

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN 7 Ocak 2016

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30 Nisan 2018

Turko-Mongol Rulers, Cities and City Life

Edited by
David Durand-Guédy

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi F	
Dem. No:	261440
Tas. No:	950 TUR.M

02 Kasım 2018



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2013

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CHAPTER EIGHT

THE ITINERARIES OF SHĀHRUKH B. TIMUR (1405-47)

Charles Melville

At what point does a king who travels about to go to war, visit a sacred site, go hunting, meet foreign legations, or spend Christmas with his family, become an itinerant king in the technical sense in which it is understood for Ottonian Germany?¹

The purpose of this chapter is to look in some detail at the itineraries of Timur's son and successor, Shāhrukh (r. 807-50/1405-47), to see to what extent he can be described as an itinerant monarch and therefore to address at least one of the topics of this volume, and perhaps also to begin to consider the role of the 'capital' and the familiarity of the ruler with city life—the other side of the coin. I have tried some similar analyses with the reigns of the Ilkhān Öljeitü and the Safavid Shah 'Abbās,² so this chapter contributes to filling in the gap between them, thereby demonstrating the continuation or attenuation (as the case may be) of one of the hallmarks of Mongol rule in Iran and Central Asia as the Chinggisids and their Chaghatay and Türkmen successors acculturated to Persian norms. As in these two other examples, the reign of Shāhrukh lends itself to this sort of analysis, partly due to the relative abundance of useful source material covering his lengthy reign, and partly because these sources document his movements in peacetime as well as on campaign, so that we are not simply witnessing movements associated with military expeditions. Shāhrukh's reign is situated within a rather extended period of transition between the more overtly military and coercive preceding periods of state formation (e.g. up to Ghazan's reign in the Ilkhanate, Shah Ṭahmāsp's in the Safavid case, and the career of Timur here) and a period of consolidation that followed (under Abū Sa'īd in the Ilkhanate, Sultan Ḥusayn Bayqara in the Timurid case, and the second Safavid century after Shah 'Abbās). In all

¹ McKitterick 2008, 174. For Ottonian Germany, see more in Bernhardt 2013, and for Charlemagne, also McKitterick 2011.

² Melville 1990; Melville 1993.

285-316

THE CURRICULUM OF ISLAMIC HIGHER LEARNING IN TIMURID IRAN
IN THE LIGHT OF THE SUNNI REVIVAL UNDER SHĀH-RUKH

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This study examines the curriculum of Islamic higher learning in eastern Iran in the early fifteenth century, based on authorizations to transmit (*ijāza*) issued by or requested from Jalāl al-Dīn al-Qāyini (d. 838/1434-35), an important Hanafite traditionist and teacher in Timurid Herat. The contents of two *ijāzas*—whose value as a source for the history of the transmission of knowledge in Islam has been demonstrated by Georges Vajda, A. J. Arberry, George Makdisi, and Jacqueline Sublet, among others—are summarized in schematic form, analyzed in terms of the subjects, texts, and authorities listed in them, and compared with contemporary as well as earlier curricula from other parts of the Muslim world. Viewed within the religio-political context of late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century Iran, the “core curriculum” they represented provides further support for the idea of a Sunni revival under the patronage of Timūr’s son and successor, Shāh-Rukh (811–50/1409–47), and confirms its strongly conservative nature.

THE RELIGIOUS CLIMATE AT THE END OF THE FOURTEENTH
AND BEGINNING OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

CONFUSED, COMPLEX, AMBIGUOUS, AND AMBIVALENT are words that have been used to describe the religious topography of Iran at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries.¹ Officially, the Timurid rulers of Iran, like other Turkic and Turko-Mongolian dynasties that dominated its political life, professed adherence to Sunnism of the Hanafite school of jurisprudence.² Hanafites predominated in the east, while western Iran was generally Shafī‘ite, but there were also

many towns with mixed populations.³ At the same time, certain towns, such as Ray, Qum and Kāshān, and regions, such as Baihaq (with its center in Sabzawār) and Khūzistān, were the preserve of Shi‘ites, as were the traditionally Shi‘ite Caspian regions of Gilān and Māzandarān. Pockets of Ismā‘ilis existed in the Quhistān region of Khorasan (Qāyin, Bīrjand), which, as a whole, was Sunni.⁴ Despite the presence of Shi‘ites, however,

³ See I. P. Petrushevsky, *Islam in Iran*, trans. Hubert Evans (London: Athlone Press, 1985), 303. Herat, Khwāf, Juwain, etc. were Hanafite, while western towns such as Isfahan, Qazwin, Shiraz, Yazd and Tabriz were generally Shafī‘ite, although Shafī‘ites were also well represented in the province of Khorasan—see Heinz Halm, *Die Ausbreitung der šāfi‘itischen Rechtsschule von den Anfängen bis zum 8./14. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1974), 42ff.; for a reference to the sizeable Shafī‘ite population of Herat in the 15th century—see Hans Robert Roemer, *Staatschreiben der Timuridenzeit: Das Šaraf-nāmā des ‘Abdallāh Marvārīd in kritischer Auswertung* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1952), 147–48.

⁴ N. D. Miklukho-Maklai, “Shiizm i ego sotsial’noe litso v Irane na rubezhe XV–XVI vv.,” in *Pianiati akad. Ignatitia*

it would not be until the advent of the Safavids in 1501 and the proclamation of Ithnā ‘Asharī Shi‘ism as the state religion, that the inexorable process of transforming Iran’s population from a generally Sunni to a Shi‘ite one would be set in motion.

Yet, the bulk of the population, both urban and rural, although for the most part Sunni, had since the Mongol period been affected to a considerable degree by Shi‘ite, or at least pro-‘Alid, influences that had become intermingled with Sufi, currents. This blending of Sunni, Sufi, and Shi‘ite elements resulted in a certain ambivalence, if not outright promiscuity, in the religious climate that was conducive to the spawning and spread of various heretical movements.⁵ Often interpreted as a reaction against the paganism and socio-economic injustices of Turko-Mongolian rule, these movements of socio-religious protest could, depending on the degree of their organizational sophistication and the strength of the central government, be transformed into movements of political opposition, as in the case of the successful Sarbīdār movement.⁶

The spread of the cabalistic ideas of the Ḥurūfiyya, the rise of the extremist Musha‘sha‘a,⁷ the renewed activities of the Nizārī Ismā‘ilis, the charismatic appeal of the Nūrbakhshīyya and the Ni‘matullāhiyya, and the incipient Qizilbash movement operating among the Turkmen nomads of Azerbaijan and eastern Anatolia, all contributed to the socio-religious ferment which characterized the turn of the century.⁸ What these heretical movements had in common was an amalgam of Shi‘ite and Sufi ideas with a messianism that was linked to the promise of the establishment of social justice.⁹ In the unstable political conditions prevailing after the death of Timūr in 1405, they were perceived as a political threat by Timūr’s son

and eventual successor, Shāh-Rukh (811–50/1409–47). And with good reason, since the followers of Faḍlullāh al-Ḥurūfi—who had directed a vehement propaganda campaign against the early Timurids, particularly Mīrān-Shāh, whom they dubbed “Mārān-Shāh” (“king of the snakes”) and anathematized as the anti-Christ (*daj-jāl*)—were, for example, attracting adherents among the Timurids’ Chaghatay nomadic military forces.⁹ Later, in 830/1427, they would even make an unsuccessful attempt on Shāh-Rukh’s life.

