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 Selīm. Thereupon, Bāyezīd 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 Selīm. On this occasion Korkud explained that his intention in coming was to assure^{him} that there would be peace between them, and then he returned to his own province of Manisa. Selīm now encamped at Yeñi Bağ where he disclosed his intentions to the troops.

Çok sefer itsem gerektür bî-direnk
 Şam-u-Şark ehli-yle var gönümde cenk
 Nīyetüm bî-şekk budur iy ehl-i Rum
 Belki Hindistān olubdur ārzüm
 Emrūme uymaz taḥallūf zerrece
 Gözüme gelmez bu ‘ālem terrece
 Zerrece cev̄ ehlin öldürsem gerek
 ‘Adl ile āfākı ṭoldursam gerek

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

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

KA (213a-213b) has Bāyezīd saying to Selīm that he wanted to put him at the head of the army and send him against Şāh Ismā‘īl. Selīm replied that the army would not fight unless they had their sovereign at their head, from which Bāyezīd

inferred that his son wanted the throne. In as much as the vezirs and the troops desired Selīm, Bāyezīd 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.

[DEFTER IX]

10. Selīm assumes the throne; ^{to} Korkud goes₁ 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 Şaf. 918; in Defter 8, this was given as Sat. 7 Şaf.). 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). Sultān 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 Süleymān to Istanbul and his subsequent arrival there is narrated in detail.

IdrSN and Keş make no mention of either Midilli or of Süleymān 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 Süleymān

from Kefe to Istanbul. Later, in ff. 121b-122b, Süleymān's arrival in Istanbul is briefly described.

Niṣ (86a). When Sulṭān Bāyezīd 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 Selīm and Sulṭān Aḥmed, it is related how Süleymān was brought from Kefe to Istanbul by his father and left there as his kā'im-makām. Having done this, Selīm went by way of Iznik to the plain of Yeñi Şehr.

Şük (41a). Korkud welcomed Selīm 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 Sulṭān Bāyezīd, and that he had presented his views to the latter. After this he went to Manisa. No mention is made of Süleymān.

TT (ii, 204) Selīm added Midilli to Korkud's other territories, and sent him back to his sancak of Manisa with many presents. He summoned Süleymān to the Capital. At this time a certain militant leader "evsaṭ-ı ümerādan" 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 Süleymān arrived by sea.¹

Sa⁶d: 46b-48b and 51b-52b = KPZsn 45b-46a.

1. Ç. Uluçay, 7, 127, speaks of Selīm writing to the Hān of the Crimea, announcing that he had assumed the throne and asking him to send Süleymān to Istanbul.

11. 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 Şaf. 918. However, before reaching his destination, he died at a place called

Söğütlü Dere¹ 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). Selīm allowed his father to go wherever he wished, and he chose to go to Dimetoka rather than stay in Istanbul. Selīm gave him the city, and assigned to his service Yunus Paşa, the Beglerbegi of Rūmili, and the defterdār Kāsım 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 Bāyezīd, and he died before reaching Dimetoka, at an unspecified place near Edirne. Selīm was greatly distressed by this news; he performed the services of mourning and distributed alms to the poor.²

1. Ş. Tekindağ, 'Bāyezīd'in Ölümü Meselesi', TD., 24 (1970), identifies the place of his death from a document in Topkapı Sarayı 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, *Generall Historie of the Turkes*, 496: "The Turkes report that he died a naturall death: but Antonius Vitrius, a Genoway, who at that time ferued in Baiazet his chamber, and was preſent at his death, reporteth, that upon his death bodie the evident tokens of poyſon were to be feene."

R.Z. Şafavī, 273, repeats the rumour that Bāyezīd died of a poison which Selīm's agents placed in his ablutions water.

2. Hadīdī, 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 aķca. Selīm appointed the Janissary officer, Yunus Aĝa, to be his lala. On the journey, Bāyezīd died at Sögütlü 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 'imāret which he had built.

TT (ii, 204-210) derives from Ish.; however he takes the name of the place where Bāyezīd died (Sögütlü 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 Rūmili, Yunus Paşa, and the Defterdar K̄asım 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'zı maraž), but 'Alī adds: [ba'zıları kavlince pīrlik za'fı ve ğumū-ı keşīre ve s̄a'ir vesāvis izdiyādından.] Cev 41a-43a and Yusuf 8b = Şük 42b-44b; Sa'd 46b-48b and 49b-51b = KPZsn. 45b-49b.

II

1. The Revolt of Sulṭān Aḥmed; Bursa is Captured by his son 'Alā'üddīn; Aḥmed's Flight to the Arab lands on the approach of Selīm. (114b-116a)

KPZsn (51b-54a). Disturbed by his brother's accession, Sulṭān Aḥmed, on the advice of the people in his suite, left Ankara and went to Karaman, from where he prepared to wage war against Selīm. 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 Sulṭān Selīm at the same time. Aḥmed 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 Kızılbas rallied to his side. However, these committed so many injustices and outrages against the people, that there was a danger that popular support against Selīm would be lost. Therefore, Aḥmed informed his son to rid himself of these Kızılbas by exterminating them. Murād consulted with a certain Kara Iskender¹ (probably a Kızılbas leader) who was in his

1. On Kara Iskender, cf. OT, ii, 256 note; Ç. Uluçay, TD., vii, 128 (document).

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

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1. On Nūr ‘Alī, cf Raḥīm-zāde-i Şafavī, p. 269, where it is made clear that this individual is the same as Şāh Kulu (also Şeyṭān Kulu). Other names by which he is known are: Nūr ‘Alī Beg, Şāh ‘Alī, Şeyṭān-oğlu.
 2. Ghulām Sarvar, p. 73, relates the affair of Sulṭān Aḥmed'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 Sulṭān Selīm and not Sulṭān Aḥmed.

At this time Selīm was awaiting the arrival of his son from Kefe. When Süleymān arrived, he left him in Istanbul as his deputy, and immediately set out for Ankara. Sulṭān Aḥmed fled before him to the Malatya and the Arab regions. Selīm 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 Nūr "Nār" 'Alī and Murād conforms with the account in IdrSN.]

IdrSN (60b-61b). Angered by Selīm's accession, Sulṭān Aḥmed 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. Selīm sent out orders that the troubles in Anatolia should be put down. He lavished gifts and honours on the commanders and troops of Rūmili and Istanbul, and having secured their good-will and support, in 918 he crossed over to Anatolia and took the road to Ankara. Meanwhile, Sulṭān Aḥmed had sent his son 'Alā'uddīn to take Bursa, but the people of the city demonstrated their loyalty to Selīm 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 Aḥmed and declared for Selīm, reading the ḥutbe in his name. Selīm apparently went to Ankara by way of Bursa, sending ahead certain emīrs, such as the Emīr-i ahur-ı kebīr 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 Sulṭān Aḥmed had fled before Sulṭān Selīm, intending to take refuge either in Egypt or with the Kızılbaş. Selīm's men entered the Arab lands;¹ but they informed their master that it was difficult to operate against an enemy in foreign territory, and he ordered them to return. Selīm remained with his troops for five months in Ankara, returning to Bursa for the winter. Here, Mehmed, the son of the late Sulṭān Şāhınşāh, came from Karaman and offered to serve Selīm. Other males of the royal line did the same.

