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## RESEARCH ARTICLE

# The History of the Ottomans and the Safavids: A Study of the Manuscripts of Münşe'ât ve Ba'zî Vaqâyi-i Sulţân Süleymân Hân

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**Abstract:** This study introduces a collection of manuscripts of Münşe'ât ve Ba'zî Vaqâyi-i Sulţân Süleymân Hân that are preserved in the Austrian National Library with the signature of H.O. 50. This research aims to shed light on the history of Ottoman-Safavid relations through their direct correspondence. Furthermore, it checks the accuracy of the printed version of documents *Mecmû'a-i Münşe'ât üs-Selâţîn* (Istanbul, 1858), which are a major source of the two medieval empire of Iran and Turkey, as modifications have already been demonstrated by distinguished scholars such as Kurt Holter. The results of this study show that the aforementioned manuscripts contain 75 documents, including letters and campaign diaries. A total of 32 letters and one campaign diary are related to the relations during Ottoman ruler, Suleiman I and Ismail I and Tahmasp I of the Safavid Empire. In addition, correspondence of these two empires from Münşe'ât ve Ba'zî Vaqâyi-i Sulţân Süleymân Hân can be found in *Mecmû'a-i Münşe'ât üs-Selâţîn* (Istanbul,1858).

**Keywords:** Münşe'ât ve Ba'zî Vaqâyi-i Sulţân Süleymân Hân; Münşe'ât üs-Selâţîn; Correspondence; Ottomans; Safavids.

## Introduction

The Safavid–Ottoman relations date back to the reign of Murad II, a ruler of the Ottoman Empire in the mid-15th century. During that period, the Safavids were a Sufi order. Official relations between the two empires were established in 1502 when Ismail I (1501-1524) founded the Safavid state in Tabriz. At that time, Bayezid II (1481–1512) was the Sultan (ruler) of the Ottoman Empire. The two states tended to have friendly relations in the early years. However, due to Ismail I's anti-Sunni movements and the pro-Safavid uprising in Anatolia, and Bayezid II's support for Ismail I's dissidents, relations gradually deteriorated (Genç, 2018: 129-146).

After a period of time, Selim I (1512-1520) dethroned Bayezid II and became the new ruler of the Ottoman Empire. Selim I, who had already been at war with the Safavids and knew about the threat they posed, marched into Safavid territory. In 1514, both armies fought in Chaldiran. Following the defeat of Ismail I, Selim I crossed into Azerbaijan and the Safavids' threat repelled. As a result of defeat, Ismail I was deeply affected and he changed his policy toward the Ottoman Empire. A letter of supplication was sent to Selim I in an attempt to establish favorable relations between the two empires. In spite of this, relations did not improve (Raisnia, 2014; Falsafi, 1954: 73-75).

Selim I passed away in 1520 and his only son, Suleiman I (1520–1566) succeeded him. Suleiman I pursued a different foreign policy toward Western states. Following the Ottoman victory at Rhodes in 1522, Ismail I sent a letter congratulating him on the victory and expressing condolences to his family. Suleiman I responded to the letter respectfully as well (İspanâkçi Paşazade, 2000:268-270). Despite the correspondence, relations deteriorated after Tahmasp I (1524-1576) took over the throne as the second Shah (*Şâh*) of the Safavid dynasty. In their first correspondence, Suleiman I threatened Tahmasp I to attack his territory under the pretext that he had not declared his servitude following Suleiman I's accession to the throne (Ferîdûn, 1858: 541-543). Suleiman I launched three campaigns against the Safavids. In all the campaigns, Tahmasp I avoided facing Suleiman I and used a scorched earth strategy. Finally, the first peace treaty, the Peace of Amasya,

was concluded between the two states in 1555 following exhausting campaigns. This treaty formed the basis for the subsequent major peace treaties and defined the border between the two states (Asadi, Khalkhali, & Ghorbani, 2015: 5, 9; İskandar Beg Monşî, 1377 SH/ 1998- 1999:128-129).

Original letters of these two states, particularly those that were exchanged, are the most reliable sources regarding this critical period. Most of the original letters have not survived, thus the collections of letters (*münşe'ât*) which include the correspondence are considered the most reliable primary sources for this period. Among the collections of letters pertaining to this period, the most comprehensive is *Mecmû'a-i Münşe'ât üs-Selâtin*, which are kept in two printed editions (Istanbul 1848-49 and 1858). As a result of distinguished scholars' such as Mükrimin Halil, Kurt Holter, Johann Heinrich Mordtmann, Franz Babinger, Jan Rypka, and Sándor Papp, there have been modifications to this collection.<sup>1</sup>

In this paper, following a review of the Ottoman-Safavid relations during Suleiman I of the Ottoman Empire, a new collection entitled *Münşe'ât ve Ba'zî Vaqâyi-i Sultân Süleymân Hân* which is preserved in the National Library of Austria and includes the Ottomans and the Safavids correspondence is introduced. To do this, the first step in this study was to transcribe the titles of all letters. Following that, the letters relating to the Ottoman and Safavid relations were checked with *Mecmû'a-i Münşe'ât üs-Selâtin*'s three manuscripts, the two most complete manuscripts, ÖS

<sup>1</sup> One of the most reliable researches was conducted by Mükrimin Halil Yinaç (1898-1961). He proved that the seven letters were modified by Feridun Bey. Kurt Holter (1911-2000) conducted another research and claimed that the second volume of printed *Mecmû'a-i Münşe'ât üs-Selâtin*'s documents from pages 101 to 563, which date from the late 16th to 17th centuries, had been added by an anonymous one. For further details on this research, see Halil, Mükrimin, 1924. Feridun Bey Mecmuası. *Türk Tarih Encümeni Mecmuası*, 1 December, 1(78), pp. 37-46, 2(79), pp.95-104, 4(81), Pp.216-226; Holter, K., 1939. Studien zu Ahmed Feridun's Münşe'ât es-selâtin. in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*. Böhlau: s.n., Pp. 429-451.

For a summary of the history of modifications on *Mecmû'a-i Münşe'ât üs-Selâtin* see Papp, Sándor., 2017. Feridun Beyin münşeati: Mecmua-ı Münşeati s-Selatin." (Macaristan'a ve Erdel'e ait XVI-XVII. yüzyıl belgelerinin incelenmesi). *Archivum Ottomanicum*, Issue 34, Pp. 129137.

(83)<sup>2</sup> and ÖN (H. O. 158)<sup>3</sup> and the printed edition (1858) respectively. In order to introduce and verify the accuracy of the letters in *Mecmû'a-i Münşe'ât üs-Selâtin*, the following primary questions were designed:

Which letters of *Münşe'ât ve Ba'zî Vaqâyi'-i Sultân Süleymân Hân* are related to the relationships between the Ottoman and the Safavid Empires? Are the letters of *Münşe'ât ve Ba'zî Vaqâyi'-i Sultân Süleymân Hân* in the *Mecmû'a-i Münşe'ât üs-Selâtin*'s the printed edition and the two most complete manuscripts, ÖS (83) and ÖN (H. O. 158)?