THE SUNNI REVIVAL UNDER SHĀH-RUKH

Shāh-Rukh’s energetic espousal of a policy of return to Sunni orthodoxy stemmed from the need to eliminate the threat presented by the growth of extremist Shi‘ite socio-religious movements and to ensure the maintenance of the political status quo.¹⁰ His transfer of the Timurid capital from Samarqand to Herat, “the dome of Islam,” in 812/1409,¹¹ represented a conscious shift in focus away from Transoxiana and toward the old Khorasanian centers of Islamic law, learning, and piety, thus signalling the start of a new era of accommodation and acculturation. Shāh-Rukh’s official abandonment of Turko-Mongolian customary laws in 813/1411,¹² and restoration of the Shari‘a earned him the title *pādshāh-i Islām* and fueled his pretensions to be recognized as caliph of the entire Muslim world.¹³ This was reflected in coinage he issued in Herat that exhibited the formula, *khallada Allāhu khilāfāhu* (“may God perpetuate his caliphate”).¹⁴

⁹ See Hellmut Ritter, “Studien zur Geschichte der islamischen Frömmigkeit II: Die Anfänge der Ḥurūfisekte,” *Oriens* 7 (1954): 7–28; also Ya‘qūb Āzhād, *Ḥurūfiyya dar tārikh* (Tehran, 1369/1991), 69–81.

¹⁰ On the meaning of orthodoxy and heresy in medieval Islamic states, see Bernard Lewis, “Some Observations on the Significance of Heresy in the History of Islam,” *Studia Islamica* 1 (1953): esp. 62.

¹¹ Herat’s epithet was “*qubbat al-Islām*”—see, for example, *MS*, 2.1:110. It was also applied at times to Balkh.

¹² Thus in *NSR*, fol. 2a (for this source, see p. 222 below). For other references, see V. V. Bartol’d, “Khalif i sultan,” in his *Sochineniia*, 10 vols. (Moscow: Nauka, 1963–77), 6:48.

¹³ On this see Bartol’d, “Khalif i sultan,” 48–49; and 77. See also, for example, *ZN*, 1:13 where he is referred to as “the hoister of the banners of the caliphate.”

¹⁴ Starting from 812/1409–10 and in place of the earlier “*khallada Allāhu sulṭānuhu*”—see Linda Komaroff, “The Epigraphy of Timurid Coinage: Some Preliminary Remarks,” *The American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 31 (1986): 218. Thus also *ZN*, 1:13.

¹ B. S. Amoretti, “Religion in the Timurid and Safavid Periods,” in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 6, ed. Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1986), 610ff.; Hans Robert Roemer, *Persien auf dem Weg in die Neuzeit: Iranische Geschichte von 1350–1750* (Beirut: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1989), 160–61.

² On Hanafism among the Turks, see W. Madelung, “The Spread of Maturidism and the Turks,” in *Actas-IV Congresso de Estudos Árabes e Islâmicos (Coimbra-Lisboa, 1968)* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971), 117–23.

him and his own son 'Abd-al-Laṭīf (q.v.) as his representatives to Beṣṭām and Astarābād, but 'Abd-allāh rejoined him before his return to Transoxania and did not enter 'Abd-al-Laṭīf's plot against him. Though captured by 'Abd-al-Laṭīf in the skirmishes between the armies of father and son in 1449, he was immediately set free. We do not know how he gained the confidence of influential court circles in Samarqand; but shortly after the murder of the parricide 'Abd-al-Laṭīf himself (9 May 1450), the amirs elected 'Abdallāh as successor. His main support seems (according to the list in *Mo'ezz al-ansāb*, fol. 143a) to have come from traditional Turkish and Mongol chiefs in Samarqand, to whom the surviving grandsons of Šāhroḡ in Herat and Iran may have appeared too distant to be pretenders to the throne, but also from the *šayḡ-al-eslām* Borhān-al-dīn b. 'Eṣām-al-dīn (d. 1472), who left Samarqand before the accession of 'Abdallāh's successor, Abū Sa'īd.

According to his coinage, 'Abdallāh claimed central power as khan of the traditional Chaghatay dominions; but he was apparently not recognized outside Transoxania, and some sources mention 'Alā' al-dawla, Abu'l-Qāsem Bābor, or even Abū Sa'īd, with more respect. The most serious opposition rose with the new pretender Abū Sa'īd, who was immediately set free from imprisonment in Bokhara after the murder of 'Abd-al-Laṭīf, and behind whom stood a party of opponents against the liberal and enlightened court of Ebrāhīm Solṭān and Uluḡ Beg. Only once, in 854/1450, was 'Abdallāh able to defend himself against troops of Abū Sa'īd, but when these occupied Yasī (Turkestan), his army withdrew for fear of a pretended incursion of Uzbegs. When the Uzbek Khan Abu'l-Ḳayr joined Abū Sa'īd the following year, they easily defeated 'Abdallāh's army and put him to death near Samarqand on 22 Jomādā I 855/22 June 1451.

There seem to be no traces left of 'Abdallāh's rule in Transoxania. Barthold has suggested that it was he who erected the tombstone to Uluḡ Beg in the Gūr-e Mīr with an accusation of the parricide, but this monument may pertain to Abū Sa'īd's reign (Barthold, *Four Studies* II, p. 163). There exists a short description of his court in Shiraz (Dawlatšāh, p. 350, *Bābornāma*, fol. 10a). He apparently had no offspring from his two marriages with daughters of Uluḡ Beg and Amir Ḳodāy-qolī.

Bibliography: *Mo'ezz al-ansāb*, ms. Bibliothèque Nationale, pers. 67, fol. 143a. 'Abd-al-Razzāq Samarqandī, *Maṭla' al-sa'dayn* (Lahore) II, pp. 756-59, 894-900, 938, 949, 985f., 1006, 1019-22. *Ḥabīb al-sīar* (Tehran) III, pp. 621-25; IV, pp. 39-50, 104f. Mīrḡānd (Tehran) VI, pp. 771-78. Ḥasan Rūmlū (Tehran), index. Asfezārī, *Rawzāt al-jannāt*, Tehran, 1339 Š./1960, II, pp. 123f., 138f. 168f. *Bābornāma*, ed. A. Beveridge. GMS I, Leiden and London, 1905; fol. 10a; tr. idem, London, 1921, pp. 20, 85. Moḡammad Ḥaydar Doḡlāt, *Tarikh-i Rushidi*, tr. Elias and Ross, London, 1895, p. 83; Qāzī Aḡmad Ġaīfārī, *Tarīḡ-e jahānārā*, Tehran, 1342

ABDALLĀH B. EBRĀHĪM, called Mīrzā Solṭān 'Abdallāh Šīrāzī, grandson of Tīmūr's son Šāhroḡ, born 27 Raġab 836/19 March 1433 in Shiraz of Mehr Solṭān Ḳātūn daughter of Alūčehra. By Šāhroḡ's command he succeeded his father in the government of Fārs at the latter's death (4 Šavvāl 838/3 May 1435) under the regency of Shaikh Moḡebb-al-dīn Abu'l-Ḳayr. The latter kept him short of money and influence and was twice removed from office after complaints of the amirs of Shiraz, but reappointed (845/1441-42 and 850/1446, *Maṭla' al-sa'dayn* II, pp. 756-59).

