

Solṭān Solaymān Comes to Iran a Second Time, and Ghazālī is Captured by His Majesty the Shadow of God

When word arrived at the royal court that Solṭān Salim had killed Solṭān Qānṣaw and taken Ghazālī the Arab into his service, Shāh Esmā'il wrote a royal edict naming Div Solṭān his deputy and granting him supreme command of the army as well as the governorship of Diyārbakr province. His Majesty then dismissed him and sent him on his way there.

Div Solṭān had been in Diyārbakr for four years [*sic*] when spies brought him the news that Solṭān Solaymān and Ghazālī were on the way. Div Solṭān then wrote a letter describing the situation and sent it to Shāh Esmā'il. In reply, His Majesty sent back a message which read, "When the enemy enters Diyārbakr province, postpone the battle, for we are coming there hard on the heels of this royal letter." He then set off along with eighteen thousand men who were already prepared and in the saddle.

When Solṭān Solaymān, Ghazālī, and the Anatolian army crossed into Ādharbāyjān, Şufiyān Khalifeh sent someone to Div Solṭān asking what he wanted done. Div Solṭān responded that he believed it was best if he evacuated his citadel, packed up the households and belongings, and went to Diyārbakr. So Şufiyān did so.

Ghazālī soon arrived with his army and took possession of the citadel; from there he proceeded to take the fortress of Kharput as well. To make a long story short, every citadel they went to had already been evacuated in accordance with the orders of the Shāh, and the governors of those citadels had gone to gather in Diyārbakr. Whenever Solṭān Solaymān and Ghazālī seized a fortress, they would send a letter to Solṭān Salim announcing their "victory." Solṭān Salim wanted to send pāshās and install them as governors in the various citadels, but Ghazālī told him, "Appointing governors is not proper until we have taken Diyārbakr."

When they reached Qarāḥamid, Aḥmad Solṭān sent someone to Div Solṭān stating his intention to fight. Div Solṭān sent a reply that said, "His Majesty the Shāh has ordered that we refrain from fighting until he arrives. But it is up to you whether or not to listen to the orders of the Perfect Guide!"

Aḥmad Solṭān saw no choice but to leave Qarāḥamid and go to Diyārbakr, after which Ghazālī and Solṭān Solaymān arrived and seized the place. All in all, there were forty-two citadels in the hands of the Qezelbāsh, and as they evacuated each one without a fight, the Anatolians took over all of them.

Div Solṭān kept saying, "O friends, does the enemy know that the Perfect Guide has given us an order not to fight? They have conquered the whole region, and there is no way to get rid of them now."

Ghazāli, having conquered all those fortresses, at first boasted to himself that the Qezelbāsh had no business thinking they were any kind of match for him. But then he thought, "The refusal of the Qezelbāsh to fight is surely not without cause." Thus, when he was three days' journey from Diyārbakr, he sent a spy ahead to establish for certain why the Qezelbāsh were not coming out to fight, but were abandoning their fortresses and going to Diyārbakr. In the meantime, he and Solṭān Solaymān waited right where they were.

The spy penetrated Div Solṭān's camp, where he saw Div Solṭān sitting alongside the Qezelbāsh amirs like a gloomy demon outside the citadel of Diyārbakr; he was saying that he wanted to go to Qarāḥamid and fight Ghazāli and the Anatolians, but couldn't. Just then a runner came from the Shāh's royal camp with a message for Div Solṭān. It said that His Majesty had ordered him not to fight if Ghazāli came, and even if they were spearpoint-to-spearpoint with the enemy, to stop fighting upon receipt of this letter and to wait for His Majesty's arrival.

Div Solṭān said, "Our enemies do not know that the Perfect Guide has ordered me not to fight; they will think I am afraid of them!" Much distressed, he gathered his men and went into the citadel.

The spy then returned to Ghazāli and reported what he had seen and heard. Ghazāli said, "I have heard, and know for myself, that the Qezelbāsh quail before no one in the world, and that God Almighty created no fear in their hearts." He then packed up and moved with his men to within three leagues of Diyārbakr, where he made camp.

When Div Solṭān received word that they had come, he emerged from the citadel with the mighty Qezelbāsh army and set up his tents and encampment directly opposite the enemy army. Ghazāli then said, "I want to observe the Qezelbāsh and Div Solṭān from afar." He went with a few men to the top of a hill and began to watch. Div Solṭān, as well, took Aḥmad Solṭān and some of the Qezelbāsh solṭāns and went to the top of a different hill to observe the Anatolians.

Ghazāli then said to someone, "Isn't that Div Solṭān observing the troops from that hill?" He left by himself to go to Div Solṭān. When Div Solṭān saw Ghazāli coming toward him, he said, "If this Arab is coming to fight me, I should flee and say that the Perfect Guide forbids me to fight him and will not accept it if I do." He thus began walking over to Ghazāli.

