

Mamluk Cairo, a Crossroads for Embassies

Studies on Diplomacy and Diplomatics

Edited by

Frédéric Bauden
Malika Dekkiche



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Contents

Preface	IX
Abbreviations	XIV
Charts, Figures, and Tables	XVI
Notes on Contributors	XX

1	Mamluk Diplomatics: the Present State of Research	1
	<i>Frédéric Bauden</i>	
2	Mamluk Diplomacy: the Present State of Research	105
	<i>Malika Dekkiche</i>	

PART 1

Diplomatic Conventions

3	Diplomatics, or Another Way to See the World	185
	<i>Malika Dekkiche</i>	
4	Strong Letters at the Mamluk Court	214
	<i>Lucian Reinfandt</i>	
5	Embassies and Ambassadors in Mamluk Cairo	238
	<i>Yehoshua Frenkel</i>	

PART 2

The Mongols and Their Successors

6	Careers in Diplomacy among Mamluks and Mongols, 658–741/1260–1341	263
	<i>Anne F. Broadbridge</i>	
7	The Golden Horde and the Mamluks: the Birth of a Diplomatic Set-Up (660–5/1261–7)	302
	<i>Marie Favereau</i>	

- 8 Mamluk-Ilkhanid Diplomatic Contacts: Negotiations or Posturing? 327
Reuven Amitai
- 9 Baghdad between Cairo and Tabriz: Emissaries to the Mamluks as Expressions of Local Political Ambition and Ideology during the Seventh/Thirteenth and Eighth/Fourteenth Centuries 340
Hend Gilli-Elewy
- 10 Between Iraq and a Hard Place: Sulṭān Aḥmad Jalāyir's Time as a Refugee in the Mamluk Sultanate 363
Patrick Wing

PART 3

The Timurids, the Turkmens, and the Ottomans

- 11 Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī's Description of the Syrian Campaign of Tīmūr 381
Michele Bernardini
- 12 Diplomatic Entanglements between Tabriz, Cairo, and Herat: a Reconstructed Qara Qoyunlu Letter Datable to 818/1415 410
Frédéric Bauden
- 13 Fixed Rules to a Changing Game? Sultan Meḥmed II's Realignment of Ottoman-Mamluk Diplomatic Conventions 484
Kristof D'hulster

PART 4

The Western Islamic Lands

- 14 Diplomatic Correspondence between Nasrid Granada and Mamluk Cairo: the Last Hope for al-Andalus 511
Bárbara Boloix Gallardo
- 15 Entre Ifrīqiya hafside et Égypte mamelouke: Des relations anciennes, continues et consolidées 529
Mounira Chapoutot-Remadi

- 16 Tracking Down the Hafsid Diplomatic Missions All the Way to the Turco-Mamluk Borders (892–6/1487–91) 566
Lotfi Ben Miled

PART 5

Arabia, India, and Africa

- 17 Diplomatic Networks of Rasulid Yemen in Egypt (Seventh/Thirteenth to Early Ninth/Fifteenth Centuries) 581
Éric Vallet
- 18 “Aggression in the Best of Lands”: Mecca in Egyptian-Indian Diplomacy in the Ninth/Fifteenth Century 604
John L. Meloy
- 19 Some Remarks on the Diplomatic Relations between Cairo, Delhi/Dawlatābād, and Aḥmadābād during the Eighth/Fourteenth and Ninth/Fifteenth Centuries 621
Stephan Conermann and Anna Kollatz
- 20 The *Ḥaṭī* and the Sultan: Letters and Embassies from Abyssinia to the Mamluk Court 638
Julien Loiseau
- 21 “Peace Be upon Those Who Follow the Right Way”: Diplomatic Practices between Mamluk Cairo and the Borno Sultanate at the End of the Eighth/Fourteenth Century 658
Rémi Dewièrè

PART 6

The Latin West

- 22 The European Embassies to the Court of the Mamluk Sultans in Cairo 685
Pierre Moukarzel

- 23 In the Name of the Minorities: Lisbon's Muslims as Emissaries from the King of Portugal to the Sultan of Egypt 711
Maria Filomena Lopes de Barros
- 24 Envoys between Lusignan Cyprus and Mamluk Egypt, 838–78/1435–73: the Accounts of Pero Tafur, George Boustronios and Ibn Taghrī Birdī 725
Nicholas Coureas
- 25 Negotiating the Last Mamluk-Venetian Commercial Decree (922–3/1516–7): Commercial Liability from the Sixth/Twelfth to the Early Tenth/Sixteenth Century 741
Gladys Frantz-Murphy
- 26 Three Mamluk Letters Concerning the Florentine Trade in Egypt and Syria: a New Interpretation 782
Alessandro Rizzo

PART 7

Material Culture

- 27 Écritoires: objets fonctionnels et symboliques indissociables des cérémonies officielles à l'époque mamelouke 801
Ludvik Kalus
- 28 Precious Objects for Eminent Guests: the Use of Chinese Ceramics in Mamluk Cairo: the Fustat Ceramic Collection from The Royal Museums of Art and History (Brussels) 823
Valentina Vezzoli
- Index 843

Diplomatic Entanglements between Tabriz, Cairo, and Herat: a Reconstructed Qara Qoyunlu Letter Datable to 818/1415

Frédéric Bauden

1 Introduction¹

In 2004, I drew attention to an uncommon and previously unknown repository of Mamluk chancery documents. In an unpublished and rather unique holograph manuscript of al-Maqrīzī I identified in the holdings of the University of Liège, on several leaves, much to my surprise, I recognized the large idiosyncratic handwriting usually found on Mamluk chancery documents. I soon realized that these leaves related to several documents originally in a scroll form that were later cut into pieces and transformed into quires. In this way, they were reused, and al-Maqrīzī availed himself of this discarded paper. What stirred my imagination at that time was the question of the reconstruction of the original documents. I was interested in reconstructing the original documents—at least in part, and dating them. Thanks to the rules of diplomatics as explained by various Mamluk authors, based on the external and internal characteristics of documents and on their physical features (paper, handwriting, ink, interlinear space), I was indeed able to classify the fragments identified in the Liège notebook into five groups, with each group representing one document. Among these, three in particular seemed to be linked to the same historical event. Thanks to the appearance of a personal name in two fragments that belonged to two different documents, and of the *laqab* of a sultan, I identified the nature of the documents (*manshūr iqtāʿī*, i.e., land grant) and dated them precisely to the year 744/1344.²

1 This article owes much to two persons to whom it is a real pleasure for me to express my deepest gratitude: John Woods and Kazuo Morimoto. Not only did they both read a draft of it and comment heavily upon it, but they also greatly contributed to a redefinition of my interpretation of the Timurid sources. Obviously, I alone am responsible for any mistake it might still contain.

2 Bauden, The recovery.

Since 2004, the project has been extended to all of al-Maqrīzī's other holograph manuscripts identified so far; this amounts to twenty-five manuscripts. Among the slightly more than 5,000 leaves, about 12 percent (616) were recognizable as scrap paper bearing inscriptions (see table 12.1). It is noteworthy that the most significant part of this reused paper is to be found in manuscripts corresponding to drafts, resumés, and notebooks.³ Whenever they are found in manuscripts representing fair copies, it is always for additions made by al-Maqrīzī at a later date. From this observation, I can infer that al-Maqrīzī mainly reserved this kind of paper for manuscripts that were meant to be used only temporarily; for him, it was merely scrap paper. Obviously, not all of these fragments are interesting from the historian's point of view. If the most meaningful parts of the documents are missing in the manuscripts, clearly they cannot be identified and dated.

2 Fragments of a Qara Qoyunlu Letter

The document at the core of the present study was identified in two volumes of al-Maqrīzī's *al-Ta'rikh al-kabir al-muqaffa* (usually abridged as *al-Muqaffa*), a biographical dictionary devoted to the Egyptians or those who lived in or passed through Egypt, mainly in the Islamic period. Of this uncompleted project, which nevertheless reached sixteen of the eighty volumes al-Maqrīzī had planned to write, five holograph volumes have been preserved and are distributed between the University of Leiden, who took the lion's share with four volumes (MSS Or. 1366a, 1366c, 3075, 14533), and the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris (MS Arabe 2144).⁴ The fourteen fragments of the Qara Qoyunlu letter were evenly distributed in two of the volumes now in Leiden, respectively MS Or. 1366c, fols. 15b, 16a, 25a, 26b, 27b, 29b, 37b, and MS Or. 14533, fols. 331b, 332b, 371b, 372b, 373b, 388b, 389a. Given that MS Or. 1366c contains in all nine fragments of reused documents, the seven fragments belonging to the Qara Qoyunlu letter thus constitute the majority of these, while in the case of MS Or. 14533, they represent a smaller part of the whole fragments reused (7 of 25).⁵

3 Four manuscripts corresponding to that description total 527 fragments, i.e. 85 percent.

4 For a thorough study of the work and its manuscripts, see Bauden, Maqriziana x.

5 But we must account for the fact that the manuscript in question contains twice the number of leaves in comparison with the other volumes of *al-Muqaffa*.