Ish (122b-125). When Sulṭān Süleymān arrived in Istanbul, Selīm set out against Aḥmed, certain of whose supporters had now come over to his side. Aḥmed intended to seek refuge with the ruler of Egypt, but knowing the friendship that existed between him and Selīm, 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.²

1. in Ḥadīdī, 220a,

Irüb ser-hadde didi Ṭur 'Alī Beg
 'Arab ḥaddine geçmezüz budur yeg
 Çerīyi cem' idüb itdi ferāğat
 Didi yokdur Şehinşehden icāzet.

2. For the correspondence between Selīm and Aḥmed, cf. Ç. 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 Bāyezīd, 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.

Niğ (92a-100a). The first act of Selīm was to select worthy men to serve him, among the Piri Paşa and the dīvān kâtibi Seyyidī (Sīdī). Sultān Aḥmed'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, Aḥmed had his son Murād profess adherence to the Safavīds and wear the red head-dress. Twenty-thousand of the Şāh's supporters collected about him, but when he asked them to lend help to his father they refused to do so without Şāh Ismā'īl's permission. When Murād went to the Şāh 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 Sultān Aḥmed 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 Aḥmed in the names of his former supporters at the Court; and immediately Selīm had seals made and the forged letters despatched. This deceived Aḥmed; 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 Aḥmed was captured and executed.

This account omits Sulṭān Aḥmed's flight to Malatya and his son 'Alā'üddīn's attempt against Bursa. Moreover, it has Aḥmed dying before the other princes.

Şük. (44b-50a). After the burial of his father, Selīm collected the troops of Rūmili, and announced his intention of taking control of Syria and the East. The army agreed to this, and Selīm was crowned Sulṭān. Shortly afterwards news arrived that Aḥmed had seized all of Anatolia and his son 'Ali (sic!) had occupied Bursa and put its subaşı to death. Selīm, despite the fact that his father had advised him not to do any harm to his brothers, saw this as a provocation on Aḥmed'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 Aḥmed now came and took refuge with Selīm, who sent Malkoç-oğlı Tūr 'Alī Beg ahead to take Amasya, while he himself went to Ankara. On the approach of Malkoç-oğlı, Aḥmed fled towards Syria, and Selīm now appointed Dāvūd Paşa-oğlı Muşṭafā Beg Beglerbegi of Anatolia with his seat in Amasya. 'Ali Beg pursued Aḥmed, who had taken refuge in Darendē; but again Aḥmed did not dare to risk a battle and fled to Malatya, whereupon 'Alī Beg returned to Sivas. With the approach of winter, Selīm 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-ođlı 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 Selīm's crossing to Anatolia is specified as Thurs., 15 Cem I, 918. However, it does not mention the correspondence between Selīm and Malkoç-ođlı on the matter of pursuing Ahmed. More significantly, it states that after Muştafā Beg had been sent to Amasya as beglerbegi of Anatolia, Sultān Ahmed returned and retook the city. He pardoned Muştafā Beg, and actually made him vezīr.

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. Selīm kills ̘or̘ud and other Members of the Dynasty (116a-118a).

KPZsn (54a-55h). While Selīm was in Bursa, he had the members of the Ottoman family who were living there put to death,¹ claiming that they were responsible for certain disorders destructive to the state. He, also, received information that his brother ̘or̘ud was collecting an army, so he led a body of trusted men against him. On his approach, ̘or̘ud and one of his close associates disguised themselves as beggars and fled. Selīm, 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 Hişār in Hamid Ili and killed him. Selīm was very distressed at this; he had the body brought to Bursa and buried in the tomb of Sulṭān 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 ̘or̘ud's death in KPZ 9 is given as Egrigöz, and his executioner named as the kapucı başı Sinān Ağa.

IdrSN (61b-62a). Meḥmed (the son of Prince Şahinşāh) fled from Sulṭān Aḥmed in Karaman to Sulṭān Selim in Bursa. At this time there were in Bursa the following princes of the royal line: the four sons of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, Orḥan, Mūsā, Emir beg and Muşṭafā; and 'Osmān, the son of 'Alemsāh. 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 Bāyezīd, cf. Ç. Uluçay, 'Bāyezīd II in Ailesi', TD., 14 (1959), 105-124.

day when Selīm 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, Selīm 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 Pervāne (پروانه) escaped by a secret exit and hid in a cave. Selīm 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, Kāsım Beg 'Acemī, learned from him the whereabouts of Korkut. The cave was surrounded, and a message sent to Selīm, who dispatched men *from* Bursa to kill Korkut. His body was brought back to here and buried alongside Sultān Orhan.

Keş (27b-28a) treats the incident very summarily. At the beginning of winter Selīm 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, Selīm had them killed. This took place before Ahmed's death was known. The names of the slain are given as: Meḥmed, the son of Şāhınşāh; 'Osman, the

son of 'Aleṃṣāh; Mūsā, Orḥān, and Emīrḥān, the sons of Maḥmūd. From here he went to Saruhan, where he killed his brother Korkut.

Şük (50a-55a). Selīm regarded it as dangerous for the state that Sulṭān Aḥmed was still at large and that certain sections of the people favoured Korkut. He left Bursa with his troops, taking with him Mehmed, the son of Şāhıṣāh; Mūsā and Orḥān, the sons of Maḥmūd; Osman, the son of 'Aleṃṣāh. 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.

Geldiler dergāha cem'-ı nev-civān
Çün Selīm emr itdi öldürdi Sinān

They were buried in Bursa.

Selīm, with a body of troops, went to Manisa to take Korkut; but, being unable to locate him, he returned to Bursa. Korkut 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 Korkut'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 Korkut. Kāsım Beg, on being informed of this, arrested Korkut and sent word to Selīm

who at first sent Karaçin-oğlu to bring the prisoner to him. Later he dispatched Sinān 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 Piyāle 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 Piyāle 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 Sulṭān Orḫān. Although offered high employment, Piyāle refused and remained in Bursa as the keeper of his master's tomb.

TT (ii, 229-234). Selīm selected certain aḡas 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 Şāhınşāh; Musa, Orḫan and Emīn, the sons of Maḥmūd, 'Osmām, the son of 'Aleḡsāh.

Selīm 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 Selīm in favour of himself. Korkut replied and sent one of his retainers to make further enquiries. When Selīm 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, Selīm heard that Sulṭān Aḡmed had re-taken Amasya, whereupon he killed, Meḡmed, the son of

Şāhinşāh; Mūsā, Emīr and Orḥān the sons of Maḥmud; Osman, the son of 'Alemsāh. 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. Sulṭān Aḥmed returns from Memlūk 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-livā) 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 Yeñişehir, 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, Selīm 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 Selīm as sovereign. However, they did not find his attitude appropriate for such an exalted station, for he had even killed the young princes and Muṣṭafā Paşa in the cruellest fashion. "Selīm'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 Selīm tries to oppose you, your former supporters will come over to your side."

