

*Original-Forschungsarbeit*

## **Verschiebung religiöser Ausrichtungen: Qāzīzādih Ardibīlī durch seine Schriften**

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### **Zusammenfassung:**

Qāzīzādih Ardibīlī war ein iranischer Gelehrter, der von osmanischen Truppen gefangen genommen wurde, jedoch dennoch begann, Bücher auf Persisch zu schreiben und zu übersetzen. Er verfasste Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīm auf Persisch und übersetzte Wafayāt al-a'yān aus dem Arabischen ins Persische. In beiden Werken lässt sich Qāzīzādih's religiöse Ausrichtung durch verschiedene Elemente seiner Schrift erkennen. Basierend auf Bibliotheksrecherchen und einer vergleichenden Analyse der beiden Texte (Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīm und Wafayāt al-a'yān) zeigt diese Studie, dass Qāzīzādih, ein Anhänger des schiitischen Islams, in diesen beiden Werken unterschiedliche Haltungen gegenüber den Ahl al-Sunna einnahm. In seiner Übersetzung von Wafayāt al-a'yān verwendete Qāzīzādih einen gemäßigeren Ton gegenüber der konkurrierenden Konfession. Dieser Wandel lässt sich auf die frühere Abfassung von Ghazavāt, die unterschiedliche Zielgruppen der beiden Werke und die unterschiedlichen Anforderungen an das Schreiben originärer Werke versus Übersetzungen zurückführen. Diese Studie untersucht die Transformation in Qāzīzādih's religiöser Ausrichtung, identifiziert Anzeichen einer Anpassung seiner schiitischen Haltung und analysiert die Faktoren, die zu dieser Entwicklung beigetragen haben.

**Schlüsselwörter:** Qāzīzādih Ardibīlī, osmanische Geschichte, schiitische Geschichte, Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīm, Ibn Challiḳāns Wafayāt al-a'yān, religiöse Toleranz

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## دگرگونی گرایش مذهبی قاضی‌زاده اردبیلی بر اساس داده‌های آثارش

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### چکیده:

قاضی‌زاده اردبیلی یکی از نخبگان ایرانی بود که پس از اسارت و حضور در میان ترکان عثمانی، به زبان فارسی دست به تالیف و ترجمه زده است. او کتاب غزوات سلطان سلیم را، تالیف و وفیات الاعیان ابن خلکان را از عربی ترجمه کرده و در هر دو اثر، گرایش‌های مذهبی خود را به اشکال مختلف نشان داده است. با بررسی کتابخانه‌ای آثار و مقایسه داده‌های دو کتاب غزوات و ترجمه وفیات الاعیان، مشخص می‌شود که رویکرد قاضی‌زاده شیعه‌مذهب در خصوص مذهب اهل تسنن در دو اثر متفاوت است و او در ترجمه وفیات الاعیان نسبت به غزوات سلطان سلیم، لحن بی‌طرفانه‌ای در خصوص مذهب رقیب دارد که به سبب عواملی نظیر تقدم زمانی نگارش غزوات نسبت به ترجمه وفیات، تفاوت مخاطبان دو اثر و تفاوت شرایط تالیف نسبت به ترجمه بوده است. این پژوهش، ضمن بررسی این تحول بر اساس داده‌های دو اثر و برشمردن نشانه‌های مختلفی که از تغییر گرایش قاضی‌زاده و تعدیل گرایش شیعی او حکایت دارد، به علل این تحول پرداخته است.

**واژگان کلیدی:** قاضی‌زاده اردبیلی، تاریخ تشیع، غزوات سلطان سلیم، وفیات الاعیان ابن خلکان، تسامح مذهبی..

Original Research Paper

## Shifting Religious Orientations: Qāẓizādh Ardibīlī through His Writings

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### Zusammenfassung:

Qāẓizādh Ardibīlī was an Iranian elite captured by the Ottoman forces who nonetheless began writing and translating books in Persian. He authored *Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīm* in Persian and translated *Wafayāt al-a'yān* from Arabic into Persian. In both works, Qāẓizādh's religious orientation can be detected through various elements of his writing. Based on library research and a comparative analysis of the two texts (i.e., *Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīm* and *Wafayāt al-a'yān*) this study showed that Qāẓizādh, who practiced Shi'ism, adopted two distinct attitudes toward *Ahl al-Sunna* in these works. In his translation of *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, Qāẓizādh employed a softer tone toward the rival denomination. This shift can be attributed to the earlier composition of *Ghazavāt*, discrepancy in the intended audience of the two works, and the contrasting demands of writing original texts versus translating existing ones. This study explores the transformation in Qāẓizādh's religious orientation, identifying signs of adjustment in his Shi'ī stance, and examines the factors that contributed to this evolution.

