

## ‘ Ūzūn Ḥasan and Timurid Legitimacy

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*...terms such as sahib-qiran and mujaddid, both of which predate Timurid usage even in a political context, gained broad currency as terms of political rhetoric only with their application and adaptation by Timurid courts in the first decades of the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup>*

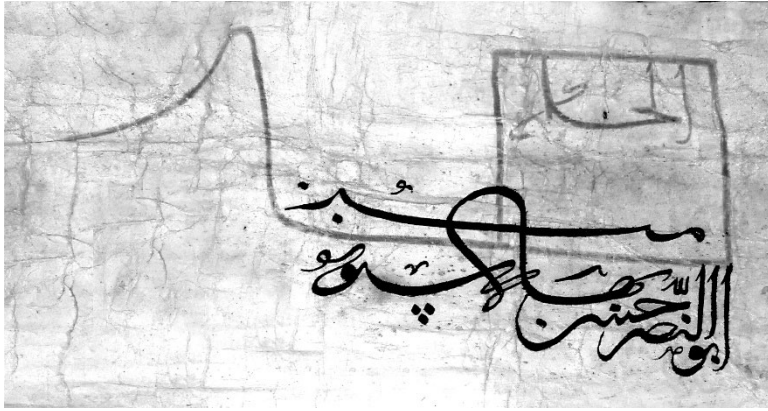
Some of the Turkmen polities that arose in the wake of the waning Chinggisid power in Western Asia sought legitimation by emphasizing their connections with the myths and traditions of Oghuz Khan, perhaps in emulation of the powerful ascriptive claims of the Chinggisid Golden Family (*Altan Urūgh*) itself. This was particularly true of such groupings (*ulūs*) as the Qarāquyūnlū and Āqquyūnlū. The latter, the Āqquyūnlū, framed an elaborate genealogy in which they claimed to belong to the lineage of Bāyandur Khan, who was, according to some historians, a grandson of Oghuz Khan and whose descendants were distinguished by specific designs or brands (*tamghā*). The Āqquyūnlū or Bāyanduriya rulers utilized these designs on coinage, documents, architectural monuments, and banners in appealing to these Oghuz traditions. In doing so, they seemed to have been primarily concerned with competition with their Turkmen rivals. Figure 1 shows the use of the Bāyandur *tamghā* on a coin of Ūzūn Ḥasan’s

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<sup>1</sup> Markiewicz (2019), p. 166.



**Figure 1.** Qarā 'Uṣmān, silver *akçe* or *dirham* with Bayāndur *tamghā*<sup>2</sup>



**Figure 2.** *Sar-nāma*, Abū al-Naṣr Ḥasan Bahādur *sözümü*z with Bayāndur *tamghā*<sup>3</sup>

Grandfather Qarā 'Uṣmān (ruled 780-839/1378-1435); Figure 2, the heading of a document issued by the chancellery of Ūzūn Ḥasan and dated 876/1471.

The rise of Tīmūr and the evolution of the Timurid polity in Transoxiana and Khurasan had a significant impact not only on the balance of military and political power throughout Western Asia and the Caucasus region, but also exerted a strong influence on the manner in which later state formations fashioned structures of political legitimacy. Some of these notions, while not originating with Tīmūr and his successors, nevertheless gained great importance as a result of Tīmūr's

<sup>2</sup> 'Alā' al-Dīnī (2019), p.78, № .1

<sup>3</sup> Istanbul, Turk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, 2200.

conquests and his legacy as it took shape under his son Shāhrukh. As noted by Christopher Markiewicz in the quotation at the beginning of this essay, *Ṣāhib-Qirān* and *Mujaddid* are two of the most important concepts that became increasingly common in the political and religio-political discourse of the ninth-tenth/fifteenth-sixteenth centuries. Both terms will now be discussed in connection with the career of Ūzūn Ḥasan Bāyandur.