When the two men came near to each other, Div Solṭān beheld a wondrous Arab youth, next to whose valor he saw himself as but a goldfinch standing

beside a lion. He had only just laid eyes on him when Ghazāli came forward and greeted him. Div Solṭān was ashamed and said (as great men have said):

When the proud show humble courtesy, it is good breeding;
If a beggar is humble, it is only because it is his nature.¹

To make a long story short, after much conversation, they agreed not to fight for another week; the two armies would remain where they were until then. The two men then returned to their respective camps.

When the appointed date arrived, Ghazāli ordered that the war-drums be beaten. Div Solṭān said to his men, "O friends, tomorrow morning there will be a battle, but our sovereign has not joined us yet. I don't know what to do."

At that very moment someone came with the good news that His Majesty the Shāh was about to arrive in pomp and glory. This news cheered Div Solṭān greatly, and he ordered that the war-drums be beaten and distributed pay and equipment to the troops.

Morning came. Each of those armies of doomsday stirred from its place, and the ranks of battle and strife were arrayed. Ghazāli proceeded to the battlefield, and Div Solṭān could not but do the same. Just then the battle-flag of "Help from God and speedy victory" appeared in the distance. The Qezelbāsh officers went out to welcome their Shāh and kiss his royal feet. His Majesty then joined them in returning to their positions. He stopped his horse at the edge of the battlefield and waited.

When Ghazāli looked in Shāh Esmā'il's direction, a feeling of complete devotion filled his heart; he said to himself, "Is this Shaykh-oghli, who has come to do battle with you, and is that his servant standing in the battlefield waiting to fight?" He rode up to Div Solṭān and, holding his spear in his hand like a cane, he struck him on the shoulder so hard that Div Solṭān's feet came out of their stirrups. He fell to the ground, and a great clamor went up.

Seeing this kindled Shāh Esmā'il's wrath, and he charged onto the battlefield. When Ghazāli saw him coming, he turned to face him and said, "Are you here to fight or to give advice?"

Shāh Esmā'il replied, "Here comes my first piece of advice; if you don't hear it, you will surely see it!"

Ghazāli then said to himself, "Truly Shaykh-oghli is a scion of the Commander of the Faithful!" And even though he had become a devoted servant

¹ From Sa'di's *Bustān*, with slight alterations; cf. *Bustān-e Shaykh Moṣlehoddin Sa'di Shirāzi* (Tehran: Alhoda, 1371), p. 15.

and Şufi of His Majesty, he wanted very much to demonstrate his bravery to him. So he said, "O Shaykh-oghli, I would engage in spear-play with you."

Shāh Esmā'il agreed to this and snatched up his spear. Ghazāli picked up his own, and they began to fight. Shāh Esmā'il thrust his spear into Ghazāli's belt-loop and, with a cry of "O 'Ali, help," he lifted him from the saddle, as big and brave as he was, and hurled him to the ground.

"Bind his hands," he said to Div Solţān.

Div Solţān was about to tie Ghazāli's hands behind his back when His Majesty said, "Tie his hands in front of him, for he is one of my Şufis."

At this, Ghazāli said to himself, "The Perfect Guide is telling the secrets of my heart!"

Shāh Esmā'il then said to Div Solţān, "Take Ghazāli to my tent and watch over him with respect. I will return after I capture Solţān Solaymān." Ghazāli cried out, "This slave has a couple of words to offer! I have heard that the Perfect Guide has never attended to a defeated soldier, and now he has 'taken shelter in my bravery' and come to me. Now, in the name of the holy Commander of the Faithful, and as a sacrifice to your own blessed head, let this least of your servants take the blame for the wrongs of Solţān Solaymān and the Anatolians."

Shāh Esmā'il replied, "We had something else in mind, but now we will pardon their offenses in your name." Then he returned to his glorious royal court. Ghazāli was brought, hands bound, in His Majesty's train.

The Shāh said to him, "O Ghazāli, I am obviously not unaware of the fact that you are a devoted Şufi, but I will only accept it when you curse the enemies of the Commander of the Faithful and take the immaculate Emāms as your friends."

Ghazāli at once cursed and reviled the enemies of the Faith and proclaimed his friendship with the Emāms. Shāh Esmā'il then removed the blazing crown from his own blessed head and placed it on Ghazāli's. He also presented him with a royal robe of honor.

Now when Solţān Solaymān saw what had happened with Ghazāli, he returned to Āmāsyeh with a thousand disappointments. As for the forty-two citadels they had taken from the Qezelbāsh, the Anatolians abandoned them and returned home, and the Qezelbāsh solţāns all went back and retook their respective fortresses.

After that, the Shāh told Ghazāli, "I hereby grant you Shushtar and Hovayzeh and Dezfūl and Kuh-e Kiluyeh all the way to Bandar 'Abbās, and from there to the edge of the Strait of Başra and to the border of Lār and Shirāz, which was once the seat of four pādeshāhs." Ghazāli kissed the royal foot and was honored with splendid robes of honor and a Qezelbāsh *tāj* and turban and a belt

and a jewelled sword. He then was installed in that region, and now, when these pages are being written—which is the year 1086 [1675–76]—the descendants of Ghazāli are still the ruling governors there.