**Schlüsselwörter:** Qāẓizādh Ardibīlī, Ottoman history, Shi'a history, *Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīm*, Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, Religious tolerance

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## **Introduction**

In 1501 A.D., the Shī'a Safavid government was established in Iran, and began to pose challenges to its neighboring country, The Ottoman empire, as the most powerful Sunni government. Additionally, numerous rebellions in Anatolia, which were carried out in and/or with support of the Safavids, coupled with the Safavids' strife with the Iranian Sunnis, laid the grounds for an inevitable political and religious conflict between the two states. At the same time, Sulṭān Salīm was in dire need of gaining legitimacy for his government - which was established after dethroning his father and killing his brothers and nephews - and the Jenissaries (the Ottoman Empire's household troops) were anxious to wage a war. Both factors further precipitated the conflict between the Safavids and the Ottomans. Eventually, the battle between the two states took place in 1514 A.D. in the Chaldiran plain, culminating in the decisive victory of the Ottomans due to their superior numbers, better equipment, and possession of heavy artillery. After their victory, the Ottoman forces occupied Tabriz (the Safavid capital), looted Azerbaijan, annexed Diyarbakir and some other Kurdish regions, and carried out the forced migration of Iranian elites to the Ottoman territory. There are discrepancies among historical sources regarding the number of Iranians imprisoned as a result of the battle of Chaldiran. In an article about this battle, Naṣrullāh Falsafī states that the number of prisoners may range from 40 to 1000 (Falsafī, (1953), p. 115). In his book titled *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Uzunçarşılı initially claims that 1000 families were arrested in this battle (Uzunçarşılı, 1988, vol. 2, p. 257). Then, following Lütfi Paşa, he asserts that 200 families were arrested (Ibid). Thus, according to historical sources, the number of prisoners may range from 200 families (Lütfi paşa, 1924, p. 237) to 1000 people (Karaçelebizade, 1248/1832, p. 402; Solakzade, 1297/1880, p. 371), or 1000 families (Hoca Sâdeddin Efendi, 1279-1280/1862-1863, vol. 2, p. 282; Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî, 2009, p. 226 a; Müneccimbaşı, 1974, vol. 2, p. 467). Yet, in a totally different report, Chardin argues that the number of inmates was around 3000, with most of them coming from Armenia (Chardin, 1995, vol.2, p. 485). One of these prisoners was Qāzizādh Ardibīlī, who began to write and translate books in the Ottoman territory.

Only few studies have focused on Qāzizādh Ardibīlī and his works. An article in this regard, titled "Iranianism and Shi'ism of Qāzizādh Ardibīlī in the Ottoman historiography During the I Salim (1512-1520 A.D.)" (Babaei,

2020, pp. 203-221), examined Qāẓizādih Ardibīlī's nationalistic viewpoints and Shī'a orientation by focusing on *Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīm*. Bringing evidence from this book, the research concludes that Qāẓizādih Ardibīlī practiced Shi'ism and had a strong feeling for Iran and Iranians.

A conference proceeding, titled "Translation from Arabic to Persian to Meet the Needs of the Ottoman Turks, Case study: Translation of *Wafayāt al-a'yān* of Ibn Khallikān by the order of I. Sulṭān Salīm (Babaei, 2022, pp. 91-108) has focused on the characteristics of Qāẓizādih Ardibīlī's translation as well as its omissions, additions, and literary tone. In the preface of *Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīm*, further information is offered about Qāẓizādih Ardibīlī and the book (Qāẓizāde Ardebili, 2020, pp. 20-42).

In 2018, Esra Yördem corrected *Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīmas* in her PhD dissertation in Persian Language and Literature at Istanbul University. The researcher has briefly described Qāẓizādih Ardibīlī's life and character in the initial section of his dissertation. Due to his low proficiency in Persian and the difficulty of the book's prose, however, Esra Yördem has made notable mistakes in correcting *Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīm* (Yördem, 2018). Also, she has extracted an article from this thesis which is dedicated to showing the author's epic tone in his poems; This article, like the original work, contains numerous errors (Yördem, 2019, pp. 46 - 67). In 2019, 'Abdul Naṣīr Raḥmānī (Rahmani, 2019), unaware of the corrected version of Esra Yördem, also translated the version of *Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīm* into Turkish as a master's thesis. Previous studies fall short of investigating of the transformation of Qāẓizādih Ardibīlī's religious orientation.

The current research adopts a descriptive design to examine the data unveiling Qāẓizādih Ardibīlī's religious orientation. As such, *Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīm* and the selected manuscripts of *Wafayāt al-a'yān* are scrutinized and compared. In what follows, first the author and his works are introduced based on the data collected from Persian, Turkish, and Arabic historical sources. Then, the factors contributing to the transformation of Qāẓizādih Ardibīlī's religious orientation from Shī'a fanaticism to religious tolerance will be explored. The ongoing research will be an attempt to examine Qāẓizādih Ardibīlī's Shiite approach towards the Sunni faith by studying two of his works from a library perspective and also by comparatively analyzing his translation with the original text of *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, as well as the

evolution of his religious inclinations during his residence in the territory of the Sunni Ottomans. we will try to offer specific answers to the following two main questions :

How did Qāzizādih Ardibīlī' reveal his religious inclinations in his works, and how did these trends undertake the changes?

What are the main reasons for Qāzizādih's religious inclinations shifting from fanaticism to tolerance in his works?

It seems, similar researchs can cause the followers of different religions to live in a coexistence situation also may prevent religious extremism.