TABLE 12.1 List of al-Maqrīzī's holograph manuscripts with indication of reused documents

No.	City	Library	Shelf mark	Title	No. of lvs. ^a
1	Alexandria	Bibliotheca Alexandrina	Tāriḫ 2125/d	<i>Notebook</i>	52 (0)
2	Ann Arbor	University of Michigan, Special Collections Library	ISL. 605	<i>al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār</i> (vol. 3)	261 (0)
3	Calcutta	Asiatic Society	1774	<i>Mukhtaṣar Qiyām al-layl wa-Qiyām Ramaḍān wa-Kitāb al-Witr lil-Marwazī</i>	131 (?)
4	Damascus	Maktabat al-Asad	4805	<i>Notebook</i>	80 (2)
5	Dushanbe	Kitobhona-i milli-i Todjikiston	1790	<i>Mukhtār Durrat al-aslāk fi dawlat al-Atrāk li-Ibn Ḥabīb</i>	179 (107)
6	Gotha	Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek	Ar. 1771	<i>Durar al-'uqud al-farīda</i>	185 (3)
7	Gotha	Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek	Ar. 1652	<i>Itti'āz al-hunafā'</i>	58 (0)
8	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Aya Sofya 3362	<i>al-Khabar 'an al-bashar</i> (vol. 1)	245 (2)
9	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Fatih 4338	<i>al-Khabar 'an al-bashar</i> (vol. 3)	254 (0)
10	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Fatih 4339	<i>al-Khabar 'an al-bashar</i> (vol. 4)	163 (0)
11	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Fatih 4340	<i>al-Khabar 'an al-bashar</i> (vol. 5)	265 (15)
12	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Fatih 4341	<i>al-Khabar 'an al-bashar</i> (vol. 6)	276 (0)
13	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Şehit Ali P. 1847	<i>Imtā' al-asmā'</i> (vol. 1)	211 (2)
14	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Yeni Cami 887	<i>al-Sulūk</i> (vol. 1)	257 (0)
15	Istanbul	Murat Molla Kütüphanesi	575	<i>Mukhtaṣar al-Kāmil li-Ibn 'Adī</i>	215 (0)
16	Istanbul	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi	Hazine 1472	<i>al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār</i> (vol. 1)	179 (158)
17	Istanbul	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi	Emanet Hazinesi 1405	<i>al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār</i> (vol. 2)	182 (177)
19	Leiden	Universiteitsbibliotheek	Or. 1366a	<i>al-Muqaffā</i>	226 (9)
20	Leiden	Universiteitsbibliotheek	Or. 1366b	<i>al-Muqaffā</i>	287 (5)
21	Leiden	Universiteitsbibliotheek	Or. 3075	<i>al-Muqaffā</i>	252 (12)
22	Leiden	Universiteitsbibliotheek	Or. 14533	<i>al-Muqaffā</i>	550 (25)
23	Leiden	Universiteitsbibliotheek	Or. 560	<i>Collection of opuscles</i>	214 (0)
24	Liège	Bibliothèque universitaire	2232	<i>Notebook</i>	209 (85)
25	Paris	Bibliothèque nationale	Arabe 2144	<i>al-Muqaffā</i>	260 (14)
Total					5191 (616)

^a The number in parentheses refers to the number of leaves corresponding to reused documents.

TABLE 12.2 List of the inscriptions with indication of the measures (mm)

MS	Fol.	Text	H.	W.	Marg.	Up. edge		Low. edge		Line space
						beg.	end	beg.	end	
1366c	15	الربيع انشا الله تعالى نهضنا بعساكرنا الى مصيف الاثاقك.....ال.....	141	173	45	65	40			
1366c	16	امير تيمور وهو وقاس ووفد به علينا منيبا باذبال وقالناہ باتحاف الادعية الزاهرة والاثنية المتكثرة الصادرة عن فرط الأشواق الأصايبية عن شوايب الكدورات	141	184	38	65	50	65	65	79
1366c	25	بادرنا اليه بالتبجيل والتعظيم وقلنا ﴿أَيُّ الْقِيِّ الْبِي كَلَابِ كَرِيمِ﴾ حيوة؛ ... [....] بن [....] بحرى	149	183	32	5	0			
1366c	27	بادرنا اليه بالتبجيل والتعظيم وقلنا ﴿أَيُّ الْقِيِّ الْبِي كَلَابِ كَرِيمِ﴾ حيوة؛ ... [....] بن [....] بحرى	147	185	35	63	40	75	75	75
1366c	26	علينا بانواع الافضال والأعنام والاجلال والاکرام	147	181	43	80	67			80
					43			50	65	

TABLE 12.2 List of the inscriptions with indication of the measures (*cont.*)

MS	Fol.	Text	H.	w.	Marg.	Up. edge		Low. edge		Line space
						beg.	end	beg.	end	
1366c	29	بَارِسَالِ الرُّسُلِ سَالِكًا مَسْلُكًا، وَإِيضًا قَدْ وَفَدَ عَلَيْنَا مِنْ جَانِبِ سَلَاطِينِ دِيَارِ بَرْكَةِ خَانَ اتَارِ اللَّهِ بِرَهَانِهِ وَرَسَلِ وَرَسَائِلِ	141	179	38 41	40	20	13	30	73-70
1366c	37	كَانَ قَدْ تَمَرَّدَ عَلَيْنَا وَحِينَ تَوَجَّهْنَا بِعَسَاكِرِنَا الْمُظْفَرَةِ الْمَنْصُورَةِ	149	180	43	72	40	65	80	
14533	331	عَلَى عِدَاتِهِ فِي اعْزِ الْأَوْقَاتِ وَاشْرَفَ السَّاعَاتِ سَاتِ.....	163	172	45	85	63	72	78	?-78
14533	332	تَمَارِ الْأَعْتَصَادِ مِنْ الْفَاطِظِ وَمَعَانِيهِ تَأْتِيهِ بِالْقَبُولِ وَالْإِكْرَامِ إِنَانِي كِتَابِ لَا آرَاهُ مِثْلَهَا يُغَيِّرُ كِتَابَ اللَّهِ مِنْ سَائِرِ الْكُتُبِ	162	172	50 45	37	12	15	45	85-75
14533	371	مِنَ الْإِجْبَارِ السَّارَةِ الْمُنْبَتِّ عَنْ دَفْعِ مَخَالِفِهِ وَاسْتِيْلَائِهِ ثَانِيًا عَلَى الْبِلَادِ الْمُفْصَلَةِ فِي مَفَاوِضِهِ	165	170	43 43	55	39	0	10	81-77

TABLE 12.2 List of the inscriptions with indication of the measures (*cont.*)

MS	Fol.	Text	H.	W.	Marg.	Up. edge		Low. edge		Line space
						beg.	end	beg.	end	
14533	372	على جنبه لا زالت شمس دولته طالعة من افق الدوام	133	180	35	85	62	37	64	
14533	373	وبلداتها الى اصفهان وخراسان ﴿وان جُندنا لهم الغالبون﴾ سانى.....	148	183	40	59	34	75	82	?-82
14533	388	المجاهديّ الظهيريّ عضد المّة ظهير الامة كهف الغزاة والمجاهدين قارع الكفرة والمتمردين	160	169	48	34	16		35	85-85
14533	389	جدد الله تعالى كل يوم سعادة الملك نصرته.....	158	169	44	59	56	82	82	82-82

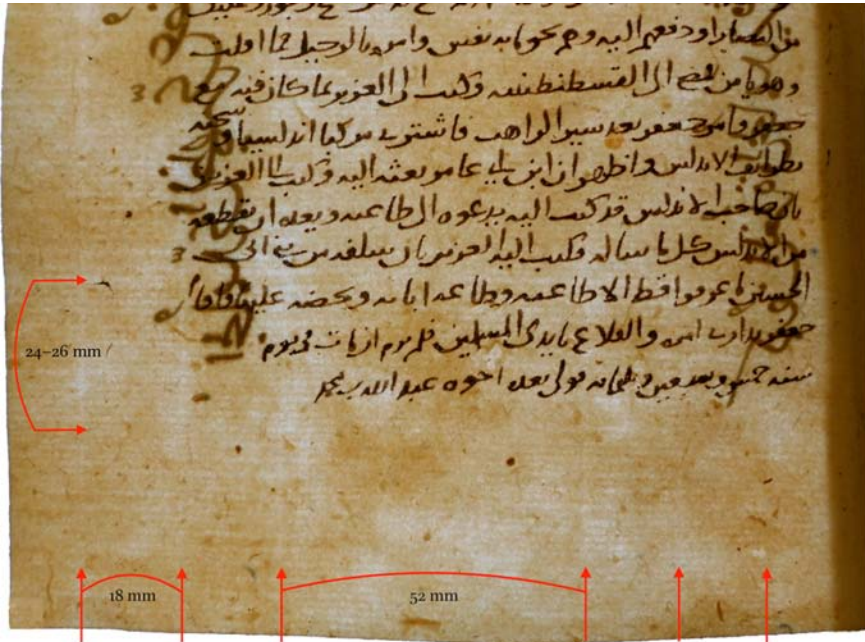


FIGURE 12.1 The structure of the paper with indication of the chain and laid lines
LEIDEN, UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK, MS OR. 14533, FOL. 388B

The fourteen leaves were singled out as being part of the same document on the basis of several external and internal characteristics that they all share. The paper, in comparison with the material used by al-Maqrīzī for the majority of the volumes of *al-Muqaffā*, is thinner with a rather rough surface that indicates that it was poorly polished, if indeed it was ever polished. Moreover, the structure of the paper shows that the chain lines are grouped in threes, the distance between two chain lines being 18 mm and between two groups 52 mm, with 20 laid lines occupying a space of 24 to 26 mm (see fig. 12.1).⁶ In this respect,

6 For this structure, see Humbert, *Papiers non filigranés*, 21–2, 33–8 (table iv). This type, which features in 37 percent of Humbert's corpus, can be regarded as one of the most widespread types in Oriental manuscripts produced between 1058 and 1448. The latter date corresponds to the terminus Humbert selected for her analysis and not to the end of the production of this kind of paper. It is worth mentioning that the figures mentioned for the space between chain lines and groups for the paper analyzed here do not fit with the measures provided by Humbert: some papers produced in the first half of the ninth/fifteenth century, when our document was issued, do present groups of chain lines occupying 52 mm or more, but the distance between individual lines is much smaller than what is found here (between 7 and 16 mm). It must be noted that the difference in the color of the paper of the fragments that can be noted between those from MSS Or. 1366c and Or.