'Abdallāh's cousin, Solṭān Moḡammad, tried to incorporate the province of Fārs into his dominion and besieged Shiraz in Ramaṣān 850/November-December 1446, but withdrew before the approach of Šāhroḡ's army (Ja'far, cited by Barthold, tr. Hinz, *ZDMG* 90, p. 394). But after Šāhroḡ's death (12 March 1447) he succeeded in defeating 'Abdallāh's army (851/1447). 'Abdallāh, who had fled to Eṣṭāḡr, was left free to choose his place of exile; taking advantage of a favor promised by Uluḡ Beg (in the days of his cordial and congenial relations with Ebrāhīm Solṭān), 'Abdallāh went to Herat. Perhaps he had been promised the government of Khorasan (*Maṭla' al-sa'dayn*, II, pp. 898f.; Ḥasan Rūmlū, p. 267), but in the struggles of the Timurid princes for supremacy such a claim was not to be asserted. On the approach of Uluḡ Beg to Herat in 1448 to defend his succession to his father against other pretenders, 'Abdallāh crossed over to him during the battle at the Tarnāb. Uluḡ Beg sent

E. Ir. I. c (5.2), s-180-181,

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3 SUBAT 1993

Browne,
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III, 379-384

891.53

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[Tr. of *Yāddāshthā-yi Kaykhusraw Shāhrukh*.]

Shahrokh

7 EYLUL 2000

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[Le corps des émirs timurides sous Shahrokh. Version allemande par Hans R. Roemer]]

meaning they ascribed to it. Nonetheless, there are significant differences among the sources, which we can usefully exploit once we have identified them. Some of these come out of the goal set by the historian; whether he is writing a universal history, a biography, or a description of local buildings and shrines. Even more important, often, are the differences among our authors which arise from chance – their particular milieus, geographical origins and personal interests, all of which influence what they knew. It is in the issue of inclusion or exclusion that the influence of personal contacts emerges most clearly. What authors set out to portray was the life of dynasty, city or region and what they created was a product of the sources available to them, both written and oral. Information found its way into a work not only systematically, but also as the author happened to know it or to care about it. Because Fasih Khwafi writes of his own ancestry, we know that he descended from a local military figure; this then applies to other members of his family serving in the *dīwān*.

Once we recognize the importance of the individual historian in determining what is included in his work, we can understand the role of chance in what we do and do not know. Fasih's middle position in the *dīwān* and his attachment to local religious figures together provide us a fund of information we would otherwise not have. On the other hand, the rise of Khwaja Ahrar just after Shahrukh's period, while it preserves information from a Naqshbandi viewpoint, has probably also helped to rob us of other points of view. If we are to judge what we do have and to use it responsibly we have to determine the factors that have influenced what was written and what has survived. Many of these factors have to do with developments outside the time period discussed; which regions have had an active historical tradition, which Sufi organizations have since risen to power.

As I have tried to show, when we combine a variety of sources, we can find ourselves balancing quite different views of society and government. While the works that one might call central – the dynastic histories written for the court, the *tadhkira* literature written for a specific *silsila* – give the impression that most power was in the hands of a few well-known men, the works of historians whose attachment to one region gave them a narrower but deeper focus can help to dispel that impression. Local grave visitation manuals fill in some of the blank spaces left by Sufi biographical literature because they include shaykhs whose *ṭariqas* have not continued to be important in the region. With a combination of central and local sources, it is possible to gain some understanding of the breadth of power relationships across the political and religious landscape.

CHAPTER 3

Shahrukh's *dīwān* and its personnel

Shahrukh

Under Shahrukh the chancellery and financial administration – the *dīwān* – was a significant locus for power and thus the scene of struggles for preeminence. Like other bureaucracies it had a sophisticated culture of literary and accounting skill, graft, wit and backbiting. There are several issues that deserve attention: how involved the ruler and other members of the dynasty were in administrative affairs, how power was wielded within the financial administration, and how it changed hands, and finally, how personnel were recruited and used. Another important question is how closely Chaghatay emirs worked with the fiscal bureaucrats.

From the Seljukid period on, governments in Iran usually had two separate sets of personnel; military and court offices were held by members of the Turkic military elite, while the civilian administration was staffed by Persian bureaucrats. This system did not preclude the personnel of either side from taking part in the other, and Persian viziers were sometimes important commanders. Emirs frequently attempted to influence events in the fiscal administration, which handled both their pay and their taxes.¹ Nonetheless, offices and personnel remained officially separate. In the Timurid state, the dual system continued but we cannot assume that it operated the same way. In the "Mu'izz al-ansab," which mirrors the formal organization of Timurid administration, the two sides of government are separately listed; first come the emirs, almost all of whom were Turco-Mongolian, then other offices, usually reserved for the Chaghatay, and near the end of the list we have sections for Persian scribes, Turkic scribes, and *ṣadrs* (the religious functionaries who oversaw appointments and *waqf* endowments). Listed under Persian scribes we find most of the Persian *dīwān* officials mentioned in the histories, and usually several of the men mentioned as *ṣadr* in the "Mu'izz al-ansab" also appear in narrative sources. However, the men listed as Turkic scribes are rarely mentioned elsewhere.

Scholars have provided several short descriptions of Timurid administration based primarily on materials from the late fifteenth century. There is

¹ Lambton, *Continuity and Change*, 28–68, 221–57.

- Celalyiriden 21-25
- Muzaffariden 26-32
- Sarbadarke 37-51
- Timurkuler 62-63
- Ahmed Celalyer 83-86
- Şahruh Mirza 125-126
- Ulup Bey 133-134
- Bu Sa'id Handedani 139-14
- Hüseyin Beykara 146-150
- F. Sa'id Koyunlular 142-178
- Ak Koyunlular 173-178
- Uzun Hüszen 202-204
- Şah İsmail I 211-224
- K. Z. b. 223-238

- Galäyiriden überg. Muh 256-264
- Şah Tahmasıp I 274-274
- Şah İsmail II 295-298
- Şah Abbas I 301-308
- Şah Abbas II 359-358
- Şah İsmail Külliyası 361-375

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... dem Methoden-Furacismus, der sich neuerdings durchgesetzt hat,
kann Herrschaftsgeschichte wieder ihren Rang als Grundlagenwissen-
schaft beanspruchen.

Das Land, von dem hier zu sprechen ist, wurde seinerzeit Persien
genannt, obwohl die Eigenbezeichnung, damals wie heute, Iran war und
ist. Das komplizierte Verhältnis, in dem die beiden Bezeichnungen zu-
einander stehen, soll hier nicht erörtert werden. In unserem Zusam-
menhang wird „Persien“ gewöhnlich für den in der Endphase des Safa-
widen-Reichs geltenden Territorialbestand verwendet, „Iran“ für den
Ausstrahlungsbereich der persischen Sprache und Kultur, besonders
wenn er über das persische Staatsgebiet hinausgeht.

