Verschiebung religiöser Ausrichtungen: Qāżīzādih Ardibīlī durch seine Schriften

Taher Babaei *

Assistenzprofessor für Geschichte und Zivilisation muslimischer Nationen an der Ferdowsi-Universität von Mashhad

Zusammenfassung:

Qāżīzādih Ardibilī 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-aʿyān aus dem Arabischen ins Persische. In beiden Werken lässt sich Qāżīzādihs 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-aʿyān) zeigt diese Studie, dass Qāżīzādih, ein Anhänger des schiitischen Islams, in diesen beiden Werken unterschiedliche Haltungen gegenüber den Ahl al-Sunna einnahm. In seiner Übersetzung von Wafayāt al-aʿyān verwendete Qāżīzādih einen gemäßigteren 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 Qāżīzādihs religiöser Ausrichtung, identifiziert Anzeichen einer Anpassung seiner schiitischen Haltung und analysiert die Faktoren, die zu dieser Entwicklung beigetragen haben.

Schlüsselwörter: Qāżīzādih Ardibīlī, osmanische Geschichte, schiitische Geschichte, Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīm, Ibn Challiḳāns Wafayāt al-aʿyān, religiöse Toleranz

* https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2368-759X

E-Mail: taherbabaei@um.ac.ir

مقاله پژوهشی

دگرگونی گرایش مذهبی قاضی‌زاده اردبیلی بر اساس داده‌های آثارش

طاهر بابائی

استادیار گروه تاریخ و تمدن ملل اسلامی، دانشگاه فردوسی مشهد

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 مقایسهٔ داده‌های دو کتاب غزوات و ترجمهٔ وفیات الاعیان، مشخص می‌شود که رویکرد قاضی‌زاده شیعه‌مذهب در خصوص مذهب اهل تسنن در دو اثر متفاوت است و او در ترجمهٔ 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 ترجمهٔ 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: Qāżīzādih Ardibīlī through His Writings

Taher Babaei

Assistant Professor Of History And Civilization Of Muslim Nations At Ferdowsi university Of Mashhad, Iran
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Zusammenfassung:

Qāżīzādih 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-aʿyān* from Arabic into Persian. In both works, Qāżīzādih'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-aʿyān*) this study showed that Qāżīzādih, who practiced Shiʿism, adopted two distinct attitudes toward *Ahl al-Sunna* in these works. In his translation of *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, Qāżīzādih 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 Qāżīzādih's religious orientation, identifying signs of adjustment in his Shiʿī stance, and examines the factors that contributed to this evolution.

Schlüsselwörter: Qāżīzādih Ardibīlī, Ottoman history, Shīʿa history, *Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīm*, Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, Religious tolerance

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* https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2368-759X
E-Mail: taherbabaei@um.ac.ir

Introduction

In 1501 A.D., the Shīʿa 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 (Falsafi, (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 Lütfī 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 Qāżīzādih Ardibīlī, who began to write and translate books in the Ottoman territory.

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

2020, pp. 203-221), examined Qāżīzādih Ardibīlī's nationalistic viewpoints and Shīʿa orientation by focusing on *Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīm*. Bringing evidence from this book, the research concludes that Qāżīzādih Ardibīlī practiced Shiʿism 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-aʿyān* of Ibn Khallikān by the order of I. Sulṭān Salīm(Babaei, 2022, pp. 91-108) has focused on the characteristics of Qāżīzādih 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 Qāżīzādih Ardibīlī and the book(Qāḍīzāde Ardebili, 2020, pp. 20- 42).

In 2018, Esra Yördem corrected *Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīm*as in her PhD dissertation in Persian Language and Literature at Istanbul University. The researcher has briefly described Qāżīzādih 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, ʿAbdul 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 Qāżīzādih Ardibīlī's religious orientation.

The current research adopts a descriptive design to examine the data unveiling Qāżīzādih Ardibīlī's religious orientation. As such, *Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīm* and the selected manuscripts of *Wafayāt al-aʿyān* 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 Qāżīzādih Ardibīlī's religious orientation from Shīʿa fanaticism to religious tolerance will be explored. The ongoing research will be an attempt to examine Qāżīzādih 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-aʿyān, 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 didQāżīzādih Ardibīlī' reveal his religious inclinations in his works, and how did these trends undertake the changes?

