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# Relationships between Timurid Empire and Qara Qoyunlu & Aq Qoyunlu Turkmens

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ABSTRACT: Following Abu Saeed Ilkhan's death (from Mongol Empire), for half a century, Iranian lands were reigned by local rules. Finally, lately in the 8th century, Amir Timur thrived from Transoxiana in northeastern Iran, and gradually made obedient Iran and surrounding countries. However, in the Northwest of Iran, Turkmen tribes reigned but during the Timurid raids they had returned to obedience, and just as withdrawal of the Timurid troops, they were quickly back their former power. These clans and tribes sometimes were troublesome to the Ottoman Empires and Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt. Due to the remoteness of these regions of Timurid Capital and, more importantly, lack of permanent government administrations and organizations of the Timurid capital, following Amir Timur's death, because of dynastic struggles among his Sons and Grandsons, the Turkmens under these conditions were increasing their power and then they had challenged the Timurid princes. The most important goals of this study has focused on investigation of their relationships and struggles. How and why Timurid Empire has begun to combat against Qara Qoyunlu and Aq Qoyunlu Turkmens; what were the reasons for the failure of the Timurid deal with them, these are the questions that we try to find the answers in our study.

Keywords: Timurid, Turkmen, Qara Qoyunlu, Aq Qoyunlu.

#### INTRODUCTION

Timurid Empire has grown and developed when Amir Timur Gurkani was alive. However, the Empire which was heavily dependent on the military power of Amir Timur and his troops couldn't last long at the time of his successors; thus quickly lost its power and former territory. In order to find the reasons of early collapse of Timurid Empire, some researchers mentioned to lack of appropriate structures of government. Another important reason was possibility of the emergence of pretenders to the throne in areas that had been under the command of Amir Timur for a time not so long. Following Timur's death and at the beginning of the Empire's collapse, while his sons and grandsons were involved in disputes and internal conflicts, some pretenders tried to fight against sons and grandsons of Amir Timur through establishment of some independent governments. Qara Qoyunlu and Aq Qoyunlu Turkmens were the main pretenders. These Turkmens who did not seem powerful, at the time of Timur's successors were given the growing power; and under the support of tribes of the central and western lands of Iran had challenged the Timurid princes.

### Amir Timur and his conquest

When Abu Saeed, the latest powerful Ilkhan of Mongol Empire, died in 736 A.H. /1336 A.D. (Mostofi, 1361: 626), anarchy prevailed in Iran. Everywhere the new pretenders or the former rulers thought about reigning. From Abu Saeed's death until full control of Timur on Iran that lasted nearly sixty years, some regions were governed by the local governments which were under the Ilkhanid's power at the same time; also there were established some new governments in some other areas. Chobanids in Ajam Iraq and Azerbaijan, Jalayerid dynasty (Ilkanid) in Arab Iraq, Toghay Timur in west of Khorasan and Gorgan, Kurt dynasty in east of Khorasan, Muzaffarid in Kerman and Yazd, Injuids, Shabankara, Lar and Hormuz rulers, the Persian Atabakan, Lorestan Atabakan, Sarbadars and Marashis (Marashiyan) in Mazandaran were a number of local rulers who were ruined by Timur's attacks or rarely were retained.

On Tuesday night of the 25<sup>th</sup> of Sha'ban of 736 A.H. / 1336 A.D., nearly five months after Abu Saeed's death, the Last mighty Ilkhan ruler of Mongol Empire, was born in Kash city near Samarkand (Yazdi, 1336: 8). His father, Targhay was from Barlas tribe, and his mother was Takineh Khatun (Mir Jafari, 1392:10).

The history has witnessed the progress of Timur since 761 A.H. /1360 A.D. . When the situation of Transoxiania was chaotic, Toghlogh Timur Khan, the ruler of the eastern parts of Olus Jaghatai County rushed there, Timur joined the Toghologh Timur Khan that was the beginning of his development. Timur was under the command of Ilyas Khawaja Oghlan, but left him because of temperament and despotic character of Khawaja Oghlan; and this time, he joined Amir Hossein Qazghany, the King of Balkh, Kunduz and Kabul (current northern Afghanistan) and then crossed the steps of progress. Along with Amir Hossein, he lived in bondage of Turkmens; but after release, Timur's conquest characteristic was appeared.