FIGURE 12.2 Two *dammas* (left: MS Or. 14533, fol. 388b; right: MS Or. 1366c, fol. 37b)

it completely differs from the kind of paper al-Maqrīzī used for most of his manuscripts of fair copies.⁷ The ink is another feature that all the fragments of one document have in common: it is dark brown, sometimes turning lighter where the ink fades away, typically when the *qalam* runs dry. The script may be characterized as *ta'liq*, as it is described by al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418)⁸ and al-Ṭayyibī (d. after 908/1503).⁹ Most of the *alifs* and other letters with a shaft (*tā'*, *lām*, etc.) have a head-serif¹⁰ to the right, except for the second *alif* in the *alif-lām-alif* group where it is to the left (see fig. 12.6). Some ligatures between non-joining letters may be observed with, in one case, an *'ayn mu'allafa* (fig. 12.10: *al-sā'āt*) as described by al-Qalqashandī.¹¹ The orthoepic signs (*ḍamma*, *fatha*, *kasra*, *sukūn*, *shadda*) were quite often added by the scribe and offer another link between each fragment; this is particularly true of the way the *ḍamma* is written, always with an open counter and a rather elongated oblique stroke (see fig. 12.2). The *kasra*, on the other hand, takes the shape of a vertical stroke (see figs. 12.4 and 12.7) or is slightly inclined to the left (see fig. 12.12).

In addition to these concomitant elements, we must stress that the majority of these fragments are side-by-side in the quire in both manuscripts. Given

14533 in the reproductions at the end of this study is attributable to circumstances linked to the exposition lighting used to digitize the manuscripts, as this was done at different times.

7 The paper al-Maqrīzī used to produce fair copies of his works has chain lines grouped by twos. See Bauden, *al-Maqrīzī's collection*, chap. 4.

8 See al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* iii, 104–18.

9 Al-Ṭayyibī, *Jāmi' maḥāsīn*, ed. al-Munajjid, plates 43–6; ed. al-Mānī', 76 and plates 22a–23b.

10 For the head-serif, see Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts* 122–3.

11 Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* iii, 112; Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts* 318, no. 26 (where it is labeled *fakk al-asad*, the lion's jaw).

that al-Maqrīzī took advantage of this kind of reused paper to add material to a manuscript he had already produced a fair copy of,¹² it makes sense that he exploited fragments that stemmed from the same document. In most cases, the fragments are only composed of one leaf. However, in one case, where the addition was substantial, he used a longer fragment folded in two (bifolio) and he inserted another fragment in its middle, thus creating a small quire. The bifolio presenting a larger fragment (see fig. 12.6) indicates that the original document had been cut into fragments large enough to form such bifolios in order to produce quires. In his notebooks and drafts, al-Maqrīzī made use of those fragments as quires,¹³ but in other cases, like here for additions to a fair copy, he adapted them according to his needs, cutting a bifolio into two parts. This is why most of the fragments belonging to the Qara Qoyunlu letter are single leaves and not more bifolios. The full bifolio is useful to understand the measures of the blank spaces (interlinear, marginal, and top and bottom of the document) the secretary used, as these measures would be in accordance with his chancery rules. These measures provide a further corroborating element that helps to prove that they all come from the same document.

The most significant measures to consider are the following (see fig. 12.3): the height (H) refers to the vertical side of the leaf when the inscription is placed horizontally, i.e., as it was displayed in the original document, while the width (w) applies to the horizontal side. The margin (Marg.) corresponds to the blank space to the right of the inscription. The upper and lower edges are the blank space situated respectively above and below the inscription. Whenever two lines of inscriptions are found on a single leaf, the line spacing is measured at the beginning and the end of the inscriptions. Table 12.2 shows that the height of the fragments is included between 133 and 165 mm while the width oscillates between 169 and 185 mm. These slight differences can be explained by the fact that the fragments were probably cut twice: the first time when they were transformed into bifolia to create quires that were trimmed, the second time when al-Maqrīzī separated the bifolia to create two single leaves. The differences noted in the size of the right margin (from 32 to 50 mm) can also be explained in that way. Nevertheless, in this case, the maximum (50 mm) is a good indication of what that margin was in the document before its reuse. The measure that most strongly supports the hypothesis that all these fragments belong to the same document concerns the line spacing, i.e., the interlinear space left blank between two lines of text. In some cases, two lines of text have

12 For the status of *al-Muqaffā* from this point of view, see Bauden, Maqriziana x.

13 For this see Bauden, The recovery 75 and note 55.



FIGURE 12.3 Indication of the significant measures to be considered
LEIDEN, UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK, MS 14533, FOL. 332B

been preserved on one fragment; this enables us to measure that space with precision. The distance is taken from the baseline at the beginning and the end of the inscription to the baseline of the next inscription. The space above and below each inscription must also be taken into consideration for the reordering of the fragments.¹⁴ Whenever two inscriptions appear on the same fragment (in

14 See Bauden, *The recovery* 62. In table 12.2, these measures appear in the columns regarding the upper edge, i.e., the space above the inscription, taken from the baseline to the top of the leaf at two points (beginning and end of the inscription), and the lower edge according to the same system, but from the baseline to the bottom of the leaf. In the case of the end of the inscription, it is well known that the practice was to write the end of the line at a higher point than the beginning of the line, with the last word sometimes written above the baseline. Thus the line spacing at the end of two lines is usually narrower than at the beginning (the scribes did not use a ruler to measure these spaces).

nine cases), the line spacing at the beginning of the inscriptions is included, between 73 and 85 mm, with the majority situated between 80 and 85 mm.

The fourteen fragments contain twenty-four lines of an Arabic text, of which nineteen are fully legible,¹⁵ and the contents of several parts of the inscriptions are congruous. If the date of the document and the name of the ruler in whose name it was issued are unfortunately missing, two lines are sufficient to replace this information. In the first inscription (fol. 15b), the issuer indicates that next spring he will move with his army to the summer pastures (*al-rabīʿ in shāʿa llāh taʿālā nahaḍnā bi-ʿasākirinā ilā maṣīf al-utāq*); this very helpful detail indicates that the issuer practised transhumance. If we consider that the document was contemporary with al-Maqrīzī, this restricts the possibilities to the Timurids, the Qara Qoyunlu, and the Aq Qoyunlu.¹⁶ The second suggestive line (fol. 16a) mentions one of Tīmūr's relatives, a certain Saʿd-i Vaqqāš, who came to the issuer's court (*Amīr Tīmūr wa-huwa Saʿd Waqqāš wa-qad wafada bi-hi ʿalaynā munabbīʿan bi-adhyāl*). As I establish below, Saʿd-i Vaqqāš was one of Tīmūr's great-grandsons, who defected to the Qara Qoyunlu ruler, Qarā Yūsuf (r. ca. 792–823/ca. 1390–1420), in 818/1415, much to the despair of his uncle, Shāh Rukh (r. 807–50/1405–47). Thanks to these two pieces of information, we can state with some certainty that the fragments identified correspond to a letter redacted by Qarā Yūsuf's chancery and that the letter was sent to the Mamluk sultan who ruled at that time, al-Muʿayyad Shaykh (r. 815–824/1412–21). We already know that al-Maqrīzī was in Egypt when he reused this document as scrap paper.

3 Qara Qoyunlu Diplomatics and the Nature of the Fragmentary Document

Before looking further into the context that led to the issue of the document, it is essential to proceed with its reconstruction, i.e., to attempt to put the few preserved fragments into order. Dealing with a Qara Qoyunlu chancery document, it is thus crucial to consider what the structure of a letter might have been. Unfortunately, in contrast to what we have for Mamluk chancery practice, we do not know of a manual similar to al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* for the Qara Qoyunlu.¹⁷ For the study of Qara Qoyunlu diplomatics, we can

15 In four cases, the remaining parts of the line are close to the edge of the leaf where the cutting took place, leaving only the lower or the upper part of some letters that prevents any interpretation of the words.