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

One son of Ahmed, named Murād took refuge with Şāh Ismā'īl, and died there; two others, 'Alā'eddīn and [name omitted in text],¹ fled to Egypt for refuge, and there they died of plague. Thus, there remained no one who could claim the throne; Selīm pardoned those who had been supporting Ahmed, and returned to Istanbul.

Şük (55a-62a). Selīm sent falsified letters to Ahmed in the name of the begs of Rūm, containing complaints about himself and

1. Ibn Iyās, IV, 289-291, gives the names of these sons as Süleymān, 'Alā'iddīn and (V.49) Kāsım. Another son of Sulṭān Ahmed, 'Osmān, is said to have been strangled on the orders of Sulṭān Selīm, and is buried in Amasya in the 'Osmān Çelebi turbe. Cf. Çajataj Uluçay, 'Bāyezīd II in Ailesi', TD, 14 (1959), 110.

indicating that the people were anxious for the success of Aḥmed. Deceived by this, Aḥmed went immediately to Karaman, and Selīm was informed of this move by Hemdem Paşa, the beglerbegi, who added that Aḥmed had laid waste the places through which he passed. This was exactly what Selīm wished his brother to do; he sent the Imrahor Başı Mehmed Ağa against Aḥmed, and ordered Muştafā Paşa, to leave Kütahya with the army of Anatolia and join him. Together they were to oppose Aḥmed, try to discover what his intentions were, and to inform Selīm. The news came back that Aḥmed had made camp at Ermenī-derbendi; whereupon, Selīm assembled his troops and left Bursa for Inegöl. Aḥmed now realized that he had been the victim of a ruse, and returned to Yeñişehr, pursued here by Selīm. He camped on one section of the plain, where he awaited the arrival of Mehmed Ağa and Muştafā Paşa before giving battle.

In the morning both sides made preparation for battle. However, before any fighting commenced Aḥmed withdrew his troops to the mountains. Selīm sent Muştafā Paşa after him, with orders to engage Aḥmed, but, in the course of the battle, he was to pretend that he was defeated and flee in the direction of Selīm's camp. Aḥmed would give pursuit and thus be drawn into the situation which Selīm desired. And so it happened, and a fierce battle was waged between the two brothers. Aḥmed'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 Aḥmed, tried to console him; however, he also sent

Sa'adet Giray, the son of Mengli Giray, to Selīm with the news. He sent back the Kıpucı-başı Sinān Ağa, who was to tell Aḥmed that he had instructions to take him to Istanbul, but on the way he was to kill him. Aḥmed asked if he could see his brother, and Sinān let him believe that he was taking him to Selīm. However, when they had been going for about an hour, he suggested that Aḥmed should have a fresh horse. When Aḥmed dismounted, he strangled him with his bowstring. The body was taken to Bursa for burial. Selīm pardoned Aḥmed's followers, and returned to Bursa.

TT (ii, 234-237). For the death of Muṣṭafā Paşa and the fate of Aḥmed's sons, the information is drawn from IdrSN. The affairs of Sulṭān Aḥmed 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 Ṭabaḳatü 'l-Memālik to supply details of Aḥmed's death: Aḥmed wrote to Selīm asking that his life be spared, and that he be given a place to reside. Selīm, however, found his brother responsible for the death of numerous Müslims in the Şāhḳulu rising by not using his army against him, and therefore he killed him. Again KA. derives from Nişāncı the names of the sons of Sulṭān Maḥmūd; viz., Muṣṭafā, Süleymān and Orḫan. However, in another place (235a) KA gives the names as Mūsā, Emīr and Orḫan.

Cev. 51a-53b and Yusuf 10b-11a = Şük. 55a-62a, Sa'd 59b-61b = KPZns 55b-57a.

4. Sülaymān is given the sancak of Saruhan; Selīm goes to Edirne. (120a-120b)

KPZsn (57b-60b). Selīm left Bursa and entered Rūmili by way of Gelibolu. On the way he attended a feast on the estate of the sadrāzam Hersek-oğlu Ahmet Paşa, where his son Süleymān came to meet him. From here, Süleymān 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 *Ṭoñdurma*. دو کورمه) 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 Şāh 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, Selīm entered Edirne and attended to affairs of state. An embassy bearing gifts arrived from *Ḳanşu Ğavrī* (قانو غوری), and the treaty that existed between the Ottomans and the Mamluks in the time of Bāyezīd was renewed. Selīm 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; Selīm refused to recognize this, imprisoning his envoy and making preparation against him. About this time also, envoys arrived from Boġdan, Eflak and Venice to congratulate Selīm in his accession. However, as the most pressing danger at this time was seen to be

the Safavīd presence in the East, Selīm decided to abandon operations in Europe and direct his attention here. In this section of the history, no mention is made of Süleymān being sent to Saruḥan.

Niṣ (101b-102a) Süleymān was given the sancak of Saruḥan and Kāsım Paṣa was appointed as his lala. At this point there is a long description of Saruḥan.

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

TT.(ii, 222-225). Here, too, information is given about the arrival of Süleymān 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 Selīm. None of the other sources refer either to Süleymān 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, VI (1942), 37-44, has published the letter of instruction which Selīm sent to Süleymān on his taking up the government of Saruḥan. Cf., also, M.T. Gökbilgin IA, vol. 11, 99-155, s.v. Süleymān I.

III

The Persian Campaign

1. The preparations for war made by Selīm.

Details of the descent of Şāh Ismā‘īl and the Safavīds in general.¹ (120b-126b)

Amongst all the sources, this contains the most detailed information about Şāh Ismā‘īl and his ancestors: Ismā‘īl's grandfather, Cüneyd, while Şeyh of a monastery in Erdebīl proclaimed a cihād and invaded Gürcistān and Şirvān. However, he suffered defeat at the hands of Şirvān Şāh. After him his son, Ḥaydār Şāh, 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 Ḥasan. In the time of Sulṭān Ya‘qūb his power was at its greatest. He attacked Şirvān Şāh, but the latter, with the help of Sulṭān Ya‘qūb repulsed him. Ḥaydar's son, Ḥoca ‘Alī, next held the power, but he did not last very long. On the order of Mirzā Rüstem a certain Ibe Sultan proceeded against him and killed him. However, about this time the descendants of Uzun Ḥasan fell out among themselves and anarchy raged in their territories.

Next the youngest son of Şeyh Ḥaydār, Şāh Ismā‘īl, emerged. His first act was to take advantage of Sulṭān Bāyezīd's pre-occupation with the Moria and launch an attack against Erzincan.

1. Most of the sources for this period of Safavīd history have been used by Gulām Server. Cf., also T. Yazıcı IA, Vol. II, 53-59, s.v., Safevīler.