After overcoming Khawaja Ilyas, Timur prevailed over Transoxiana; then abolished Amir Hossein; finally, on Wednesday 12<sup>th</sup> Ramadan of 771 A.H. /1370 A.D. was on the throne in Samarkand which was chosen as its capital (Yazdi, 1336: 158). In the beginning, he conquered Khwarezm, Mongolia and Cumania (Cuman-kipchak Confederation) and later invaded Iran in three stages that are known as three-year, five-year and seven-year-old attacks.

Timur's conquests from Moscow to Delhi, and from Mongolia to Damascus, did not follow any geographical arrangement. At the end of wars and conquests, there were no permanent organizations, so he couldn't solve the problems deeply. For this reason, despite all the massacres and atrocities and painful blows, the Ottoman Empire, Golden Horde, the Khanate of Mongolia and Jalayerid dynasty were later re-emerged; and Timur was forced to fight against Mongolia, Khwarezm and Iran several times. Due to the fragmentation and lack of coordination, Timur's battles never ended and he should start again (Groseh, 1387: 688-689).

## Qara Qoyunlu's coming to power

As the Timurid Empire which took over the power after collapse of Ilkhanid of Mongol Empire in the chaotic situation, the Qara Qoyunlu dynasty tried to take power in the midst of the conflicts over succession of Timur. The rise of the dynasty have known since 808 A.H. / 1405 A.D. (Sykes, 1335: 215).

Beyram Khawaja who fought with Sultan Owais Jalayer in 767 A.H. /1365 A.D. but was defeated, was the first one of the tribes that claim to have power (Hafez Ebrow, 1351: 194). With the assistance of Beyram Khawaja, his brother i.e. Qara Mohammad ruled over Qara Qoyunlu in 782 A.H. / 1380 A.D. Although Qara Mohammad served under control of Sultan Owais Jalayer but following Owais's death, his successor, Sultan Hussein Jalayer to suppress and crush the Qara Qoyunlu's troops came to the Van Lake. Qara Mohammad who couldn't meet Sultan Hossein at this time, went to him and ask for his forgiveness; then Sultan Hussein accepted his apology on the condition that being obedient and delivery of compensation; finally he returned Tabriz (Bayani, 1382: 55-56).

In the year of 784 A.H. / 1382 A.D., Sultan Hussein's brother, Ahmed rebelled and killed him; and then took the power and named himself as "Sultan Ahmed". Nevertheless, to this throne, Qara Mohammd tried strongly and could defeat Adel Agha the ruler of Soltanieh, who was the pretender to the Sultan Hussein throne (Bayani, 1382: 70-71). Finally, Qara Mohammd was beaten and killed in the battle with Pir Hassan Turkman in 791 A.H. / 1389 A.D. . Qara Mohammad had three sons named Yar-Ali Beig, Mohammad Beig and Qara Yusuf. Thus Qara Yusuf could be on the throne due to his more courage. In order to avenge his father and seize the Pir Hassan Turkman's tribes and wranglers, asked Osman Beig Aq Qoyunlu to help him to defeat Pir Hassan; and then handcuffed him and sent to Timur; finally Timur killed him (Tehrani , 1356: 35).

## Sultan Shah Rukh Timuri's relationships with Qara Qoyunlu Turkmens

Qara Yusuf Qara Qoyunlu was usually in the battle with Timur. He came to fight with Sultan Shah Rukh and run battle against Timurid dynasty during his life. After Timur's death, Qara Yusuf gained control of the western territories of Iran particularly Azerbaijan. By killing of Sultan Ahmed Jalayer in 813 A.H. /1410 A.D., he drove the Timurid princes out of there, thus he ruled over Azerbaijan and Arab Iraq for 10 yaers (Mirjafari, 1392: 194). Amir Qara Yusuf and his son Iskander founded Qara Qoyunlu and put some obstacles in the way of Shah Rukh and rulers. Although Shah Rukh went to Azerbaijan in 822, 832 and 838 A.H. (1419,1429 and 1435 A.D., and could take there from Qara Qoyunlu Empire, but Azerbaijan was never under control of Shah Rukh, his sons and successors (Navayee, 1366: 82). Shah Rukh's target of attack to Azerbaijan was to release that place from Qara Yusuf's control; and preventing the Qara Qoyunlu's progress in Iraq (Sumer, 1369: 107).