### **1. Qāzizādih Ardibīlī, the Iranian Prisoner in the Ottoman Court and his Works**

In *Ghazavāt-i Sultān Salīm*, this Iranian elite has introduced himself as “Kabīr who is known as Qāzizādih” (Qāzizāde Ardebili, 2020, p. 3). Also, at the beginning and at the end of *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, he has introduced himself as “Kabīr ibn 'Uvays al-Laṭīfi, known as Qāzizādih” (Ibn Khallikān, (no. 538), pp. 2a, 251b). Other sources have referred to him using different names like Aẓhar al-din Kabīr, ibn 'Uvays ibn Muḥammad al-Laṭīfi (Kātib Çelebi, 1982 / 1402, vol. 2, p. 2018; Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlī, 2009, p. 373b), Zahir al-din Ardibīlī (Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlī, 2009, p. 373b), Zahir-i Kabīr (İşfahānī, 1369/ 1990, p. 62), and Shams al-Din Muḥammad Laṭīfi known as Qāzizādih Ardibīlī (Ḥakimshah Ghazvini, 1984, p. 395). In fact, since his father, Shaykh-i Kabīr, was a judge, he came to be known as Qāzizādih, which literally means the son of the judge (Taşköprizāde, 1395/1975, vol. 1, p. 271; Riāḥi, 1990, p. 172). It appears that Qāzizādih was one of the courtiers in the Safavid government. Even in 1505 A.D., as a government representative, he was sent to the Karkia government in Ṭāliqān region (Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 108a; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, p. 105b). He was captured in the battle of Chaldiran in 1514 A.D. Although at first, he received the execution sentence, he was eventually pardoned and taken to the Ottoman territory (Nişançi, 1279/ 1863, p. 311; Müstakimzade, 1347/ 1928, vol. 1, p. 369; Ḥakimshah Ghazvini, 1984, p. 396). Given his expertise in writing and literature, he was hired by the Ottoman court with a daily salary of 80 Akçes (Nişançi, 1279/ 1863, p.311; Müstakimzade, 1347/ 1928, vol. 1, p. 50). In 1542 A.D., he joined forces with the rebels headed by Ahmet Paşa (known as Hain Ahmet Paşa), the Ottoman

governor in Egypt, and was eventually killed (Taşköprizâde, 1395/1975, vol. 1, pp. 271- 272; Müstakimzade1347/ 1928, vol. 1, p. 368- 369; Ibn-i 'Imâd Ḥanbali, 1414/ 1993, vol. 10, p. 240).

Qāzizādh's main work is a historical book focusing on the conquest of Shām and Egypt by Salīm the First. He witnessed the events firsthand and was responsible for recording them in his book. *Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīm* is kept in Hacı Selim Ağa's library (with the code number 825). This book was corrected and published in Iran in 2020 and is considered as one of the major sources about Shām and Egypt's conquest since the author was a member of the Ottoman army and witnessed and recorded the events firsthand. *Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīm* documents the events of Rabī' al-' Awwal 7th, 922 A.H. (April 20th, 1516 A.D.), when Sulṭān Salīm attacked Shām and Egypt, to his return to Istanbul on Jumādā al-' Awwal 5th, 924 A.H. (June 24th, 1518 A.D.). An outstanding feature of this work is its strong and rhyming prose in which figures of speech, Persian and Arabic poems, hadiths, Arabic proverbs, and Quranic verses have been frequently used. The book offers vivid and detailed descriptions of houses and cities along the way, introduces many authorities, military commanders, and famous figures while presenting supplementary details about them, and mentioning government positions in different regions. The clerical and sometimes heavy prose indicates that Qāzizādh has imitated Idris Bitlisi's *Hasht Behesht* in this regard (Qāzizādh Ardibīli, 2020).

Another work by Qāzizādh is the Persian translation of *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, authored by Ibn Khallikān, the Shāfi'ī historian and judge (1282 A.D.). This book was originally written in Arabic and entails the life descriptions of about 850 famous figures of the Islamic world. Qāzizādh translated this book into Persian on the order of Salīm the First. When Sulṭān Salīm died, only around one thirds of the book had been translated. Translating the whole book was never accomplished. Although the Persian translation of *Wafayāt al-a'yān* was incomplete, it was welcomed and frequently reproduced. Two versions of this translation are available in the Islamic Consultative Assembly Library (with code numbers 538 and 9012), which are valuable sources for researchers (Ibn Khallikān, no. 538; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012). In the last pages of the version with the code number 538, it has been confirmed that the manuscript has been copied from the original version prepared by Qāzizādh. Most probably this version was reproduced during the Safavid dynasty; however, the author has remained unknown. It is regarded as the

primary source in the current study. The second manuscript, code numbered 9012, was written by Āghābābā Shahmirzādī in 1271 A.H./1854 A. D. Comparing the two manuscripts shows no discrepancy in their content.

## **2. Transformation in Qāzizādh Ardibīlī 's Religious Orientation**

### **2.1. Qāzizādh Ardibīlī 's Religious Orientation Based on *Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīm***

In his works, Qāzizādh never referred to his religion explicitly and did not expose it to the public. Nonetheless, since he was a member of the Safavid government, it is highly likely that he followed Shi'ism. But given that he was forced to serve in the Ottoman court, he did not reveal his religion. The data gleaned from his works shed light on his religious orientation. Qāzizādh's orientation toward the Shi'a is detectable in *Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīm* through his references to hadiths and poems attributed to Shiite Imāms as well as some Shiite symbols. Qāzizādh has particularly paid attention to the first Shiite Imām and, depending on the text, he has taken advantage of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib's hadiths (Qāzizādh Ardibīlī, 2020, pp. 124, 174, 178, 193, 256, 310). In his introduction to hadiths, Qāzizādh has described 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and has used magnificent and vivid descriptions to refer to him. The same cannot be observed in his description of other religious figures (Ibid, pp.178, 229). In addition to 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib's hadiths, Qāzizādh has frequently resorted to the first Shiite Imām 's poems while dealing with different events (Ibid, pp.113, 115, 127, 134). Conversely, he has not made use of the poems of other religious figures in the world of Ahl al-Sunna. As another example of Qāzizādh's religious orientation, references to the third Shiite Imām (who was assassinated by Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiya in 680 A.D.), his burial location, and the story of his martyrdom can be found in *Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīm* (Ibid, pp. 259, 307, 343).