In many parts of Anatolia the followers of his forefathers were numerous, and these flocked to his support. Although his proper name was Hoca Kemāl, he changed this to Şāh Ismā‘īl in 905,¹ the same year in which Kaṣu Gavri ascended the throne of Egypt (123a). Proceeding against Şirvān Şāh, *he* destroyed his city, and from here he marched on Tebrīz, where he defeated an Akkoyunlu army of between 40-50 thousand men. He had the tombs of past emīrs and sultāns desecrated, and with his own hand he killed his mother who was the daughter of Uzun Hasan. Next he proceeded against Irāk 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 Baġdād. Ismā‘īl now entered Fārs where he burned and ravaged the cities of Şīrāz and Yezd. Arriving at Baġdād, he defeated Sarım Kürdī and added this region to his domains, once again massacring the sūnnī population. Murād Bey had fled before his arrival, going first to ‘Alā’ūddevle, and from there to Sultān Selīm (at that time governor of Trabzon).

In the year 912, Hüseyin 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 Hān Ibn Yünüs Hān, from the line of Cengiz Hān. Şeybek was captured and tortured to death. This accomplished, Ismā‘īl

1. Cf. Ibn Iyās, iii, 335-340.

2. T. Yazıcı, IA, 11, 275-279, s.v., Şāh Ismā‘īl. Cf., also R.M. Savory, Der Islam, 40 (1965), 54-65.

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

Wherever Şāh Ismā‘īl set foot the Şerī‘a disappeared and innovations emerged; trying to replace Sünnīsm with şī‘ism, he destroyed mosques and medreses and desecrated the tombs of men such as Ebū-Hanīfe, ‘Abdülkādīr el-Gīlānī and Mevlānā Yūsuf-ı Erdebīlī. The news of these acts of cruelty and destruction spread throughout the world of Islām, and Selīm, in Trabzon, began to think of putting an end to Ismā‘īl, that scourge of Müslims. 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, Selīm, like his ancestors, decided on warfare, and his first object was Şāh Ismā‘īl, the leader of the heretics. In the year 905 Şāh Ismā‘īl was ruler of all Persia. Because of his tyranny the Müslims 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 Imāms, 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. Hadīdı, ff. 224a-226b.

Kızıl taci başında şūfī adı
 Müsülman şekli-di kâfir nihâdı
 ‘Adūsı idi aşşâb-ı kibârūñ
 ‘Alīden gayrisinūñ Çâr-yârūñ
 Mesâcid yıhdı men‘ itdi namâzı
 Baña eyleñ didi ancağ niyâzı
 Niķâh-ı şer‘ī men‘ itdi o bāṭıl
 Degül idi kelâmu ‘llāha kâ‘il
 Adı Şāh idi emmākendi şeyṭān

(Contd.)

Şeybek Hān, who ruled Ḥorāsān after Ḥasan Baykara, advanced against him with a strong Mongol army. However, he was to meet death at the hands of Şāh Ismā‘īl. After this victory, Ismā‘īl launched a general massacre of the people of Ḥorāsān.

Selīm, while still in Trabzon, had determined to rid the world of Şāh Ismā‘īl, and now he received from the ‘Ülemā fetvās¹ sanctioning 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: Selīm, 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. Selīm discussed the matter with his advisors and sought from the ‘Ülemā a fetvā sanctioning such a war. They, in turn, pronounced that it was more important to fight against such as Ismā‘īl than against the Christians. Having done this, Selīm made enquiries about how many supporters of the Kızılbaş

Contd.)

Ki sevmezdi anı kāfir müsūlmān
 Ḥarāc-u-bāc alur Hindūsitāndan
 ‘Arab sultānı kōrkār idi andan
 ‘İnāyet eyledi Islāma Allāh
 Getürdi taht-ı Rūma bir ulu şāh

1. 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.

Keş (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 nūzl) and 12 thousand ‘azab should be made ready and proceed to the plain of Yeñişehir 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 nūzl should be amassed and 12 thousand ‘azab conscripted. These troops of Rūmili crossed into Asia from Gelibolu, while Selīm crossed at Üsküdar, their meeting place being designated as the plain of Yeñişehir.

Niṣ (118a-122a), also mentions the Dīvān assembled in Edirne and reports Selīm as saying to it: "For eight centuries Persia has been an Islām̄ territory where many mosques were built in which ḥuṭbes were read. However, in recent times Ṣāh Ismā'īl, the son of Ṣeyḥ Ḥaydār, from the line of the Erdebīlī ṣeyḥs, 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 Ṣī'ā 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 Islām̄ and exterminate the Müslims. 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 greivous]. 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 Dīvān agreed with this, but some requested that a fetvā for the war be asked for from the 'Ülemā. After the fetvā have been issued, Selīm sent orders to the provinces that preparations for the campaign be made, specifying that 10 thousand ʿazab infantry be conscripted. It was decided that the campaign would commence on the 23rd Muh., 920.

Ṣük (62b-68b). Selīm ordered the Dīvān to be assembled. The Grand Vezir, Hersek-Ođlu was ill and had to be brought on a stretcher. Selīm addressed the Dīvān 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 Şāh 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 k̄anūn-u-kavā‘īd-ü-sübül
 Gökden inmiş Ḥaḳḳ kelāmı ḥod degül
 Ne Resūlūñ sūnnetidür bī-hilāf
 Ne bu güft-ü-gūda vardur iḥtilāf
 Kendü devrinde ne iḥdās itse Şāh
 Ol anuñ k̄anūnıdur bī-iṣtibāh
 Devr anuñdur emr anuñdur k̄anūn anuñ
 Behr anuñdur berr anuñ hāmūn anuñ

and as your pādīşāh 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.

Dāniş ile şimdi sensin feylesūf
 Bizde yokdur ‘ilm-ü-‘irfān-u-vuḳūf

Selīm ordered them to obey his orders and to complete the preparations. He sent messengers to all regions of Anatolia and Rūmili 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: Selīm consulted with the 'Ulemā about the behaviour of Şāh Ismā'īl, and afterwards assembled the Dīvān. 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 Şāh 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 (halīfeler). They looked on his court as the kible-i hācāt 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 Selīm 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 Yeñişehir 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 sultān 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 kedhüdāsı with a 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 11a-12a = Şük 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 Ismā‘īl 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 Ismā‘īl was destroying the religion in the lands of Persia and causing suffering to the people. “Thus fetvās 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 Üsküdār the following Saf., and after the Sultān's camp had been set up at Üsküdār, 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 Selīm was afraid that Şāh Ismā‘īl would not come out to give battle. In order to allay this fear, Selīm appointed 40 thousand troops to remain in the region between Kayseri and Sivas, and with the remaining troops he entered Şāh Ismā‘īl's territories and proceeded towards his capital. About this time he sent another letter to the Şāh, 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 Ismā‘īl; 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 fetvā authorizing the war against the Kızılbaş.

IdrSN (69a-77b). In Muh. of 920, Selīm left Edirne for Istanbul and pitched camp at Filçayırı, 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 kā'im-maḳām in Edirne, Selīm crossed to the Anatolian shore on 23rd Sef. 920, and on the 27th a letter in his name, written by Tācī- Zāde Emīr Ca‘fer Tuḡrā’ī, was sent to the Şāh by a Persian spy who had been arrested. (The text of the letter is given in f 71a-72b).¹ The stages of the progress across Anatolia are given, the second halting-place being at Maltepe, where

1. Cf. Mün, ii, 251-253.

Sinān Paşa, the sancak beyi of Bosna, was appointed Beylerbeyi of Anatolia. At Yeñişehr the troops of Rūmili joined the army. On the 7th of Reb. 1, a halt was made at Sidigāzī (سیدی غازی) where the dervīşes of the monastery were given gifts. Also, from here the vezīr Dukagin-Zāde 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 Azerbāycān. On the 3rd of Cem. 1, a place called Üskünce-Ḥānı (اسکونجه خانى) was reached and here to each of the timariotes of Anatolia and Rūmili 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 Sulṭān'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 Bayburd.