16 On the practice of summer and winter pastures by these groups, see Potts, *Nomadism*.

17 The only modern source to tackle Qara Qoyunlu diplomatics in some detail is Busse,

only consider the documents that have survived in other ways, i.e., originals and copies. As for the originals, only twelve documents in Persian have been preserved and published. Their dates of issue span some forty years, between 853/1449 for the oldest, and 896/1490–1 for the most recent.¹⁸ Of these, only one can be identified as an official letter in Persian addressed to the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II (r. 848–50/1444–6, 855–86/1451–81).¹⁹ Additional letters are available in copies found in a wide array of Mamluk, Ottoman, and Timurid sources. For the Mamluk sources, copies of seven letters in Arabic are accessible in epistolary collections.²⁰ On the Ottoman side, a similar number of copies

Untersuchungen, though his main focus is on the Safavid chancery. Moreover, the data regarding the Qara Qoyunlu chancery practices are mixed with those of the other dynasties.

- 18 The list is based on the following incomplete sources: Busse, *Untersuchungen* 250; Aubin, Un Soyurghal 159, note 1; Mudarrisi-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Haft farmān*, 88–91; Digital Persian Archives (www.asnad.org):
- Jahānshāh b. Qarā Yūsuf (r. 837–72/1434–67): 1) *Farmān*, 21–30 Rabīʾ I 853/14–23 May 1449, Institut drevnikh rukopisei im. Mashtotsa “Matenadaran” (Erevan), Papazian, *Persidskie dokumenty* 244–5; 2) *Farmān*, 13 Ramaḍān 857/17 September 1453, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi (Istanbul), Busse, *Untersuchungen*, 149–50; 3) *Suyūrghāl*, 3 Rajab 859/19 June 1455, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi (Istanbul), Aubin, Un Soyurghal; 4) Copy of a *manshūr*, Bigum Khātūn, wife of Jahānshāh, 10 Dhū l-Qaʿda 866/6 August 1462, Institut drevnikh rukopisei im. Mashtotsa “Matenadaran” (Erevan), Papazian, *Persidskie dokumenty* 248–9; 5) *Farmān*, 27 Jumādā I 867/17 February 1463, Aubin, Note, 125–8; Humāyūn Farrūkh, *Farmānī*; 6–7) Copies of two *manshūrs*, 25 Dhū l-Ḥijja 870/8 August 1466, present location unknown, Qājār, *Tārīkh*, 83–5; 8) Letter to the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II, undated (ca. 872/1467), Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi (Istanbul), Fekete, *Einführung* 117–21; 9) *Farmān*, undated, Institut drevnikh rukopisei im. Mashtotsa “Matenadaran” (Erevan), Papazian, *Persidskie dokumenty* 246–7; not accounted for here is an inscription corresponding to a *farmān* regarding the abolition of illegitimate taxes found in the Masjid-i jāmiʿ in Gorgan, 9 Jumādā I 862/25 March 1458, Dhābiḥī, *Dū sanad*, 313–4;
 - Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Jahānshāh (r. 872–3/1467–9): 10) *Farmān*, 4 Ramaḍān 872/28 March 1468, Institut drevnikh rukopisei im. Mashtotsa “Matenadaran” (Erevan), Papazian, *Persidskie dokumenty* 250–1; 11) *Farmān*, 27 Shawwāl 873/10 May 1469, Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī-i Dānīshgāh-yi Tīhrān (Tehran), no. 9189, Mudarrisi-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Haft farmān* 96–8;
 - Yūsuf b. Jahānshāh (r. 873–4/1469): 12) *Vaqf-nāma*, Muḥarram 869/September 1464–5, Mudarrisi-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Vaqf-nāma*, 248–65.
- 19 A copy of this letter can also be found in Feridūn Beg’s *Mecmūʿa* i, 274–5.
- 20 Ibn Ḥijja (d. 837/1434), *Qahwat al-inshāʾ*:
- Qarā Yūsuf (r. ca. 792–823/ca. 1390–1420): 1) Letter to al-Muʿayyad Shaykh, mid-Rajab [819]/8 September 1416, no. 48, 198–202; 2) Letter to the same, 27 Rabīʾ II [820] (arrived in Cairo on 27 Jumādā I 820/12 July 1417), no. 55, 221–4;
 - Iskandar b. Qarā Yūsuf (r. 823/1420–841/1438): 3) Letter to al-Muzaffar Aḥmad II b. Shaykh (r. 824/1421), undated (arrived in Cairo on 14 Rabīʾ I 825/8 March 1422), no. 97,

of letters in Persian has been preserved in Ferīdūn Beg's collection.²¹ Finally, three copies of letters in Persian addressed by Qarā Yūsuf to the Timurid Shāh Rukh can be found in a late compendium of mainly Timurid epistolography.²²

It is generally assumed that the rules applied by the Qara Qoyunlu chancery, like that of the Aq Qoyunlu, followed those set by its Timurid counterpart.²³

359–62; 4) Letter to Barsbāy (r. 825/1422–841/1438), end of Sha'bān 825/mid-August 1422, no. 109, 391–6;

- Yār 'Alī b. Iskandar (d. 853/1449), governor of Mardin: 5) Letter to Barsbāy, undated (arrived in Cairo in Sha'bān 825/July–August 1422), no. 102, 377.

Munsha'ā (Paris, BnF, MS Arabe 4440; see Bauden, *Les Relations*):

- Pīr Būdāq b. Jahānshāh (r. 866–71/1461–6): 6) Letter to Īnāl (r. 857–65/1453–61), end of Dhū l-Qa'da 859/early November 1455, no. 36, fols. 161b–163a; 7) Letter to the same, undated (reached Cairo on 1 Dhū l-Qa'da 861/20 September 1457), no. 38, fols. 164b–167a. The letters, together with the answers from the Mamluk side, found in this collection have since been published. See Dekkiche, *The letter*.

In his *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, al-Qalqashandī does not provide any information regarding the correspondence with the Qara Qoyunlu because, at the date of its redaction (814/1412), Qarā Yūsuf was struggling to regain control of his territories from the Timurids; he had just emerged as the founder of a dynasty with the nomination of his son, Pīr Būdāq, as joint-ruler holding the title of sultan (810/1407–8); and only in 813/1410 did he end his allegiance to the Jalayirid Sulṭān Aḥmad b. Shaykh Uways (r. 784–813/1382–1410), who, in his attempt to reconquer Azerbaijan from Qarā Yūsuf, was killed in the battle that took place outside Tabriz. On the other hand, al-Saḥmāwī (d. 868/1464), whose manual fills the gap between al-Qalqashandī and the letters contained in MS Arabe 4440, is not more instructive; he provides only slight details about the format of paper and the formulas to be used for Qarā Yūsuf's son, Iskandar. See al-Saḥmāwī, *al-Taḡhr al-bāsim* ii, 748.

21 Feridūn Beg, *Mecmū'ā*:

- Qarā Yūsuf: 1) Letter to Meḥmed II, undated (819/1416–7), i, 151–2;
- Iskandar b. Qarā Yūsuf: 2) Letter to Meḥmed II, undated (819/1416–7), i, 152–3;
- Jahānshāh b. Qarā Yūsuf: 3) Response to Meḥmed II, end of Rajab 848/mid-November 1444, i, 224; 4) Response to Meḥmed II's *Faḥnāme*, undated (857/1453), i, 248–50; 5) Response to Meḥmed II, undated (aft. 857/1453), i, 255–7; 6) Response to Meḥmed II, undated (aft. 857/1453), i, 264; 7) Letter to Meḥmed II, undated, i, 273–4 (copy of the original letter mentioned above, see footnote 20).

22 MS SP 1825 (Paris, BnF):

- Qarā Yūsuf: 1) Letter to Shāh Rukh, undated (datable to end 817/beg. 1415), Navā'ī, *Asnād* 167–8; 2) Letter to the same, undated, Navā'ī, *Asnād* 169–70; 3) Letter to the same, dated 25 Muḥarram [818/6 April 1415], Navā'ī, *Asnād* 171–3 (a copy of this letter is also found in Yūsuf-i Ahl's *Farā'id-i Ghiyāthi* ii, 190–3).

23 See Aubin, *Un Soyurghal* 162 (“Fondée sur l'examen d'un nombre de pièces très insuffisant, notre connaissance des usages des chancelleries turkmènes est encore fragile. La diplomatique turkmène emprunte ses règles à la diplomatique chagatay et il eût fallu, en bonne méthode, étudier d'abord celle-ci pour mieux suivre l'évolution de celle-là, en palliant, comme il est possible de le faire partiellement, la perte des originaux d'époque mongole ou timouride par un recours soigneux aux copies anciennes”). Since Aubin, our knowledge of the Timurid chancery and its rules has greatly improved. See, in particular, Mitchell, *The practice*; Mitchell, *Safavid imperial Tarassul*.