Entstanden ist diese Arbeit im Orientalischen Seminar der Universi-
tät Freiburg, zu dessen Direktoren der Verfasser von 1963 bis 1983
gehörte. Eine ganze Anzahl einschlägiger Einzelprobleme konnte er in
Dissertationen und Magisterarbeiten seiner Studenten untersuchen las-
sen, wofür er sich in jedem Fall zu großem Dank verpflichtet weiß.
Desgleichen betrachtet er es als eine angenehme Pflicht, seinen Mitar-
beitern und nachmaligen Kollegen, besonders den Professoren Bert
Fragner, Erika Glassen, Ulrich Haarmann und Hans Müller sowie in
der Schlußphase Frau Dr. Monika Gronke, für fördernde Gespräche,
manchen Ratschlag und wohlthuendes Interesse zu danken. Daß das
Buch auf die Initiative des früheren Direktors, Professor Dr. Anton
Heinen, hin in den Veröffentlichungen des Beiruter Orient-Instituts
erscheinen kann, erfüllt den Autor mit Freude und Genugtuung.

Freiburg, den 29. Juni 1989

Hans Robert Roemer.

HANS ROBERT ROEMER

11 KASIM 1995

PERSIEN AUF DEM WEG IN DIE NEUZEIT

Iranische Geschichte von 1350-1750, Wiesbaden-1989, VII-X, DN: 33127.



INHALT

- Der historische Rahmen 1
- DAS VORSAFAWIDISCHE IRAN 15
- Die Erben des iranischen Mongolen-Reichs 17
 - Die Galäyiriden 21
 - Die Familie İngü und die Muzaffariden 26
 - Die Sarbadären und ihre Rivalen 33
 - Die Sarbadären eine sozial-progressive Gruppe oder ein Kö-
nigreich ohne Könige? 52
- Timur in Iran 57
 - Herkunft und Anfänge Timurs 58
 - Der Siegeszug Timurs nach Vorderasien 62
 - Die Eroberung Ostirans 63
 - Motive und Methoden 68
 - Timur und die Goldene Horde 74
 - Die Unterwerfung Zentral- und Westpersiens 77
 - Timur stößt an die Grenzen seiner Macht 83
 - Sultan Ahmad Galäyir 83
 - Der Widerstand der Galäyiriden nicht erfolglos 87
 - Ausschaltung der Goldenen Horde 89
 - Der indische Feldzug 93
 - Der Feldzug nach Syrien und Anatolien 94
 - Aufbruch nach China – Krankheit und Tod 102
 - Timur als Persönlichkeit 105
 - Timur – ein historisches Verhängnis? 113
- Persien unter den Nachfolgern Timurs 121
 - Drohender Verfall – Konsolidierung 122
 - Die Wirren nach Timurs Tod 122
 - Şah Ruhs Kampf mit den Qara Qoyunlu und anderen Geg-
nern 125

mikyasındaki siyasi faaliyeti'ni tesis eylemiş, tekmil Temür memleketini 43 yıl kadar, Horasan'ı ise 50 yıl müstakillen idare etmiştir.

Şahruh'un kardeşleri Miranşah, Ömer Şeyh ve Cihangir'in oğulları idaresinde bulunan yerleri yavaş yavaş kendi oğullarının idaresine vermeğe muvaffak olması bir gasp siyaseti neticesi olmamış, hâdisat bunu icab ettirmiştir. Bilâkis Şahruh, yeğenlerinin, kendisine muti olmaları şartıyla babası Temür tarafından verilmiş vilâyetlerinde iş başında kalmalarını temine uğraşmıştır. Hattâ Miranşah'ın oğlu Ömer Mirza Azerbaycan'dan ayrılınca Şahruh kendisine tâbi Astarâbad eyaletini ona süyürgal olarak vermişti.

Semer kand'ın idaresinden uzaklaştırılan Halil Sultanı ise Şahruh Rey (yâni şimdiki Tahran) vilâyetinin vâlisi yaptı ve aynı zamanda ona büyük babası tarafından hisse olarak verilen Erran, Gürcistan, Şirvan ve Ermenistanı tekrar ele geçirmesi için maiyyetine ordu vereceğini vaad etti. Fakat siyasi dâvalardan usanmış olan Halil Sultan bundan istifade etmedi. Diğer yeğeni İskender Mirza evvelce Fergane ve Kâşgar'da, sonra Hemedan'da vâli olmuş, daha sonra Şiraz'ı kardeşinin elinden almıştır. Ancak, şâir, san'atkâr ve âlim, aynı zamanda iyi birer asker olan bu iki mirzadan birincisi kendi eceliyle öldükten, diğeri de kardeşleri ile kavgada mevkiini ve gözlerini kaybettikten sonradır ki Şahruh, Rey ile İrakı kendi torunu Sultan Muhammed Mirzaya, Şiraz ile tek mil Fars vilâyetini de oğlu İbrahim Mirza'ya vermiştir.

Temür'ün vefatını müteakip 7 yıl devam eden iç karışıklıklardan faydalanan Karakoyunlu Kara Yusuf Azerbaycan'ın idaresini ele almış ise de Diyarbekir vilâyetini idare eden Akkoyunlu beyi Kara Osman, Bitlis'i idare eden Emir Şemseddin, Evnik kalesini, sonra da Ahlatı idare eden Doladay ve Şirvan Şahları, merkezî Temürlü hükümetine, yani Şahruh'a sadık kalmışlardır. Şahruh, memleketinin bütün idaresini kendi eli altında iyice birleştirdikten sonra Karakoyunlu ihtilâllerine son vermek emeliyle Azerbaycan'a gelerek vaziyete hâkim oldu ve idaresini kendi beylerinden Emir Ebusait'e verdi. 1420-21 yıllarına tesadüf eden bu seferinde kışı Karabağ'da, yazı da Ahlat ve Adilcevaz taraflarında geçirdi. 1429-30 yıllarında vâki olan ikinci seferinde, Kara Yusuf'un oğlu İskender'i Selmast'da mağlûp edip bir kışını daha Karabağ'da geçirdi. 1433—1436 yıllarında vâki olan üçüncü seferinde ise Şahruh, Azerbaycan'da üç sene kaldı. Bu sefer de kışlarını babası gibi yine Karabağ'da, yazlarını da Van Aladağ'larında geçirdi. Şahruh'un bu son seferinde mağlûp olan Karakoyunlu İskender, Osman oğullarının ülkesine sığınınca İkinci Murad Şahruh'un düşmanları ile alışverişi olmadığını göstermek üzere kumandanlarından Umur Beğ ile

Zeki Velidi Togan

BÜYÜK TÜRK HÜKÜMDARI ŞAHRUH(*)

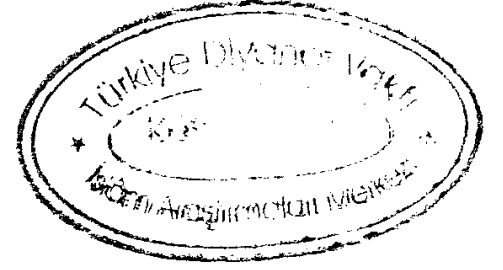
— Ölümünün 500 yıldönümünü münasebeti ile —

Temür'ün halefi olan oğlu Şahruh 1447 yılının 14 Martında ölmüş olduğu için 14 Mart 1948 de 500 yıl dolmuş oluyor. Önümüzdeki Martın 14'üne kadar onun 500 yıllığını tes'îd edebiliriz.