1. AT. 143, says Selīm's troops were 200 thousand men.

According to Ottoman practice if the Sulṭān were leading a campaign in Rūmili or to the west of the Mediterranean, the troops of Rūmili 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 Rūmili would hold the left. Accordingly, the troops were now assembled, with Selīm in the middle of the army. 15 bölük 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, Sinān Paşa, while the left wing was under the beylerbeyi of Rūmili, Ḥasan Paşa.

Selīm had expected that in response to the letter he had sent from Edirne,¹ Şāh Ismā‘īl would come out to oppose him at Erzincān or thereabouts. However, when Erzincān was reached there was no sign of Şāh Ismā‘īl 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 Ḥudāvendigār Sulṭān Muhammed Ġāzī "Fātiḥ" had behaved towards Uzun Ḥasan. They sent the "beylerbeyi" of Karaman, Hemdem Paşa to put this proposal to Selīm; he immediately put him to death. It was decided that the distance between Erzincān and Tebrīz would be covered in forty daily stages. At this time, too, another letter was sent to the Şāh

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.

(76b-77a).¹ On the 27th of Cem. I, camp was made at Aḳdepe across from Kemāh. Here a letter arrived from Şāh Ismā‘īl written in Turkish,² and accompanied by a gift of ma‘ācīn (مغذاه از عاجین). Selīm had the messenger who delivered this killed and sent a letter in reply, also written in Turkish (77a-77b).³

On the 27th of Cem. II, in the region of Erzincān the Türkmen bey, Ferruḥşād Bey, defeated Şāh Ismā‘īl's governor of Tercān, Ahmed Bey, and brought him prisoner to Selīm. 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 Sulṭān Muḥammed Ġāzī "Fātiḥ" had fought Uzun Ḥasan. Selīm 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 Rūmili and Anatolia. On the same day camp was pitched at a place called Söyken (سویکن) and here a messenger arrived from Mīrzā Çabuḳ, one of the beys of Georgia, offering his submission. Along with this message he sent to Selīm two young nephews of Zulkādir-OḒlu ‘Alā‘ūddevle who were taking refuge with him from Şāh Ismā‘īl. Selīm treated them with great respect.

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

1. Cf. Mün. ii, 355-356.

2. Cf. C. Server, 76-77.

3. Cf. Mün, ii, 357-358.

the plain of Kāğit-hāne where he remained for a few days attending to affairs of state. On one day in spring he ordered the Janissary āga, Ayas, to have the troops cross to the Asiatic shore both from the Iskele and from Kāğit-hāne. Selīm himself, with the members of his dīvān, crossed by boat and the whole army assembled in the plain of Yeñişehir. 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 Yeñişehir. 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 sünnī Müslim, he would be punished for the things he had done. When the army reached Erzincān, 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 Tebrīz was reached, it was learned that the Şāh was approaching, and orders were given to the Cebeci-başı to issue munitions to the soldiers. The two armies confronted each other on the plain of Çaldıran on Wednesday, the 2nd of Rec. 920.

Nış (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 Filçayırı. His son, Süleymān had been left in Edirne as his representative. After remaining 23 days in Istanbul he passed over to Anatolia and here he confided to Pīrī Paşa that he was very worried that when they reached the Persian frontier Ismā‘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-Zāde write a letter in Persian to Ismā‘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. Sinān Paşa, the vali of Bosna, was appointed beylerbeyi of Anatolia. From here the army passed on to Yeñişehr, and on the 17th of Reb. I, Selīm visited the tomb of Sīdīgāzı in the neighbourhood of Kütahya, and 100 thousand akçe were given to the dervishes of the monastery. On the 2nd of Reb. II, they reached ارفت اوزی 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 Selīm visited the holy tombs. On the 2nd Cem. I, Üskübce-Hānı (اسکوبچه خانى) 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 Iskender Paşa-Oğlu. Duḡagın-Oğlu here joined the army and after camping at the frontier city of Sivas for a time, they moved on towards Azerbāycān.

As there was no sign of Şāh Ismā‘īl, 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 kedhūdā of Erzincān came and paid his respect. On the 25th of Cem. I, at a place called Depebaşı in Yaşsiçemen a messenger arrived from the Şāh with a letter and a quantity of ma‘cūn. The messenger was immediately killed and a reply was written to the latter. On 26th of Cem. I, the Türkmen beyi, Ferruḡsād Bey, sent to Sulṭān Selīm the Şāh's governor of Tercān, a certain Aḡmed 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, Muşṭafā Bey, and the sancak beyi of Trabzon, Meḡmed Bey, were sent with a body of troops collected from Rūmili and Anatolia to conquer Bayburd. On the 18th of Cem. II at a place called Sövken "سوكن", messengers arrived from Mirza Çapuk, the ruler of Georgia, bringing with them two nephews of ‘Alā‘üddeve. These had previously been at the Court of Şāh Ismā‘īl, but from there had fled to Mirza Çapuk for refuge.

Şük (68b-76b). Having placed Süleymān in Edirne as his representative, Selīm left Edirne on the 22nd of Muh. 920, and in ten stages reached Istanbul where he pitched camp at a place called Filçayırı. 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 Üsküdar, Withheld at Maltepe and other places, Yenişehir was reached, and here the army was augmented by other troops. Passing through SİDİĞAZİ 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 Rūmili. Duğagin-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 Rūmili were inspected. Only 80 thousand troops were retained: those too old, too young or in poor health were sent back to Sulṭān Süleymān. With these 80 thousand troops Selīm 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 Engürgözü "انگورکوی" and Sulṭānhānı to Çubukşahrāsı. From here Selīm sent a letter to 'Alā'üddevle inviting him to join in the campaign against Tebrīz. To this 'Alā'üddevle replied that Selīm was only 30 years old, while he himself was 90. "Even if he were the Mehdī, I would not go to him."

Men añā varman eger ḥod Mehdīdür
Zāhir anuñ devri "سید" " Mehdī 'ahdidur

From here the army moved on to Sivas and joined Duḡagin-Oḡlu. Here it remained for 8 days, in which time Selīm sent Mihal-Oḡlu, Mehmed Bey, Ḳaraca Paṣa and Ferruḡsad Bayındır at the head of a body of troops against Erzincān, ordering them to send back information about Ṣāh Ismā‘īl. Leaving Sivas the army passed through Yassiçemen, after which it encamped on a mountain. A messenger arrived from Ṣāh Ismā‘īl bringing a crown and a quantity of medicine "Tiryāk". Selīm ordered the crown and the medicine to be put to one side; for the day would come when the Ṣāh would need them for his own troubles. The messenger was tortured and information exacted from him. Arriving in Erzincān the army halted for 8 days, and here the Ṣāh's governor of Tercān, Aḡmed Bey, who had been taken captive by Ferruḡsād was killed. Selīm made a present of his horse and his cloth to Ferruḡsād. 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 Paṣa-Oḡlu Mustafa Beg, sent to Sulṭān Süleymān.