Now back when Solṭān Salim heard about the successive victories of Ghazāli and Solṭān Solaymān and their conquest of numerous citadels, he swelled up with pride and was confident that he would conquer Iran. Now, though, as he learned about Ghazāli's capture, his conversion to Shi'ism, and his decision to become a servant of the Shāh, as well as about His Majesty's bestowal upon him of a region of four pādeshāhs, Solṭān Salim was driven to the limits of anguish and agitation. "What kind of fortune is this that God Almighty has granted to Shaykh-oghli?!" he said.

He then inquired into the forty-two citadels his men had taken and was told that the Qezelbāsh had taken them back. Solṭān Salim thought deeply for a while; then he ordered that a letter be written to Ghazāli's son Ghazāli-oghli that read, "Your father has betrayed us and gone over to the service of Shaykh-oghli. When you get this letter, come to the court of the House of 'Othmān and we will give your father's place to you. You will drown in our benevolence, and your father will envy the favors we grant you."

When Ghazāli-oghli received this letter, he wrote in reply, "When my father was in the service of Solṭān Qānṣaw, my heart was penetrated by love for the house of Shaykh Ṣafioddin Eshāq. Now my father is a Ṣufi and a true-blue Shi'i, a partisan of the Commander of the Faithful in the service of the Perfect Guide. How, then, can I come to you?" He gave this message to the Solṭān's messenger and left.

Ghazāli himself, too, wrote to his son thus: "O my son, in recent times we had truly gone astray; praise and gratitude be to God that we have now, via the Perfect Guide, gotten securely onto the path of the lawful rite of the 'Alid house. Now then, when you get this letter, gather all the Arabs and their families and set off to join the court of the scion of the Commander of the Faithful." Shāh Esmā'il, too, wrote few words in his own blessed hand to Ghazāli-oghli and the Arab tribes.

Upon receiving these messages, Ghazāli-oghli summoned all the Arab grandees and enticed them with the two letters. When the grandees saw the handwriting and royal seal of His Majesty the Shāh, they all prostrated themselves, then took that blessed writing and rubbed it on their eyes.

"Are you Ṣufi followers of the Perfect Guide?" asked Ghazāli-oghli.

They replied, "We have never seen His Majesty. We inherited our devotion to him from our fathers." And they immediately went and retrieved a set of Qezelbāsh *tājes*, which they placed on their heads.

Ghazāli-oghli said, "How did you hear about this from your fathers?"

They explained, “When our fathers were in the service of Solṭān Anas [i.e. Bāyazīd I] of Rum,² Amir Timur rose to power and came to this region. He fought against Solṭān Anas, and in the battle both the Solṭān and our fathers were captured. Amir Timur vowed he would take the Solṭān and our fathers to Samarqand and to place them all in servitude there. But then he left this region and went to Ardabil, and there he met Seyyed Khwājeh ‘Ali the Black-Clad. The Khwājeh treated him nobly, and in turn, Amir Timur placed his hand on the Khwājeh’s skirt in devotion and made himself one of his servants. ‘O guide,’ he said, beseeching him, ‘command this slave to perform a service.’ The Khwājeh refused, but after much imploring, he finally said, ‘You must release the Anatolian prisoners and Solṭān Anas.’ Amir Timur did so, turning them over to the Khwājeh, who in turn freed them from servitude and let them go. Thereafter our fathers put the ring of bondage to the Khwājeh in their ears. Since then, generation after generation has passed down this trust to their sons: ‘Do not lift your hand from the skirt of this exalted house, and you will be honored in this world and the next.’ We are all Ṣufi-born sons of this lofty dynasty.”

“What must I say to become a Ṣufi as well?” asked Ghazāli-oghli.

“First you must befriend the People of the House of the Prophet,” they replied.

“Who are the enemies of the House of the Prophet of God?”

“Abu Bakr and ‘Omar and ‘Othmān, may God curse them.”

Ghazāli-oghli then cursed the enemies of the Faith and, with the hand of trust, he grasped the strong rope of the Immaculate Emāms. He had a Qezelbāsh *tāj* sewn for himself and was about to put it on his head when the Arab grandees said, “Given this oath you have sworn, the Solṭān will never let us go back to Iran. We need to migrate to Diyārbakr, which is the land of the Qezelbāsh. After that, you are free to do as you choose.” Ghazāli-oghli agreed to this, and they all got busy preparing to move.

Solṭān Salim had appointed a spy with orders to let him know if Ghazāli-oghli ever decided to make a move. Now, when the spy learned that Ghazāli-oghli and the Arabs were getting ready to move, he hurried back to the Solṭān to report it. Solṭān Salim then wrote several letters to his commanders in the area, telling them to prevent Ghazāli-oghli from leaving and to fill him with hope of promises from the Solṭān. Failing that, they were to kill his men and bring him back in chains as a prisoner to the imperial court.