What are the main reasons for Qāżīzādih'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. Qāżīzādih Ardibīlī, the Iranian Prisoner in the Ottoman Court and his Works

In *Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīm*, this Iranian elite has introduced himself as "Kabīr who is known as Qāżīzādih"(Qāḍīzāde Ardebili, 2020, p. 3). Also, at the beginning and at the end of *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, he has introduced himself as "Kabīr ibn ʾUvays al-Laṭīfī, known as Qāżīzādih"(Ibn Khallikān, (no. 538), pp. 2a, 251b). Other sources have referred to him using different names like Aẓhar al-din Kabīr, ibn ʾUvays ibn Muḥammad al-Laṭīfī(Kâtib Çelebi, 1982 / 1402, vol. 2, p. 2018; Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî, 2009, p. 373b), Zahīr al-din Ardibīlī(Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî, 2009, p. 373b), Zahīr-i Kabīr(Iṣfahānī, 1369/ 1990, p. 62), and Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Laṭīfī known as Qāżīzādih Ardibīlī(Ḥakimshah Ghazvini, 1984, p. 395). In fact, since his father, Shaykh-i Kabīr, was a judge, he came to be known as Qāżīzādih, which literally means the son of the judge(Taşköprizâde, 1395/1975, vol. 1, p. 271; Riāḥi, 1990, p. 172). It appears that Qāżīzādih 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 ʿImād Ḥanbali, 1414/ 1993, vol. 10, p. 240).

Qāżīzādih'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 Haci 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 Rabīʿ al-ʾAwwal 7th, 922 A.H. (April 20th, 1516 A.D.), when Sulṭān Salīm attacked Shām and Egypt, to his return to Istanbul on Jumādā al-ʾAwwal 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 Qāżīzādih has imitated Idris Bitlisi's *Hasht Behesht* in this regard(Qāżīzādih Ardibīlī, 2020).

Another work by Qāżīzādih is the Persian translation of *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, authored by Ibn Khallikān, the Shāfiʿī 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. Qāżīzādih 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-aʿyān* 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 Qāżīzādih. 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 Qāżīzādih Ardibīlī 's Religious Orientation

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

In his works, Qāżīzādih 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 Shiʿism. 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. Qāżīzādih's orientation toward the Shīʿa is detectable in *Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīm* through his references to hadiths and poems attributed to Shiite Imām s as well as some Shiite symbols. Qāżīzādih has particularly paid attention to the first Shiite Imām and, depending on the text, he has taken advantage of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib's hadiths(Qāżīzādih Ardibīlī, 2020, pp. 124, 174, 178, 193, 256, 310). In his introduction to hadiths, Qāżīzādih has described ʿAlī 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 ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib's hadiths, Qāżīzādih 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 Qāżīzādih's religious orientation, references to the third Shiite Imām (who was assassinated by Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiya 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).

Qāżīzādih'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 Safavid 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 Qāżīzādih had a negative view toward the Safavids, Shāh Ismāʿīl 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 *Sulṭāns*. Thus, using vivid descriptions for them was not against the official religious beliefs of the Ottomans. The part that clearly indicates Qāżīzādih's Shiite religious orientation in *Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān 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 Qāżīzādih'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. Qāżīzādih Ardibīlī 's Religious Orientation in his Translation of *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*