### *Ṣāhib-Qirān*

In the earliest extant biography of Tīmūr, Nizām al-Dīn 'Alī Shāmī's *Zafar-nāma*, completed in 806/1404, Tīmūr is referred to throughout as *Ṣāhib-Qirān* or *Ḥazrat-i Ṣāhib-Qirān*, usually glossed in English as “Lord of the Auspicious Astral Conjunction,” though Shāmī does not precisely indicate what he means by this term. Furthermore, later ninth/fifteenth century Timurid historians from Ḥāfiz Abrū and Yazdī to Mīrkhvānd and Khvāndamīr all continued to employ this title in place of Tīmūr's actual name. Other sources and studies associate the meaning of *Ṣāhib-Qirān* both with world conquest and with actual astronomical events that apparently foretell those conquests.<sup>4</sup>

Abū Bakr Ṭīhrānī's *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriya* is likewise the earliest source for the life of Ūzūn Ḥasan (ruled 856-882/1452-1478)—the title of the work is a chronogram for the date of its composition 875/1470-1.<sup>5</sup> Here it should be noted parenthetically that Ṭīhrānī first served the Timurids and the Qarāquyūnlū before joining Ūzūn Ḥasan. In fact, in his *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriya*, Ṭīhrānī refers to Tīmūr as *Ṣāhib-Qirān* only twice, otherwise he calls him Tīmūr Kurāgān, Amīr-i Kabīr Tīmūr Kurāgān, Amīr Tīmūr, and Tīmūr Beg.<sup>6</sup> From page 70 onward, however, the title *Ṣāhib-Qirān* is reserved exclusively for Ūzūn Ḥasan throughout the rest of his work.<sup>7</sup> This practice was maintained by Ṭīhrānī's successor Faḏl Allāh Khunjī-Iṣfahānī, the court historian of Ūzūn Ḥasan's son Ya'qūb, who continued to refer to Ūzūn Ḥasan as *Ṣāhib-Qirān*.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, another writer contemporary with Ṭīhrānī, the scholar Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Davānī in his *Lavāmi' al-ishraq fī makārim al-*

<sup>4</sup> In addition to Markiewicz (2019) pp. 166-171, see Fleischer (1986), p. 280 quoting the tenth/sixteenth century Ottoman historian Mustafa Âli; Chann (2009); and Moin (2012), pp. 37-68.

<sup>5</sup> Ṭīhrānī-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriya*, p. 8; the last specific date mentioned in the text is 12 Rabī' I 876/29 August 1471, *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriya*, p. 560.

<sup>6</sup> Ṭīhrānī-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriya*, pp. 9, 11, 33, 47, 50, 51, 292, 334, 377.

<sup>7</sup> The editors of the Persian text have restored *Sulṭān Ḥasan Bahādur Ṣāhib-Qirān* to the chapter heading, Ṭīhrānī-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriya*, p. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Khunjī-Iṣfahānī, *Tārīkh-i 'ālam-ārā-yi Amīnī*, pp. 21, 29, 30, 32, 58, 96, 97, 118, 169, 180, 181, 182, 266, 427.

*akhlāq*, better known as the *Akhlāq-i Jalālī*, also designates Ūzūn Ḥasan Ḥaẓrat-i Šāhib-Qirān and Ḥaẓrat-i Šāhib-Qirānī.<sup>9</sup>

What I have called Ūzūn Ḥasan's "Great Conquests,"<sup>10</sup> namely his stunning victories over Jahānshāh of the Qarā Quyūnlū in 872/1467 at Muş and the Timurid Sulṭān-Abū Sa'īd in 873/1469 in Qarābāgh a little more than a year later doubtless provide the rationale for Ṭīhrānī's use of *Šāhib-Qirān* for his patron in his chronicle. This is especially true of the defeat of the latter, given Sulṭān-Abū Sa'īd's imperial ambitions as reflected in the letter sent to Ūzūn Ḥasan and dated 22 Rabi' I 873/10 October 1468.<sup>11</sup> The question remains, however, if there was also an underlying astronomical event that contributed to the application of the title by Ṭīhrānī to Ūzūn Ḥasan.

To attempt to provide an answer to this question, we must now examine the issue of the date of Ūzūn Ḥasan's birth. Given the relative absence of specifically dated events in the *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriya*, however, the chronology of much of this work must be established by the use of external sources, the most important of which are the histories of Mamlūk Egypt and Syria. Although Ṭīhrānī-Işfahānī does not provide a specific birthdate for Ūzūn Ḥasan, in at least four places in the narrative, he reports his age: Ūzūn Ḥasan was eleven at the end 839-early 840/summer 1435, twelve in late 841-early 842/spring-fall 1438; fourteen in 844/1440-1, and fifteen in 845/1441-2.<sup>12</sup> The first of these dates is the easiest to verify accurately using information from the Mamlūk sources mentioned previously in that it is closely connected with the death of Ūzūn Ḥasan's grandfather Qarā 'Uṣmān, which is reported to have occurred on 5 Safar 839/30 August-September 1435.<sup>13</sup> If this reckoning is accurate, Ūzūn Ḥasan's birth should have occurred in 828/1424-5 and not in 826/1423 as stated by Bekir Sitkī Baykal, Seyfettin Erşahin, and others.<sup>14</sup>