Qāzizādh's religious orientation is also evident in *Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīm* while describing some events related to the Safavid dynasty. He served as a member of the Safavid army and was captured by the Ottoman forces when the Safavids were defeated. In recording the events related to the Ottomans in his book, he has sometimes referred to the Safavid events as well. He has made attempts to focus on the Safavids from a political, rather than a

religious perspective. Although Qāzizādih had a negative view toward the Safavids, Shāh Ismā'īl the First (Ibid, pp. 59, 162, 337), and some Safavid commanders (Ibid, pp. 59, 60) under the surrounding pressure at the time, he still had a much milder tone while considering the work of other Iranian elites like Idris Bitlisi (Babaei, 2020, pp. 212- 214).

The twelve Shiite Imāms held a sacred place among the Sunnis, and especially among the Ottoman *Sultāns*. Thus, using vivid descriptions for them was not against the official religious beliefs of the Ottomans. The part that clearly indicates Qāzizādih's Shiite religious orientation in *Ghazavāt-i Sultān Salīm* has remained neglected to date. Even though he has extensively mentioned hadiths and poems attributed to the first Shiite Imām, he has notably ignored the first Sunni caliphs to the extent that he has not even mentioned their names. He has adopted the same attitude while dealing with other figures believed to be sacred among Sunnis. In contrast with Qāzizādih's approach, the Ottoman works written by other Sunni authors typically begin by praise to God, the prophet of Islam, and the first three Sunni caliphs.

## **2.2. Qāzizādih Ardibīlī 's Religious Orientation in his Translation of *Wafayāt al-a 'yān***

Although there is no mention of *Ahl al-Sunna*'s household names and popular figures in *Ghazavāt-i Sultān Salīm*, Qāzizādih has repeatedly mentioned them in the translation of *Wafayāt al-a 'yān*. He has adopted a positive outlook toward the greatest figures of *Ahl al-Sunna*, especially the Imāms of the four Sunni denominations. This is particularly evident in Qāzizādih's use of positive and respectful vocabulary while referring to these figures. Their names have often been mentioned while elaborating on the biography of their disciples, whereby Qāzizādih has used prayer to refer to these great figures. One of the four Imāms is Muḥammad ibn Idrīs (who passed away in 820 A.D.), known as Imām al-Shāfi'ī. He is the leader of al-Shāfi'ī's denomination, which has more proximity to Shi'ism in comparison with other Sunni denominations. In this translation, Qāzizādih has utilized Ibn Khallikān's praiseworthy and positive tone by adding the title "*ḥaḍrat*" while referring to Imām al-Shāfi'ī. Out of numerous samples indicating Qāzizādih's respect for Imām al-Shāfi'ī, one can refer to the translation of "Imām al-Shāfi'ī raḍiya llāhu 'anhu" (Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 1, pp. 26, 27, 64, 76, 204, 238,

vol.2, p 64) as “ḥaḍrat Imām al-Shāfi‘ī raḍiya llāhu ‘anhu” (Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, pp. 11a, 11b, 29b, 36b, 94b, 111b, 193a; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, pp.10b, 11a, 27b, 34a, 90b, 109a, 191b). There are two exceptions where Qāzizādih has eliminated “raḍiya llāhu ‘anhu” in his translation (Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 1, p. 21, vol.2, p. 73; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, pp. 99b, 195b; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, pp.97a, 194a).

Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (who passed away in 855 A.D.), the head of the Ḥanbalī denomination of *Ahl al-Sunna*, is another figure mentioned by Qāzizādih. This figure is less popular among Shiites compared to the other three leaders of *Ahl al-Sunna*. Therefore, he has been treated differently by Qāzizādih and has received less respect. In most cases, the title *ḥaḍrat* has been used before Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal’s name, which has been the case for many other figures in the translation (Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, pp. 29b, 30a; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, pp. 27b, 28a). Moreover, some prayers like “raḥimahu llāh ta‘ālā” (Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 1, p. 77) and “raḍiya llāhu ‘anhu” (Ibid, vol.2, p. 58) have been deleted while referring to Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, pp. 37a, 191a ; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, pp. 34a, 189b).