Although there is no mention of *Ahl al-Sunna*'s household names and popular figures in *Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīm*, Qāżīzādih has repeatedly mentioned them in the translation of *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*. 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 Qāżīzādih'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 Qāżīzādih 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-Shāfiʿī. He is the leader of al-Shāfiʿī's denomination, which has more proximity to Shiʿism in comparison with other Sunni denominations. In this translation, Qāżīzādih has utilized Ibn Khallikān's praiseworthy and positive tone by adding the title "*ḥaḍrat*" while referring to Imām al-Shāfiʿī. Out of numerous samples indicating Qāżīzādih's respect for Imām al-Shāfiʿī, one can refer to the translation of "Imām al-Shāfiʿī raḍiya llāhu ʿanhu"(Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 1, pp. 26, 27, 64, 76, 204, 238,

vol.2, p 64) as "ḥaḍrat Imām al-Shāfiʿī raḍiya llāhu ʿanhu"(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 Qāżīzādih has eliminated "raḍiya llāhu ʿanhu" 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 Qāżīzādih. This figure is less popular among Shiites compared to the other three leaders of *Ahl al-Sunna*. Therefore, he has been treated differently by Qāżīzādih 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 taʿālā"(Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 1, p. 77) and "raḍiya llāhu ʿanhu"(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, Qāżīzādih has demonstrated considerable reverence for Abū Ḥanīfa Nuʿmān ibn Thābit (who passed away in 767 A.D.), the leader of the Ḥanafī denomination. As such, "Abū Ḥanīfa raḍiya llāhu taʿālā ʿanhu"(Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 1, p. 71) has been translated to "Abū Ḥanīfa Nuʿmān raḍiya llāhu ʿanhu"(Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 33b ; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, p. 30a) and "Abū Ḥanīfa raḍiya llāhu ʿanhu,"(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 Aʿẓam"(Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, pp. 153b, 248a; Ibn 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.

Qāżīzādih has adopted a balanced approach while translating the parts related to Mālik bin Anas (who passed away in 795 A.D.), the leader of the Mālikī denomination. While translating the expression "al-Imām al Mālik raḍiya llāhu ʿanhu,"(Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 1, pp. 238, 315) he has used the expression "ḥaḍrat Imām Mālik raḍiya llāhu ʿanhu"(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 Qāżīzādih'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 ʿĀʾisha, the prophet's wife, and the first caliph's daughter, who has been mentioned by Qāżīzādih once. Ibn Khallikān has used the simple, but respectful and popular, expression "ʿĀʾisha raḍiya llāhu ʿanhā"(Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 1, p. 25) while describing Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī's lifestyle and his tendency to follow ʿĀʾisha in the realm of hadith. In accordance with Ahl al-Sunna's beliefs, however, Qāżīzādih has used a more popular and respectful title (i.e., ʾumm al-muʾminīn ʿĀʾisha 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, Qāżīzādih 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-aʿyān*. 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 "ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb raḍiya llāhu ʿanhu" 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, Qāżīzādih has showed more respect, hence translating "ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb raḍiya llāhu ʿanhu"(Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 2, p. 31) to "ḥaḍrat amīr al-muʾminīn ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb raḍiya llāhu ʿanhu."(Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 188a ; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, p.186b) It should be noted that the title "amīr al-muʾminīn" was initially used to refer to ʿUmar 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, ʿAlī 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. Qāżīzādih has translated "ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb raḍiya llāhu ʿanhu"(Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 1, p. 207), "amīr al-muʾminīn ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb raḍiya llāhu ʿanhum,"(Ibid, vol.2, p. 130) and "ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb raḍiya

llāhu ʿanhu"(Ibid, vol.2, p. 72) to "ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb,"(Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 95b ; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, p.91b) "ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb raḍiya llāhu ʿanhu,"(Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 217b ; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, p.214b) and "ḥaḍrat amīr al-muʾminīn ʿUmar"(Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 195a ; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, p.193b) respectively. Qāżīzādih has followed a similar approach while translating the parts related to the third caliph, ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān. On one occasion, he has used the original expression "ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān raḍiya llāhu ʿanhu"(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, Qāżīzādih has translated "ʿUthmān raḍiya llāhu ʿanhu"(Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 1, p. 359) to "amīr al-muʾminīn ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān raḍiya llāhu ʿanhu."(Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 168a ; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, p.166a) It is worth noting that, in *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, 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.