The main reason of battle against Qara Yusuf was to take back Qazvin and Soltanieh from Qara Qoyunlu because these areas were very blessed and profitable; thus for this reason Iskander, son of Qara Yusuf insisted to occupy these areas. Undoubtedly, Shah Rukh became very upset because he didn't expect such behavior. In such circumstances, it was necessary to start battle, because Shah Rukh needed to achieve and maintain his high reputation and respect among the citizens and dependent rulers (Sumer, 1369: 119)

Shah Rukh has organized a huge troop throughout his Empire areas. The number of troops was very high but due to numerous battles in the Timur's time and civil wars after Timur, the troops both in body and in spirit were very fragile and vulnerable, and cold autumn in the Northwest of Iran aggravated the situation. In order to increase the soldiers' morale, Shah Rukh ordered to readers of Quran to read Surah of "Fath" (victory) twelve thousand times (Mirkhand, 1380: 1155). Before the war started, Qara Yusuf has died on Thursday, 7<sup>th</sup> Zighade (11<sup>th</sup> Arabic lunar month) in 823 A.H. / 1420 A.D. near the Ojan .

After his death, his troops were afraid of Timurid Shah Rokh's attack, so that they left the body of their ruler and fled, but the robbers have stolen the dead body's clothes and cut his ears with earring; finally Seyed Mohammad Kamjani along with his companions from Tabriz have transported the dead body for funeral procession to Arjysh (Hafez Ebrow, 1372: 735).

When the news of Qara Yusuf's death was spread, Shah Rukh made use of the situation and attacked Tabriz by his sons, but Qara Yusuf's sons were hidden themselves, thus Tabriz was occupied without bloodshed. Shah Rukh offered the Azerbaijan Government to some rulers and sons, but they refused from fear of Iskander. So, he decided to appoint Ali Beig Aq Qoyunlu as the ruler of this area. (Romelu, 1389: 133).

Once again, Iskander Qara qoyunlu revealed himself and suppressed his enemies; and ruled over Azerbaijan. However, Shah Rukh again attacked Tabriz in 823 A.H. / 1420 A.D., and Qara Qoyunlu applied the same way as before. This time, Shah Rukh appointed Abu Saeed, one of Qara Yusuf's son, as khanate. Thereafter Iskander was defiant, and killed Osman Aq Qoyunlu, then returned to Tabriz. Meanwhile, a large part of his troops joined Jahan Shah who was under control of Shah Rukh. Finally he went to the citadel of Nakhchivan Alanajeq; and was killed by his son. Jahan Shah who was the ruler of Soltanieh when his father was alive, following his father's death went to Baghdad with his brother "Shah Mohammad"; and helped him against the Sultan Owais II, but because of a dispute with his brother, he returned to Tabriz.

During the battle of Iskander and Shah Rukh, Jahan Shah supported Shah Rukh, thus he was appointed as the ruler of Tabriz. Jahan Shah organized military expedition to Georgia; and even during the time of Timurid Abu Saeed occupied Khorasan and Heart. Thus Qara Qoyunlu's Union came to power, but the power didn't take long, because it went into decline after Jahan Shah's death. The importance of Jahan Shah's ruling was because of entering of the second tribe of the triple Turkmen tribes to Iran who caused some profound changes in Itran's history (Roemer, 1387: 170).

## Shah Rukh's successors relationships with Qara qoyunlu and Aq Qoyunlu Turkmens

Following Shah Rukh's death, only one of his sons called Ulugh Beg was living who sat on his father's throne. At time of his father, Ulugh Beg was viceroy of Transoxiana. He was of a poet and scientist, especially a deep interest in astronomy, and his Imperial Court in Samarkand was the center of Persian literature (Groseh, 1387: 762). His reign period was very short, and was spent to fight against the pretenders to the throne in Khorasan region (aka, 195: 1390). Regarding Ulugh Beg short reign and involving in Khorasan issues and Transoxiana, there was no time left for him to notice Iran west part and Turkmens.