Persian was the language that was most widely used by the Qara Qoyunlu chancery, as is confirmed by the correspondence with the Timurids and the Ottomans, as well as the other official documents related to the internal administration (*farmān*, *suyūrghāl*) that have been preserved. Arabic was nevertheless used for communication with rulers of regions outside the Persophone world, like the Mamluks. The seven letters addressed to the Mamluk sultans that have been preserved as copies in Ibn Ḥijja's *Qahwat al-inshā'* and the anonymous collection of the Paris MS Arabe 4440 are further proof that the Qara Qoyunlu preferred Arabic whenever they wanted to convey their message to their Egyptian addressees.²⁴ As one may assume, these copies of letters offer a unique opportunity to compare, in the frame of diplomatics, the fragments of the original letter that is at the core of this study, in order to permit an attempt at its reconstruction. In what follows, we focus on the three main diplomatic parts of the documents (*iftitāḥ*/protocol, *matn*/text, and *khawātim*/eschatocol). To accurately reconstruct the fragments, it is necessary to understand where each part belongs. Another key issue to consider in this respect regards the nature of the letter: Was it an inceptive letter (*kitāb ibtidā'ī*), i.e., a letter that initiated a correspondence, or a reply (*jawāb*). This distinction played a role in the way the letter was redacted, i.e., in rhetorical terms, and also on its content.²⁵ In analyzing their structure, we must bear in mind that the letters are available as copies only, which means that the authors who transmitted them may have overlooked parts that were less worthy of interest from their point of view, particularly parts of the protocol and the eschatocol. Consequently, we should not be surprised to notice some discrepancies in these parts.

Among the seven copies of Qara Qoyunlu letters sent to their Mamluk counterparts, three can be regarded as inceptive, while the remaining three consisted of replies (see table 12.3).²⁶ Of the inceptive letters, one was sent by Qarā

24 The Mamluk chronicles only report one case in which a Qara Qoyunlu Persian letter sent by Jahānshāh b. Qarā Yūsuf was delivered in Cairo (Muḥarram 855/February 1451) and needed to be translated. See Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Ḥawādith al-duḥūr* 261: *wa-kāna kitāb Jahānshāh bi-l-'ajami fa-'urrība*. See also about this embassy Dekkiche, The letter 587–8.

25 As Gully puts it, “letters of response were more demanding and more challenging intellectually than the original letters,” because “the initiator of the communication (Ar. *al-mubtadi'*) is the arbitrator in his letter,” while “the respondent is not free to use displacement, rather he is merely the one who follows the [communicative] objective of the initiator, building on his foundation.” Gully, *The culture* 155. For the replies in the Mamluk chancery practice, see al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* vii, 103 ff.

26 See note 21, respectively nos. 1, 5–7 and 2–4. No. 5 will not be taken into account here as it was sent by the Qara Qoyunlu governor of Mardin, which means it came from a person of a lower status in comparison to the Mamluk sultan. The structure of his letter thus follows a different pattern.

TABLE 12.3 Structure of six Qara Qoyunlu letters sent to the Mamluk sultans²⁷

	Inceptive letters		
	1. Qarā Yūsuf (819/1416)	6. Pīr Būdāq (859/1455)	7. Pīr Būdāq (861/1467)
Protocol	بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ	بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ، حمدلة، تصليّة	بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ، حمدلة، تصليّة
	إلى الحضرة الشريفة ...	أما بعد فالسلام ... يخص المقام الشريف ...	أما بعد فنهدى إلى الحضرة الشريفة ... أصناف التحية وصنوف السلام ...
	خلد الله تعالى على دوام النصر ملكه وسلطانه ...	خلد الله تعالى ملكه ...	أدام الله تعالى عزها على العباد ...
Text	... date رقت هذه الصحيفة		
	أما بعد فإنه ينهي ...	أصدرنا هذه المفاوضة ...	نعرض أولا ... أن الأمور ... جارية على وفق المرام ...
	والمرجو ...		وثانيا قد رقت هذه الصحيفة date ليحيط عليه الشريف ...
Eschatocol		date	حمدلة

²⁷ The numbers placed before the name of the issuer refer to the number of the document in note 21.

				Letters of response		
				2. Qarā Yūsuf (820/1417)	3. Iskandar (825/1422)	4. Iskandar (825/1422)
Protocol					بِسْمِ اللَّهِ، حمدلة، تصليّة	بِسْمِ اللَّهِ
				جواب سلطان الإسلام السلطان الأعظم ...	وبعد ﴿فإني ألقى إلي كتاب كريم﴾ ممن هو أعظم من ملك البلاد ...	ورد ما أنعم بإصداره ... السلطان الأعظم ...
				خلد الله ملكه وجدد ...	أسع الله تعالى ظلال السلطنة المظفرية ...	زين الله سريره ...
				فتلقاه المخلص ...	بعد أن تلقي بالتبجيل ...	فتلقي بالتعظيم ...
Text				ويعرض بعد الإخلاص أن ...	فالمرجو من صدقات مالك الرق وواهب الرفق أن ...	معلنا بذكر ما نحن عليه ... موضحا لعله الكريم ...
				وسطرت date صحبة الجناب ...		
				والمتوقع	فالمتوقع	فالمتوقع
Eschatocol					حمدلة، تصليّة	حسبة كتب حسب المرسوم date

Yūsuf and two by Pīr Būdāq. It is particularly noteworthy that Qarā Yūsuf's letter starts with the formula *ilā l-ḥaḍra al-sharīfa* followed by the *inscriptio*, i.e., a long series of titles (*alqāb*), and the blessing (*du'ā'*). It corresponds exactly to the formula attested in Timurid chancery practice (*bi-ḥaẓrat*).²⁸ On the contrary, Pīr Būdāq's letters begin with the *salutatio*, in which the addressee's titles are mentioned together with the usual blessing. Moreover, while Pīr Būdāq's first letter ends with the date as in the Mamluk chancery tradition, Qarā Yūsuf's letter and Pīr Būdāq's second letter are indeed dated, but this does not appear in the protocol, rather it appears in the text, at the beginning of the *narratio*.²⁹

As for the letters of response, we must stress that these three share a common feature, i.e., the acknowledgment of receipt, but they do so in a slightly different manner. Qarā Yūsuf's response commences with the word *jawāb*, followed by the titles of the Mamluk sultan and the blessing with, finally, the acknowledgment of receipt (*fa-talaqqāhu l-mukhliṣ*). By contrast, Iskandar's first letter opens with *wa-ba'd* and a Quranic verse evoking the arrival of a message ("See, a letter honourable has been cast unto me"; 27:29) together with an evocation of the recipient with titles used as superlatives and, finally, the blessing. In his second letter, the text immediately opens with the notification of the receipt (*warada mā an'ama bi-iṣḍārihi ...*), then the title of the issuer, followed by the blessing and the way the letter was welcomed. Once again, Qarā Yūsuf's letter diverges from those issued by his son in the position of the date, i.e., it is in the text rather than in the eschatocol as for Iskandar,³⁰ but we have seen that, forty years later, Pīr Būdāq's second letter featured the same characteristic, indicating that this was a chancery practice that was maintained and applied from time to time.³¹ The text (*matn*) can be divided into two sections (*narratio*, *dispositio*), the first one devoted to confirming that the contents of the message

28 Mitchell, Safavid imperial *Tarassul* 184. The Mamluk chancery reserved the title *al-ḥaḍra al-sharīfa* for the Ilkhanids. See al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* vi, 129 and vii, 257–9.

29 Contrary to Mamluk practice, the signature (*al'ama*) of the Qara Qoyunlu ruler was applied at the end of the document, in the right margin. For letter no. 6, it is indicated that it was found in front of the penultimate line; for letter no. 7 no precise indication of its position at the end is mentioned. The only original Qara Qoyunlu letter preserved (see note 19, no. 8) confirms this practice. See Fekete, *Einführung* pl. 29 (in front of the fourth line before the end).

30 The date in Iskandar's first letter is missing in the source but, in comparison with his second letter, it was certainly placed at the end, because that's the only other option. Its omission must be attributed to Ibn Hija.

31 In a Persian letter addressed to Shāh Rukh by Qarā Yūsuf, the date also appears at the beginning of the text (*matn*). See below, note 83. Moreover, in other examples from the Qara Qoyunlu chancery the year is dropped whenever the date is provided in the text (*matn*).

TABLE 12.4 Similar expressions to characterize how the Mamluk letter was received by the Qara Qoyunlu ruler

fols. 332 and 27	تلقيناه بالقبول والاكرام اتاني كتاب لا اراه مشابهاً بغير كتاب الله من ساير الكتب بادرنا اليه بالتبجيل والتعظيم وقُلنا ﴿أني ألقى إليّ كتاب كريم﴾
no. 2 (Ibn H̄ijja, <i>Qahwat al-inshā'</i> 222, ll. 9–10)	فتلقاه المخلص بأنواع الإعزاز والإكرام وأصناف التبجيل والتفخيم والاهتزاز والاحترام بأضعاف آلاف ذلك الذي ورد وظهر بتحرير قلمهم
no. 3 (ibid. 360, ll. 13–14)	شكرا لوصول الكتاب المزيج للشبهات والمزيل للكربات بعد أن تلقي بالتبجيل والإكرام والتعظيم والاحترام
no. 4 (ibid. 392, ll. 12–3)	فتلقي بالتعظيم حين وفد واجتهد بوروده حين ورد فقبول بالتبجيل والتكريم وتلي عنده يا قوم ﴿إني ألقى إليّ كتاب كريم﴾

received (written and orally transmitted by the envoy) were fully understood, that the gifts, if any, were appreciated, and second, providing information on the current state of affairs in the issuer's territories. The second part, in all three cases clearly identified by the marker *fa-l-mutawaqqa'* (it is expected that), expresses the issuer's goodwill toward the addressee, his eagerness to see relations of friendship and unity with the recipient developed or maintained and the exchange of envoys and messages strengthened.