The only near-contemporary history with which I am familiar that gives Ūzūn Ḥasan's exact birth year is the tenth/sixteenth century Safavid chronicle *Nusakh-i jahān-ārā* by Qāzī Aḥmad Ghaffāri-Qazvīnī (died 975/1568), who writes that it fell in the year 828.<sup>15</sup> He does not provide his source for this information, but it is very

<sup>9</sup> Davānī, *Akhlāq-i Jalālī*, pp. 48, 52, 120.

<sup>10</sup> Woods (1998), pp. 96 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Kurat (1940), pp. 119-134; the document has been recently republished, Ono (2002).

<sup>12</sup> Ṭīhrānī-Işfahānī, *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriya*, pp. 126, 129, 160, 161-163.

<sup>13</sup> Reported in Ṭīhrānī-Işfahānī, *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriya*, pp. 113-114; date given in Maqrizi, *Kitāb al-sulūk*, vol. 4, pp. 956, 984.

<sup>14</sup> Baykal (1957), pp. 262, 286; Erşahin (2002), p. 107.

<sup>15</sup> Ghaffāri-Qazvīnī, *Nusakh-i jahān-ārā*, p. 253.

likely that he used the *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriya* in compiling the section of his history on the Āq Quyūnlū and thus may have done the mathematical calculations himself. In addition, we learn from the *Ta'rikh al-Ghiyāthī* that Ūzūn Ḥasan was governed by the zodiacal sign of Pisces (*Sāhib Qirān al-Ḥūt*), while both his adversaries Jahānshāh and Sulṭān-Abū Sa'īd were governed by Cancer (*Sarāṭān*).<sup>16</sup> If in fact the meaning here is that Ūzūn Ḥasan was born under the sign of Pisces, his birth could then possibly have taken place in Rabī' I-Rabī' II 828/February-March 1425.

Here, one final item of data is of importance to this discussion both as it relates to the determination of Ūzūn Ḥasan's birthdate as well as to the issue of the astronomical or astrological component of the term *Ṣāhib-Qirān*. Throughout most of the year 828/1425—particularly in Rabī' I and Rabī II/February and March—a “great conjunction” (*qirān*) of Jupiter and Saturn was visible. Although this astral event is not mentioned in any of the accounts of the life of Ūzūn Ḥasan, the possible coincidence of this occurrence and his birth certainly merits our consideration as it points to a connection between such events and the title *Ṣāhib-Qirān*.<sup>17</sup>

According to Ibn Khaldun “great conjunctions”—typically referring to the alignment of the two largest planets in the solar system, Jupiter and Saturn—were believed to have significance in predicting major events, particularly changes in royal authority, the end of one ruler's reign and the beginning of another's, shifts in dynasties or ruling families, or the transfer of power from one group to another.<sup>18</sup> They were generally seen as markers of periods of significant change and upheaval in the world, including political, social, and cultural transformations. In any event, these celestial events played a significant role in historical and cultural beliefs. Such is very much the sense of al-Ghiyāthī's horoscope for Ūzūn Ḥasan:

*He was governed by the zodiacal sign of Pisces (Sāhib Qirān al-Ḥūt). In his horoscope, it was said that the ruler of 'Irāq would perish at his hands, that he would expel the ruler of Little Armenia from his country, and gain many possessions in a very short period of time. Since God Almighty willed him to become ruler, He created the conditions for it—“God achieves His*

<sup>16</sup> Al-Ghiyāthī, *Ta'rikh al-Ghiyāthī*, pp. 355, 416, 421.

<sup>17</sup> Astronomical data has been calculated using three computer programs: Raymond Mercier's *Kairos 4*, Hermetic Systems' *Planetary Aspects and Transits*, version 24.042 and Stephen Michael Schimpf's *CyberSky*, version 5.2.