Meanwhile, Ghazāli-oghli had made his preparations and set off with twelve thousand Arab households. They had traveled three days from Damascus when Ghazāli-oghli said to the Arab grandees, “You need to drop some baggage and

² See Chapter 5.

travel faster, for we have a battle with the Anatolians before us." So they left some possessions behind and kept moving.

As they were approaching Aleppo, word reached the son of Khayroddin Pāshā, who was called Khayroddin II, that they were coming. He came out of the city at the head of thirty thousand men and demanded that Ghazāli-oghli present a letter from the Solṭān justifying his presence.

Ghazāli-oghli said, "I am going to join my father. You may desire battle, but we do not, for we have benefited from the Solṭān's hospitality and should not draw our swords against him, lest people call us ungrateful. Now do not block our way, but let us go. If you don't, we are not concerned about this army of yours."

Khayroddin II refused, and a great battle immediately broke out, such that in two hours seven thousand Anatolians were killed and Khayroddin II fled back to the city in defeat. He wrote to Ramazān-oghli of Egypt, saying, "We fought with Ghazāli-oghli, but we accomplished nothing and had to return to the city. Hurry and raise an army and come before they get away and the House of 'Othmān is left with this shame." Ghazāli-oghli, in the meantime, packed up and left.

When Ramazān-oghli received Khayroddin II's letter, he gathered thirty thousand men of his own, slaves and desert-dwelling Arabs, and made his way to Aleppo. There he picked up Khayroddin II and together they went in pursuit of Ghazāli-oghli.

When Ghazāli-oghli learned that they were coming, he began to fret, fearing the loss of his harem. He then asked his advisors whether there was a secure fortress around to which they could send their households and treasure. They replied, "Three days' distance from here there is a fortress called Zamāt. It will be best if we capture it by a clever trick rather than by force."

"Then we must come up with a plan," Ghazāli-oghli replied.

Some experienced men said, "We will send some of our people in the guise of tradesmen; you lie in wait."

The "tradesmen" then went to the fortress. It so happened that the arrow of their intention hit its target, and within a short time they had captured the fortress. Ghazāli-oghli went with his army and expelled the fortress governor and three hundred of his men, then moved his own possessions in and settled down to rule there.

Upon learning that Ghazāli-oghli had captured the fortress of Zamāt, Ramazān-oghli gathered forty thousand men and marched them there. Ghazāli-oghli readied his own troops and went out one league to meet the enemy. To his men he said, "We have gone out this far from the fortress so that you

do not pin your hopes on its walls. Know that we must fight like men, and our battlefield shall be this very spot.”

Then Khayroddin II and Ramazān-oghli arrived and inquired as to the situation. They were told, “Ghazāli-oghli has come to fight.” Khayroddin II and Ramazān-oghli replied, “They have moved into the fortress of Zamāt so that their women will not fall into anyone else’s hands if they are defeated in battle.” They then made camp. Each of them separately sent Solṭān Salim’s letter of enticement to Ghazāli-oghli, but he refused each attempt, and the matter came down to battle.

Ghazāli-oghli and his twelve thousand mounted Bedouin Arabs plunged into the Anatolian ranks, and within a short time they had killed eighteen thousand enemy soldiers. Ramazān-oghli was taken prisoner, while Khayroddin II fled, wounded, with the remnants of his army. Ghazāli-oghli plundered the Anatolians’ belongings and returned to the fortress.

News of these events reached Solṭān Salim. He wrote to Dhulfeqār Pāshā, the governor of Āmāsyeh, saying, “Take a mighty army, seize Ghazāli-oghli wherever he may be, and send him to my court.” Then he ordered Farhād Pāshā and Shahsovār Pāshā to go to Zamāt with eighty thousand men.

Dhulfeqār Pāshā gathered his men and marched off. He quickly arrived at the foot of the fortress and setting up camp. For three days no one said a word. After three days, Dhulfeqār Pāshā sent someone to Ghazāli-oghli with this message: “Why have you disobeyed the Solṭān and behaved so boorishly?”

Ghazāli-oghli replied to this message with battle. In other words, he emerged from the fortress and fighting broke out between his men and the Anatolians. After much slaughter, the enemy was defeated; nearly ten or fifteen thousand men were killed, and the survivors turned and fled.

Now one Dhulqadr Pāshā, who had come to the battle with Dhulfeqār Pāshā, was captured by Ghazāli-oghli, who later released him and sent him on his way. When he reached the shore of the river Darnā, he spotted Farhād Pāshā and Shahsovār Pāshā there, and he explained to them what had happened.

Farhād Pāshā said, “I will get even with him for you by capturing him in battle and sending him as a prisoner in chains to the court of the Solṭān!”

Shahsovār Pāshā added, “Say, ‘God willing!’” Then they packed up and got moving.

Ghazāli-oghli got word that the pāshās were coming. He intended to go forth and fight them, but the Arab elders said, “God be praised, we have sufficient provisions to hold out. The fortress is strong, and these hundred thousand powerful men will have to besiege it with great effort before we feel the effects. After that, go out to fight, and let whatever God has decreed come to pass.” Ghazāli-oghli agreed to this.