## The reign of Timurid Sultan Abu Saeed

In 857 A.H./1450 A.D., following Abdul Latif's death who had come to power after killing his father, Ulugh Beg; and after his ruling not more than six months; Sultan Abu Saeed captured the Samarkand and acquired Transioxiana. Abolkheir Khan Uzbek assisted him for these conquests. At various stages that he is expanding his territory and establishing domination, other Joghatai rulers such as Rokn-o-din Ala ud-Daula, Abul-Qasem Babur Moezo-din, Ghiyath al-Din Sultan Mohammad, Mirza Abdullah Shirazi, Sultan Ibrahim and Shah Mahmoud were also involved in war of power, and they were pretenders to the throne, but as time passed they were defeated. Abu Saeed has ruled over Turkestan, Transoxiana, Afghanistan and Khorasan for 18 years and changed the capital from Samarkand to Herat (Mirjafari, 1392 : 98).

## Timurid Abu Saeed's relationships with Jahan Shah Qara Qoyunlu

Following Shah Rukh's death, Jahan Shah Qara Qoyunlu led his army to Khorasan by making use of chaotic situation of Khorasan and continuous battle of Timurid rulers; and finally occupied Herat. Author of Rozat-al-Janat has written: Jahan Shah Mirza son of Qara Yusuf who was educated under Sultan Timurid Shah Rukh's care, at the

time of Shah Rukh was always obedient and submissive. When Shah Rukh died, although Jahan Shah was casting covetous eyes at Persian Land, non-Arab Iraq and Arab Iraq, but as long as Sultan Mohammad Mirza and Babur Mirza were alive, did not dare to do it. After their death, Jahan Shah conquered Persia and Iraq. Because of chaotic situation of Khorasan due to the Timurid rulers' battles, Jahan Shah made the most of opportunity to be at the head of an army, went to Khorasan and occupied Herat. (Zamjy Asfazari, 1338: 213).

At this time, Qara Qoyunlu Turkmen Union were at battle with another Turkmen Union called Aq Qoyunlu. Aq Qoyunlular army in fighting against Qara Qoyunlular were composed of Timurid's allies and Shah Rukh; until 864 A.H./1459 A.D. Jahan Shah Qara qoyunlu signed an alliance treaty with Sultan Abu Saeed (Pigoloskaya, 1367: 440). In the treaty was concluded between Soltan Abu Saeed and Jahan Shah, Kavir Plateau of Iran was designated as the boundary between their possessions. A contract to form a military alliance was concluded between them (Pigoloskaya, 1367: 439). When Jahan Shah has captured Heart, the capital of the Timurid rulers, he and Abu Saeed made peace; then he returned to Azerbaijan (Mirjafari, 1392: 257).

In 863 A.H. /1457 A.D., tribes envoys come to congratulate for conquered Khorasan, they awarded valuable gifts; and Jahan Shah appeased them; and finally gave them horse, gold, caps and belt and they were allowed to return.

## Uzbeks and their relationship with Sultan Hossein Baygara and his successors

After Abu Saeed killed, again Timurid faced period of conflicts and from this fightings Sultan Hossein Bayqara emerged whom his domain was smaller than Abu Saeed and Shahrokh and was limited to Khorasan.

His domain was not so close to Turkmen home and there is not much about their relationship in historic resources.from 875 to 911 A.H. / 1470 to 1505 A.D.,Sultan Hossein Bayqara ruled in Khorasan, Gorgan and Transoxiana and he was mostly linked to Uzbeks. Uzbeks who helped Sultan Hosein to get the power, gradually extended their possessions and was a threat to him.At 907 A.H. / 1501 A.D., Uzbeks were reinforced due to final conquest of Samarkand by Mohammad Shaibani.