### Safavid-Ottoman Relations

The Ottoman-Safavid relations date back to the period when the Safavids were a Sufi order with the name of the Safaviyya which was founded by Safi-ad-din Ardabili (1252/3-1334) in Ardabil. During the reign of Murad II (1421–1444), Shaykh Junayd (grandfather of the founder of Safavid dynasty) moved to Ottoman land and asked for a special place in Kurtbeli, but his request was rejected by Murad II (Aşıkpaşazade, 1953: 263). However, the official relations between the two states began after Ismail I established the Safavid dynasty in Tabriz in 1501. Relations between Ismail I and Bayezid II were relatively friendly and peaceful (Genç, 2018: 129 -146). Nevertheless, supporting pro-Shia and pro-Safavid rebellions, and recruiting soldiers in Anatolia for Ismail I, caused many concerns in Istanbul's military circles. Finally, Selim I succeeded his father, and hostilities began with the Safavids (Gündüz, 2016: 78; Emecen, Selim I, 2009).

Following the ascension of Selim I, Ismail I did not send any congratulatory message to him, and on the contrary, announced Prince Murad as the heir to the Ottoman throne (Varlık, 1993). As a result, Selim I organized his first campaign to Iran and penned three insulting letters to Ismail I for dragging him to the battlefield. Ismail I replied in a letter to him and went to the battlefield

<sup>2</sup> Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Orientalische Handschriften, 83 (The National Archives of Austria, House, Court and State Archives, Oriental Manuscripts, 83).

<sup>3</sup> Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Handschriften und Inkubelsammlung, Orientalische Handschriften H. O. 158 (The Austrian National Library, Austrian National Library, Manuscripts and Incunabula Collection, Oriental Manuscripts, 158).

(Ferîdûn, 1858: 379, 386-389). The two armies arrived at Chaldıran on 23 August 1514. After defeating the Safavids, Selim I reached the Safavid capital, Tabriz. Considering the return of Ismail I and Janissaries' revolts, he left Tabriz for Karabakh (Özgüdenli, 2006).

Selim I passed away on 21-22 September 1520, and his only son, Suleiman I, ascended the Ottoman throne (Emecen, Selim I, 2009). After two years of Suleiman I's reign, Ismail I sent a letter offering a congratulatory message on the conquest of Rhodes and condolences for the death of Selim I. Suleiman I then ordered the chief scribe to respond to the letter, and he wrote a reply on 3 December 1523 (Ferîdûn, 1858: 525-526). Moreover, Suleiman I ordered to release Ismail I's envoys and to return the seized goods of Iranian merchants (Parsadoust, 2013: 131).

Following the death of Ismail I in 1524, Tahmasp I succeeded him. In the first correspondence, Suleiman I sent a letter in which he threatened Tahmasp I for not declaring his servitude after Selim I's death and his ascendance to the Ottoman throne. Additionally, he informed Tahmasp I that he would march into his land (Ferîdûn, 1858: 541-543) and subsequently he launched three campaigns against the Safavids.

### ***First Campaign***

After failing to acquire a position at the royal court (as *vakil'ol saltane*), Olama Beg Takkalu, who was the chief commander of Azerbaijan, sought refuge in the Ottoman Empire (Navai & Ghaffarifard, 1392 SH/ 2013-2014: 12). At the same time, allowing Sharaf Khan Bedlisi, ruler of Bitlis, to take refuge and assassinating the governor of Baghdad, paved the way for a war with the Safavids (Glassen, 1989). Olama marched against Bitlis in 1531/1532, and killed Sharaf Khan. Following the capture of Bitlis, Olama and Ibrahim occupied all of Azerbaijan a year later (Mirjafari, 1354 SH/ 1975-1976: 238; Parsadoust, 2013: 154-155). Upon learning of Tahmasp I's intention to take back Tabriz, Suleiman I launched a new campaign and advanced to Soltanieh after conquering Tabriz. However, Tahmasp I did not face Suleiman I and destroyed his path (Mirjafari, 1354 SH/ 1975-1976: 239; Parsadoust, 2013: 156).

Due to difficult climatic conditions, Suleiman I could not continue and left Soltanieh for Baghdad after suffering many losses (Emecen, Irakeyn Seferi, 1999). When the Safavid army arrived at Van on April 1, 1535, Suleiman I decided to return to Tabriz, and arrived there after three months (Emecen, Süleyman I, 2010). As Suleiman I returned, Tahmasp I took Tabriz back and advanced toward Van (Najafiyebarezgar, 1393 SH/ 2014-2015: 93). The Sultan returned to Istanbul on 8 January 1536 following his winter stay in Diyarbekir (Emecen, Irakeyn Seferi, 1999).

### ***Second Campaign***

The second campaign was provoked by Alqas Mirza. Taking Shirvan under his authority in 1538, Tahmasp I assigned Alqas Mirza as the ruler of Shirvanshah's territory (Qâzî Aḥmad Qomî, 1359 SH/ 1980-1981: 278-282). Through minting coins and reciting sermon (*hutba*) with his name, Alqas Mirza openly revolted against Tahmasp I. In response, Tahmasp I shifted his campaign from Georgia to Shirvan, and Alqas Mirza fled to Istanbul (Fleischer, 1989). Staying in Istanbul, he contacted with Suleiman I, expressing his desire to return to Iran as an Ottoman client (Kaya, 2013: 117). In response to Alqas Mirza's suggestion, Suleiman I launched a campaign to Tabriz and deployed Alqas Mirza with 40 thousand men to Marand (Najafiyebarezgar, 1393 SH/ 2014-2015: 93). Tahmasp I again adopted a scorched-earth strategy during this period, and did not directly confront with the Ottomans (Ṭahmâsb, 1343 SH/ 1964-1965: 55-56).

Plundering Qom and Kashan, slaughtering Yazd-i Khast, and being unsuccessful in conquering Isfahan, Shiraz, and Shuster, Alqas Mirza finally retreated from Dezful into Baghdad (Fleischer, 1989). Henceforth, Alqas Mirza's relationship with Suleiman I became strained as when the sultan summoned him, he refused to comply with (Mollaebrahimi, 2020). He then fled to Mareyvan to seek refuge from the ruler of Ardalan in September 1549 (Najafiyebarezgar, 1393 SH/ 2014-2015: 94). Through the intercession of the ruler of Ardalan, Alqas Mirza returned to Tahmasp I who imprisoned him in the Qahqaheh Castle, and six months later, on 9 April 1550, he was killed by some unknown persons (Fleischer, 1989).