Farhād Pāshā and Shahsovār Pāshā soon arrived with their mighty army and set up camp at the foot of the fortress. They laid siege to it for three months without achieving any progress. Their provisions ran out, and it reached the point where the soldiers were making do with the meat of camels and horses.

Farhād Pāshā said, "Obviously some of the men are not willing to capture Ghazāli-oghli; they are collaborating with Shaykh-oghli."

Dhulqadr Pāshā realized that Farhād Pāshā meant him, so he just said, "You are right. We have been sitting here for three months in vain. Tomorrow morning, we must make an assault on the fortress and upend it entirely."

Farhād Pāshā praised him, but in their hearts the two men were not being sincere with each other. Still, they decided to make the assault, and they made preparations for it.

Dhulqadr Pāshā wrote a note about the impending attack, attached it to an arrow, and shot it over the wall into the fortress. It said, "Fate has slandered us for our friendship with the House of Shaykh Ṣafi and you. Tomorrow they are going to launch an assault on the fortress. Our troops will deliberately aim their arrows too high; you watch out for our men when you rain down arrows and musket-shots."

Someone found the arrow and delivered the message to Ghazāli-oghli. Pleased, he issued an order forbidding his men to fire on the troops of Dhulqadr Pāshā. When morning came, he ordered five thousand men to stay and fight from the top of the fortress. He then led the rest out the front gate and, with a cry of manliness, they began to fight, killing almost ten thousand Anatolians.

The two sides fought until afternoon, and sixty or seventy thousand of Ghazāli-oghli's men were killed. By Dhulqadr's orders, though, his men secretly turned their swords on the Anatolians as well, and they killed most of them. As the day ended, Ghazāli-oghli went back inside the fortress, shut the gate fast, and got back to withstanding the siege.

Farhād Pāshā said, "Today Dhulqadr Pāshā's troops killed more Anatolians than Arabs!"

"What arrant nonsense!" Dhulqadr Pāshā retorted. "We would never lend assistance to schismatics!"

The next day, the Anatolians once more launched an attack on the fortress. Ghazāli-oghli meant to go out and fight, but the Arab elders held him back, first killing many Anatolians with gunfire from the rooftop. Only after that did Ghazāli-oghli launch his attack. His troops charged at the Anatolians, plunging into the midst of the enemy ranks and fighting courageously. They moved toward the side where Dhulqadr Pāshā's men were. This day, Dhulqadr Pāshā's men were unable to kill Anatolians, but they were not worried about Ghazāli-

oghli, sure that he would have no quarrel with them. Ghazāli-oghli did indeed charge right past them, where he killed nearly seven thousand more of the enemy. Khayroddin II was wounded and carried off the battlefield on a litter in the direction of Aleppo. Ghazāli-oghli called off the fighting and went back inside the fortress. Farhād Pāshā later wrote a petition to Solṭān Salim on the subject of the battle in which he explained what had happened and blamed Dhulqadr Pāshā for the defeat.

Ghazāli-oghli, meanwhile, back inside the fortress, was looking after his men. Noticing that supplies were low, he said to himself, "If the House of Shaykh Ṣafi is in the right, and if what people say about it is true, then the Anatolians will be gone in three days. This is because this may be Anatolia, but we have no shelter and no refuge save in the Almighty and in the house of the holy Commander of the Faithful." And three days later, through the power of the Creator, the Anatolians were filled with fright and packed up and left for no apparent reason.

Ghazāli-oghli gave thanks to God and was completely confirmed in his faith in the House of Shaykh Ṣafioḍdin Eshāq. He got ready and, a week later, set out on the road to Ādharbāyjan along with his Arab troops. They met with no obstacles, and when the first day of spring came, they had reached the shore of the river Darnā. The water was exceedingly high, and the Anatolians had destroyed the bridge and wrecked the ferry-boats, so there was no way to get across.

Ghazāli-oghli fell to praying to the Judge of Needs; he implored the Commander of the Faithful and the House of Shaykh Ṣafioḍdin Eshāq to help him. Then he said, "We must wait here until the water level recedes somewhat; perhaps then we will be able to cross."

Three days later, a letter from Dhulqadr Pāshā in Darnā fortress arrived. It said, "It does you no good to sit there patiently. The Anatolians have destroyed the boats by order of Solṭān Salim. Order your men to follow you as you take ten thousand men to the fortress of Bayāneh, which is controlled by Eskandar Khān. Keep going, for Eskandar Khān has tied up some boats on the shore of the Darnā. You can cross the river in them."

Ghazāli-oghli was greatly cheered by this news. He gathered ten thousand men and ordered the rest of the army to bring up the rear. They set off and when they arrived, they found the boats ready. Ghazāli-oghli crossed the river, then his men came behind him. In short, they all got across the river. Once across, Ghazāli-oghli immediately sent word to His Majesty Shāh Esmā'īl and to his own father, Ghazāli.