Şahruh 1377 yılının 21 Ağustos'unda Semerkand'de doğmuş ve tam 70 yaşı dolup 5 ay geçtikten sonra vefat etmiştir. Şahruh, annesi Karahıtay kabilesinden Tagantürkân Ağa isminde bir odalık olduğundan, Temür'ün han ve beyler soyundan gelen annelerden doğmuş diğer oğullarına tercih edilememiş, aynı zamanda fazla mütevazî, sulhperver ve dindar olduğu için Temür onu kendisine veliaht olarak tayin etmemişti. Maamafih Temür, memleketinin en merkezî kısmı olan Horasan'ın idaresine 1397 de Şahruh'u memur ettiği için hâdisat Temür'dan sonra onu hükümdar yapmıştır. Temür'ün vefatı dolayısıyla akim kalan Çin seferine hazırlanmış olan ordulardan bir kısmının başında bulunan torunu Halil Sultan, Azerbaycan ve Irak'ın umumî vâlisi olan büyük oğlu Miranşah'ın oğlu idi. Bu prens Temür'ün ölümü üzerine emrindeki ordulara dayanarak Semerkand ve Maverâünnehir'in idaresini ele geçirmiş, babası Miranşah da onunla birleşmek üzere mühim bir ordu ile Rey'e hattâ Radekân'a kadar gelmiştir. Fakat Şahruh bu ikisinin birleşmesine meydan bırakmamış, önce Halil Sultan'ı Semerkand'dan atıp orasının idaresini oğlu Uluğ Beğ'e vermeğe muvaffak olmuştur. Bir müddet sonra da vefat eden Miranşah'ın oğulları ile İran'ın güneyindeki Ömer Şeyh Mirza oğulları arasındaki ihtilâfların zuhurundan istifade etmiş, böylece, hilmi, vekarı ve siyasetteki ustalığı sayesinde batıda, Doğu Anadolu'da Van ve Diyarbekir'den, doğuda Kâşgar ve Yarkend'e, kuzeyde Aral gölünün ve Sırderya'nın kuzey mıntakalarından, güneyde Sind nehrine kadar uzanan sahalarda hükümranlığını ve bütün Asya

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ATATÜRK KÜLTÜR, DİL VE TARİH YÜKSEK KURUMU
T Ü R K T A R İ H K U R U M U Y A Y I N L A R I
XIX. Dizi—Sa. 14



MİRZA ŞAHRUH VE ZAMANI

(1405-1447)

Prof. Dr. İsmail AKA

Türk Tarih Kurumu

Aslî Üyesi

EKİM 1996

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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TOME CCXLV

ANNÉE 1957

Fascicule n° 3

SOMMAIRE

	Pages
M. BIARDEAU. <i>Le rôle de l'exemple</i>	233
L. A. SCHWARZCHILD. <i>Quelques adverbies pronominaux</i>	241
J. DENY. <i>Un soyurgal du timouride Šāhruḥ</i>	253
R. RAVEAU. <i>L'adaptation des Lois de Manu</i>	267
M. ROBINSON. <i>Sur l'araba</i>	273
B. PAULY. <i>Fragments sanskrits de Haute Asie</i>	281

Nécrologie :

Maurice Gaudetroy-Demombynes, par R. BLACHÈRE.....	309
--	-----

Comptes rendus :

VISHVA BANDHU, *A Vedic Word concordance* (L. Renou), p. 313. — W. RAU, *Staat und Gesellschaft im alten Indien*... (L. Renou), p. 315. — J. C. HEESTERMAN, *The* (Voir la suite p. 4 de la couverture.)

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post-apabhraṃśa features in the early prakrits», in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XXX, p. 245.

(10) S. K. CHATTERJI, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Calcutta, 1926, p. 858. Pour les adverbies de lieu voir JA, 1956, 3.

(11) J. WACKERNAGEL, «Indo-Iranica», in KZ, 67, 1942, p. 156.

(12) S. SEN, «Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan», in *Indian Linguistics*, Vol. XII, p. 82. Calcutta, 1951.

(13) Cf. JA, 1956, 3, pour les adverbies de lieu dérivés de ce thème.

(14) Cf. entre autres F. EDGERTON, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar*, New Haven, 1953, § 21, 49.

(15) J. BLOCH a déjà montré (*op. cit.*, p. 148) qu'à un état antérieur du moyen indien le thème a- était encore bien vivant, ce qui explique l'extension de la forme *ayām* au féminin chez Aśoka et en pali. Le thème a- a aussi exercé une influence sur les pronoms relatifs chez Aśoka, cf. J. VEKERTI, *Acta Orientalia*, III, 1953, p. 324.

(16) R. PISCHEL (*op. cit.*), § 149.

(17) A. F. HOERNLE, *Uvāśagadāsīto*, Calcutta, 1890. Glossaire, s. v. *emahālaya*.

(18) F. EDGERTON, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, New Haven, 1953, s. v. *edyaśā*.

(19) W. GEIGER, *Pali Literatur und Sprache*, Strasbourg, 1916.

(20) Pour la théorie la plus récente sur l'r, cf. H. BERGER, *Zwei Probleme der mittelindischen Lautlehre*, Munich, 1955, p. 43.

(21) L'explication phonétique proposée par Geiger pour *erisa* est à rejeter comme elle n'est pas d'accord avec les tendances phonétiques du moyen indien : i long ne peut pas devenir e.

(22) Cf. la formule : *evāyā me avarāhā, evākhuto aham avaraddho* = «tel est le nombre de mes péchés, j'ai péché tant de fois», Vavahāra, I.

(23) On a beaucoup écrit sur cette série de mots en -ima : e. g. KUHN, KZ, 35, p. 5 ; GEIGER, *op. cit.*, § 19, 1 ; PISCHEL, *op. cit.*, § 101 ; JACOBI, KZ, 54, p. 572 ; EDGERTON, *op. cit.*, § 22, 16 ; H. BERGER, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

(24) On serait tenté de proposer la théorie hasardeuse que la série *tai(y)ā*, etc., aurait été pour quelque chose dans l'évolution des adjectifs de qualité, *taiśa*, etc., qu'on trouve en apabhraṃśa surtout dans les œuvres d'Uddyotanaśūri : cf. les adjectifs de qualité de l'hindi moderne *taiśā* «tel» etc., L'explication par les formes difficiles de la śauraseni, *tādiśa* (pour *tāriśa*) > *taiśa*, n'est pas tout à fait convaincante.

(25) Il se peut que les adverbies à désinence aient d'abord exprimé des nuances de sens, e. g. *kāiyahum* «depuis quand» etc., et que ces raffinements de sens se soient peu à peu obscurcis, comme il arrive souvent chez les adverbies e. g. fr. «dedans» < de + de + intus.

(26) R. L. TURNER, *Nepali Dictionary*, London, 1934, s. v., *taila*.

(27) Cf. note supplémentaire sur *tāvat*.

(28) S. K. CHATTERJI, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Calcutta, 1926, § 600 ; cf. aussi R. L. TURNER, *op. cit.*, s. v. *aba*.