In contrast to how Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal has been treated in the translation, Qāzizādih has demonstrated considerable reverence for Abū Ḥanīfa Nu‘mān ibn Thābit (who passed away in 767 A.D.), the leader of the Ḥanafī denomination. As such, “Abū Ḥanīfa raḍiya llāhu ta‘ālā ‘anhu” (Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 1, p. 71) has been translated to “Abū Ḥanīfa Nu‘mān raḍiya llāhu ‘anhu” (Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 33b ; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, p. 30a) and “Abū Ḥanīfa raḍiya llāhu ‘anhu,” (Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 2, p. 133) with the title Imām being used before these translations (Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 219a ; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, p. 216a). Even in two cases, the title “Imām-i A‘zam” (Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, pp. 153b, 248a; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, pp.151b, 243b) has been used while simply translating his name. This positive viewpoint is probably connected to the fact that *Sulṭān* Salīm himself was a follower of the Ḥanafī denomination.

Qāzizādih has adopted a balanced approach while translating the parts related to Mālīk bin Anas (who passed away in 795 A.D.), the leader of the Mālīkī denomination. While translating the expression “al-Imām al Mālīk raḍiya llāhu ‘anhu,” (Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 1, pp. 238, 315) he has used the expression “ḥaḍrat Imām Mālīk raḍiya llāhu ‘anhu” (Ibn-i Khallikān, no.

538, p. 111b ; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, p.109a) on one occasion and has dropped the prayer expression and used “ḥaḍrat Imām Mālik”(Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 148a ; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, pp.146a) on another one.

Major evidence supporting the adjustment in Qāzizādiḥ's Shiite orientation is his attitude toward famous figures of *Ahl al-Sunna* who are not popular among Shiites. One of the most well-known figures is ‘Ā’isha, the prophet's wife, and the first caliph's daughter, who has been mentioned by Qāzizādiḥ once. Ibn Khallikān has used the simple, but respectful and popular, expression “‘Ā’isha raḍiya llāhu ‘anhā”(Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 1, p. 25) while describing Ibrāhīm al-Nakha‘ī's lifestyle and his tendency to follow ‘Ā’isha in the realm of hadith. In accordance with *Ahl al-Sunna*'s beliefs, however, Qāzizādiḥ has used a more popular and respectful title (i.e., ‘umm al-mu’minīn ‘Ā’isha siddiqah)(Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 10b ; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, pp.10a) in his translation.

The second caliph is another Sunni figure who is less favored among the Shiites. Depending on translation in the original text, Qāzizādiḥ has used the second caliph's name in different ways. Sometimes, his name has been replicated in exactly the same way mentioned in *Wafayāt al-a’yān*. In other cases, he has sometimes reduced the degree of respect and has occasionally demonstrated more respect (compared to the original text). For example, in two cases, the expression “‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb raḍiya llāhu ‘anhu” has been used without making any changes(Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 1, pp. 171, 282; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, pp. 78b, 133b; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, pp.73b, 132a). In another case, Qāzizādiḥ has showed more respect, hence translating “‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb raḍiya llāhu ‘anhu”(Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 2, p. 31) to “ḥaḍrat amīr al-mu’minīn ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb raḍiya llāhu ‘anhu.”(Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 188a ; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, p.186b) It should be noted that the title “amīr al-mu’minīn” was initially used to refer to ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and was later applied to all caliphs in the Islamic world. Shiites, however, use this title only to refer to the first Imām, ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, who is the fourth caliph according to *Ahl al-Sunna*'s beliefs. Reducing the degree of respect in the translation is observable in three places. Qāzizādiḥ has translated “‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb raḍiya llāhu ‘anhu”(Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 1, p. 207), “amīr al-mu’minīn ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb raḍiya llāhu ‘anhum,”(Ibid, vol.2, p. 130) and “‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb raḍiya

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llāhu ‘anhu” (Ibid, vol.2, p. 72) to “‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb,” (Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 95b ; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, p.91b) “‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb raḍiya llāhu ‘anhu,” (Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 217b ; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, p.214b) and “ḥaḍrat amīr al-mu’minīn ‘Umar” (Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 195a ; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, p.193b) respectively. Qāzizādih has followed a similar approach while translating the parts related to the third caliph, ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān. On one occasion, he has used the original expression “‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān raḍiya llāhu ‘anhu” (Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 2, p. 32; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 188b; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, p.187a) in his translation. On another occasion, Qāzizādih has translated “‘Uthmān raḍiya llāhu ‘anhu” (Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 1, p. 359) to “amīr al-mu’minīn ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān raḍiya llāhu ‘anhu.” (Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 168a ; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, p.166a) It is worth noting that, in *Wafayāt al-a’yān*, the biographies of the first four caliphs have received no attention due to their fame. Their names have only been mentioned in passing through discussions related to other issues.

Qāzizādih Ardibīlī has neither demonstrated hatred nor insulted the Umayyad and Abbāsīd caliphs, who are regarded as enemies of Shiite Imāms. Of course, Qāzizādih has displayed no particular respect for them in his translation either. It should be noted that although the Umayyad and Abbāsīd caliphs were the disciples of *Ahl al-Sunna*, they never gained the popularity and acceptability of the first four caliphs among Sunnis. While referring to the first Umayyad caliph, Mu‘āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān, Qāzizādih has used the original expression in his translation Mu‘āwiya, without any changes (Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 1, p. 77; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 37a; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, p.34b). Another Umayyad caliph whose name has been mentioned in the translation is ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. This caliph is relatively revered by Shiites because he banned insulting ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. In Qāzizādih’s translation, he has been treated respectfully once. Hence the expression “‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz” (Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 2, p. 248) has been translated to “‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz raḥimahu llāh.” (Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 115b; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, p.113a) In another case, the expression “‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz” has been used without any changes compared to the original text (Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 1, p. 66; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 31b; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, p.29a). In the third place, the prayer expression in the original text “‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Umawī

raḍiya llāhu ‘anhu” (Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 1, p. 249) has been deleted in the translation, hence “‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz” (Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 116b; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, pp.114a).