Meanwhile, in Qarāḥamid, Aḥmad Solṭān Qājār learned that Ghazāli-oghli was coming. He came out to greet him, leading him into the city with utmost

honors and respect. After much feasting and ceremony, Aḥmad Solṭān accompanied him for the first day of his journey onward. When Ghazāli-oghli and his people had come within three days' journey of Diyārbakr, 'Abdollah Khān got wind of their arrival. 'Abdollah Khān, now eleven years old, put on his Qezelbāsh crown and turban and went out to meet Ghazāli-oghli like a fierce lion. He brought him into Diyārbakr with full honors, and they got busy feasting. They then sent a letter to Shāh Esmā'il.

His Majesty, along with his commanders and eighty thousand men, had been waiting for Solṭān Salim at the plain of Chālderān for some time.³ The letter that Ghazāli-oghli had sent from the shore of the river Darnā now arrived; the Shāh had just ordered that a letter be written to 'Abdollah Khān in Diyārbakr when the latter's message arrived at the foot of His Majesty's caliphate-sheltering throne.

Shāh Esmā'il told Div Solṭān to prepare a reception, then sent royal robes of honor to Ghazāli-oghli and the Arab elders. Div Solṭān kissed the royal foot and said, "Ghazāli-oghli is not worthy of being met by me, who am commander-in-chief of Iran."

"That Ṣufi is a son to me," replied the Shāh. "He swore allegiance to me without even having seen me. I should be going out to greet him myself, but instead I am sending you." Div Solṭān kissed the royal foot once more as the Shāh added, "Let the boy 'Abdollah Khān join Ghazāli-oghli as well in coming to our royal court."

So Div Solṭān set off, and when he reached the place where Ghazāli-oghli was, he received him as ordered. Then Ghazāli-oghli and the Arab elders put on the robes of honor Shāh Esmā'il had sent them, and together with Div Solṭān and 'Abdollah Khān and Maḥmud Solṭān and the Arab soldiers, they all headed to the world-sheltering royal court.

Now Ghazāli-oghli had kept careful tabs on his expenses, as well as those of his twelve thousand soldiers, and over the entire journey no one had been able to spend even a dinar on rest or entertainment. All the way from Diyārbakr to Chālderān, they had spent nearly twenty thousand tumāns of their money on the immediate needs of Ghazāli-oghli and the army. Therefore, when they got to within four leagues of Shāh Esmā'il's royal encampment, Div Solṭān wrote a petition explaining the situation to His Majesty, and when the Shāh read it, he sent the entire Qezelbāsh army out to welcome them. His Majesty himself also went forth with the intention of going on a hunt; he took Ghazāli with him, and they got busy hunting together.

³ Expecting a rematch, apparently.

When Ghazāli-oghli and the Arabs saw what kind of welcome was being offered to them, they all planted a fresh sapling of love for the House of Shaykh Ṣafioddin Eshāq in their hearts and rejoiced. As they drew near, Shāh Esmā'il, out hunting, sent his commanders to greet them. To Ghazāli he said, "Send one of the Arabs to your son to tell him to come to me with the Arab elders, and we will head off to the royal encampment together."

When the messenger reached Ghazāli-oghli and told him what His Majesty had said, Ghazāli-oghli said, "Let the soldiers pack up and head for the royal court." He himself gathered the elders and was about to go when the troops and people of the harem and servants all cried out, "We do not have the strength to go anywhere without first going to the Perfect Guide!"

Ghazāli-oghli said, "The Perfect Guide has ordered thus!" But the Arabs were all fired up with enthusiasm and left without Ghazāli-oghli's permission, saying, "If you prevent us from seeing the Perfect Guide, we will turn around and leave."

"O friends," said Ghazāli-oghli, "you are free to choose."

In the end, Ghazāli-oghli and his soldiers and dependents and household-members all went together to see His Majesty the Shāh. Over at the hunting-ground, Ghazāli saw a huge cloud of dust rising; you would have said a hundred thousand warriors were approaching. He asked an Arab what was going on. The man explained what had transpired between the Arabs and Ghazāli's son, and said that they were all coming to see the Perfect Guide.

Shāh Esmā'il then asked what that Arab had said, and Ghazāli told him. His Majesty then said:

If there is no attraction on the part of the beloved,
The hapless lover's efforts will be in vain.

Shāh Esmā'il then approached Ghazāli-oghli. When he drew near, Ghazāli-oghli and the Arab elders all dismounted and prostrated themselves; they also circumambulated His Majesty three times. Ghazāli-oghli was going to kiss the royal foot, but Shāh Esmā'il stopped him, and as that youth passed under his alchemical gaze, he observed how wondrously manly he was.

The Shāh was going to dismount himself, but Ghazāli came forward and said, "By God, do not dismount, for this lad is one of His Majesty's servants." Shāh Esmā'il treated Ghazāli-oghli with affection and asked him about the difficulties of his journey. Ghazāli-oghli told His Majesty everything that had happened. Then Ghazāli dismounted and allowed the Arab elders to kiss the royal foot, after which His Majesty turned his attention to them and offered them comfort.