Qāżīzādih Ardibīlī has neither demonstrated hatred nor insulted the Umayyad and Abbāsīd caliphs, who are regarded as enemies of Shiite Imāms. Of course, Qāżīzādih 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, Muʿāwiya ibn Abī Sufyān, Qāżīzādih has used the original expression in his translation Muʿāwiya, 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 ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. This caliph is relatively revered by Shiites because he banned insulting ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib. In Qāżīzādih's translation, he has been treated respectfully once. Hence the expression "ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz"(Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 2, p. 248) has been translated to "ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz raḥimahu llāh."(Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 115b; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, p.113a) In another case, the expression "ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz" 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 "ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al- Umawī

raḍiya llāhu ʿanhu"(Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 1, p. 249) has been deleted in the translation, hence "ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz"(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, Qāżīzādih has used Manṣūr Abbāsi'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 Qāżīzādih 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-Muʿtaṣim 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. Qāżīzādih 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-aʿyān*, 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 Qāżīzādih to show respect for somebody or refer to him as a sacred person.

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

The sixth Imām of Twelver Shiites, Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, is another Shīʿa figure whose inclusion in Qāżīzādih's works indicates his Shiite orientations. He has used the title Imām to refer to Jaʿfar 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 Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq's death in his *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, Qāżīzādih has tripled this description using a very beautiful and poetic tone.[1] The same can be observed while Qāżīzādih refers to the eighth Shiite Imām. He has used a sentence full of praise while translating the expression "Alī ibn Mūsā al-Riżā"(Ibn-i

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[1] «و توفی فی شوال ثمان و اربعین و مأئة بالمدینة و دفن بالبقیع فی قبر أبوه محمد الباقر و جده علی زین العابدین و عم جده حسن بن علی رضی الله عنهم أجمعین»(Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol.1, p. 327). «در شوال سنه ثمان و اربعین و مأئة به مدینه مشرفه طایر نفس ناطقه‌اش از قید بدن مقدس، آهنگ مجاورت حضایر عالم علویات و مخالطت ملائکه مقربه سماوات نموده، بدن مطهر منورش را که مخزن خزاین حقایق آثار نبوت و امامت بوده: در قبه‌ای که قبّۀ زرین آفتاب- هر صبح و شام گرد درش طوف می‌کند. که در آن حضرت امام محمد باقر و امام علی زین العابدین و عم جدّ او حسن بن علی و عم النبی صلی الله علیه و سلم عباس بن عبدالمطلب رضی الله عنهم اجمعین مدفون بوده‌اند، دفن نموده‌اند» (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-Riżā raḍiya llāhu ʿanhum ajmaʿīn, is the supporter of the elites in good deeds."[1]

In the original text, the eleventh and twelfth Shiite Imāms have been described as follows: "According to Imāmīyyah's beliefs, Abū Muḥammad Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī raḍiya llāhu ʿanhum is one of the twelve *Imāms* and the father of muntaẓar-i ṣāḥib al-sardāb and carries the title ʿAskarī like his father."[2] Qāżīzādih has translated this sentence in the following way: "Al-Imām Abū Muḥammad Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī raḍiya llāhu taʿālā ʿanhum ajmaʿīn is one of the twelve infallibles and muftaraḍ al-ṭāʿah Imāms. According to Imāmīyyah's beliefs, he is the father of ḥaḍrat muntaẓar Imām ṣāḥib al-sardāb, Muḥammad al-Mahdī, and his esteemed father, ʿAlī Naqī, was known as ʿAskarī."[3] In this translation, in addition to respectful descriptions, the use of expressions like Imām, infallible, *muftaraḍ al- ṭāʿah*, *ḥaḍrat*, *al-Imām*, and ʿAlī 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)"[4] were added while Qāżīzādih translated the following sentence: "They were ordered to wear green clothes."[5] Also, while translating the sentence "He had Shiite orientation"[6] in the original text, Qāżīzādih used the following sentence: "He had Shiite orientation and righteousness of the prophet's family (the infallible Imāms)."[7] Moreover,

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[1] «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).

[2] «بومحمد الحسن بن علی ... رضی الله عنهم، احد الائمه الاثنی عشر علی الاعتقاد الامامیه و هو والد المنتظر صاحب السرداب یعرف بالعسکری و ابوه علی یعرف ایضا بهذه النسبه» (Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 2, p. 94).