UN SOYURGAL DU TIMOURIDE ŠĀHRUḤ

EN ÉCRITURE OUIGOURE

PAR

J. DENY

Le Professeur E. Benveniste qui a accompli, comme on sait, une mission à Kabul en été 1947, nous a confié la photographie prise par M. Schlumberger d'un document en écriture ouigoure provenant du lieu-dit *Aṣhāb-i Kahf* «Les Sept Dormants».

Ce document avait été remis à M. Benveniste par son possesseur qui déclarait l'avoir trouvé dans une jarre parmi les ruines d'une maison lui appartenant à Maymana (Nord de l'Afghanistan). Il existe en effet, ou il a existé, dans cette ville une mosquée dite des «Sept Dormants».

Nous publions aujourd'hui ce texte avec un grand retard occasionné en partie par la perte d'une première épreuve photographique.

Rédigé en turc appelé «tchaghatay», c'est un édit du genre nommé *soyurgal* ou «bénéfice, concession», comme celui, en persan, également du xv^e siècle qu'a publié V. MINORSKY (*A Soyūrgāl of Qāsim b. Jahāngīr Aq-qoyunlu*, 903/1498, in BSOS, vol. IX, part. 4.) Notre document est plus court parce que d'un style beaucoup plus simple, moins ampoulé. La langue est d'ailleurs peu correcte au point de vue grammatical. Pour plus de détails sur les *soyurgal*, voir plus loin, p. 265, note 11.

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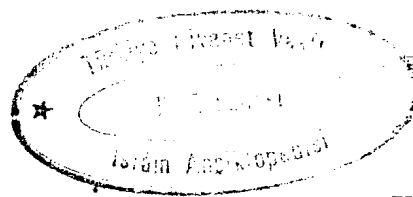
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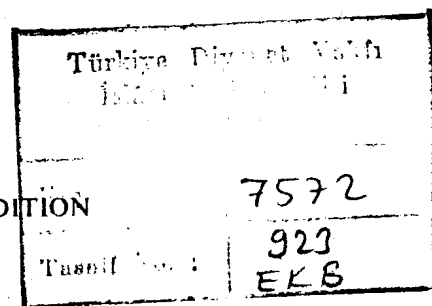
THE RELIGION OF AKBAR



BY

MAKHAN LAL ROY CHOUDHURY, M.A., LL.B.,
D.LITT., SASTRI

Premchand Roychand Scholar ; Mouat Gold Medalist ; Griffith Scholar ; Formerly Professor of History, T. N. Jubilee College, Bhagalpur, Bihar & Professor of Oriental Culture, Royal University, Cairo, Egypt ; Head of the Department of Islamic History and Culture, Calcutta University.



THIRD EDITION

ORIENTAL REPRINT



Ibn Arab Shah says that he used to have books read to him every evening.

Timur tells us in his *Institutes*³⁰: "Every kingdom which I reduced, I gave back the government of that kingdom to the prince thereof, and I bound him in chains of kindness and generosity ; I drew them into obedience and submission. The refractory, I overcome by their own devices, and I appoint over them a vigorous, sagacious and upright governor." This version exactly fits in with the spirit of Timur. To the refractory, he was a veritable instrument of destruction ; to the submissive he was all bountiful. Before a conquest, he planted himself outside the city, raised a white flag as a sign of peace inviting submission ; if submission was not tendered, a red flag was hoisted, intimating the death of the nobles ; if yet submission was not tendered, black flag would fly as a signal for the burial of the city ; and on the Dark Horses would gallop to the enemy's city with unvarying consequences.

One can only wonder how this conqueror in the midst of his universal pillage, plunder and destruction, could think of inviting the learned to accompany him in his campaigns.

To him, the Shaikhs were as much a necessity as the soldiers. In war, the place of the learned was assigned at the farthest and safest corners—certainly not a happy compliment to them. His regard for the Shaikhs and Ulama was too universally known. In the destruction of Baghdad, so famous in history, so notorious for its cruelties, he spared the learned. This peculiar trait of character of Timur the Terrible and Timur the Mystic is indeed an interesting study. A mystic regard for Darweshes and saints and an admiration for the learned went hand in hand with his cold-blooded disregard of human life.

Shah Rukh (1304-47 A.D.), his son, was interesting, though in another way. "He desired not to extend," says Sir Malcolm, "but to repair the ravages committed by his father." This prince also encouraged men of science and learning and his court was splendid."³¹ "In brief, the empire founded by Timur was refined by the efforts of Mirza Shah Rukh, who during a long period busied himself in repairing the devastation wrought by his predecessor. . . . It is an extraordinary fact that the son of one so hard-hearted should be so kindly, amiable, gracious and friendly

³⁰ *Institutes of Timur*, Vol. II.
³¹ Malcolm, *History of Persia*, Vol. I, p. 487.

to learning, showing favour and courtesy to all, specially to scholars and men of parts." Abdul Qadir of Muraghah the musician, Qayamuddin the architect and engineer, Maulana Khalid the painter, adorned his court. "On Friday and Monday evenings," says Muazzam Bashi, "he used to assemble those who knew the Quran by heart and caused them to recite the entire scripture in his presence."

Bysundar, son of Shah Rukh, was a great patron of learning. Poets, artists, scholars and painters found a lord bountiful in him. They came from Iraq, Fars, Azar-baijan and from all parts of Asia.

Ulagh, another son of Shah Rukh, built at Samarqand his famous observatory and compiled the famous astronomical tables known as the *Zich-i-Ulagh Beg*.

"The Timurids were no barbarians," says Dr. F. R. Martin, "indeed everything goes to show that they were highly civilised and refined men, real scholars, loving art for the sake of art alone without ostentation. In the intervals between their battles, they enjoyed thinking of their libraries and writing poetry, many of them having composed poetry that far excels that of their poets." Bysundar was the founder of the most elegant style of book production in Persia, well deserved to be remembered as one of the greatest bibliophiles of the world."

Abu Sayyid Mirza sought "enlightenment from Darwesh and ascetic."³⁴

Umar Shaikh, father of Babar, "had a great liking for poets and he could recite poetry. He had a poetical temperament but was not solicitous of writing verses, spent most of his time in reading books, historical and poetical. The Shah Namah was often recited before him and he was an excellent companion."³⁵ He had a great respect for Darweshes and saints and often would sit at their feet for wisdom.

His son, Babar, is indeed one of the most romantic personalities of mediæval Asia. He combined in him the blood of two great houses—of Chengiz Khan and of Timur-i-Lang.³⁶ Left to the

³² Turki Trans. by Faraghi, pp. 266-67.
³³ Abul Fazl, A. N., Vol. III, p. 216.
³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 218-19.
³⁵ Babar's father, Umar Shaikh, married the sister of Muhammad Khan, a regular descendant of Chagtai Khan, the head of Chagtai branch of Timurid house. For the genealogy of Muslim Kings, Lane-Poole is excellent.

of Tālīsh [*q.v.*] (the *Tawālīsh*) in the north of Gilan; he states that its people were nominally *Shāfiʿis*.