<sup>18</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *Ta'rikh*, vol. 1, p. 417.

purpose”<sup>19</sup> ...[Sulṭān-] Abū Sa‘īd, like Jahānshāh, was also governed by Cancer and when Pisces appeared, he swallowed him whole.<sup>20</sup>

### *Mujaddid*

After Tīmūr died in 807/1405, he was eventually succeeded by his fourth son Shāhrukh (ruled 807-850/1405-1447). From the very beginning of his consolidation of power, Shāhrukh abandoned his father’s rhetoric of world conquest embodied in the term *Sāhib-Qirān* in favor of a political vocabulary suggesting that he planned to make Islam the new foundation of his polity. There are many examples of this change of which we shall give only a few examples here. For instance, in an edict dated 814/1411 authorizing the release of artisans, scholars, and others whom Tīmūr had forcibly resettled in Samarqand, Shāhrukh declared “Endeavors are continually expended in the revival of the customs of religion and the commandments of the laws of Sharī‘a affairs.”<sup>21</sup> The following year, he wrote to the Yongle Emperor in China “In all our lands, rule follows the pure Sharī‘a of the Prophet, good is commanded and evil is forbidden, and the *yarghu* and the laws of Chinggis Khan have been abrogated.”<sup>22</sup> His efforts in this regard, moreover, gained the recognition of several influential Islamic religious figures such as Jalāl al-Dīn Zakariyā al-Qā’inī al-Nasafī, Zayn al-Dīn Khvāfī, and Ṣāyīn al-Dīn ‘Alī Turka Iṣfahānī. Around 820/1417, he began to issue coins in his capital Harāt bearing legends in which he claimed the caliphate.



**Figure 3.** Shāhrukh, silver *tanga* claiming the caliphate<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Qur’ān 65:3.

<sup>20</sup> Al-Ghiyāthī, *Ta’rīkh al-Ghiyāthī*, pp. 416, 421.

<sup>21</sup> Yūsuf Ahl, *Farā’id-i ghiyāṣī*, p. 673.

<sup>22</sup> Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Zubdat al-tavārīkh*, volume 2, pp. 465, 466, 467.

<sup>23</sup> Personal collection; see also ‘Alā’ al-Dīnī (2017), № 7, p. 73; № 10, p. 76.

For reasons that are not entirely clear at this point in our research, however, Shāhrukh abruptly abandoned his pretensions to the caliphate. Instead, the court historian of the first part of his rule Ḥāfiẓ Abrū begins to refer to his patron as “the Renewer of fundamentals of the resplendent Sharī‘a” (*mujaddid marāsīm al-Sharī‘at al-gharrā*).<sup>24</sup> Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī Yazdī, another historian contemporary with Ḥāfiẓ Abrū but working at the court of Shāhrukh’s son Ibrāhīm-Sultān, explicitly identifies Shāhrukh as the “Renewer” (*Mujaddid*) as promised in the *ḥadīth* collection of Abū Dā‘ūd al-Sijistānī: “At the beginning of every century, God Almighty will send someone to this community to renew its faith.”<sup>25</sup> Historically—with certain exceptions—the title *Mujaddid*, however, is usually associated with scholars and religious figures and less frequently with political leaders. Clearly, in the eyes of some, Shāhrukh had nevertheless succeeded in establishing a record of righteousness and projecting an image of religiosity that warranted this recognition on the part of historians writing under his and his family’s patronage.

Likewise, several authors applied the notion and the title of *Mujaddid* to Ūzūn Ḥasan at a certain stage in his career.<sup>26</sup> Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Davānī—who had referred to Ūzūn Ḥasan as *Sāhib-Qirān* in his *Akhlāq-i Jalālī*—elsewhere identifies him the “one sent in the ninth/fifteenth century” (*mab‘ūth al-mā‘ia al-tāsi‘a*) in accordance with the *ḥadīth* mentioned above.<sup>27</sup> In similar language, another important religious figure contemporary with Davānī, the Shī‘ī scholar and theologian Ṣadr al-Dīn Sayyid Muḥammad Dashtakī called him “renewer of the fundamentals of the monotheistic religion and faith...the promised one of the ninth/fifteenth century” (*mujaddid-i marāsīm al-milla wa al-dīn al-ḥanīfiya...maw‘ūd al-mā‘ia al-tāsi‘a*).<sup>28</sup> Finally, the later chronicler Khunjī-Iṣfahānī constructed a complex argument to demonstrate the transfer of the position of *Mujaddid* from Ūzūn Ḥasan to his son Ya‘qub, who succeeded his father in 883/1478.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Zubdat al-tavārīkh*, volume 1, p. 3 and other writings.