A rather similar approach has been followed for Abbāsīd caliphs. On one occasion, Qāzīzādih has used Manṣūr Abbāsī’s name without any changes (Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 1, p. 42; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 18b; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, p.17a), while in another place, he has used the negative expression “al-Dawānīqī” (which connotes that the caliph was stingy) to refer to him (Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 1, p. 65; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 30a; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, p.28a). No respect has been displayed for Hārūn ar-Rashīd, the powerful Abbāsīd caliph in neither the original nor the translated text (Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 1, p. 42; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 18b; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, p.17b). Only in one case has Qāzīzādih used the title “ḥaḍrat” to refer to Hārūn ar-Rashīd (Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 1, p. 328; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 153b; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, p.152a). One of the Abbāsīd caliphs whose name has been repeatedly mentioned is Ma’mūn. In the original text, he has been referred to as “al-Ma’mūn” or “Ma’mūn” (Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 1, pp. 82, 287, 288, 289, vol2, p. 120), but in the translation, the title “ḥaḍrat” has been used before his name (Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, pp. 41a, 136a, 137a & b, 213a; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, pp.37a, 134a, 135a&b, 210b). Neither the original text nor the translation have shown any respect for al-Mu’taṣim either (Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 1, pp. 41, 81; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, pp. 17b, 39a; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, pp.16b, 36b).

It should be noted that *ḥaḍrat* is an Arabic word with many applications in Farsi. The word means being present, being close, and having proximity among other definitions. in Arabic. In the current culture of Iran, this expression is used to show respect for individuals. It is mainly used as a title preceding the name of sacred figures like prophets and Imāms. Also, it has been eventually applied to political, religious, and academic figures. Qāzīzādih has not used the word *ḥaḍrat* as a particular title to demonstrate that somebody is respected or sacred. Rather, he has used this title to address individuals. Given that in the translation of *Wafayāt al-a’yān*, the title *ḥaḍrat* has been used while referring to the great Shiite figures, Shiite enemies, or Ahl al-Sunna’s well-known figures, it is concluded that this title has not been utilized by Qāzīzādih to show respect for somebody or refer to him as a sacred person.

In sum, in translating *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, Qāzizādih has not produced an original work, in contrast to his authorship of *Ghazavāt*. Moreover, unlike *Ghazavāt*, in *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, he has referred to many prominent figures of *Ahl al-Sunna* who are unpopular among Shiites. This change of tone and reduction in Qāzizādih's Shī'a fanaticism can be attributed to numerous factors. Nonetheless, they do not confirm his orientation toward *Ahl al-Sunna*. Even in the translation, Qāzizādih has repeatedly showcased his Shiite orientation through using particular words and expressions. Qāzizādih's Shī'a orientation and his divergent views toward the first caliphs become evident when he refers to the fourth caliph and the first Shī'a Imām. On two occasions, while mentioning subjects related to 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, Qāzizādih uses the prayer expression "alayhi s-salām," (Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, pp. 37a, 106b; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, pp.35a, 103b) which is popular among Shiites instead of "raḍiya llāhu 'anhu," (Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 1, pp. 77, 230) which is typically used by *Ahl al-Sunna*. On the third occasion, however, Qāzizādih has offered some poetic praise (Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 130a; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, p.128b) while translating "'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib raḍiya llāhu 'anhu" (Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 1, p. 274).

The sixth Imām of Twelver Shiites, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, is another Shī'a figure whose inclusion in Qāzizādih's works indicates his Shiite orientations. He has used the title Imām to refer to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 1, p. 327; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 153a; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, pp.35a, 151a). Moreover, while Ibn Khallikān has provided a brief description about Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq's death in his *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, Qāzizādih has tripled this description using a very beautiful and poetic tone.<sup>1</sup> The same can be observed while Qāzizādih refers to the eighth Shiite Imām. He has used a sentence full of praise while translating the expression "Alī ibn Mūsā al-Rizā" (Ibn-i

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<sup>1</sup> «و توفي في شوال ثمان و اربعين و مائة بالمدينة و دفن بالبقيع في قبر أبوه محمد الباقر و جده علي زين العابدين و عم جده حسن بن علي رضي الله عنهم أجمعين» (Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol.1, p. 327). «در شوال سنه ثمان و اربعين و مائة به مدينه مشرفه طاير نفس ناطقه اش از قيد بدن مقدس، آهنگ مجاورت حضائر عالم علويات و مخالطت ملائكه مقربه سماوات نموده، بدن مطهر منورش را كه مخزن خزاین حقایق آثار نبوت و امامت بوده: بيت: در قبه ای كه قبه زرين آفتاب- هر صبح و شام گرد درش طوف می كند. كه در آن حضرت امام محمد باقر و امام علي زين العابدين و عم جد او حسن بن علي و عم النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم عباس بن عبدالمطلب رضي الله عنهم اجمعين مدفون بوده اند، دفن نموده اند» (Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 153a; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, pp.35a, 151a).