Uzbek was one of the Mongol tribes who had come from Cumania (North Caspian) to Transoxiana. Uzbek migration to Transoxiania that known as "the third wave of immigration of Turkish-Mongolian" has begun by the military expedition of Mohammad Shaibani, from sons of Abol-kheir khan, Samarkand and Bukhara regions were placed between territory belonged to Sultan Hussein and possessions of Shaibani Khanate, which were ruled by sons of Abu Saeed, Sultan Ahmad Mirza and Sultan Mahmud Mirza. By the loss of them, Uzbek became neighbors of Khorasan, and was attacked such as Khorezm. In response to Ahmad Beg Qushchi who requested some assistance to protect Khorezm, Sultan Hossein wrote: "the income of a year in Khorasan was spent to that army sent to help you, but you can not do anything, thus to save Urganj (the capital of the Khorezm) I can not ruin Khorasan." Uzbeks went from Transoxania to Balkh. Badi' al-zaman Mirza who previously had rebelled against his father resisted nearly three months, but because he couldn't fight against Uzbeks, decided to compromise his father; then under protection of Muzaffar Mirza and Zahir al-Din Mohammad Babur were ready to fight against the Uzbeks. At the same time suddenly Sultan became patient and has died near Heart in 16 Zihajeh (12th Arabic month) of 911 A.H. / 10 May, 1506 A.D. (Roemer, 1385: 132). In Sultan Hossein Baygara time, Ottoman king Sultan Mohammad Sani wrotes a letter to him and wants him to unite to fight Aq Qoyunlus. In his letter, Ottoman king calls Sultan Hossein the real successor of Timur realm and wants to invade Aq Qoyunlus from west and east simultaneously and destroy them(samarkandi,1353:823). After Sultan Hossein, his sons Badi' al-zaman Mirza and Mozzafar Hussein Mirza came to power together; but they could not be successful, and the Timurid dynasty was collapsed in Khorasan. Finally, Herat was captured by the Uzbeks in Muharam 913 A.H. / June, 1507 A.D.; from that they have penetrated the great Khorasan i.e. Kandahar in the south, Sabzevar in the west and even Bastam and Astarābād. In 916 A.H. / 1510 A.D. , Shah Ismail Safavi released Herat and many regions of Khorasan from the hands of Uzbeks. Badi' al-zaman who was left alone, asked help from Shah Ismail; and then went to the Ottoman Imperial Court where he died in 923 A.H. / 1517 A.D. (Brown, 1339: 599).

## Role of Shirvanshah in relationships between the Timurid and Qara Qoyunlu & Aq Qoyunlu Turkmens

Shirvanshah Sheikh Ibrahim had many sons; that among them, Khalilullah I came to the throne. Shirvan was in peace and stability during his forty-seven years of governance. He followed his father's ways with regard to the surrounding states. Following of the movements of Qara Yusuf Qara Qoyunlu and his son Iskander in Azerbaijan, the Timurid Shah Rukh was obliged to attack Azerbaijan and Caucasus three times from 823 to 838 A.H. (1419 to 1434 A.D.) (Roemer, 1380: 151). Khalilullah was called by Shah Rukh in Qarabakh at first in 823 A.H / 1419 A.D. (Mirkhand, 1380: 5344). In this first meeting, Shirvanshah who was interested in gaining support of Timur's successors against Turkmen rulers, came to Shah with royal gifts. In Qarabakh conference, Shah Rukh brought Khalilullah to marry a maiden of the Timurid dynasty (Mirkhand, 1380: 5346). Shah Rukh paid attention to

Shirvanshah because he wanted to have helpe of Shirvanshah against Qara Qoyunlular. The attacks by Iskander, son of Qara Yusuf to Shirvan and Azerbaijan were reported to Shah Rukh by Khalilullah (Mirkhand, 1380: 5420-21). Although the previous Shirvanshah, i.e. Sheikh Ibrahim invaded Tabriz in 808 A.H / 1405 A.D. and was closed to the Timurid Sultan Ahmed Jalayer, but Khalilullah remained faithful toward Shah Rukh and Abu Saeed (reigned 855-873). Hostility with Shiite Qara Qoyunlu tribes was the reason of friendship between Shirvanshah and Timurids. Iskander Qara Qoyunlu's army invaded the territory of Shirvan, because of the inability of Shirvanids when fighting against the Turkmen riders, and then Khalilullah escaped and therefore Shirvan to Darband were captured by Qara Qoyunlu rulers (Ghaffari, 1343: 193). Meanwhile Shirvanshah asked Shah Rukh or AQ Qoyunlu for help; and sent emissaries to Aq Qoyunlu's and Shah Rukh's Imperial Courts in order to make them aware of Shirvan's disability against Qara Qoyunlular. As a result, Osman Beg Aq Qoyunlu made use the situation to advance from Rome and Dakharlu in Qara Qoyunlu's region (Tehrani, 1356: 107-9).