<sup>25</sup> Yazdī, *Zafar-nāma*, p. 472; see also Yazdī, *Munsha‘āt*, p. 103 and the study by Landau-Tasseron (1989). ‘Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī later associated Shāhrukh’s advent as *Mujaddid* with his appointment as governor of Khurasan in 799/1397; see Samarqandī, *Maṭla‘-i sa‘dayn*, pp. 739-740.

<sup>26</sup> Woods (1998) pp. 104-105.

<sup>27</sup> Davānī, “‘Arz-i sipāh-i Ūzūn Ḥasan,” p. 28.

<sup>28</sup> Dashtakī, “Gawhar-nāma,” p. 186.

<sup>29</sup> Khunjī-Iṣfahānī, *Tārīkh-i ‘ālam-ārā-yi Amīnī*, pp. 164-166.

The notion that Ūzūn Ḥasan as the promised religious renewer of the ninth/fifteenth century was also mentioned in passing in a remarkable document, the Şarabdar Hamza letter, written probably around 877/1472 on the eve of the momentous conflict between Ūzūn Ḥasan and Fatih Mehmet at Otluk-beli in 878/1473. Addressed to the Ottoman governor of Sivas by an unknown writer in the service of the Āqquyūnlū, the letter of twenty-seven lines in my transcription consists of a preamble, a series of critiques, comparisons, and criticisms followed by an exhortation.<sup>30</sup> In the beginning and concluding sections, the author tries to defuse the tenseness of the situation by appealing to the Ottoman sense of honor (*nāmūs*) in the protection of political refugees and the common duty of both fraternal Muslim empires to wage the *ghazā* on the infidels rather than political wars against each other. The central part of the document is made up of a sequence of fourteen items, the first introduced by the expression *avval ānkih*, “first of all” and followed by *dīgar ānkih*, “[and] moreover.” Eight of these items contrast Tīmūr with Ūzūn Ḥasan, expressing the superiority of the latter over the former in terms of descent and lineage, tactical and strategic advantages, quality of military resources, role as a protector of princes seeking asylum, and personal qualities of warmth, hospitality, and generosity. Taken as a whole, however, the import of the letter is nevertheless quite clear: as both *Sāhib-Qirān* and *Mujaddid* Ūzūn Ḥasan was capable of inflicting upon Fatih Mehmet a far greater disaster than the one that Tīmūr had meted out to Fatih’s great-grandfather Yıldırım Bāyezīd at Ankara in 805/1402. History would tell a different story.

Finally, it is interesting to note certain parallels in the shift in political rhetoric among the Timurids post-Tīmūr and the Āquyūnlū post-between Ūzūn Ḥasan. With the death of Tīmūr in 807/1405 and son Shāhrukh’s consolidation of power, Tīmūr’s “conquest empire” was replaced by the “Islamic empire” of his son over the succeeding decades. *Sāhib-Qirān*, emphasizing military achievements, subsequently became emblematic of the family’s violent origins and was historically attached to Tīmūr alone. This title was superseded by *Mujaddid* in the era of Shāhrukh and underscored his highly touted efforts to return the basis of governance to the Sharī‘a. In the Āquyūnlū case, both titles were held by a single

<sup>30</sup> I have discussed this letter in Woods (1998), pp. 103, 115. The text of the letter was published in Baykal (1957), pp. 274-278 as Document № 1 on the basis of Evrak № 11602 and № 11440 from the Topkapı Sarayı Archives. There are multiple partial copies of the letter in the TK Archives; e.g., № 3071 and № 11676. I have based my reading and transcription on № 11602 and № 11676, have appended the facsimiles of these documents to this paper, and have made emendations and corrections to Baykal’s reading of the text in my transcription.



individual and, like Tīmūr, *Sāhib-Qirān* was still applied only to Ūzūn Ḥasan after his death in 882/1478. The term *Mujaddid* was then somewhat half-heartedly assigned to his son and successor Ya'qūb. These two terms—*Sāhib-Qirān* and *Mujaddid*—would gain even greater currency in the political vocabulary of the “Gunpowder Empires” of the tenth/sixteenth century.