In the end, all the Arab soldiers and the people of the harem and their children and servants treated their visit to the Shāh like a pilgrimage. His Majesty put their beliefs to a test, which they passed with flying colors. Afterwards, they left the hunting-ground and returned in pomp and glory to the felicitous royal court. There Shāh Esmā'il asked Ghazāli-oghli about Solṭān Salim, and Ghazāli-oghli told him what he knew about the sieges and the battles and the favor done for him by Dhulqadr Pāshā. His Majesty showered praise on him. A few days later he ordered the Arab soldiers to take their families and go to Shushtar and Ḥovayzeh, while Ghazāli-oghli and his son and family were to remain.

It had occurred to the oceanic royal mind that Solṭān Salim would likely not invade Iran that year. So he sent a spy to gather information, thinking that if Solṭān Salim was in Āmāsyeh, His Majesty would order emergency preparations in Ādharbāyjān, and if not, he would release the royal army from duty. The spy went to Āmāsyeh and returned with the news that the Solṭān was in Istanbul, and also that Valad Khān Beg, the son of Dhulqadr Pāshā, had reviewed his troops and was on his way to His Majesty's royal court. The Shāh asked the spy whether he knew why Valad Khān was coming.

The spy then related the following story:

After Ghazāli-oghli went to the world-sheltering royal court of the Shāh, Solṭān Salim commanded Farhād Pāshā and Shahsovār Pāshā and Dhulqadr Pāshā to go and seize him, and after the fighting and Dhulqadr Pāshā's show of affection to Ghazāli-oghli and the subsequent defeat of the Solṭān's pāshās and their army, Ghazāli-oghli was taken to the royal court, which stories he himself has explained in detail.

In the wake of all that, Farhād Pāshā wrote Solṭān Salim a letter complaining about Dhulqadr Pāshā, and the Solṭān wrote back telling Farhād Pāshā to kill Dhulqadr Pāshā and bring his head to the Ottoman court. Farhād Pāshā received this letter, but he was unable to kill Dhulqadr Pāshā out in the open, so he wrote him a short letter saying, "They have informed Solṭān Salim of the mistake Khayroddin II made in fighting Ghazāli-oghli, leaving in a huff as he did. The Solṭān wants me to go with you to Aleppo, kill Khayroddin II, and stay there to await further orders."

Having received this letter, Dhulqadr Pāshā was preparing to go when his son Valad Khān said, "What Farhād Pāshā is doing is laying a trap! You know what things you did during the battle with Ghazāli-oghli; undoubtedly Farhād Pāshā has complained about you to the Solṭān."

"I have done nothing wrong," Dhulqadr Pāshā replied; "I will go so that no one gets suspicious."

"As God is my witness," insisted Valad Khān, "Farhād Pāshā will kill you!"

Dhulqadr Pāshā then sent a messenger to Farhād Pāshā to ask him to come to them, and after a few days together, they could visit the topic of the letter of Soltān Salim and put into effect what it commanded. When he got this message, Farhād Pāshā sent his own messenger with the reply that Dhulqadr Pāshā should hurry up and come to him, for he was desperate to meet with him, and it was only proper that the obligation to come fell on him who needed to be seen.

Dhulqadr Pāshā, who was something of a simpleton, accepted this reasoning and set off. When he arrived, they first spent some time discussing the journey, and Dhulqadr Pāshā mentioned how his son Valad Khān had tried to stop him. Farhād Pāshā's enmity toward Valad Khān now came to the fore. The next day, he pretended to be ill and sent someone to Dhulqadr Pāshā to say, "I had intended to come see you, but my ailments have gotten the better of me. Won't you come here so that we can converse?" So Dhulqadr Pāshā and ten or fifteen of his men showed up at Farhād Pāshā's tent. Farhād Pāshā said, "Soltān Salim has sent a letter that must be read in private." Dhulqadr Pāshā thus sent all his men outside. All at once Farhād Pāshā produced Soltān Salim's letter demanding Dhulqadr Pāshā's death, at which his men rushed into the tent and killed Dhulqadr Pāshā.

When Valad Khān learned of his father's death, he was just on his way to arm himself and mount his horse when Farhād Pāshā and his army came crashing down on him and they all began to fight. Valad Khān fought valiantly, but since the Anatolians were too many to count, he was in a tight spot. He was forced to abandon all his baggage and possessions and flee with his household in the direction of Qarāḥamid. He sent someone ahead to Aḥmad Soltān Qājār to say, "I intend to go to the court of the Shāh, for such-and-such has befallen me. Farhād Pāshā will be right behind me. Raise an army and come help me!"

When this message reached Aḥmad Soltān, he immediately raised an army and marched off. Meanwhile, Farhād Pāshā sent two of his generals in pursuit of Valad Khān, then gathered his own men and brought up the rear. When Valad Khān reached the shore of the river Pareh-juk, the troops sent by Farhād Pāshā caught up to him. They had surrounded him when Aḥmad Soltān Qājār arrived with his men and fighting broke out. To make a long story short, Aḥmad Soltān defeated the Anatolians, and Valad Khān made it to Qarāḥamid before Farhād Pāshā could catch him.