### ***Third Campaign***

Upon capturing Ardunch Castle on 13 June 1551, Iskender Pasha launched a camping expedition to the eastern lands of the Ottoman Empire. As a result of this, the Georgian governor requested assistance from Tahmasp I (Özcan, 2000) who launched a campaign against Iskender Pasha and sent Ismail Mirza to Van (Navai & Ghaffarifard, 1392 SH/ 2013-2014: 197). At this time, Suleiman I stopped the Erdel operation and launched a campaign against the Safavids. He captured Yerevan on 13 July 1554. A few days later, he seized control of Nakhchivan and plundered it, then returned to Amasya to spend the winter at the governor-general's residence (Emecen, Süleyman I, 2010). Once again, Tahmasp I did not confront with Suleiman I. Meanwhile, Tahmasp I released Sinan Bey, who had been captured during the Nahcivan campaign of Suleiman I (Navai & Ghaffarifard, 1392 SH/ 2013-2014 :198).

Tahmasp I sent Qajar Shah Qulu and Sinan Pasha to Suleiman I in order to declare a ceasefire when Suleiman I was in Erzurum (Navai & Ghaffarifard, 1392 SH/ 2013-2014: 198; Şahin & Emecen, Amasya Anlaşması, 1991). After a few exchanges of letters, both sides accepted some conditions. The Safavids signed the Amasya peace agreement with the Ottomans on recognizing the Ottomans' authority over the Safavids and border management cooperation. Additionally, to show respect to the Ottoman side, official cursing of caliphs Abu Bakr and Umar would not be allowed afterwards. Instead, the Ottomans secured Iranian pilgrims' free passage to holy cities, Mecca, Medina, Karbala, and Najaf. Moreover, the Ottomans gained significant land in Iraq (Köhbach, 1989; Şahin & Emecen, Amasya Anlaşması, 1991).

### **Prince Bayezid's Revolt**

Bayezid's revolt started with a fight with his elder brother, Selim II. Considering himself as a successor of Suleiman I, understanding that Selim II would be the Ottomans' Sultan after Suleiman I, and being afraid of fratricide, Bayezid challenged Selim II for the Ottoman throne (Turan, 1992).

Collecting partisans and forces in Amasya, Bayezid sent letters of complaint to Suleiman I about being unsatisfied with the designation. Selim II also gathered an army but with the support of his father (Mirjafari, 1352 SH/ 1973-1974: 17). Supporting Selim II in these conflicts, Suleiman I asked Abussud Efendi to issue a fatwa (*fetvâ*) to kill Bayezid (Gültepe, 1984: 75). Finally, on May 29, 1559, a battle between the two brothers took place near Konya (Emecen, Selim II, 2009). Having been defeated, Bayezid returned to Amasya and asked apologies from Suleiman I, but he refused him (Mirjafari, 1352 SH/ 1973-1974: 18). Finally, he sought asylum in the Safavid court.

Tahmasp I warmly welcomed Bayezid. After Suleiman I was informed about the asylum, he sent a letter asking Tahmasp I to extradite Bayezid. Additionally, they threatened to launch a campaign against the Safavids unless Tahmasp I return Bayezid (Ferîdûn, 1858: 45-46). Seeing the letters, Bayezid asked Tahmasp I to mediate between them. To do so, Tahmasp I sent two letters to Suleiman I. In response, Suleiman I explained Bayezid's fault and asked him to kill some entourage, and then sent Bayezid back to Amasya (Mirjafari, 1352 SH/ 1973-1974: 25). Tahmasp I stopped meditating as he found out the hostility of Bayezid with him. In this regard, he wrote in his book that Bayezid was going to poison him with a kind of sweet (*halvâ*) (Ṭahmâsb, 1343 SH/ 1964-196: 77). In this situation, Tahmasp I took advantage and asked for some privileges in return for extraditing Bayezid (Mirjafari, 1352 SH/ 1973-1974: 31). Suleiman I accepted it, and finally, Tahmasp I sent Bayezid back to the envoy of Selim II, Ali Agha (Ferîdûn, 1858: 30-33). Thereby, Bayezid and his sons were murdered, and Tahmasp I could maintain the Amasya peace.

### ***Münşeât ve Bażî Vaķâyi-i Sulţân Süleymân Hân***

The subject of *Münşeât ve Bażî Vaķâyi-i Sulţân Süleymân Hân* is on the correspondence of Suleiman I with foreign states, particularly with the Safavids at the end of Ismail I's reign and during Tahmasp I. This collection is preserved at the Austrian National Library (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek) under the title of *Münşeât ve Bażî Vaķâyi-i Sulţân Süleymân Hân*, as can be seen in the text of the book (top edge or bottom edge) in the Ottoman Turkish or Classical Persian



language (Fig. 1).<sup>4</sup> According to the library information, its editor was Ferîdûn Bey (d. 1583). However, there is no date of collecting or writing them in the manuscript.

*Münşeât ve Bazî Vakâyi-i Sultân Süleymân Hân* was created in a 40.5 x 25 cm format in 17 lines with a length of 14 cm (Holter, 1939: 433). In the collection, on the first page, at the top right, there is the signature of H. O. 50 and the German text *Restauriert im März 1923* (restored in 1923) on the center (Fig. 2). After two empty pages, a page numbered 265 in Arabic letter which includes a signature of N: 50, and along with three erased numbers in the center (Fig. 3). Then, after three empty pages, there is a page, on which, there are two seals; the first which reads *Biblioth. Palat. Vindobon* (National Library, Vienna) is in the center of the paper, and the second seal is at the bottom of the page which belongs to the Austrian Orientalist, Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774–1856) (Fig. 4). Indeed, this collection was donated to the Austrian National Library by Hammer-Purgstall in 1832 (Holter, 1939: 432). The transcriptions of the second seal are as follows:  
Center of the seal stamp: عبده السيّاح السّامر، يوسف حامر 1223

[‘Abduh as-Sayyâḥ as-Sâmir, Yûsuf Ḥâmer 1223]

Internal rounding of the seal stamp:

اعوذ برّب الغامر والعامر، ربّ الصّامر و الثّامر ومن شرّ الطّامر و الهامر، و من شرّ الاسود و الاحمر

[a’ûzu bi-rabbi l-gâmir va-l-âmir, rabbi z-zâmir va-s-sâmir min şarri ṭ-ṭâmir va-l-ḥâmir, va-min şarri l-asâvid va-l-aḥâmir]

[I seek refuge with the Lord of the (lands) and the prosperous countryside, the Lord of the slim one and the fruit-bearing one, and from the evil of the jumping one and the pouring one, from the evil of the black ones and the red ones) (Hammer-Purgstall, 1849, pp. 56-57].

<sup>4</sup> It is worth mentioning that due to the influence of Persian and Persianized Arabic words on Ottoman Turkish, it is not uncommon that the titles in Ottoman Turkish and Classical Persian are the same as in this case.

After the pages, letters start. There are two types of paging in the *Münşeât ve Bażî Vaķâyi-i Sulţân Süleymân Hân*. Numbers in the first page are in Arabic. This second page is written by a third person and is characterized by the use of European numbers in red. On the first page in Arabic, the number is 144, and on the first page in European numbers, the number is 1.