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### Şarābdār Ḥamza Letter, TKS 11602 and 11676

#### Transcription

- هو الجبار المتكبر 1
- جناب امير اعز اكرم اعقل افخم يگانة زمان خلاصه نوع انسان المخصوص بعون عناية الملك المئان 2
- معين الدولة و الدين حمزه ببيگ زيّد ايام رفعته را 3
- سلام وافر و تحية متكاثرة مبلغ داشته ملاقات بخير باد بعد از رفع سلام محبانه اعلام ميروود که چنان 3
- استماع افتاد که پيشتر از اين والده اولاد قرامان که 4
- عمه خداونگار است جهة استشفاق بدرگاه پادشاه ميرفته و در راه وفات يافت و بعد ازان پسرش رفته 4
- و بدان جناب واضح است و در تواريخ مسطور که 5
- در اوایل هر کس التجا بسلاطين ميبرده و ايشانرا انواع ناموس واقع مي شده چون والده پسران 5
- قرامان و پسر او التجا بدین پادشاه آوردند با وجود آنک 6
- تمامی خراسان و سمرقند و تا بعد خطا این فتح این پادشاه شده بود و از امراء اوزبک و مغول و 6
- هزاره مکاتبات آمده نوشته بوده اند که بحمد الله تعالی که فتح و نصرت قرين 7
- پادشاه زمین و زمان شد توجه نمایند که تا خطای فتح می شود و از اکابر و اشراف و اعيان خراسان 7
- خط آمده بود که پادشاه توجه نماید و ريقه مارا از دست ظالمان 8
- خلاص دهد بواسطه ناموس که بدو شفاعت آورده اند اينچنين ممالک را گذاشته و به آذربايجان نزول 8
- اجلال فرمودند اکنون استماع افتاد که 9
- والده حضرت پادشاهی کس خود را پيش حضرت خداوندگاری فرستاده که مزاحمة قرامان نشوند و 9
- در اولکای ايشان مدخل نساوند تا از جانبين محبت و دوستی 10
- زياده گردد که ايشان بغزا مشغول شوند و اين پادشاه نیز بغزا توجه نماید اين سخن بدین دولتخواه 10
- بسيار پسندیده و مستحسن آمد هر چند اين مخلص درين قضيه متهم است 11
- اما چون نمک اين درگاه خورده از روی دولتخواهی نصيحت ميروود قسم بعظمة الله تعالی که مقصود 11
- اين دولتخواه آنست که در میان مسلمانان فتنه و فساد 12
- و اختلاف واقع نشود و از جانبين بغزا مشغول شوند زیرا که آبا و اجداد حضرت آن پادشاه [ را ] 12
- دستور بوده که علی دوام مغزا مشغول می شده اند و چون پادشاه مارا نیز 13
- حضرت پروردگار دولت بزرگ میسر گردانید او نیز بغزا مشغول شود و هر دو برادر باشند بکرم 13
- الله تعالی [ اين ] پادشاه را با وجود شوکت و حشمت امير تیمور بدو نسبت کنند 14
- و شرح تفوق اين پادشاه را نسبت با امير تیمور که ذکر کرده می شود مطالعه فرمایند 14
- اول آنکه عنایت باری تعالی در شان اين 15
- پادشاه زياده ازان شده که شرح توان داد و 15
- آيات قرآن و احاديث برينمعنی واردست و 15
- ملازمان اين پادشاه بکرم الله تعالی در يکروز فتح 15