In 838 A.H. / 1434 A.D. , several princes of Shirvan revolted on Khalilullah, but defeated and asked help from Shah Rukh (Romelu, 1384: 72). However, after this event, Khalilullah was rid of the internal enemies and his friendly relations with the Timurid's Shah Rukh was continued. In the field of foreign policies, he could establish his rule under protection of Timurids and Aq Qoyunlu Turkmens; so by these policies he could resist against Qara Qoyunlu rulers. In 867 A.H./ 1462 A.D., his son Farrukh Yasar came to the throne, and the Kingdom of Shirvan had political stability from both aspects of internal and external risks (Ghaffari, 1343: 193).

Under the rule of Farrukh Yasar (867-906), the balance of power and politics in the northwestern regions of Iran have been changed repeatedly. Some political forces were marginalized and some fresh forces came into politics. During the conflicts between Jahan Shah and Iskander Qara Qoyunlu, the Timurid Shah Rukh has supported Jahan Shah (Samarkandi, 1353: 690). Following Shah Rukh' death, Jahan Shah demanded to extend his rule areas and to add the small around areas to its territory. Thus in 861 A.H./ 1456 A.D., he decided to capture the Shirvan that eventually changed his way to Diyarbakir. in the following year, Jahan was killed in the battle with Uzun Hasan Aq Qoyunlu, thus the Shirvan Land was saved from attacks of Qara Qoyunlus (Tehrani, 1356: 424). On the other hand, with the rise of Abu Saeed in place of Shah Rukh, the Timurids whose western territories were captured by Qara Qoyunlus, tried to re-conquer these areas but they failed because of harsh reactions by Aq Qoyunlus. Of course, the friendly relationships between Abu Saeed and Farrukh Yasar was continued until 873 A.H. / 1468 A.D. . In 872 A.H. / 1467 A.D., Abu Saeed in order to take the advantage of the conflict between two Turkmen Unions, moved from Heart to conquer Azerbaijan and Farrukh Yasar helped him against Uzun Hasan by sending forces and equipments. (Mirkhand, 1380, 5629) Finally in this battle, Abu Saeed was arrested and killed (Ghaffari, 1343: 252). The lack of assistance to Abu Saeed from Shirvanshah was the main reason for defeat of Timurid's troops. When Abu Saeed was in captivity, mentioned to above reason, thus the judge of Shirvan provoked Uzun Hasan to kill him (Mirkhand, 3313: 103).

However, Shirvanshah's perfidy to Abu Saeed was based on the political expediency, which was accompanied by pressures of Uzun Hasan (Mirkhand, 1380, 5631); thus it was the beginning of a lasting friendship between Shirvanshah and Aq Qoyunlu. At this point, the Shirvanshah choose the reliance and dependence on the superior forces and followed this principle like as Ibrahim and Khalilullah. Thus friendship between Shirvanshah and Timurids was ended because Farrukh Yasar has understood that the Timurid dynasty came to an end in western areas of Iran; and only through depend on Aq Qoyunlu's help he can protect his people against the foreigners' and enemies' attacks. Also, bonds of kinship between Shirvanshahids and Aq Qoyunlular has closed them together. Jacob Aq Qoyunlu accepted Farrukh Yasar and Sheikh Haydar Safavi as his son-in-law, and Baysonqor, son of Jacob was Shirvanshah's son-in-law (Bakıxanov, 1383: 102).

When the Aq Qoyunlu Empire was declined by Jacob's death (896 A.H. / 1491 A.D.), Shirvan has played his role in political events as in the past. In a power struggle between the two sons of Jacob, Rostam and Baysonqor, Shirvanshah helped Baysonqor with troops and money (Bakıxanov, 1383: 103). It should be noted that Farrukh Yasar didn't like to have a weakening rule. For a long time ago, in Azerbaijan and East Anatolia, a mundane-spiritual force has been formed that endangered the survival of all states of that region, specially Shirvan government. Weakness of Aq Qoyunlular after Jacob's death increased the danger of this new force. In the process of development of the Safavid, tendency to have military forces parallel to have spirituality has been started concordant with the leadership of Sheikh Junayd (Savory, 1374: 11). Sheikh Junayd began his first military operations by invasion of Circassians Land in the Northwest of Shirvan. According to people's willing, Amir Khalilullah prevented to cross the Junayd's troops and then war has begun as a result Junayd was killed and buried there (Bakıxanov, 1383: 11). Ten thousand troops of Junayd showed that he wanted to penetrate to Shirvan but defeated and died by Khalilullah in 860 A.H. /1455 A.D. . So it was delayed until Ismail Safavi was coming (Eskander Beg Turkmen, 1335: 18). Sheikh Haydar, son and successor of Junayd, after two successful wars against the Circassians (Romelu, 1384: 859-864) was

defeated by Farrukh Yasar's army. During this war occurred in Shamakhi in 893 A.H./ 1488 A.D., Jacob's forces helped Farrukh Yasar (Ghaffari, 1343: 262).