In this collection, there are 75 documents, 33 of which are about the Ottoman-Safavid relations. Other letters are about the Ottoman relations with Europe, the Caucasus, India, Central Asia, and other local states of Iran. Some of the letters contain responses, and some lack titles and are only recognizable by reading and comparing them with other collections. The letters with title, some of them are in red and some in black. The letters are in different handwritings in large and clear fonts of *Neshî* (Holter, 1939: 433).

From a chronological perspective, the letters and campaign diaries of the *Münşeât ve Bażî Vaķâyi-i Sulţân Süleymân Hân* are not presented in a chronological order. In this regard, as a sample, it can be seen that the letter of Ismail I addressed to Suleiman I [congratulating on the conquest of Rhodes] is written after correspondence with Tahmasp I.

A list of all the letters and campaign diaries of *Münşeât ve Bażî Vaķâyi-i Sulţân Süleymân Hân* are presented in Table 1. In the table, first the letters and campaign diaries' titles are presented in the transcription on the original language.<sup>5</sup> After that, the titles are translated into English. For a few letters and campaign diaries whose titles are missing, a new one is generated based on their content. The titles are followed by the letters and campaign diaries's language and the pages of them in the manuscript. In case of the letters and campaign diaries related to Ottoman-Safavid relations (letter No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 22, 23, 27, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 72, 73, 74,75 and campaign diary No. 35), the page numbers of them in the printed edition of the *Mecmûa-i Münşeât-i Ferîdûn Bey* (Istanbul 1858) are provided. As for the two

<sup>5</sup> There is no consensus among historians concerning the method for transcribing the Ottoman Turkish and Classical Persian languages. Hence, the present study aims at simplicity and ease of reading. To do so, the alphabet proposed by the *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Turkish Encyclopedia published by Turkish Religious Foundation) is used for transcribing Ottoman Turkish, Classical Persian, and Classical Arabic.

manuscripts of *Mecmûâ-i Münşeât üs-Selâtin*, ÖS (83) and ÖN (H. O. 158), neither of these manuscripts contain any of the letters and campaign diary related to Ottoman-Safavid relations in *Münşeât ve Bażî Vakâyi-i Sulţân Süleymân Hân*.

### **An Analysis of the Letters**

As noted above, there are 32 letters and one campaign diary relating to Ottoman and Safavid relations. From the language perspective, all letters sent by the Ottomans are mostly in the Ottoman Turkish language. There are, however, a few verses (*abyât*) in Classical Persian in the Ottoman Turkish letters. It is noteworthy that in addition to Ottoman Turkish, Classical Persian and Classical Arabic letters were also sent from the Ottoman side to Iran (Letters 23 and 7). For the Safavids, all letters sent from their side are written in Classical Persian. However, there are two Turkish letters from Tahmasp I to Suleiman I and Selim II (Şevik, 2008: 244-245; Ferîdûn, 1858: 36-38). As a matter of fact, there were no language requirements. As correspondence and prestige languages, Ottoman Turkish and Classical Persian were used in both states' courts, ruling classes, and chancelleries (Güngörürler, 2016: 481).

From the perspective of wording (*ulşûb*), there is not such a formal wording between the Safavids and the Ottomans like the correspondence between the Ottoman Empire and Europe, in which, they use formal wording (Çiftçi, 2015, p. VII). In order to argue for their claims and convince their audience, both states used verses from Qur'an (*Âyât*), traditions (*Ahâdis*), blessing (*Duâ*), and other common religious (Islamic) expressions and phrases regarding the position and circumstances of the senders and receivers as they were at the time of the correspondence or as they desired to be.

### **Conclusion**

The Ottomans and the Safavids relations have been considered crucial in the history of the region, particularly during the reigns of Suleiman I and Tahmasp I. Creating a state with a distinctive Shiite

Islamic identity on the Iranian plateau and concluding the first peace treaty between the Ottomans and the Safavids that was considered a basis for the subsequent significant peace agreement, contributed to the significance of the relationship during that period. Hence, it is necessary to understand the correspondence between the two states in detail. In this regard, the first and most reliable source which includes the correspondence between the two states is the printed edition of *Mecmû'a-i Münşe'ât üs-Selâţîn* (Istanbul 1848-49 and 1858). As previously mentioned, researches of leading scholars such as Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, Mükrimin Halil, Johann Heinrich Mordtmann, Franz Babinger, Rypka, and Holter cast doubt on the authenticity of the printed edition of *Mecmû'a-i Münşe'ât üs-Selâţîn*. Holter (1939) stated that an anonymous person had added pages 101-563 to the second volume of the 1858 printed edition covering the 16th and 17th centuries.

Using Holter's claim, 32 letters and one diary campaign related to the Ottomans and the Safavids relations was examined in *Münşe'ât ve Bazı Vakâyi-i Sultân Süleymân Hân*. In consequence, the letters are available in the printed edition (Istanbul 1858) of the *Mecmû'a-i Münşe'ât üs-Selâţîn*. However, no correspondence can be found in the two manuscripts of ÖS(83) and ÖN(H. O. 158). As Holter had previously claimed, it is highly likely that these letters were later added by a third party to the printed edition of *Mecmû'a-i Münşe'ât üs-Selâţîn* (Istanbul, 1858).

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Fig. 1. Title of the *Münşeât ve Bazî Vakâyi-i Sultân Süleymân Hân* in the text block of the manuscript