Khallikān, 1398, vol. 1, p. 39). The sentence is as follows: “ḥaḍrat the eight Imām, Alī ibn Mūsā al-Rizā raḍiya llāhu ‘anhum ajma‘īn, is the supporter of the elites in good deeds.”<sup>2</sup>

In the original text, the eleventh and twelfth Shiite Imāms have been described as follows: “According to Imāmīyyah’s beliefs, Abū Muḥammad Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī raḍiya llāhu ‘anhum is one of the twelve *Imāms* and the father of muntaẓar-i šāḥib al-sardāb and carries the title ‘Askarī like his father.”<sup>3</sup> Qāzizādiḥ has translated this sentence in the following way: “Al-Imām Abū Muḥammad Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī raḍiya llāhu ta‘ālā ‘anhum ajma‘īn is one of the twelve infallibles and muftaraḍ al-tā‘ah Imāms. According to Imāmīyyah’s beliefs, he is the father of ḥaḍrat muntaẓar Imām šāḥib al-sardāb, Muḥammad al-Mahdī, and his esteemed father, ‘Alī Naqī, was known as ‘Askarī.”<sup>4</sup> In this translation, in addition to respectful descriptions, the use of expressions like Imām, infallible, *muftaraḍ al-tā‘ah*, *ḥaḍrat*, *al-Imām*, and ‘Alī Naqī indicates that the translator was a Shiite.

Furthermore, in different parts of the translation, one can detect signs indicating the Shiite orientation of the translator. For example, “the clothes of the prophet’s family (Shiite Imāms)”<sup>5</sup> were added while Qāzizādiḥ translated the following sentence: “They were ordered to wear green clothes.”<sup>6</sup> Also, while translating the sentence “He had Shiite orientation”<sup>7</sup> in the original text, Qāzizādiḥ used the following sentence: “He had Shiite orientation and righteousness of the prophet’s family (the infallible Imāms).”<sup>8</sup> Moreover,

<sup>2</sup> «حضرت مأمون در خراسان، حضرت امام ثامن و هو للمجتبین بالخیر ضامن علی بن موسی رضا را رضی الله عنهم اجمعین، ولی العهد خویش گردانیده...» (Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 16b; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, p. 15b).

<sup>3</sup> «ابومحمد الحسن بن علی ... رضی الله عنهم، احد الائمة الاثنی عشر علی الاعتقاد الامامیه و هو والد المنتظر صاحب السرداب يعرف بالعسکری و ابوه علی يعرف ایضا بهذه النسبه» (Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 2, p. 94).

<sup>4</sup> «وی یکی از دوازده امام معصوم مفترض الطاعة است علی ما ذهب الیه الامامیه و او پدر حضرت الامام المنتظر صاحب السرداب محمد المهدی است و پدر بزرگوارش علی نقی به عسکری معروف است» (Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 204a; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, pp. 202a & b).

<sup>5</sup> «دثار اهل البيت» (Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 17a; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, p. 16a).

<sup>6</sup> «امرهم بلباس الخضرة» (Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 1, p. 40).

<sup>7</sup> «كان یتشیع» (Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 1, p. 77).

<sup>8</sup> «او متشیع و بر حجت اهل البيت ثابت غیر متصنع بود» (Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 37a; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, pp. 34b).

instead of using the word “Imāms,”<sup>9</sup> he has used the expression “infallible Imāms.”<sup>10</sup>

There is evidence of Qāzizādhī’s Shiite orientation in both texts. However, a comparison of the two works indicates that Qāzizādhī’s Shiite orientation, lack of a sense of belonging to Ahl al-Sunna, and clear disregard for the first three caliphs and other prominent Sunni figures are more evident in *Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīm*. Conversely, in the translation of *Wafayāt al-a’yān*, Qāzizādhī has frequently mentioned prominent figures of Ahl al-Sunna with respect. This discrepancy demonstrates a transformation in Qāzizādhī’s religious orientation and a reduction in his religious fanaticism.

### **3. Factors Contributing to Qāzizādhī’s Religious Transformation Evident in his Translation of *Wafayāt al-a’yān* in Comparison to *Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīm***

#### **3.1. Temporal Precedence of *Ghazavāt* over *Wafayāt***

One of the major factors contributing to the discrepancy in Qāzizādhī’s religious orientation is the time span between the two works, which indicates Qāzizādhī’s length of stay among Sunni Ottomans. It is clear that Qāzizādhī was forced to immigrate from a society dominated by Shiite orientation (i.e., Iran in the Safavid era) to the Ottoman territory. At the beginning of his stay in Istanbul, Qāzizādhī’s Shiite orientation was stronger. In the course of time, however, he was dominated by the Sunni atmosphere of the Ottoman empire and had to hang out with Ottoman scholars and courtiers, who were mostly Sunnis. As a result, the intensity of Qāzizādhī’s Shiite tendencies declined. Therefore, the work prepared by Qāzizādhī in the first few years of his immigration displays a more Shiite orientation than the one compiled some years later. It appears that *Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīm* was compiled when the Ottomans attacked Shām and Egypt or a while after the attack. The attack was launched in 1516 A.D. and continued until 1518 A.D. The translation of *Wafayāt al-a’yān*, however, was completed in the last year of the Ottoman Sulṭān’s life, i.e. 1520 A.D. The parts that Qāzizādhī added to the translation (e.g., Ridaniya) and his claim on accompanying Sulṭān Salīm in Ridaniya in

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<sup>9</sup> «الائمة» (Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 2, p. 94).