One day the army officers approached Hemdem Paṣa and said: "You are close to the Padiṣāh, so tell him that it is not possible to march from Rūm to Tebrīz. We are tired, and without food and water. His grandfather, Mehmed Fātiḡ, after defeating Uzun Hasan at Tercān, did not continue in pursuit of him, but instead returned to his capital. Tell the Sulṭān to return. He has reached Erzincān and if the Ṣāh 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 Selīm, he was killed on the spot. Mihal-Ođlu and Balı Voyvoda were given a body of troops and sent on ahead to gather information, also Muştafā Bey who was known as Polak " پلاق " was sent to capture Bayburd.

Passing Üskülce, Cınıs and Alacalar, the army came to Çermük where the soldiers of Balı Bey brought certain captive Kızılbaş. Selīm gave them the crown and the medicine and returned them to the Şāh with a letter. In this letter Ismā'īl was told either to make war or to seek peace or else to run away. This greatly offended the Şāh who exclaimed, "I am Ismā'īl, the son of Haydār! even if he has the troops I have the secret power of the Haydāries on my side. I will show him the troops of Ḥorāsān. From Āzerbāycān and 'Īrāk I will collect 100 thousand troops. I will send a speedy message to Bağdād. If I send a message to Āmīd, Mardīn and Kürdistān 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 Selīm come I will show him my Indian sword." Saying which he prepared his troops for war.

Selīm camped at Sökmen where a messenger arrived from the ruler of Georgia, Mirzā Çabuk, bringing with him two young nephews of 'Alā'üddevle, who had fled to Georgia from the Kızılbaş.

TT (ii, 244-257). Leaving Edirne on the 22nd of Muh. 920, Selīm reached Istanbul on the 2nd of Şaf., and camped at a place called Filçayır! near Ebu-Eyyüb. Here he remained for

several days visiting the holy graves. He summoned his son, Süleymān from Manisa and sent him to Edirne as his representative. The troops crossed to the Asiatic shore from both Iskele and Kāğıt-ḥāne; however, Hasan Paşa, the beylerbeyi of Rūmili, crossed from Gelibolu with his troops. On the 24th of Şaf. a Thursday, Selīm crossed and encamped at Maltepe, and here the vālī of Bosna, Sinān Paşa, was appointed Beyberbeyi of Anatolia.

Previous to this Selīm 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 Şāh Ismā‘īl was captured, but he was returned to his master with a letter in which Selīm announced that the ‘ulemā 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 Islām, because afterwards it would do him no good to be sorry.

The army arrived at Yeñişehr where it was joined by the troops of Rūmili. On the 7th of Reb. 1. when Sidigāzī was reached, gifts were distributed among the troops, and Dukagin-zāde was sent on ahead to Sivas with 20 thousand men. On reaching Konya further gifts were given and the holy tombs were visited by Selīm. At Kayseri the army halted for four days and were joined by the troops of Karaman. Selīm proceeded on to Çıbuk-Ovası, and from here sent a letter to ‘Alā’üddevle inviting him to join in the campaign; however, he refused to do so. On the 2nd of Cem. I, at Üskülce-Ḥānı a five percent

increase in revenues was made to the timariots of Anatolia and Rūmili, On 7th of Cem. I, Aḥmed Bey who was known as Karaca Paşa, and Mihāl-Oğlu, Meḥmed Bey, were sent to Erzincān with 500 troops. When the army reached Sivas it was met by Dukagin-Oğlu, Aḥmed Paşa, and here Selīm inspected the army. It numbered 140 thousand from which Selīm 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 Selīm 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 Şāh's governor in Diyārberk and Kürdistān heard of the approach of the 'Ottomāns, he fled to Azerbāycān, taking the people of the region with him as captives and ~~destroying~~ the crops. Another reason for Selīm's reducing the size of his army was that he did not wish to frighten Şāh Ismā'īl to the extent that he would refuse to give battle.

On 25th of Cem. I, at Yaşşıçemen a messenger arrived from the Şāh bearing a letter and a quantity of ma'cūn. The messenger was killed and a reply was sent to the Şāh. When Erzincān 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. Selīm rejected their advice and ordered the passage from

Erzincān to Tebrīz to be made in forty days. Hemdem Paşa, whom the army had selected to carry this message to Selīm, 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 Erzincān for the food to arrive from Trabzon, and during this time Selīm sent Sahsuvar-Oğlu, 'Alī Bey with a body of troops into enemy territory to gather information. In addition Ferruḡşād Bey was sent to Tercān, and Mihāl-Oğlu, Meḡmed Bey, along with Balı Voyvoda were sent in another direction. Ferruḡşād Bey succeeded in capturing the governor of Tercān, the Emīr Aḡmed, and bringing him to the Court. For this Selīm rewarded him. When the army arrived at a place called Çermük, Balı Voyvoda sent him two Kızılbāş prisoners and a number of severed heads. Selīm sent them back to Ismā'īl with a letter and the ma'cūn which had earlier been presented to him.

On reaching Eskidepe, the site of the battle between Fātih and Uzun Ḥasan, Polak Mustafa Bey, the governor of Yanya, and Meḡmed 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 'Alā'üddevle who had been seeking refuge from Şāh Ismā'īl with Mirza Çapuk. When the army reached Göllü the Küçük mīr-aḡur was sent to Mirza Çapuk, whose own messenger was detained in the

Sultān'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 Tebrīz, and that he was now probably in the city. Leaving here, the army pressed on to Eleşkird.

KA (338b-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 "mi'cer" with the suggestion that he should wear it instead of a helmet "miġfer".¹

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

1. Cf. Mün. ii, 406-49.

3. The two armies assemble at Çaldırān (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. Şahsüvār Oğlu Ali Bey sent here a Kızılbaş bey whom he had been able to capture from the Şāh'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 Hōy-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 Āzerbaycān by way of Bingöl and Eleşhird.

When Selīm reached Eleşhird, the Şāh's reply to his first letter arrived, in which Ismā'īl asserted that his mezheb was that of the Ehl-i beyt and that he followed the Twelve Imāms;

he added that he had arrived at Evcān-Yaylası. Selīm now travelled more rapidly, and upon reaching Kazgölü in the vicinity of Makūye, (طاكويه) there arrived at his camp 100 heads of prominent Kızılbaş leaders sent by Şehsüvār-Oğlu '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 Şa'b. 920, there was an eclipse of the sun [Şa'b is possibly an error; all the other sources mention Cem. II]. This was taken as a sign that Selīm would defeat the Şāh.

Niṣ (136b-141a). On 28th of Cem. II, camp was made at Tanasazı, 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 ('azab); 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 Çaldırān.