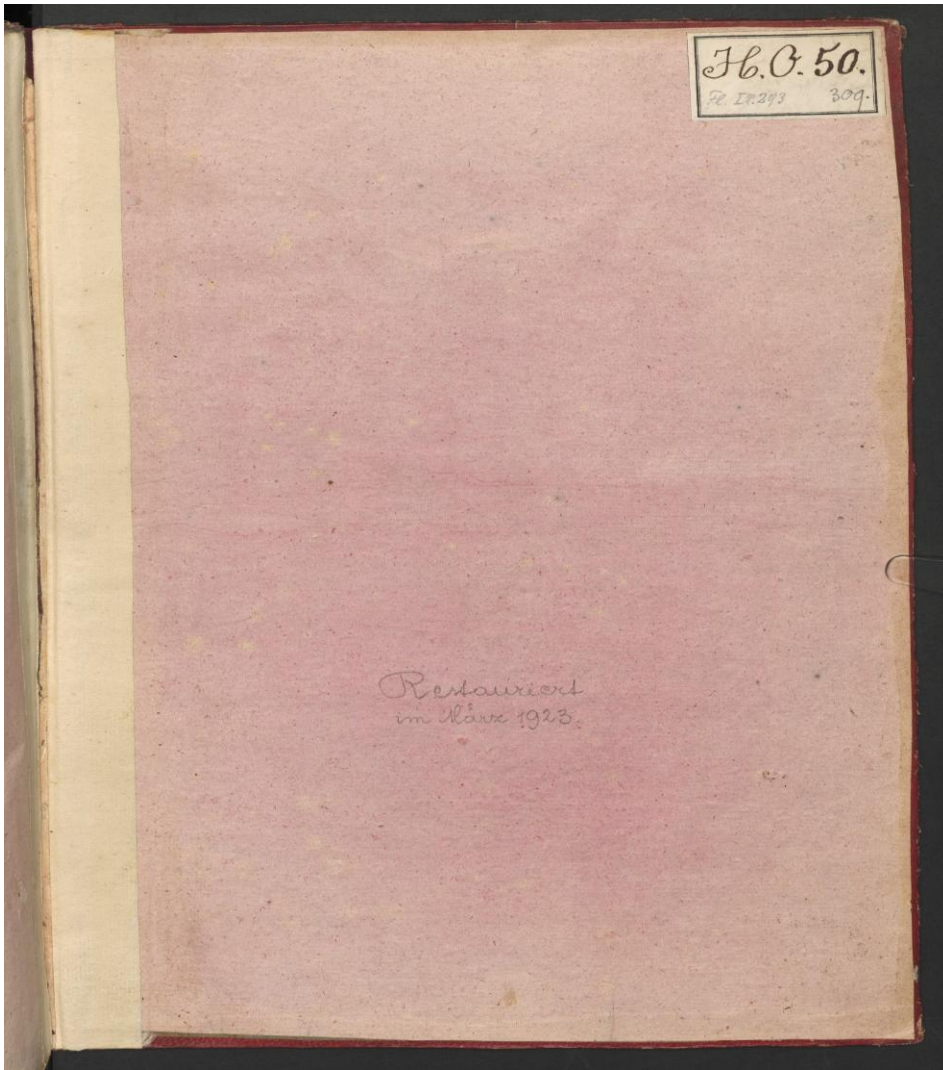


Fig. 2. The signature of H. O. 50 and the Restauriert im März 1923 text on the second page of the manuscript

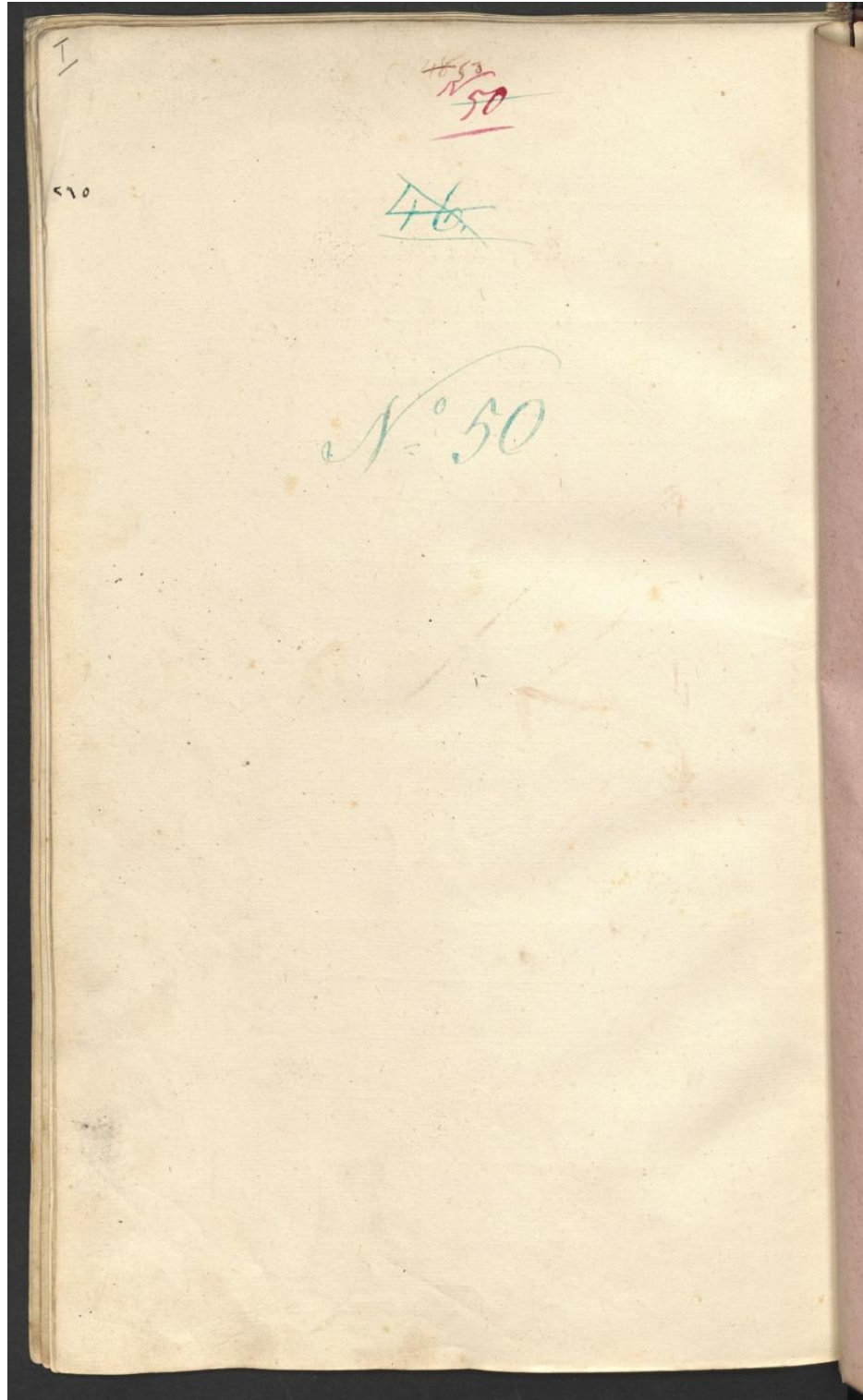


Fig. 3. The Number 265 in Arabic letter and the signature of N: 50, along with three erased numbers in the center