[3] «وی یکی از دوازده امام معصوم مفترض الطاعة است علی ما ذهب الیه الامامیة 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).

[4] دثار اهل البیت (Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 17a; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, p.16a)

[5] «امرهم بلباس الخضره» (Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 1, p. 40).

[6] «کان یتشیع» (Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 1, p. 77).

[7] «او متشیع و بر حجت اهل البیت ثابت غیر متصنع بود» (Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, p. 37a; Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 9012, pp.34b).

instead of using the word "Imāms,"[1] he has used the expression "infallible Imāms."[2]

There is evidence of Qāżīzādih's Shiite orientation in both texts. However, a comparison of the two works indicates that Qāżīzādih'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-aʿyān*, Qāżīzādih has frequently mentioned prominent figures of Ahl al-Sunna with respect. This discrepancy demonstrates a transformation in Qāżīzādih's religious orientation and a reduction in his religious fanaticism.

3. Factors Contributing to Qāżīzādih's Religious Transformation Evident in his Translation of *Wafayāt al-aʿyān* in Comparison to *Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīm*

3.1. Temporal Precedence of *Ghazavāt* over *Wa fayāt*

One of the major factors contributing to the discrepancy in Qāżīzādih's religious orientation is the time span between the two works, which indicates Qāżīzādih's length of stay among Sunni Ottomans. It is clear that Qāżīzādih 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, Qāżīzādih'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 Qāżīzādih's Shiite tendencies declined. Therefore, the work prepared by Qāżīzādih 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-aʿyān*, however, was completed in the last year of the Ottoman Sulṭān's life, i.e. 1520 A.D. The parts that Qāżīzādih added to the translation (e.g., Ridaniya) and his claim on accompanying Sulṭān Salīm in Ridaniya in

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[1] «الائمه» (Ibn-i Khallikān, 1398, vol. 2, p. 94).

[2] «الائمه المعصومین» (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-aʿyān* was carried out after writing *Ghazavāt*(Ibn-i Khallikān, no. 538, pp. 128a- 128b). Moreover, based on Qāżīzādih's preface at the beginning of his translation of *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, 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 Qāżīzādih started translating *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, 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 Qāżīzādih's tone in the two works has to do with the audience. Qāżīzādih 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, Qāżīzādih had more leeway to include his personal opinions in the process of compiling *Ghazavāt*. In contrast, the translation of *Wafayāt al-aʿyān* was carried out for a specialized audience. Based on the data presented by Qāżīzādih at the beginning of the translation, Sulṭān Salīm was eager to read *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*. However, he was not proficient enough in Arabic. Thus, he ordered Qāżīzādih 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-aʿyān*. Thus, Qāżīzādih 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 Qāżīzādih's view.

3.3. Discrepancy Between Writing and Translating a Book

Another critical factor contributing to the difference in Qāżīzādih'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 Qāżīzādih, who is regarded as the creator of this book. Since an author has more freedom in writing a book, Qāżīzādih could demonstrate more flexibility and creativity. Conversely, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān* was an existing book authored by someone else and merely translated into Persian by Qāżīzādih. As such, he could not significantly change the framework and content of the book. The best example demonstrating this issue is Qāżīzādih's description of the prominent figures of *Ahl al-Sunna*. Since Qāżīzādih 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-aʿyān*, 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, Qāżīzādih had to mention them in his own translation.

Conclusion

Qāżīzādih Ardibīlī 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-aʿyān* into Persian. Although Qāżīzādih has never explicitly stated his religious affiliation, it can be inferred through a careful analysis of his works. Qāżīzādih practiced Shiʿism 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 Qāżīzādih's views from a fervent *Shīʿa* to a moderate one. This transformation can be attributed to three factors. First, *Ghazavāt-i Sulṭān Salīm* was was written before Qāżīzādih 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-aʿyān* was translated for Sulṭān Salīm himself, requiring Qāżīzādih 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 Qāżīzādih's religious orientation.

Acknowledgment

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