Şük (76b-80a). Having sent Şahsüvār-Oğlu 'Alī Bey to collect information about the enemy, the army moved from Sökmen to Gölü-Yurd. From there Selīm sent the Küçük 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 Kōr Şādī whom he had captured; from this prisoner it was learned that the Şāh was still in Tebrīz. When the army, passing by way of Tuzla-Suyu, reached Ğayb Isıġın Köyü, a certain Balı Çavuş, a member of the scouting party led by Mihal-Oğlu Mehmed Bey, arrived with the information that Ustaclu-Oğlu was in Höy.

On the 17th of August (Agustos) snow fell on Aladağ. At Sakallı another messenger arrived, this time from 'Alī Bey, and brought some enemy heads and information about what this scouting party had been doing. It seems that an Ottoman spy named Şeyh Aḥmed had gone to Şāh Ismā'īl and pretended that he had been sent by the Anatolian beys. The Şāh, 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 Şahsüvār-Oğlu 'Alī Bey and sent to Selīm. When Selīm heard what Şeyh Aḥmed 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 Tanasazı an eclipse of the sun took place. When the army arrived at the plain of Ovacık, information arrived that the enemy was approaching; whereupon Selīm 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 Selīm addressed them and assured them that he would not return [Sa'aded-dīn Efendi relates this on the authority of his father, Ḥasan Cān, who had been told by Selīm]. When the army was at Gazlıgöl, messengers arrived from Şahsüvār-Oğlu 'Alī Bey, bringing some Kızılbaş prisoners, from whom it was learned that the Şāh was on the plain of Ḥōy. The incident of Şeyh Aḥmed repeats

Şük exactly. From here the army moved to Tanasazı, and the subsequent events are taken without alteration from IdrSN.

KA (242a-242b). When the army started to complain of their weariness Selīm addressed them. [The information is taken directly from TT., as Ālī himself admits.] Çaldırān was reached and the Şāh too, was already present there.¹

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

1. Cf. Mün. II, 409.

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

KPZsn (66b-71b). When Selīm reached Çaldırān on Wednesday the 2nd of Rec., he found the Şāh already there. Selīm sent cavuşes 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

1. J.R. Walsh, EI2, 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 Şāh's wives, whom Selīm gave to the Nişāncı Tacī-zāde Ca'fer 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 Şofiyē, and his brother, Tur '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 Şāh himself was at H̄ōy, 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 Şāh came from H̄ōy 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 Şāh were arranged as follows: The Şāh left his adviser Seyyid ‘Abdulbāqī, the son of Ni‘metullāh the second, to hold the camp, while he with 40 thousand mounted troops prepared to attack the Rūmili wing of the Ottomans. Ustaçlu-Oğlu Mehmed Hān, the governor of Diyārberkr and Kurdistān, was in command of the left wing of the Şāh's army. This consisted of ‘Arab and Turkish troops and Kurds from the region of Bağdād, notable amongst whom was the ruler of Meshed, Seyyid Muḥammed Kemūne. He was opposed by the troops of Anatolia and Karaman, under Sinān Paşa and Hüsrev Paşa respectively.

The Şāh, 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 Süleymān Bey, the governor of Perezvin (پرزوین). However, the Ottoman line held, even though one of its commanders, Hasan Paşa, was killed. Selīm sent reinforcements to strengthen this wing, including a body of Janissaries. A section of the Şāh's troops found a means of approaching the centre position where Selīm was located and launched an attack, led by Şāh Ismā‘īl himself. Their attack was halted by the massed rifle-fire of the Janissaries. At this point Ismā‘īl was unhorsed, and would have been killed on the spot had not one of his followers run forward shouting that he was the Şāh, thus allowing his master to escape. The

battle lasted from morning until sun-set, when, realizing he had been defeated, the Şāh fled by night to Tebrīz, and from there to ‘Irāk with 8 soldiers.¹ Selīm ordered his army to make camp and summoned back those who were pursuing the enemy.

Keş (41b-46b). Şāh 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 Rūmili. The Ottoman troops held out well under their sorties, and in the course of the battle Sinān Paşa beheaded Ustaçlu-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.

Yā Ilāhī ḥażret-i Sultān Selīmūñ ḥaşre dek
Rūḥ-ı ḥaşmi sehm-i sehmile ola zīr-i ḳavsde
Kim Kızılbaş içre düşen ceysine ta’rīhdür
Yā Rab olervāḥ-ı pākūñ cāy, ola firdevsde.

یا رب اول ارواح پاک با ملک چار اول فردوسی ده

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 Ustaçlu-Oğlu, the troops under his command joined the wing which was led by the Şāh. [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 Şāh. The latter fled, pursued by Şahsüvar-Oğlu 'Alī Bey.

Niş (141a-145a). It commences with a description of the distribution of both armies: Selīm 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 Sinān Paşa and on his left the troops of Rūmili. The Şāh, too, divided his troops into two groups; one of which he placed under the command of the governor of Diyārbekr, Ustaclu-Oğlu, and sent against the troops of Anatolia, while he, at the head of the second group went against the Rūmili wing. The battle raged until late in the afternoon. The head of Ustaclu-Oğlu was cut off and brought to Sinān Paşa. The Şāh fled to Tebrīz. [Certain names of the dead are mentioned, as well as the incident of Taclu Hatun, the information being the same as in KPZ 9.]

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

Selīm 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 Ali b. Şahsüvār and his brother,

Tur Ali Bey, were assigned to the troops of Rūmili. 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 Çaldırān river. They drew him from his horse, and the crown fell from his head. However, certain Kızılbāş 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 Tebrīz, 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-Ođlu Ahmed Paşa, Dukagin-Ođlu Ahmed Paşa and Mustafa Paşa remained in the centre with the Sultān. In front of the troops was Şeyhsüvar-Ođlu 'Alī Bey, while the rear was held by Şādi 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 Şāh - Mirzā Sultān '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 Şāh - Ismā'īl had brought the women to the war in order to assure the constancy of the troops - The Şāh watched the end of the battle from a piece of elevated ground; and he blamed Ustaçlu-Ođlu 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 Cān, the incidents of the Şāh's flight and the capture of his wife, Taçlu Hātun.]

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 Safavids, nor does AT, 143-sqq.

Cf. GS. 82; I.H. Uzunçarsılı, OT, ii, 264-sqq and S. Tansel "Yavuz Sultan Selim" 52-62.

5. The Aftermath of the Battle (135a-136a).

KPZsn (70b-71a). The Kızılbaş prisoners were brought together and killed, nearly 10 thousand men in all. The army remained at Çaldıran for a few days, at which time gifts were distributed to the troops and all the emīrs and vezīrs had their revenues increased. In addition, the children, relatives and servants of the emīrs 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 Şāh Ismā'īl now living in Rūm.

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

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

Niṣ (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 kādī 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 Şāh was brought to Selīm, and he gave her to the Ḳādī ¹asher. 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 Çaldıran and everyone was loaded down with booty. On Thursday, the 3 of Rec., a divān was assembled and the letters of victory sent out.²

1. GS., 81;

A.D. Alderson, The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty, shows Tacılı Hātun as one of Selīm's wives.

cf. Ş. Tehindag, TD (1967) xvii, 70; also S. Tansel, 62-65.