The spy had just finished presenting this story to the royal hearing when Aḥmad Soltān's report on the situation arrived at the foot of the throne. Shāh Esmā'īl ordered a reply written in which Valad Khān was summoned to the royal court. Aḥmad Soltān provided Valad Khān with supplies and sent him on his way.

Valad Khān reached the Shāh's court and kissed the royal foot, and Ghazālī-oghli told His Majesty all about Valad Khān's father Dhulqadr Pāshā, saying, "If it weren't for the favor shown us by Dhulqadr Pāshā, these slaves would not have been able to come to the royal service, for we would have been prisoners of the Anatolians." Then Valad Khān presented all kinds of gifts to His Majesty the Shāh, who said, "O Valad Khān, you said Farhād Pāshā pillaged all your baggage and carried it off. Where, then, did you get all these gifts?"

Valad Khān replied, "When we were coming to the court of the Perfect Guide after being looted by Farhād Pāshā, we came across a caravan of Franks and Anatolians and Hindus and Persians. We drew our swords and killed everyone but the Persians, then seized their goods."

Shāh Esmā'il was terribly disturbed to hear this. "What outrageous thing have you done to those people?" he demanded. He was getting ready to punish Valad Khān when Ghazālī-oghli said to his father, "If it hadn't been for this man's father, we would have fallen into the hands of the Anatolians. You have to intercede on his behalf!"

So Ghazālī stood up and beseeched His Majesty, saying, "Valad Khān thought that the property of infidels would be lawful for the partisans of the Commander of the Faithful. Now this slave implores you to overlook the fault of that servant."

After much discussion, Shāh Esmā'il spared Valad Khān for Ghazālī's sake. But he demanded a list of everyone in Valad Khān's army who had killed people in the caravan. After Valad Khān wrote it, His Majesty ordered them all put to death.

Meanwhile, Solṭān Salim had moved out from Istanbul at the head of a colossal army and marched as far as Āmāsyeh, where he prepared his troops with ample provisions. They all set off with the intention of invading Iran and doing battle with Shāh Esmā'il. They had gone two days' journey when they reached a spot where the mountains touched the sky and the ground was like the garden of Eram, full of roses and tulips and violets. There were also various kinds of wild animals and birds to hunt in those hills. Solṭān Salim liked that place very much, and he decided to send Solṭān Solaymān and five thousand men ahead in the vanguard while he himself stayed behind for ten days to enjoy himself.

At the end of those ten days, he decided to go hunting one last time. As he formed the intention to do one last hunt in that place, Fate heard him at last and said, as it prepared to overwhelm him, "Yes. It will be the first and last thing you do."

Solṭān Salim took a few officers and companions and went off to hunt with a sparrowhawk. After catching many partridges, Solṭān Salim once more

launched the sparrowhawk after a partridge in the hills, and the partridge flew up the mountain with the sparrowhawk in hot pursuit. Solṭān Salim, too, dismounted and ran like a madman up the mountain. Just then he thought to himself, "After I conquer Ādharbāyjān and enter Ardabil, as revenge for the destruction of the tomb of the great Emām Abu Ḥanifeh, I will raze the tomb of Shaykh Ṣafi and plow it under."

He was just thinking this as he went, when suddenly a white lion appeared and charged at him. The terrified Solṭān meant to run away, but he got stuck and found himself unable to move.

At that moment the Janissary commander appeared and saw that the Solṭān was pale as a ghost and shaking like a leaf. "O Solṭān, what is happening to you?" he asked.

Solṭān Salim replied, "A white lion attacked me!"

No matter how much the Janissary looked around, he saw no lion. Then he asked, "What thought had just occurred to you?"

Solṭān Salim said, "I was thinking that when I get to Ardabil, I'm going to destroy the tomb of Shaykh Ṣafi." And just as he said this, he fainted and fell off the mountain. All his bones were smashed, and he gave up the ghost.⁴

Then the pāshās who were with him said, "If the troops learn of this, they will likely start to fight with each other. We must be patient and bring the body into camp at night." So they waited there, and when night fell, they brought the body to the royal tent and sent for the grand vizier. After asking his advice, they sent Qarājeḥ Pāshā to find Solṭān Solaymān.

It was still night when Qarājeḥ Pāshā caught up to Solṭān Solaymān and prostrated himself before him. Solṭān Solaymān said, "In my dream, I saw my father atop a mountain; he plucked a rose and gave it to me, then disappeared from my sight. And when I woke up, I saw Qarājeḥ Pāshā prostrating himself before me."

Qarājeḥ Pāshā told Solṭān Solaymān of the death of his father. Then, in the blink of an eye, he took him five leagues back to their camp. There, the grand vizier and the Anatolian pāshās seated Solṭān Solaymān on the throne and ordered the drums beaten to announce the good news. The Anatolian soldiers, thus alerted, prostrated themselves in submission before their Solṭān. They then packed up and took the corpse of Solṭān Salim back to Istanbul.

4 Solṭān Salim died in 1520.

PART 5

The Later Years