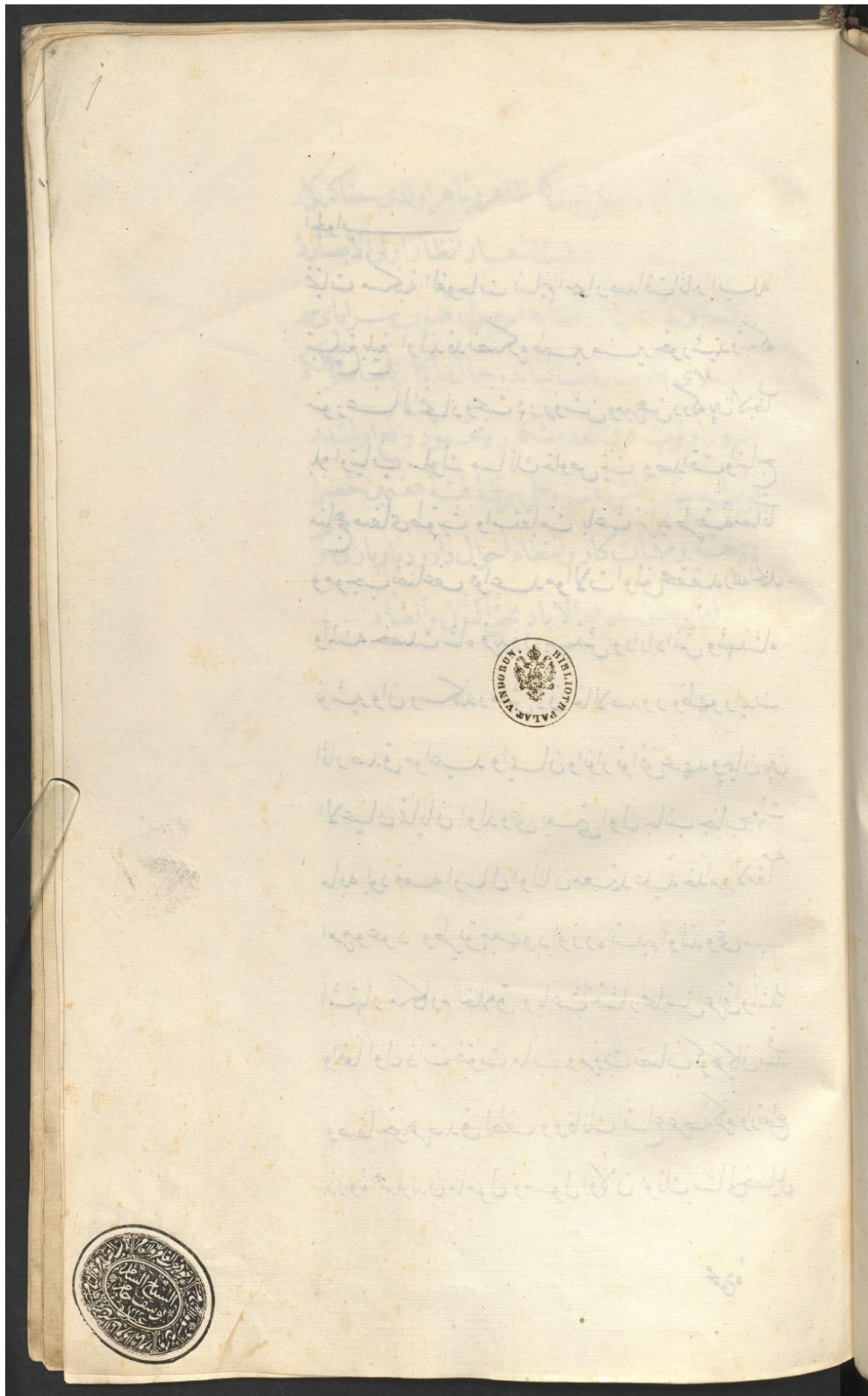


Fig. 4. The Seal of Vienna's National Library and Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall



**Table 1. List of letters and campaign diaries of *Münşeât ve Bazî Vaqâyi-i Sultân Süleymân Hân***

No	Titles of Letters and Campaign Diaries in Original Language	Translation of titles of Letters and Campaign Diaries	Language of Letters and Campaign Diaries	Pages of Letters and Campaign Diaries	Pages of Letters and Campaign Diaries in <i>Münşeât üs-Selâtin</i> (1858)
1	<i>El-Cevâb</i>	The Response	Persian	144b-145a	33-34
2	<i>S_âniyan Nahçıvan Seferinde Vüzerâ-yı İzâmdan Sürhser Beylerine Yazılan Cevâbdur</i>	The Grand Viziers' response to red-head's begs during the second Nakhchivan Campaign	Ottoman Turkish	4a-6b	56-57
3	<i>Sultân Süleymân Hâna Şâh Tâhmâsbdan Tûgânlarla Gelen Nâmenüñ Cevâbidur</i>	Sultan Suleiman's response to Shah Tahmasp's letter, which arrived along with the birds of prey	Ottoman Turkish	10a-10b	14
4	<i>Sultân Süleymân H_ân Cânibinden Şâh Tâhmâsba Defa-i Râb'ada Muştafâ Çavuş ve Hasan Çavuş İle ve Elçi Âdamlarından Üns Kûlu ve Hâci Beyrâm ile Gönderilen Nâme-i Şerif Şûretidür</i>	The copy of the illustrious letter of Sultan Suleiman to Shah Tahmasp for the fourth time, sent by Mustafa Cahvush and Hasan Chavush along with envoys Uns Quli and Haji Beyram	Ottoman Turkish	11a-14b	28-29
5	<i>Sultân Süleymân Cânibinden Şâh Tahmâsba Defa-i Hâmisede Gönderilen Nâme Şûretidür</i>	The copy of the fifth letter of Sultan Suleiman to Shah Tahmasp	Ottoman Turkish	16a-20b	30-33
6	<i>Şehzâde Sultân Bayezid Vâkı'asından Soñra Şâh Tâhmâsba İn_âmla Gönderilen Nâmedür</i>	The letter sent with gifts after Prince Sultân Bayezid's revolt against Şâh Tahmâsb	Ottoman Turkish	21a-23b	49-50
7	[The Good News Letter of the Sultan's Accession to Power to Amir of Mecca]	-	Arabic	24b-26b	-
8	<i>El-Cevâb</i>	The Response	Arabic	26b-27b	-
9	<i>Sultân Süleymân H_ânuñ Cülûsunda Tatarhâna Yazılan Emr-i Şerif Şûretidür</i>	The copy of Sultan Suleiman Khan's illustrious order, written to Tatar Khan during the ceremony of the accession to the throne	Ottoman Turkish	27b-28b	-