Thanks to these elements, it is easier to approach some fragments from the document under scrutiny. Two fragments (fols. 332 and 27) prove to be most significant for the identification of the category (inceptive letter or response) to which the letter belongs. The inscription on fol. 332b reads *talaqqaynāhu bil-qubūl / wa-l-ikrām atānī kitāb lā arāhu mushābihan bi-ghayr kitāb Allāh min sār al-kutub* ("we received it wholeheartedly and reverentially. A message, only comparable to God's message, reached me"). Fol. 27b quotes *Sūrat al-Naml* (27), the same verse (29) featured in letter no. 3 and in letter no. 4 of the same year and by the same Iskandar.³² Its appearance in these two letters of response indicates that this verse seems to have been particularly valued by the Qara Qoyunlu chancery in these circumstances. Moreover, the words used to express how the letter was received echo those found in the three letters of response as table 12.4 shows.

³² See Ibn H̄ijja, *Qahwat al-inshā'* 359, line 13, and 392, line 13.

The convergence noticed in the use of the same verse (*al-Naml*, 27:29) in two other Qara Qoyunlu letters and in the similar expressions for the way the Mamluk letter was received in three of their letters leaves no doubt that the fragments belonged to a letter of response. The reconstruction can now be carried out with much more confidence on the basis of the structure of the Qara Qoyunlu letters of response to Mamluk letters analyzed above, and considering the measures (upper and lower edges) that help to calculate the size of the line space (see table 12.5).

Lines 1–2 were clearly part of the *inscriptio*. In the case of Qarā Yūsuf's letter (no. 2), it was placed at the very beginning and consisted of composite titles (*al-qāb murakkaba*), like *mudammir al-fajara wa-l-mushrikīn*. Here, the *inscriptio* included simple titles (*alqāb mufrada*), i.e. *al-mujāhidī al-zahīrī*. Such titles do not feature in any of the three Qara Qoyunlu letters of response, but the sample is far too small to dismiss the fact that the recipient was the Mamluk sultan, as it will be confirmed with other elements to be studied below.³³ Some composite titles do not present any similarity with other examples of documents. *Aḍud al-milla* is not attested among the titles used by the Mamluk chancery,³⁴ but it features in a letter addressed by Bāyazīd II (r. 886–918/1481–1512) to Qānşawh al-Ghawrī (r. 906–22/1501–16).³⁵ The same is valid for *zahīr al-umma*³⁶ and *kahf al-ghuzāt wa-mujāhidīn*.³⁷ The last title, *qāmi' al-kafara wa-l-mutamarridīn*, once again, is not evidenced in any of the three Qara Qoyunlu responses,³⁸

-
- 33 The practice of addressing the Mamluk sultan with simple and composite titles is not unusual. See, for instance, Meḥmed I's contemporary letter (819/1416) in Ibn Hīja, *Qahwat al-inshā'* 179, where the titles *al-mujāhidī* and *al-zahīrī* appear as well as composite titles quite similar to those found in our fragments (*qāhir al-ṭuḡāt wa-l-mutamarridīn*, *awn al-umma al-bāhira*, *kahf al-milla al-zāhira*).
- 34 It is attested in epigraphy only twice, in inscriptions to be attributed to a Burid Atabeg in the early sixth/twelfth c. See Kalus, *Thesaurus*, nos. 7745 and 7759. In Mamluk chancery manuals, the following forms were in use: *Aḍud amīr al-mu'minīn/al-dawla/al-dīn/al-mulūk wa-l-salāṭīn*. See al-Baqlī, *Fahāris*, s.v. *aḍud*.
- 35 Ferīdūn Beg, *Mecmū'a* i, 356.
- 36 Not attested in epigraphy. The following pairs were used by the Mamluk chancery: *zahīr al-imām/al-imāma/amīr al-mu'minīn/al-ḥilāfa/al-mulūk wa-l-salāṭīn*. See al-Baqlī, *Fahāris*, s.v. *zahīr*. In letter no. 4, the answer sent by Iskandar, the composite title *zahr al-islām wa-l-muslimīn* is given to the Mamluk sultan.
- 37 Not attested in epigraphy. In Mamluk chancery practice, it appears as follows: *kahf al-islām wa-l-muslimīn/al-umma/al-kuttāb/al-milla*. See al-Baqlī, *Fahāris*, s.v. *kahf*. In Bāyazīd II's letter mentioned above, the Mamluk sultan is addressed with the composite title of *kahf al-umma*.
- 38 On the contrary, it characterizes three Mamluk sultans in several inscriptions: Kalus, *Thesaurus*, nos. 3868 (al-Nāşir Muḥammad), 11430 (Qāyṭbāy), 12164 (Qānşawh). The oldest attestation of the title in a slightly different form is from the end of the sixth/twelfth c. for an Artuqid ruler: *qāmi' al-mulḥidīn wa-l-mutamarridīn* (*ibid.*, no. 8078).

TABLE 12.5 The reconstructed letter³⁹

Line no.	MS	Fol.	Text	H.	W.	Marg.	Up. edge		Low. edge		Line space
							beg.	end	beg.	end	
1-2	14533	388	<p>الجاهدي الظهيري عضد الملة ظهر الامة the fighter, the partisan, support of the community, backer of the <i>umma</i>,</p> <p>كهف الغزاة والجاهدين قاعم الكفرة والمتمردين shelter of the warrior champions and the fighters, represser of the infidels and the rebels</p>	160	169	48	34	16			85-85
									18	35	
3-4	14533	389	<p>جادد الله تعالى كل يوم سعادة الملك May God Exalted renew every day the prosperity of the realm</p> <p>..... نصرته his victory</p>	158	169	44	59	56			82-82
									0	0	

39 The bold horizontal line is used to separate sections (protocol and text; no fragment belongs to the third section, the eschatocol, so it is not represented in the table) while the dotted line indicates that there is a gap between two fragments inside the same section.

TABLE 12.5 The reconstructed letter (*cont.*)

Line no.	MS	Fol.	Text	H.	W.	Marg.	Up. edge		Low. edge		Line space
							beg.	end	beg.	end	
5-6	14533	331	على عدائته في اعز الأوقات واشرف الساعات over his enemies in the mightiest moments and the noblest hours	163	172	45	85	63			?-78
									72	78	
7-8	14533	332	ثمّار الاعتضاد من الفاظه ومعانيه تلقيناه بالقبول the yields of his request for support from his words and meanings, we received it wholeheartedly والاكرام اتاني كغاب لاراه مشابهاً بغير كغاب الله من ساير الكتب and reverentially. A message, only comparable to God's message, reached me.	162	172	50	37	12			85-75
						45			15	45	

TABLE 12.5 The reconstructed letter (*cont.*)

Line no.	MS	Fol.	Text	H.	W.	Marg.	Up. edge		Low. edge		Line space
							beg.	end	beg.	end	
9	1366c	27	<p>بادرنا اليه بالتبجيل والتعظيم وقلنا ﴿أَنْتَ الْغَيُّ الْيَكْبَرُ﴾⁴⁰</p> <p>We hastened to it to show respect and exaltation and we said: "See, a letter honourable has been cast unto me",⁴⁰</p>	147	185	35	63	40	75	75	
10-II	1366c	25	<p>وقالناه بالتحاف الادعية الوفرة والانتية المتكثرة</p> <p>we requited it with the offering of abundant supplications and multifarious praises</p> <p>الصادرة عن فرط الأشواق الصّافية عن شوايب الكدورات</p> <p>emanating from immoderate desires free from the stains of filth</p>	149	183	32	5	0			85-63
						37			34	50	

40 Qur'ān 27 (*al-Naml*): 29.

TABLE 12.5 The reconstructed letter (*cont.*)

Line no.	MS	Fol.	Text	H.	W.	Marg.	Up. edge		Low. edge		Line space
							beg.	end	beg.	end	
15-16	14533	371	<p>من الاخبار السارة المبثبات⁴¹ عن دفع مخالفيه of joyous news announcing that he had driven away those [who] disobey him</p> <p>واستتلايه ثانيا على البلاد المنصلة في مفاوضته and reconquered the lands detailed in his letter</p>	165	170	43	55	39			81-77
									0	10	
17	1366c	37	<p>كان قد تمرد علينا ونحن توجهنا بمساركننا المظفرة المنصورة⁴¹ He rebelled against us and when we directed ourselves with our triumphant and victorious troops</p>	149	180	43	72	40	65	80	
18	1366c	16	<p>امير تيمور وهو سعد وقاس ووقد به علينا منيبا باذبال Amir Timūr, that is Sa'd Waqqās. He came with him to us bringing the good news of the results</p>	141	184	38	65	50	65	79	

41 Sic for المبتثبات.

TABLE 12.5 The reconstructed letter (*cont.*)

Line no.	MS	Fol.	Text	H.	W.	Marg.	Up. edge		Low. edge		Line space	
							beg.	end	beg.	end		
19–20	14533	373	<p>ولبناها إلى إصفهان وخراسان ﴿وَأَنْ جُنْدَنَا لَهُمُ الْغَالِبُونَ﴾ and its lands up to Isfahan and Khurasan. And Our host—they are the victors⁴²</p>	148	183	40	59	34			?–82	
21–22	1366c	29	<p>بِأَرْسَالِ الرَّسْلِ سَالِكًا مَسْلَكًا وَإِيضًا قَدْ وَفَدَ عَلَيْنَا to send envoys following his path. Also we have been reached</p> <p>من جانب سلاطين ديار بركة خان أثار الله برهانه رسول ورسائل from the sultans of the lands of Berke Khān—May God illuminate his proof—by envoys and letters</p>	141	179	38	40	20		75	82	73–70

42 Qur'ān 37 (*al-Ṣaffāt*):173. The verse was also used in an Ottoman letter from Mehmed I to al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (dated 16 Šafar 819/15 April 1416; reached Cairo on 5 Ša'bān 819/28 September 1416). Ibn Hija, *Qaḥwat al-inshā'* 18, l. 2.