3. A town of western *Khurāsān*, lying just to the south of *Bisṭām* [*q.v.*] in lat. 36° 25' N. and long. 55° 00' E, altitude 1,360 m/4,460 feet. The town is unmentioned in mediaeval sources, but has become important since the 19th century from its position on the high road from Tehran to *Khurāsān* and now on the railway; there is also a road from it across the Elburz to *Astarābād/Gurgān* and the Caspian coastlands, which is normally passable all through winter. After the Iranian Revolution of 1979, the town was renamed *Imām-rūd* but has now reverted to the old name of *Shāhrūd*; it comes within the *Simnān* province. The population in 1991 was 92,195 (*Preliminary results of the 1991 census*, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division).

Bibliography: For older references and the 19th century travellers, see the *EI* art. Also Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 220-1, 366; Admiralty handbooks. *Persia*, London 1945, index; *Razmārā* (ed.), *Farhang-i dīghrāfiyā-yi Irānzamīn*, iii, 171-3; *Camb. hist. of Iran*, i, 42-4.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

SHĀH RUKH b. *Tīmūr*, fourth son and successor of *Tīmūr* (Tamerlane), was born on 14 Rabīʿ II 779/20 August 1377 of one of *Tīmūr*'s concubines, *Taghāy Tarkān Aghā*. In 794/1392 *Tīmūr* appointed him to the new fortress of *Shāhrukhiyya* north of the *Jaxartes*, and in 799/1397 made him governor of *Khurāsān*, *Sīstān*, and *Māzandarān*. *Shāh Rukh* was married to two prestigious women, *Gawharshād* bt. *Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tarkhān* and *Malikat Agha*, the *Činggisid* widow of his eldest brother 'Umar *Shaykh*.

As governor of *Khurāsān*, *Shāh Rukh* was in a strong position in the struggle after *Tīmūr*'s death on 17 *Shābān* 807/18 February 1405. He gave limited support to *Tīmūr*'s designated successor, *Pīr Muḥammad* b. *Djahāngīr*, while allowing other princes to exhaust their resources. In 811/1408, he campaigned against the insubordinate rulers of *Sīstān*, devastating their irrigation systems. After *Pīr Muḥammad* died in 809/1407 and dissident *amīrs* deposed his nephew *Khalīl Sulṭān* in *Transoxiana*, *Shāh Rukh* entered *Samarḳand* in late 811/Spring 1409 and installed his son *Ulugh Beg* as governor, retaining *Harāt* as the main capital. In late 815/Spring 1413, his army retook *Khwārazm* from the *Golden Horde*.

Southwestern Persia was held by the sons of 'Umar *Shaykh* b. *Tīmūr*, who gave *Shāh Rukh* nominal recognition. In 816/1413 *Iskandar* b. 'Umar *Shaykh* took the title *Sulṭān* and prepared to oppose *Shāh Rukh*. *Shāh Rukh* defeated him at *Iṣfahān* on 3 *Djumadā I* 817/21 July 1414. 'Umar *Shaykh*'s other sons continued to be troublesome; in the autumn of 818/1415, *Shāh Rukh* attacked them and installed his son *Ibrāhīm Sulṭān* as governor of *Fārs*. In the next two years he undertook campaigns to *Kandahār* and *Kirmān*, and dismissed the rebellious governor of *Andīdjan*, *Aḥmad* b. 'Umar *Shaykh*. By 821/1418 *Shāh Rukh* had removed his nephews from all major provinces.

Kāra Yūsuf Kāra Koyunlu had taken *Ādharbaydjan*, killed *Mīrānshāh* b. *Tīmūr* and annexed *Sulṭāniyya*, *Qazwīn* and *Hamadān* [see *KARA KOYUNLU*]. On 11 *Shābān* 823/21 August 1420, *Shāh Rukh* began a long-projected campaign against him, probably with the encouragement of the *Ak Koyunlu* (*J.E. Woods, The Aqquyunlu: clan, confederation, empire*, Chicago 1976, 58; 'Abd al-Husayn Nawāʿī (ed.), *Asnād wa mukātabāt-i tārikhī-yi Irān*, Tehran 2536/1977, 179-85) *Kāra Yūsuf* died before *Shāh Rukh* arrived.

Ādharbaydjan had not been strongly held by *Tīmūr*, and *Shāh Rukh* was content with nominal overlordship and the possession of *Qazwīn* and *Sulṭāniyya*. After a year pacifying the region he installed 'Alī b. *Kāra 'Uthmān Ak Koyunlu* as governor, and put an *amīr* with an army in *Sulṭāniyya*.

The rule of Shāh Rukh

Shāh Rukh was quite willing to use violence; he executed both insubordinate followers and religious figures, and wrought deliberate destruction in *Sīstān* and *Ādharbaydjan*. He was at the same time a cautious ruler, who rarely undertook campaigns without provocation and the assurance of military superiority and of local alliances. Most of his reign he spent in *Khurāsān*, going in spring to hunt in *Sarakhs* and to visit the *Mashhad* shrine. Many military expeditions were entrusted to his sons and *amīrs*. *Ulugh Beg* campaigned aggressively against the *Moghuls* and the *Djočids*, and *Ibrāhīm Sulṭān* campaigned in *Khuzistān* and southern *Persia*. The balance of power in the north shifted after 830/1426-7 when the *Uzbeks* defeated *Ulugh Beg* and *Muḥammad Djūkī* b. *Shāh Rukh*: after this *Ulugh Beg* stopped campaigning in person. The *Moghuls* became aggressive and took *Kāshghar* in 1435, while the *Uzbeks* under *Abu 'l-Khayr Khān* raided *Transoxiana* for the rest of *Shāh Rukh*'s reign. *Abu 'l-Khayr* invaded *Khwārazm* in 834/1430-1 and 839/1435; *Shāh Rukh* quartered a winter army in *Māzandarān* to protect the frontier. In the west, *Shāh Rukh* defended his political claims. On 5 *Radjab* 832/10 April 1429 he set out against *Iskandar* b. *Kāra Yūsuf Kāra Koyunlu*, who had seized *Sulṭāniyya*. He defeated *Iskandar* near *Salmās* on 18 *Dhu 'l-Hidjja* 832/18 September 1429, and appointed *Iskandar*'s brother *Abū Saʿīd* governor. In spring 838/1435 *Shāh Rukh* set out again against *Ādharbaydjan*, which had fallen to *Iskandar*. *Iskandar* fled and local rulers submitted with little resistance. *Shāh Rukh* made *Djahānshāh* b. *Kāra Yūsuf* governor of the region; this arrangement lasted until *Shāh Rukh*'s death.

Shāh Rukh exchanged embassies with a large number of powers. He received homage from many neighbouring rulers: the *Ak Koyunlu*, the *Dihlī* *Sulṭān*, the rulers of *Hurmuz* and, at least at the beginning of his reign, the *Ottoman* sultans. *Shāh Rukh*'s attempts to assert superiority over the *Mamlūk* sultans evoked increasing hostility up to the accession of *Çağmağ* in 842/1438, after which relations were cordial though equal. Until the death of the *Yung-lo* emperor in 1424, *Shāh Rukh* exchanged frequent embassies with *China* (a total of 20), and established a rare level of formal equality with the emperor (*M. Rossabi, Two Ming envoys to Inner Asia*, in *T'oung Pao*, lxii/1-3, 1-34).