10	<i>El-Cevâb</i>	The Response	Ottoman Turkish	28b-29b	-
11	<i>Sultân Süleymân Hânun Cülûs-i Hümâyûnlarında Mısrır Hâkimi Haberine Yazılan Hükûm-i Şerîfdür</i>	Sultan Suleiman Khan's illustrious order to inform Egypt's ruler during the imperial ceremony of the accession to the throne	Ottoman Turkish	29b-33b	-
12	<i>El-Cevâb</i>	The Response	Ottoman Turkish	33b-47a	-
13	<i>Belgrâd Seferinün Menâzili Taşîlidir Ki Zîkr Olunur</i>	The details of the encampments, which is stated at the Belgrade campaign	Ottoman Turkish	35b-51b	-
14	<i>Kâle-i Belgrâd Fetihnâmesinin Şüretidür Memâlik-i Maħrûseyi Kâzilerine</i>	The copy of the conquest letter of the Belgrade fortress to Kadies of the well-protected domains	Ottoman Turkish	47a-51b	-
15	<i>Zulqadir Hâkimi Ali Bege Gönderilen Belgrâd Fetihnâmesinin Unvândur</i>	The title of the conquest Letter of the Belgrade Castle, sent to the ruler of Zolghadr, Ali Beg	Ottoman Turkish	51b-52b	-
16	<i>Şâmda Cânberdi Gazâliyi Kâtil İden Vezîr Ferhâd Pâşaya İrsâl Buyrulan Belgrâd Fetihnâmesinin Unvândur</i>	The title of the conquest Letter of Belgrade, sent to Damascus to Vizier Ferhad Pasha who killed Janbirdi Ghazali	Arabic	52b	-
17	<i>Zulqadir Hâkimi 'Alî Bek Belgrâd Fethi Tahniyesine Gönderidigi Arzıdur</i>	The congratulation on Belgrade's conquest, sent by the Ruler of Zolghadr Ali Beg	Ottoman Turkish	52b-53b	-
18	<i>Şâmda Vezîr Ferhâd Pâşaya Vârid Olan Belgrâd Fetihnâmesi Muğâblinde Tahniye Arzıdur</i>	The congratulation to Vezier Ferhad Pasha in Damascus upon return	Ottoman Turkish	53b-56b	-
19	[Sultan Suleiman's Diary from Istanbul to the Castle of Rhodes]	-	Ottoman Turkish	57b-75b	-
20	<i>Sultân Süleymân Hân Dergâhından Tatarhâna Yazılan Rodos Fetihnâmesidür</i>	The conquest letter of Rhodes written to Tatar Khan from Sultan Suleiman's court	Ottoman Turkish	73b-75b	-
21	<i>Sultân Süleymân Hân Tarafından Bursa Kâzısına Yazılan Kâleyi Rodos Fetihnâmesidür</i>	The conquest letter of the Fortress of Rhodes, written by Sultan Suleiman Khan to the Qazi of Bursa	Ottoman Turkish	75b-80a	-
22	<i>Sultân Süleymân Hâna Bu Mektubu Şâh İsmâil Feth-i</i>	Shah Ismail's letter to Sultan Suleiman for offering	Persian	80a-81a	525-526

	<i>Kāle-i Rodos Tehniyesiçün ve Merhûm Sultân Selim Aleyh Raĥmetullâhi Raĥim Taziyesiçün Göndermişdür</i>	congratulation on the conquest of Rhodes and condolences for the death of Sultan Selim			
23	<i>El-Cevâb</i>	The Response	Persian	81a-82b	526-527
24	<i>Sultân Süleymân Hân Cülûsunda Şîrvân Şâhdan Gelen Nâme Şûretidür</i>	The copy of Shirvan Shah's letter delivered to Sultan Suleiman Khan during the ceremony of his accession to the throne	Persian	82b-84a	-
25	<i>Şîrvân Şâhdan Gelen Tehniyeyi Fethin Cevâbidur Hayder Çelebi İnşâsıyla</i>	The response to the congratulation, sent by Shirvan Shah by composition of Hayder Chalabi	Persian	84a-84b	-
26	<i>Bu Nâme-yi Sultân Süleymân Gilân Hâkimine Yazmıştır Şâh İsmâ'il'in Fevtini İstima' Olundukda Sâhhat Haberi İçün</i>	This letter sent by Sultan Suleiman to ruler of Gilan, after hearing about the death of Ismail, and the news of [His] well-being	Persian	84b-86b	-
27	<i>Celâlzâde İnşâsıyla Cenâb-i Hümâyûndan Şâh Tahmâsbın Saltânâti İstimâsıyla Vilâyet-i Aceme Gönderilen Nâme Şûretidür</i>	The copy of the honorable imperial's letter sent to Tahmasp for informing His sultanate to the county of Ajam, composed by Sealer Jalalzade	Ottoman Turkish	86b-88b	541-543
28	<i>Sultân Süleymân Hân Diyârbekir Beglerbegisine Yazılan Hükûm-i Şerîfin Şûretidür Şâh İsmâ'il Mürd Oldukdan-sonra Şâh Tahmâsbuñ Evzâ'i Husûsunda</i>	The copy of sultan Suleiman Khan's illustrious order, written to Begler Beg of Diyarbekir regarding situation of Shah Tahamsp after Shah Ismail's death	Ottoman Turkish	88b-90a	-
29	<i>Vezîr-i Aẓam İbrahîm Pâşâya Verilen Serdârlık Berâtın Şûretidür</i>	The copy of the document of appointment regarding the dignity as Commanders-in-Chief, granted to the Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha	Ottoman Turkish	90a-93b	-
30	<i>İbtidâ-yi Budîn Seferinüñ Menâzil-i Müteberrikesi Tafzilâtıdur</i>	Details of encampments in the First Campaign of Buda	Ottoman Turkish	94a-97a	-

31	<i>Vezîr-i Aẓam Hâzretlerinüñ İlerüdeki Kõonukları Beyânındadır</i>	Expressing of His Excellency Grand Vizier on the following encampments	Ottoman Turkish	97a-113b	-
32	<i>Fethnâme</i>	The Conquest Letter	Ottoman Turkish	114a-131a	-
33	[Sultan Suleiman's Campaign Diary to Austria]	-	Ottoman Turkish	121a-143a	-
34	<i>Tafşîl</i>	Detail	Ottoman Turkish	146a-157b	-
35	<i>Tafşîl</i>	Detail	Ottoman Turkish	160a-186b	584-598
36	<i>Ber-vech-i Tafşîl</i>	In Detail	Ottoman Turkish	189a-195a	-
37	<i>Ber-vech-i Tafşîl</i>	In Detail	Ottoman Turkish	197a-200a	-
38	<i>Naḥcivân Seferinde Hüdûd-i Azarbâyçâna Dâhil Olundukda Şâha Gönderilen Nâme-i Şerîfdür</i>	The illustrious letter sent to Shah at Nakhchivan campaign when [Sultan Suleiman] had crossed the border of Azerbaijan	Ottoman Turkish	201a-203b	19-20
39	<i>Naḥcivân Seferinde Vüzarâ-yi İzâm Sürḥser Beglerinden Gönderilen Zarâ at-nâmenüñ Cevâbdur</i>	The Grand Viziers' response to the Governor-General of Red-Head' submissive letter during the Nakhchivan campaign	Ottoman Turkish	208a-209b	55-56
40	<i>Def'a-i S.âlis ede Vüzerâ-yı İzâmdan Sürḥser Beglerine Yazılan Cevâbdur</i>	The Grand Viziers' response to the Governor-General of Red-Head for the third time	Ottoman Turkish	211a-213a	57-58
41	[The Ottoman Grand Vizier's Response Letter to Shah Tahmasp's Representatives]	-	Ottoman Turkish	215a-216b	619-620
42	[Shah Tahmasp's Submissive Letter to Sultan Suleiman for Making Peace]	-	Persian	217a-221b	620-623
43	<i>El-Cevâb</i>	The Response	Ottoman Turkish	221b-224a	52-54
44	<i>Özbek Padişâhi Cânibinden</i>	On behalf of Uzbek's Padishah	Persian	224b-226b	-
45	<i>Bu Daḥi</i>	This Also	Persian	226b-230a	-
46	[The Letter of the Ruler of Bukhara to Sultan Suleiman]	-	Persian	230a	-