<sup>10</sup> «الائمة المعصومين» (Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 204a; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, pp.202b).

1517 A.D. strongly support the idea that translating *Wafayāt al-a'yān* was carried out after writing *Ghazavāt* (Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, pp. 128a- 128b). Moreover, based on Qāzizādiḥ's preface at the beginning of his translation of *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, the translation of the book was underway in 1520 A.D., when Sulṭān Salīm passed away and the process of translating the book stopped (Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 4a). These issues indicate that when Qāzizādiḥ started translating *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, he had spent a considerable time in the Ottoman territory compared to the time he wrote *Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīm*. His long presence in the territory of the Sunni Ottoman Empire and interaction with the great Sunni figures of the time played a significant role in adjusting his Shiite orientation.

### 3.2. Differences in the Two Works' Audience

Another important factor contributing to the difference in Qāzizādiḥ's tone in the two works has to do with the audience. Qāzizādiḥ began writing *Ghazavāt* on Sulṭān Salīm's demand. The book aimed to record the events and victories of the Ottoman Sulṭān in Shām and Egypt and was regarded as a source of information for people interested in history to find about the Ottomans' victories. It was also believed to be a historical record of such events. Given that this work was written for the public, Qāzizādiḥ had more leeway to include his personal opinions in the process of compiling *Ghazavāt*. In contrast, the translation of *Wafayāt al-a'yān* was carried out for a specialized audience. Based on the data presented by Qāzizādiḥ at the beginning of the translation, Sulṭān Salīm was eager to read *Wafayāt al-a'yān*. However, he was not proficient enough in Arabic. Thus, he ordered Qāzizādiḥ to translate the book from Arabic to Persian, the language in which he enjoyed enough proficiency (Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 3a- 4b). Therefore, Sulṭān Salīm was the primary audience of the translation of *Wafayāt al-a'yān*. Thus, Qāzizādiḥ had to observe some religious considerations (e.g., not insulting the companions and caliphs) to ensure that he would not arouse the Sulṭān's religious anger. Nonetheless, in some cases, he added some expressions to advertise his own denomination and encourage the Sulṭān to adopt Qāzizādiḥ's view.

### 3.3. Discrepancy Between Writing and Translating a Book

Another critical factor contributing to the difference in Qāzizādiḥ's religious orientation is the discrepancy in writing and translating a book and the

disparity in their subjects. *Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīm* is a historical work written by Qāzizādih, who is regarded as the creator of this book. Since an author has more freedom in writing a book, Qāzizādih could demonstrate more flexibility and creativity. Conversely, *Wafayāt al-a'yān* was an existing book authored by someone else and merely translated into Persian by Qāzizādih. As such, he could not significantly change the framework and content of the book. The best example demonstrating this issue is Qāzizādih's description of the prominent figures of *Ahl al-Sunna*. Since Qāzizādih exercised more freedom in writing *Ghazavāt*, he could include or exclude some data, hence neglecting some prominent figures or companions of *Ahl al-Sunna*. In the translation of *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, nonetheless, the way individuals were described depended on the original text. Since the author of this book (i.e., Ibn Khallikān) had mentioned a large number of prominent Sunni figures, Qāzizādih had to mention them in his own translation.

## Conclusion

Qāzizādih Ardibilī was one of the Iranians captured by the Ottoman forces following the battle of Chaldiran. He began writing and translating books within the Ottoman territory, authoring *Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīm*, a historical account of the Ottoman history. He also translated Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt al-a'yān* into Persian. Although Qāzizādih has never explicitly stated his religious affiliation, it can be inferred through a careful analysis of his works. Qāzizādih practiced Shi'ism and, in *Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīm*, he has frequently and subtly referred to this denomination. Simultaneously, he offered neither thorough nor explicit descriptions of prominent and revered figures of *Ahl al-Sunna*. In his translation of *Wafayāt*, however, while he implicitly referred to his Shiite denomination, he also paid greater attention to figures that are respected among *Ahl al-Sunna*. This discrepancy in writing the two books indicates a transformation in Qāzizādih's views from a fervent Shī'a to a moderate one. This transformation can be attributed to three factors. First, *Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīm* was written before Qāzizādih translated *Wafayāt*. At the time of writing *Ghazavāt*, he was relatively unfamiliar with *Ahl al-Sunna* due to his limited time in Ottoman lands following forced migration. His limited interaction with Sunni Ottoman authorities meant he retained a strong Shiite orientation. Second, the differing audiences of the two works

influenced his approach. *Ghazavāt* was intended for a general readership, aiming to inform the public about Ottoman historical events and victories deemed significant by both the Sulṭān and the author. In contrast, *Wafayāt al-a'yān* was translated for Sulṭān Salīm himself, requiring Qāẓizādih to adopt a more considerate tone, as the book was destined for a Sunni Ottoman ruler. Third, the inherent difference between authoring an original work and translating another's text constrained his expression. Writing *Ghazavāt* allowed greater freedom to articulate his religious perspective, whereas translating *Wafayāt* necessitated restraint. Together, these factors explain the evolution in Qāẓizādih's religious orientation.

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