During the conflicts and clashes between Baysonqor and Rostam Aq Qoyunlu; in order to defeat Baysonqor, Rostam released three sons of Haydar Safavi: Ali, Ibrahim and Ismail who were detained in Estakhr of Fars. He could use their military forces to defeat and kill Baysonqor (Romelu, 1384: 889). With this strategy, Rostam repelled his challenger and then caused the battle between Safavid forces and Shirvan that was a threat for him. Although Khalilullah and Farrukh Yasar enjoyed the support of Aq Qoyunlu, but they failed to fight against the growing power of the Safavids. The differences between Shirvanshah and the Safavids were fundamental. Finally there was no possibility of compromise that include: religious-beliefs differences between Shiite Safavid and Sunni Shirvanshah; marriage of Shirvanshah with the main enemy of the Safavids i.e. Aq Qoyunlular; and killing of Safavid's fathers by Shirvanshah. Finally, these differences have led to death of Farrukh Yasar by Shah Ismail I in 906 A.H. / 1500 A.D. And then destroying of Shirvanshah in 945 A.H. / 1538 A.D. .

## Timurid relationship with other foreign powers

By making obedient Sultans of Egypt and Syria, on the western borders of Timur's possessions, Ottoman Empire was the only strong government which rebelled; Ottoman Empire ruled some regions of Balkan in south-eastern Europe and the western region of Anatolia. Sultan Ahmed Jalayer and Qara Yusuf Qara Qoyunlu who were supported by Ottoman were disobedient in Azerbaijan, Kurdistan and Arab Iraq. In such circumstances, Anatolian principalities and small governments which were in danger of decline, encouraged Amir Timur to attack the Ottoman government. Since the Ottoman Sultan was fighting and jihad against European Christians, Timur did not want to invade Ottoman territory and defame himself. So at first he tried to send friendly letters and make him obedient but it was not effectual. On 19th Zihajeh of 804 A.H. / 1402 A.D., the Timurid and Ottoman soldiers fought each other, finally Timur overcame the enemy. Then Ottoman Sultan Bayezid and his sons were arrested; West Anatolia rulers and local authorities retained their previous position (mir jafari, 1392:38). At the end, by weakening of Ottoman Empire, the European Christians escaped the danger and advance of Al-Othman for a half century. Nevertheless, Christian Europe States paid attention to Amir Timur after the Battle of Ankara unreasonably, since they were driven to extremities by Sultan Bayezid's attacks: as a result with defeat of Sultan Bayezid known as "Ayldrom" they could feel relax. After the war of Ankara, Timur moved to the West Anatolian Coast and occupied Izmir (Yazdi, 1366: 336). To celebrate victory over the Ottomans, Amir Timur sent his first letters to France, Britain and Spain; and their ambassadors traveled between both parties such that it was Ruy Gonzáles de Clavijo. King of Spain "Henry III" which calls for awareness of the situation in the eastern territories, sent emissaries who arrived in Ankara to serve Timur, and were honored. Timur sent the precious and valuable gifts to the King of Spain and as well as sent some ambassadors in the company of Henry III to Spain. In turn the King of Spain sent Ruy Gonzáles de Clavijo to Amir Timur at the head of the other delegation (Clavijo, 1366: 21-20). At the time, Europeans also came to Iran and wrote something which is available in the book titled "Iran from point of view European travelers in Timurid era". Amir Timur Gurkani wanted to attack China in 807 A.H./ 1404 A.D. but he died. What pushed him toward the Chinese government was sending an ambassador and demanded tribute from Amir Timur (Clavijo, 1366: 287-288). During the war against the Ottoman Empire, the Sultan of Egypt "Malek Faraj" introduced himself as tributary of Timur to preserve his country (Yazdi, 1336: 357). After Timur's death, due to the conflict among his successors, and empowerment of Turkmens in the west of Iran, there was not seen any relations between Timurid and Ottoman. Relations with Mamluk government of Egypt were formed in regard to the religious issues, so Shah Rukh's traveling to Egypt and sending Kaaba Textiles, confirms this case (Samarkandi, 1353: 823). During the reign of Timur's successors, especially Shah Rukh and Ulugh Beg, relations between Iran and China were friendly. Emperor of China sent a messanger to Iran in order to give condolences for the Timur's death and congratulation for Shah Rukh's succession and some ambassadors were sent from Iran to China (Samarkandi, 1353: 133).