TABLE 12.5 The reconstructed letter (*cont.*)

Line no.	MS	Fol.	Text	H.	W.	Marg.	Up. edge		Low. edge		Line space
							beg.	end	beg.	end	
23-24	1366c	15	<p>الربيع انشا الله تعالى نهضنا بمساكرنا الى مصيف الالاتق</p> <p>Spring, if God Exalted wills, we will head with our troops for the summer camp of Ala Dağ</p> <p>.....ك.....ال.....</p>	141	173	45	65	40		68	65

but a similar composite title echoes it: *qāhir al-kafara wa-l-mutamarridīn*.⁴³ After ll. 1–2, other composite titles followed until the name of the recipient, the Mamluk sultan, was finally mentioned. At its end came the blessing (*du‘ā’*), ll. 3–4, on the second line of which only the last word can be read and tallies with comparable formulas.⁴⁴ The two following lines (ll. 5–6) seem to be directly connected with the previous one, thus providing the end of the blessing: the last word of l. 4 (*nuṣratahu*), certainly preceded by an optative verb with God as subject (as in l. 3), evenly connects with the beginning of l. 5 (*‘alā ‘udātihi ...*), because not only does it make sense but the line space fits well too.⁴⁵ The next five lines (ll. 7–11) form another block of fragments clearly connected one with each other. The fact that fols. 25–7 constitute a large fragment of three lines that was not further cut in two by al-Maqrīzī, like most of the remainder of the fragments, is particularly helpful. It has already been shown that they agree with the section where acknowledgement of the receipt of the letter is expressed and that they offer an almost perfect match with similar passages in the three Qara Qoyunlu letters of response (see table 12.4). The exact position of the next fragment (ll. 12–13) is purely tentative and is placed there because its contents are apparently linked to the previous. The last one for the protocol (l. 14), a further blessing, may have closed that section of the document, exactly as in the case of letter no. 2.⁴⁶

As regards the text (*matn*), for which only 10 lines (ll. 15–24) have been preserved, it is composed of six fragments all disconnected. Among these, two can be placed with some confidence in the correct order. The first fragment contains ll. 15–16, where the issuer speaks of the good news that his recipient’s message contained. It must have been part of the beginning of the *narratio* where the issuer reiterates his receipt of the letter and the effect it made on him. Qarā Yūsuf’s answer (letter no. 2) provides an interesting comparative example.⁴⁷ The second one was more than probably near the end of the *narratio* because the issuer evokes his future move to another place once the Spring will be there, meaning that it belonged to the part of the message where he was

43 Letter no. 4 sent by Iskandar. Ibn Hījja, *Qahwat al-inshā’* 391, l. 15.

44 The verb *jaddada* was used in such a context in letter no. 1 sent by Qarā Yūsuf: *khallada Allāh mulkahu wa-jaddada*. Ibn Hījja, *Qahwat al-inshā’* 222, l. 3.

45 The space below l. 4 is equal to 0 mm because the inscription was almost completely cut while it corresponds to 85 mm at the beginning of l. 5 and 63 mm at its end. We saw that the line space for the document was between 80 and 85 mm large.

46 Ibn Hījja, *Qahwat al-inshā’* 222, ll. 19–20: *fa-lā zālāt umūr dawlatikum wa-jumhūr mam-lakatikum nājihāt al-maqāṣid wa-l-āmāl wa-l-amānī innahu samī‘ mujīb*.

47 Ibn Hījja, *Qahwat al-inshā’* 223, ll. 1–2: *wa-yu’arriḍ ba’d al-ikh-lāṣ anna l-altāf wa-l-tafaqqudāt al-wārida fi mithālīkum al-sharīf ja’alat ra’sanā ‘āliyan wa-qadranā sāmiyan ...*

offering detailed information on the state of his affairs. In between, four fragments, not necessarily in the good order, are related to the narration of events that occurred during the past few months, i.e. from the section of the *narratio* that was exactly placed amid the declaration of receipt that opened it and its end.

So far for the internal analysis. The external elements with which diplomatics is concerned are the size of the document (width, length), the layout of the text (right margin, line space), and the handwriting. Most of these elements are challenging to address considering the fragmentary state of our document. The issue of the original size of the document is the more problematic as only a few fragments were retrieved from al-Maqrīzī's known holographs. It can fairly be stated that all these fragments, put one below the other, would make a scroll 2.1 m long and that it was much longer than that as only some parts of it have been retrieved in al-Maqrīzī's holographs. A good way to figure out how long it could originally have been is to compare the number of the words found in the fragments (154 words for 19 full lines preserved, with an average of 8.1 words per line) with those included in the copy of Qarā Yūsuf's letter of response (no. 2; 628 words). Divided by the average number of words per line for our document, it gives a result of 77.5 lines for letter no. 2. The letter must thus have measured a little more than 6.5 m.⁴⁸ This result is helpful to realize how much of our letter has been lost.⁴⁹ The size of the right margin (50 mm) is commensurate with

48 This result is obtained by multiplying the number of lines (77.5) by the line space in our fragments (between 80–85 mm), which gives between 6.2–6.5 m. It must be kept in mind that at the beginning of the document some space was probably left blank, like in Mamluk chancery practice, meaning that its total length must have been closer to 7 m. This is much longer than any other Qara Qoyunlu document preserved. See Busse, *Untersuchungen* 27.

49 Another question that it would be worth to tackle regards the width of the document and its relation with the status recognized to the Mamluk sultan by the Qara Qoyunlu chancery, at least at the time of Qarā Yūsuf, as its usages were similar in this respect with Mamluk chancery rules (Busse, *Untersuchungen* 27). Unfortunately, our knowledge of this aspect of diplomacy is certainly the poorest, whatever the tradition considered (Mamluk, Timurid, Qara Qoyunlu, Ottoman, ...). Most of the scholars rarely indicate the measures of the documents they publish, not least those of each sheet (*waşl*) that composes a scroll. In the case of the Qara Qoyunlu original letter sent by Jahānshāh to Mehmed II (Fekete, *Einführung* 117–21), not only do we ignore its width, the size of each sheet, but even its total length. The only thing that can be ascertained, thanks to the reproduction, is that it is composed of six sheets (*waşl*). In the case of our document, it is clear that its width (see table 12.2) was between 169–185 mm, with a margin of roughly 50 mm. But our knowledge of paper produced in Qara Qoyunlu territories is scanty. On the basis of manuscripts produced in Iraq between the seventh/thirteenth and the beginning of the ninth/fifteenth c., Ben Azzouna, La Question 138 identified three formats, the largest being 680–820 × 488–

the rule observed in other Persian documents from the same period: between $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ of the width (here 185 mm).⁵⁰ With respect to the handwriting, it has been seen that it was identified as *ta'liq* according to rules stipulated and the samples supplied by a Mamluk chancery secretary (al-Qalqashandī) and a calligraphist (al-Ṭayyibī) while it is usually assumed, on the basis of the few original documents still available, that chancery documents of the Turkmen dynasties (Qara Qoyunlu and Aq Qoyunlu) were copied in *dīwānī*.⁵¹ Most of these documents belonging to the second half of the ninth/fifteenth c., it might indicate that this change in the calligraphic style took place in the period that separate them from our document. It could also be conjectured that the use of *ta'liq* was reserved for documents issued in Arabic while *dīwānī* was reserved for Persian.

4 Dating the Letter

At this stage of the analysis, the date of the document is the next element that needs to be tackled. The two letters addressed by Qarā Yūsuf to the Mamluk sultan had the date indicated at some point in the *narratio* (see table 12.3, nos. 1–2) and not in the eschatocol. If this practice was generally applied in his letters, at least in Arabic, the date in our document would have been found in the *narratio* too. In any case, it is not present among the fragments. Fortunately, not only do several lines of the text prove to be helpful to answer the riddle, but the correlation of the events at which these lines hint with the data that contemporary sources offer permit to date the document with accuracy.

The period considered is opportunely one of the most documented in terms of chronicles, biographical dictionaries, chancery manuals, and anthologies of documents. Of the latter category, the *Qahwat al-inshā'* of Ibn Ḥijja (d. 837/1434) is an excellent representative that has recently been made available to a large audience thanks to the excellent critical edition published in 2005 by Rudolf Veselý.⁵² With Nāṣir al-Dīn Ibn al-Bārīzī (d. 823/1420), Ibn Ḥijja had frequented

577 mm. Thanks to the chain lines (parallel to the inscriptions), it could be conjectured that the sheets (*waṣl*, pl. *avṣāl*) of our document were cut from a full sheet of paper of that format (3 *waṣls* of 185 mm = 555 mm). The only measures we know of for a Qara Qoyunlu document (a *soyūrghāl*, see note 19, no. 2) are 470 × 160 mm (Busse, *Untersuchungen* 149).