- اکابر دران باب چندین خبرها نوشته اند همانا بمسامع شریف رسیده باشد
- دیگر آنکه روی امیر تیمور سرد بود و خلیق ازو منتفّر بودند و میگریختند و این پادشاه را روی گشاده است و تمامی حکّام و خلیق روی بدرگاه او نهاده اند و امیر تیمور در اهل و عیال و عرض و مال مردم طمع میکرد و انواع حالات واقع می شد خود تحقیق کرده باشید که با وجود این نوع فتح ممالک در عرض و مال هیچ کس قصوری واقع نشد و همه را حرمت و عزّت زیاده شد
- دیگر [ آنکه ] امیر تیمور در حال شما بیگانه بود نمی دانست و مردمان شمارا نمی شناخت خود میدانید که این پادشاه از تمامی اولکا و مردم شما صاحب وقوف است و مجموع حالات را نیک میداند امیر تیمور که از زیر قیصریه کوچ کرد تحقیق نتوانست کرد که خداوندگار کجاست چند هزار امراء خود را فرستاد که کسی را بدست آورند و خبر تحقیق نمایند نتوانستند بدست آوردن بعد از ان شاه ملک را که از امراء صاحب اعتبار او بود فرستاد تا دو کس را بصد زحمت از رعیت گرفت و آورد و در تاریخ امیر تیمور بدین نسبت ذکر میکنند
- دیگر آنکه امیر تیمور پورش که مینمود اولکاء او از ماوراءالنهر و سمرقند بود و از راه دور می آمدند و ممالک این پادشاه با اولکای شما متّصل است
- دیگر آنکه قلعه خرم آباد که شاهرخ میرزا و جهانشاه میرزا مسخر نکره بودند با تمامی کردستان و لرستان بتحت تصرّف این پادشاه درآمد و سلاطین جیلانات و رستمدر مطیع و منقاد این پادشاه اند و حاکم شروان در مقام جانشیری و خدمتکاری راسخ است
- دیگر آنکه دران ولا که این محب بروم رفته بود تمامی رعیت ابا و اجداد خداوندگاری دعا نمود دران محلّ در قلعه مذکور آن مقدار غلّه نبود که اکنون زر و طلا و اقمشه بوده و هست دیگر آنکه امیر تیمور پسر زرگری بود و این پادشاه عالی نست است و بحست و نسب پادشاهی تمام اترک بدو می رسد و در شام و روم اترک را بجای گبر میدیدند و خراج میگرفتند لله الحمد و المنة که هر کس که پیش این پادشاه آمدند کلانتران میرسیدند و هر کس را بقدر خود اولکا و موجه شفقت فرمود و از خراج خلاص یافتند
- دیگر آنکه جمعی امرا که اسامی ایشان مفصّل میگردد پیش این پادشاه اند و یکی ازین طایفه نزد امیر تیمور نبوده
- ولد خداونگار      ولد قرامان      ولد اسندیار  
ولد گرمیان      اولاد ذو القادر      ولد اینال  
ولد رساجه ؟      امراء بوزچه      ولد پازارلوبیگ  
اولاد توزانلو      که دفتردار بوده و از تمام ممالک و خزانه و لشکر صاحب وقوف است
- دیگر آنکه عراقین و آذربایجان و فارس و کرمان تا بحدّ هندوستان در حوزه تصرّف این پادشاهست و مملکت ساری که امیر تیمور مسخر نکره بود بعنایت الهی نوکر این پادشاه مسخر کرد
- دیگر آنکه لشکر امیر تیمور پیاده بود و اکثرش گاو و خر سوار می شدند برگشاه ایشان از نمذ بود اکنون لشکریان این پادشاه را مع ؟ اسپان و یراق کلی معلوم کرده اند که بکرم الله تعالی بهیچ پادشاه نداده است و امیر تیمور بهر جا که میرفت خندق میکند و در خندق می بست و خودرا حصار میکرد و این پادشاه بهر جا که می رود غنیم خودرا از دور در حصار میکند
- دیگر [ آنکه ] امراء جوجی که پیش امیر تیمور می آمدند يك نوکر ادنی او بدیشان آن قدر اعزاز و

- میکردند اکنون خلاف این معنی استماع می‌رود که تکالیف بر رعایا مینمایند و از وطن مألوف خود میگردانند و رسوم و بدع محدث می‌نهند اول دار الامان بود اکنون نحسستان؟ است و سیرت خوب پدران و خود را تغییر نموده اند برینموجب استماع می‌رود
- دیگر آنکه در زمان اول در روم زررا تغییر نمیکردند و اکنون چند نوبت است که زررا تغییر میکنند و بدین سبب هر بار جمعی از مسلمانان را بمال و عرض و نفس زحمت میرسد و در توقات ترازو نبود و اکنون بنیاد شده
- مقصود این دولتخواه آنکه میانه حضرت خداوندگاری با این پادشاه اباً عن جدّ دشمنی واقع نبوده و اکنون نیز بدان مرتبه نرسیده که تدارک نتوان کرد هر چه اولاد قرامانست عمّه زادگان خداوندگارانند و ذوی القربی در باره او شفقت فرماید و او را جا و مقام مسلم دارد چون پسران قرامان بدین پادشاه ملتجی شده اند این پادشاه را نیز از ناموس خلاص نمایند و از جانبین خلیق که ودایع حضرت خالق اند مرفّه الحال بوده در مهاده امن و امان روزگار گذارند دیگر اصلاح ذات البین و رفع فتنه و فساد از مابین مسلمانان بر همه مسلمانان واجب است از روی مسلمانی و دولتخواهی کلمه چند نوشته شد
- مغذور فرموده ما باقی حاکمند  
و السلام علی الدوام
- م