#### CONCLUSION

Timurid relationships with Aq Qoyunlu Turkmens was begun with reconciliation; the great grandfather of this family by the name of Qara Osman was devoted to Amir Timur. Qara Qoyunlu relations with the Timurid usually not good; so that in the western regions of Iran and Anatolia the wars and clashes occurred between Timurid's troops and Qara Qoyunlu'. The governments in the region, including the Ottomans in the West Anatolia and Mamluks in Syria and Egypt supported Qara Qoyunlu rulers in order to be safe from the deadly attacks of Timur's forces. Qara Yusuf the leader of Qara Qoyunlu who often was in conflict with Amir Timur has risen to fight against Sultan Shah Rukh and fought until the end of his life. Following Timur's death, the Western regions of Iran, particularly Azerbaijan were conquered by Qara Yusuf. Because he was able to drive the Timurid's princes out of there and then killed

Sultan Ahmed Jalayer in 813 A.H. / 1410 A.D., nobody could stop him. Qara Yusuf and his son Iskander were a serious threat against Shah Rukh. Although Shah Rukh attacked Azerbaijan three times in 822, 832 and 838 A.H.(1419,1429 and 1435 A.D.) and conquered there, but Azerbaijan was never conquered by Shah Rukh and his successors. Shah Rukh had an intention to occupy Azerbaijan and Iraq in order to revive his father's territory.

During the fifteen years after the death of Amir Timur, Shah Rukh overpowered the other pretenders to the throne and he developed his power outside the borders of Khorasan. By the gradual domination on the vast majority of Timurese territory, peace and stability were presented although for a short term.

Shah Rukh, who was able to integrate the fragmented lands, had established friendly relations with many neighboring states, so that the ambassadors of India, China, Shirvan and Cuman-kipchak commuted in his Imperial Court. Despite of his successfulness for organizing the internal situation and overcome competitors, Shah Rukh couldn't maintain his authority in those areas due to power of Qara Qoyunlu Turkmens in Azerbaijan and western regions of Iran.

Given that more confrontations and clashes between the Timurid and Turkmen, were taken place in the Northwest of Iran, role of Shirvan government shall not be ignored in the balance of power and politics in these regions. Politics of Shirvan kings in general, was to respect the balance between the around rulers; and in crucial situations was a trend towards superior force.

After Shah Rukh, the Timurid dynasty kings were faced with the same situation almost, they were in war against Qara Qoyunlu and Aq Qoyunlu Turkmens who increasingly were annexed to the territory of the former Timurid, even marched to Khorasan. Relationships between Shirvanshah and Timurids were good, until Abu Saeed decided to conquer Azerbaijan and marched from Heart, he could be benefited by the conflict between Aq Qoyunlu and Qara Qoyunlu Turkmens. Shah Shirvan who promised to help, stopped his assistance because of threats of Uzun Hasan, and finally Abu Saeed was killed in a war against Aq Qoyunlu Turkmens under leadership by Uzun Hasan and then Timurid dynasty was destroyed forever in West of Iran, thus Abu Saeed's successors ruled only Khorasan and eastern regions of Iran.

In 875 A.H. / 1470 A.D., Sultan Husayn Bayqara of the Timurid dynasty came to the power in Heart. At that time Aq Qoyunlu Turkmens had prevailed over Abu Saeed and Jahan Shah. Uzun Hassan took some actions to destroy Sultan Husayn such as support for Mohammed Mirza and attack to Astarabad, but there was no result. Ottoman Sultan, Mohammad Sani sent a letter and asked for an alliance with the Timurid Sultan against Aq Qoyunlular.

Finally, both the Timurid dynasty and Aq Qoyunlular dynasty established boundaries between them, and were happy to peaceful neighborly relations and these relations were reconciled but sometimes the events and issues on the borders were marred.

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