2. Mün. 410-411.

6. Selīm's Arrival in Tebrīz (136a-138a).

KPZsn (71b-72a). After remaining a few days in Çaldırān 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

IdrSN (92b-93a). After the defeat of the Kızılbaş army, the Ottomans set off for Tebrīz by way of H̄ōy. Selīm gave orders that the country through which they passed should not be destroyed. Dukagin-Ođlu 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 Hüseyn Bey Helvacī 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 huṭbe 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 huṭbe 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 Pīri Paşa were sent ahead to secure the city. Three days after nevrūz - şālīs-i 'Id-i Nevrūz - 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 huṭbe and written on the coinage. The rites of the Şī'a were abandoned and true Islām 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 Yukarı-Sökmen, from where the army passed to Aşağı-Sökmen. At Höy a day's rest was taken; leaving here, it passed on to Bağ-Dere and Evoğlu. It was from here that Selīm sent the advance party to Tebrīz under the direction of Dukagin-Oglu, the defter-dār Piri Paşa, the sekmen-başı and 'Alī bin Şahsüvār. The army moved to Ahta-hāne " اخته خانی " and thence to Kuşcı-Çayırı. Here it remained one day. At this place a messenger arrived from the Kurdish bey, Hacı Rüstem, seeking Selīm's pardon. Selīm 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 Hacı Rüstem and his son, along with 150 of his followers.

From here the army went by way of Yamçı-gedügi to Heft-çeşme, where a certain Hālid¹ and 150 other individuals were executed. Leaving here, the road passed through Şehelān " شهرلان " 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 Tebrīz there was a high domed building from which a group of people came out to welcome Selīm. When he inquired who they were, he was told that they were a group

1. Ş. Tehindag, TD (1967) xvii, 71.

Kalenders who followed Bedī'uzzamān, a descendant of Ḥasan Baykara. While he was in power, governing Herāt and Ḥorasān, he waged war against the Kızılbaş and was defeated. He left everything and came here to a life of seclusion, and Şāh Ismā'īl had even forbidden him to mount a horse. He now came forward to greet Selīm. Selīm replied, "Tell him to return to his place, and come to me formally at my divān."

Söyleñüz varsun yine ğam-ḥāneye
 Itmesün nisbet bizi bīgāneye
 Tahta çıkmış bir selāṭīn-zādedür
 Pādişehlük eylemiş āzādedür
 Men yayan anu getürmen yanuma
 Vech ile gelsün benüm dīvānıma

Selīm gave orders that all the treasures and valuable objects in Tebrīz 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 Bedī'uzzamān came to the divān he was shown the greatest honour, being given precedence over the Paşas. He brought Selīm a copy of the Şāh-nāme as a present. Selīm 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 Bedī'uzzamān to his former position. If possible, he would give him also the rule of India and Sind. On parting, Selīm gave him numerous

presents and settled an income upon him.¹

The Kızılbaz had destroyed the mihrāb and mimber of the Ya'kūb Hān mosque. Selīm had these repaired and appointed a haṭīb and an imām. The Friday Prayer was performed there, the ḥuṭbe being read in the name of Selīm. The palace of Sultan Ya'kūb, known as the Heşt-Behişt, 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 Bedī'uzzamān was a 1000 Akçe-i 'Osmānī 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.

2. Cf. Mün, 411.

7. Selīm moves from Tebrīz to Amasya (138a-141a)

KPZ relates here the details of Bedī'uzzamān 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, Selīm, who wished to remain in Tebrīz and renew his war against the Şāh in the spring, left Tebrīz. It is specified that *two* thousand families of artists and artisans were sent to Istanbul. The Janissary kātib, Ṭāli'ī, wrote a ķit'a containing this beyt which Selīm greatly admired.

Diyār-ı nāzūk-i Rūmūñ deęer bir köyi biñ şehre
Gerekse Heşt-Bihişt olsun degişmem anı 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 bayramı. Here the army was disbanded. While Selīm was here he received the submission of Diyārbekr and certain other places. He appointed Bıyıklı Meĥmed Paşa emīr of Ḥāmid.

IdrSN (94b-95b). Selīm wished to remain in Tebrīz to bring his operations against the Şāh 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 Şāh Ismā'īl would prevent the people in the neighbouring regions from sending such provisions to Tebrīz.

On 23rd of Rec. 920, the army left Tebrīz bringing with it Mirzā Bedī'uzzamān and many families of the artisans and prominent figures of the city. On the 2nd of Şa'b camp was pitched at Nahcivān, and here the defter-dār Piri Çelebī was made a vezīr. On 8th of Şa'b Erivan was reached, and here Mustafa Paşa had the rank of vezīr taken from him. On 11th of Şa'b the army arrived at Balın (بالین); 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 Sınur, and from here troops were sent to subjugate Bayburd, which they eventually did. On the same day the fortress of Kığı was taken. On the 9th of Ram. Hersek-zade Ahmed Paşa and Dukagin-Oğlu Ahmed Paşa were deprived of the rank of Vezīr. On 5th day of Şev Amasya was reached.

Keş (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.

Süc (25a-26a). As it was not suitable to remain in Tebrīz, 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.

Niş (147a-148b). Although Selīm wanted to remain in Tebrīz, 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 Selīm took with him Bedī'uzzaman and his followers as well as the scholars and artisans of Tebrīz. The route lay through Georgia, for Selīm 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 Nahcivān; as the people were heretics (rafa'izī), looting was allowed. On 8th of Şa'b Revān was reached, and here, too, looting was allowed. On this day Muştafā 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 (اویسی) on 25th of Şa'b. Piri Paşa replaced Muştafā Paşa as vezir. On 6th of Ram camp was pitched on the plain of Sınur, and with the exception of 2000 Janissaries the whole army was disbanded. The cities of Bayburd and Kığı were conquered and garrisoned by the Janissaries. On 9th of Ram. at a place called چایر کرکیت Hersek-Oğlu Ahmed Paşa and Duhagın-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 Selīm remained there with his household troops.

Şük (102a-108a). At the onset of the cold weather, Selīm 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 Şāh Ismā‘īl to an end. On leaving Tebrīz, Selīm 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 Nahcivān, camp was made at Karabağ Köyü. Selīm 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 Selīm had been very annoyed with Mirza Çapuğ, 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 Kilesi 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 Rūmili 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. Selīm 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 Sulṭān.

When the army passed Bayburd and arrived at Üçkilise the army was disbanded. The next halt was at Sınur, and while here Bayburd was made a sancak and given to Bıyıklı Mehmed Paşa; Trabzon, Karaḥiṣār and Erzincān were made subject to it. At a place called Dayı Şeyḫi "داى شېخى" the people came and complained that the soldiers had been destroying the villages. Selīm placed the responsibility for this on Hersek-zāde and Duhagin-zade, both of whom he deprived of their vezīrship. Bayram was celebrated at Niksar, and on the 2nd of Şev. Amasya was reached. Selīm sent Sinān Paşa to winter in Ankara, to return again in the spring for another campaign. On entering Amasya, Selīm was met by Şahsüvar-Oğlu 'Alī Bey, to whom he gave all the territories of the Dulḳadır.

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.

1. Mün. II, 411-412.

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