Shāh Rukh governed by balancing the power of his subordinates, allowing individuals to hold office for long periods. The power of his two most eminent *amīrs*—'Alīka *Kükeltāsh* and *Djalal al-Dīn Firūzshāh*—was kept in check by overlapping responsibilities and the administrative authority of *Shāh Rukh*'s son *Bāysunghur*. In his *dīwān* the two pre-eminent viziers—*Sayyid Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad* up to 819/1416-17 and *Khwādja Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīr Aḥmad* thereafter—shared authority with partners, and suffered periodic demotions. *Shāh Rukh* initiated the fiscal decentralisation of the *Timūrid* realm by distributing numerous *soyurghals*, grants of land with tax immunity. The magnificence of provincial courts suggests that not all revenues were forwarded to the centre. Nonetheless, *Shāh Rukh* retained sufficient funds to field a large army and to undertake major

شاه ابورجای غزنوی، شهاب‌الدین شاه‌علی ← بورجای غزنوی

شاهرخ گورکانی (šah.rox-e.gur.kā.ni) / شاهرخ میرزا / شاهرخ بهادر، ملقب به خاقان سعید و خاقان روزگار، فرزند تیمور، سمرقند ۷۷۹-ری ۸۵۰ق، پادشاه شاعر و ادب‌دوست تیموری بود. چون تیمور به هنگام بازی شطرنج، از تولد او با خبر شد، وی را شاهرخ نامید. خاقان عنوانی است که بیشتر برای سلاطین تیموری، به‌ویژه، برای شاهرخ به‌کار می‌رفته و تاریخ‌نگاران دوره تیموری، در آثار خود، از او با القابی چون خاقان سعید و خاقان روزگار یاد کرده‌اند. شاهرخ در یازده سالگی ازدواج کرد و در سیزده سالگی که تیمور راهی دشت قبیچاق بود، حاکم سمرقند شد. شاهرخ از همان آغاز جوانی، از ارکان حکومت تیموری بود و در جنگ‌ها و یورش‌ها و نیز در اداره کارهای مملکت، از معتمدان خاص تیمور به‌شمار می‌رفت. در یورش پنج‌ساله تیمور به ایران (۷۹۴-۷۹۸ق)، سرداری بخشی از سپاه وی و در گشایش قلعه سفید در فارس، فرماندهی بخش چپ سپاه، بر عهده شاهرخ بود. در جنگی که میان تیمور و شاه منصور مظفری (۷۹۵ق)، حاکم شوشتر، درگرفت (۷۹۵ق) با آن‌که بیش از هفده سال نداشت، رشادت‌های فراوان از خود نشان داد و در درگیری با منصور، او را بکشت و سر بریده‌اش را برای پدر آورد. وی در همین یورش، در گشودن قلعه تکریت شرکت داشت. در ۷۹۶ق، به حکومت سمرقند و اطراف آن و در ۷۹۹ق، به حکومت خراسان، سیستان و مازندران رسید. شاهرخ با آن‌که رسماً به حکومت این ولایات رسیده بود، کمتر در قلمرو حکومتی خود می‌ماند و بیشتر در یورش‌های جنگی پدر، همراه وی بود. وی در یورش تیمور به هندوستان (۸۰۱ق)، در حکومت خراسان و توابع آن باقی ماند. اما در یورش هفت‌ساله (۸۰۲-۸۰۷ق) فرماندهی سپاه آذربایجان را برعهده داشت. در محاصره حلب (۸۰۳ق)، فرمانده بخش راست سپاه و در جنگ آنقره نیز، از سرداران سپاه بود. پس از فتح آنقره، به هرات، پایگاه حکومتی خود، بازگشت و تا آمدن تیمور همان‌جا ماند. در ۸۰۷ق، در قوریلتهای بزرگی (مجمع شاهزادگان) که برای فتح چین برپا شد، شرکت جست؛ ولی پس از حرکت سپاه تیمور به چین، در خراسان ماند. در همین سال تیمور درگذشت. با آن‌که تیمور نوه خود، پیر محمد پسر جهانگیر، را به ولی‌عهدی برگزیده بود، امرای حاضر در اردو، میرزا خلیل، پسر جلال‌الدین

میران‌شاه، را که در اردوگاه بود، به پادشاهی برداشتند و او را در سمرقند، بر تخت نشانند. در این میان، پیرمحمد با امرای خویش تصمیم گرفت، عمو و شوهرمادر خود، شاهرخ را به سلطنت بخواند. شاهرخ این تکلیف را پذیرفت و پیرمحمد نیز، از جانب او، به حکومت فارس باقی ماند. خلیل سلطان از همان آغاز، با مخالفت پسرعموی خود پیرمحمد و عموی خود، شاهرخ روبه‌رو شد و چون دید شاهرخ برای جنگ با او به سوی ماوراءالنهر در حرکت است، سفیرهایی نزد او که در بلخ بود، فرستاد و اظهار فرمان‌برداری کرد و بخشی از خزاین تیمور را که نزدش بود، برای او فرستاد و شاهرخ نیز، حکومت ماوراءالنهر را بدو سپرد. در همین سال، برادرزاده دیگر خود، سلطان حسین را که در اندیشه شورش برای پادشاهی خلیل سلطان بود، کشت. در ۸۰۹ق، گرگان را که از اطاعت او خارج شده بود، دوباره زیر فرمان خود درآورد و حکومت آن را به عمر بن میران‌شاه که به خدمت او پیوسته بود، سپرد. عمر پس از اندکی، بر شاهرخ بشورید و به خراسان لشکر کشید، اما شکسته و در نزدیکی مرو دستگیر شد و به سبب زخمی که برداشته بود، در راه هرات درگذشت (۸۰۹ق). در ۸۱۰ق، بار دیگر، شاهرخ به گرگان حمله کرد و پس از شکستن شورشیان، حکومت آن را به پسر خود الغ بیگ داد. وی در همین سال، در پی پیرعلی تاز، وزیر پیرمحمد جهانگیر که پیرمحمد را در ۸۰۹ق کشت، روانه بلخ شد و چون پیرعلی به هندوکش گریخت، شاهرخ تمام بخش‌های شمالی افغانستان، تا تخارستان و ختلان را در دست گرفت. ولایات مرکزی ایران، چون فارس، یزد، اصفهان و همدان، هر یک به ترتیب، از سوی شاهرخ، در قلمرو برادرزادگانش میرزا پیرمحمد بن عمر شیخ، میرزا رستم بن عمر شیخ و میرزا اسکندر بن عمر شیخ قرار داشتند. این ولایات که در اطاعت شاهرخ بودند و در آن‌ها به نام وی سکه می‌زدند و خطبه می‌خواندند، در این هنگام، میدان کشمکش‌های ایشان شده بود. سرانجام، پس از درگیری‌های فراوان، پیرمحمد پیروز شد و رستم و اسکندر به خراسان گریختند و به اطاعت شاهرخ درآمدند (۸۱۱ق). پس از آن‌که خلیل سلطان به دست امرای خود برکنار شد و ماوراءالنهر به دست خان کاشغر افتاد، شاهرخ برای سرکوبی امرای سرکش، به ماوراءالنهر لشکر کشید و سلطان خلیل را که در قلعه شاهرخیه زندانی بود، آزاد کرد و او را به حکومت عراق فرستاد و ماوراءالنهر را نیز، در ۸۱۲ق، به پسرش، الغ بیگ داد. در ۸۱۳ق، امیر شیخ نورالدین که از سرداران