47	[The Letter of Barak Khan to Sultan Suleiman]	-	Persian	230b-231b	-
48	<i>El-Cevâb</i>	The Response	Ottoman Turkish	231b-233b	-
49	[The Response Letter of Sultan Suleiman to Khan of Uzbek]	-	Ottoman Turkish	233b-234b	-
50	<i>El-Cevâb</i>	The Response	Ottoman Turkish	234b-235b	-
51	[The Copy of Shah Tahmasp's Letter to Sultan Suleiman for Congratulating the Suleymaniye Mosque]	-	Ottoman Turkish	235b-241a	14-18
52	<i>El-Cevâb</i>	The Response	Ottoman Turkish	241a-242b	18-19
53	<i>Merhûme Hâşeki Sultân</i>	The Late Khaseki Sultan	Persian	243a-246a	63-65
54	<i>El-Cevâb</i>	The Response	Ottoman Turkish	246a-247b	65-66
55	<i>Vezîr-i Aẓam Cânibine 'Acem Şâhı Târafından Sûlûh Talep İtmek İçün Nâmedür</i>	The letter of the Shah of Ajam to the Grand Vizier to ask for peace	Persian	247b-252a	66-69
56	[The Letter of Muhammad Khodabanda's Tutor to Rustem Pasha to Congratulate on His Appointment]	-	Persian	252a-256a	69-71
57	[The Response of Grand Vizier of the Ottomans, Rustem Pasha to Shah Tahmasp's Son and His Tutor]	-	Ottoman Turkish	256a-257a	54-55
58	[Humayun Shah's Letter to Sultan Suleiman Carried by Seyyid Ali Kapitan]	-	Persian	256a-257a	-
59	[Shah Tahmasp's Letter to Sultan Suleiman about Seyyid Ali Chelebi]	-	Persian	257a-258b	72-74

60	[Shah Tahmasp's Letter to Prince Bayezid, When He Arrived to Yerevan]	-	Persian	261a-263a	43-45
61	[The Letter of Sultan Suleiman to Shah Tahmasp About Prince Bayezid's Revolt]	-	Persian	263a-264b	45-46
62	[The Letter of Sultan Suleiman in Explaining Prince Bayezid's Revolt and the Conditions of His Forgiveness, When He Sought Refuge in the Safavid Empire]	-	Persian	267a-270b	26-28
63	[Shah Tahmasp's Letter to Sultan Suleiman About the Extradition of Prince Bayezid]	-	Ottoman Turkish	270b - 273b	46-47
64	<i>El-Cevâb</i>	The Response	Ottoman Turkish	273b-275b	42-43
65	<i>Sultân Süleymân Hân Cânibinden Pîr Muhammed Hâna Yazılan Nâme-i Şerîf Şûretidür</i>	The copy of illustrious letter written to Pir Muhammad Khan from Sultan Suleiman Khan	Persian	275b-277a	-
66	<i>Sultân Süleymân Hân Cânibinden Yaqa Türkmanî Hâmî 'Alî Sultâna Gönderilen Nâme Şûretidür</i>	The copy of letter sent to Khan of Yaqa Turkmans Ali Khan from Sultan Suleiman Khan	Ottoman Turkish	277a-278b	-
67	<i>Sultân Süleymân Hân Cânibinden Lâz Hân'î İbrâhîm Sultâna Yazılan Nâme Şûretidür</i>	The copy of letter written to Khan of Laz Ibrahim Sultan from Sultan Suleiman Khan	Ottoman Turkish	278b-280a	-
68	<i>Gürcistân Ümerâsından Levend Bege Gönderilen Hükûm-i Şerîf Şûretidür</i>	The illustrious order to Levend Beg, who belonged to the commanders of Georgia	Ottoman Turkish	280a-281a	-
69	<i>Sultân Süleymân Hân Cânibinden Beç Kralına Yazılan Nâme Şûretidür</i>	The letter from Sultan Suleiman to the King of Vienna	Ottoman Turkish	281a-282b	-
70	<i>Sultân Süleymân Cânibinden İrevân ve Kârş Sınurî İçün Şâh Tâhmâsba Yazılan Nâmedür</i>	The letter written to Shah Tahmasp from Sultan Suleiman about Yerevan and Frontier of Kars	Ottoman Turkish	282b-285a	635-636

71	<i>İspanya Kralının ve Fransı Kralın Elçileri Geldikten Şöñra Yazılan Ahd-nâmedür</i>	The treaty letter written after the arrival of Ambassador of the King of Spain, Ferdinand	Ottoman Turkish	285a-288b	-
72	<i>Sultân Süleymân Cânibinden Flordin Beglerine Yazılan Ahd- nâme-i Şerif Şüretidür</i>	The copy of imperial pledge of Sultan Suleiman to Flordin Beg	Ottoman Turkish	288b-291b	-
73	<i>Vüzerâ-i İzâm Câniblerine Şahuñ Vükelâsından Gelen Nâmenün Şüretidür</i>	The copy of Shah's representatives' letter received by Grand Viziers	Persian	291b-296a	58-61
74	<i>El-Cevâb</i>	The Response	Ottoman Turkish	296a-298b	61-63
75	<i>Sultân Süleymân Cânibden Meyhaneler Refinden Şöñra Şah Tahmâsba Yazılan Nâmedür</i>	The letter from Sultan Suleiman to Shah Tahmasp after the closure of winehouses	Ottoman Turkish	302a-305b	11-13

## تاریخ عثمانی و صفوی: مطالعه نسخه خطی منشآت و بعضی وقایع سلطان سلیمان خان



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### چکیده

پژوهش حاضر به معرفی نسخه خطی منشآت و بعضی وقایع سلطان سلیمان خان (با شماره H. 50) که در کتابخانه ملی اتریش نگهداری می شود، می پردازد. در این پژوهش، تاریخ عثمانی و صفوی از طریق مکاتبات مستقیم بین دو کشور بررسی می شود. علاوه بر این، در این مقاله، صحت اسناد موجود در نسخه چاپی منبع اصلی مکاتبات بین عثمانی و صفوی یعنی مجموعه منشآت السلاطین (استانبول ۱۸۵۸) که دست کاری در آن از سوی محققان برجسته ای مانند کورت هالتر به اثبات رسیده است، بررسی می گردد. یافته های این مطالعه نشان می دهد که منشآت و بعضی وقایع سلطان سلیمان خان حاوی ۷۵ سند است. ۳۲ نامه و یک سفر (سفر عراقین) از این اسناد، مربوط به روابط عثمانی و صفوی در دوره سلطان سلیمان عثمانی و شاه اسماعیل و طهما سب صفوی می باشد. به علاوه، تمامی مکاتبات بین عثمانی و صفوی در منشآت و وقایع سلطان سلیمان خان در مجموعه منشآت السلاطین (استانبول ۱۸۵۸) موجود است. این مقاله از رساله دکتری نویسنده با عنوان منشآت و بعضی وقایع سلطان سلیمان خان: بررسی مکاتبات عثمانی و صفوی که با شماره ۱۱۳۶۱ که توسط دانشگاه سگد تأیید شده، استخراج گردیده است.

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