50 Busse, *Untersuchungen* 28.

51 Ibid. It is worth mentioning that Meḥmed 1's letter addressed to al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh in 819/1416 was written in *ta'liq* style too. Ibn Ḥijja, *Qahwat al-inshā'* 178, l. 13.

52 Ibn Ḥijja, *Qahwat al-inshā'*.

Shaykh, the future Mamluk sultan, during the latter's governorship in Damascus and Aleppo. When Shaykh seized power in 815/1412, both were rewarded for their loyalty: Ibn al-Bārīzī was nominated head of the chancery, a position he was to hold until his death, while Ibn Ḥijja was invited to work for him as a secretary whose role was to compose a wide gamut of documents (*munshī'* or *muwaqqi' al-dast*).⁵³ Between 815/1413 and 827/1424, i.e. mostly during al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh's reign (815–24/1412–21), Ibn Ḥijja produced deeds of appointment, letters of investiture, letters of glad tidings, as well as diplomatic correspondence. Parts of his production were collected by him as samples of his ornate prose shortly after he was dismissed, the result of which is the chronologically organized collection he entitled *Qahwat al-inshā'*. There one finds, among other pieces, forty letters received in Cairo from foreign rulers and the answers redacted by Ibn Ḥijja and vice versa.

Inside what appears to be one of the most remarkable miscellanies of diplomatic correspondence for the Mamluk period, one letter in particular, received in Cairo from the Qara Qoyunlu sultan, Qarā Yūsuf, and the answer penned by Ibn Ḥijja, are preserved.⁵⁴ Like several other documents the *Qahwat al-inshā'* gathers, both letters are not precisely dated or not dated at all.⁵⁵ However, given that Ibn Ḥijja organized the contents of his anthology in chronological order, it is not a difficult task to surmise when the Qara Qoyunlu letter arrived in Cairo and when the answer was composed. The document that immediately precedes Qarā Yūsuf's letter is dated by Ibn Ḥijja to 20 Dhū l-Ḥijja 819/8 February 1417 (i.e. at the very end of the Islamic year), while the document that immediately follows Ibn Ḥijja's answer to Qarā Yūsuf's letter bears the date of 1 Muḥarram 820/18 February 1417. It may thus be concluded that Qarā Yūsuf's letter must have reached Cairo at the end of the year 819/beginning of 1417 and, thanks to the mention in its body of the period when it was composed (mid-Rajab [819]), that it was written in early September 1416. The Mamluk chronicles do confirm this by stating that Qarā Yūsuf's envoy arrived in the Egyptian capital on 6 Shawwāl 819/27 November 1416.⁵⁶ He left the city, with the sultan and his army who were headed for Syria, on 4 Ṣafar of the next year/23 March 1417.⁵⁷ Finally, once the sultan had gone back to Elbistan, in Southern Anato-

53 On Ibn Ḥijja, see Stewart, Ibn Ḥijjah, as well as al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda* i, 153–4 (no. 89).

54 Ibn Ḥijja, *Qahwat al-inshā'* 198–202 (no. 48), 202–7 (no. 49). From the latter, Ibn Ḥijja also quoted some passages in his *Thamarāt al-awraq* 417–20.

55 The Qara Qoyunlu letter has a date indicated in the body of the text (mid-Rajab), but the year is not mentioned. Ibn Ḥijja, *Qahwat al-inshā'* 199, l. 14.

56 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* iv, 368; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-ghumr* iii, 100.

57 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* iv, 384–5.

lia, shortly after 6 Jumādā I 820/21 June 1417, he was authorized to return to his master with a gift and an answer, which had consequently been penned by Ibn Hījja at the very beginning of 820/1417, as confirmed by its position in *Qahwat al-inshā'*.⁵⁸

The contents of Qarā Yūsuf's letter may be summarized as follows:

- Qarā Yūsuf recalls the strong ties that unite him and the Mamluks since Barqūq's reign (r. 784–91/1382–9; 792–801/1390–9), who supported him even though, at that time, Qarā Yūsuf's rule was in its early stages (*ma'a annahu kāna fī awā'il dawlati*) and that his army was still limited in number (*wa-mā kāna ma'ī illā khamsa sittat ālāf*). These ties did not dwindle with Shaykh as the latter already backed him when he was governor of Damascus. The sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj (r. 801–15/1399–1412) had ordered that Qarā Yūsuf, who had fled Tīmūr with the Jalayirid Sulṭān Aḥmad b. Shaykh Uways (r. 784–813/1382–1410) and taken refuge in the Mamluk territories, be killed. Shaykh decided to disobey because Qarā Yūsuf would better serve his ambition to seize power in Cairo, which he did. Later, Qarā Yūsuf went back to his territories and, since then, has remained a faithful ally of the Mamluk sultan (*kāna hādihā l-ḍa'īf ka-l-ṭawd al-shāmikh ma'a tilka l-ḥaḍra rāsikh al-qawl wa-thābit al-qadam*).
- Qarā Yūsuf then brings forth that he successfully fought against his enemies, like Tīmūr's offspring and the Jalayirid Sulṭān Aḥmad.
- Consequently, his expectation was that unity and friendship (*al-ittiḥād wa-l-muṣādaqa*) would carry on between the two rulers, with the continuous exchange of envoys and couriers (*barīdiyya*), so much so that the two realms and the two houses would become one (*takūn al-mamlakatān wa-l-baytān wāḥid*). Unfortunately, nothing of this sort took place, something that Qarā Yūsuf found unpleasant (*al-ḥaqq ṣa'uba 'alayya hādihā*).
- Furthermore, rumor has it that the sultan pays attention to and feels concern for (*yulṭafat ilayhi wa-yu'tanā bi-hi*) the Aq Qoyunlu Qarā 'Uthmān (Qarā Yūlūq; r. 805–39/1403–35), something Qarā Yūsuf considered unfair with regard to him as he purged the territories on his side, from the Euphrates up to Isfahan, of all the enemies and the highway robbers in such a way that the routes are now safer for the benefit of merchants and caravans.

58 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* iv, 409; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-ghumr* iii, 130; al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-jumān* 291. The name of Qarā Yūsuf's envoy seems to be corrupted in two of these three sources: for al-Maqrīzī, it was Dankiz, for al-'Aynī Dhikr Allāh, and for Ibn Ḥajar Dak.z. Dankiz is attested as a variant of Tankiz and thus appears to be the correct form of his name. See al-Ghazzī, *Luf al-samar* ii, 663 (*Muṣṭafā b. Tankiz wa-yuqāl Dankiz*).

- The letter then proceeds with information regarding the recent political and military developments on his side, that is to say:
- a) the preceding year, Amīr zā Sa‘d-i Vaqqāš came to Qarā Yūsuf’s court and the conquest of his realm, Persian Iraq (*‘Irāq-i ‘Ajām*) and Sulṭāniyya, was made possible. Following this, a truce (*ṣulḥ*) was concluded with Shāh Rukh according to which the limits of their respective territories were defined as follows: from Isfahan and Persian Iraq (*‘Irāq-i ‘Ajām*) under Qarā Yūsuf’s rule, and from Isfahan eastward under Shāh Rukh’s rule. As a consequence, no one interferes into each other’s territory (*lā yataṣarraf kull wāḥid minnā fī ghayr ḥudūdihī*), there is peace between the two rulers (*lā yakūn baynanā illā l-maḥabba wa-l-itṭihād*), and this area is no longer problematic for Qarā Yūsuf (*ḥaṣula lanā l-iṭmi‘nān min tilka l-jīha wa-irtafā‘a l-tashwīsh*).
 - b) last Spring, Qarā Yūsuf moved to Ala Dağ (*al-Udāgh*) for the summer pastures. There he heard of Qarā ‘Uthmān’s disorders in the area of Erzincan. With the approval of Pīr ‘Umar, the governor of Erzincan,⁵⁹ Qarā Yūsuf dispatched an army of 20,000 horsemen under the command of the emir Pīr Qarā. Qarā ‘Uthmān was driven away and chased back to his territories.⁶⁰
 - c) later on, with an army of 50,000 horsemen, Qarā Yūsuf headed for Georgia (*Kurjistān*), where he conquered almost 3,000 villages and 200 fortresses, killing some 10,000 fighters and enslaving about 30,000 persons.⁶¹
- The letter concludes with Qarā Yūsuf reiterating his expectations of seeing the future evolve in a different way from the past, hoping for a continuous exchange of envoys and couriers to overtly express affection and unity on both sides (*yakūn ‘alā l-tawātur wa-l-tasalsul wa-l-tawālī irsāl al-rusul wa-*

59 Pīr ‘Umar was one of Qarā Yūsuf’s generals. He was invested with the governorship of Erzincan by his master after the city was taken by the Qara Qoyunlu to the Muṭāhhartan at the end of 812/beginning of 1410. See Woods, *The Aqquyunlu* 46.

60 The event is confirmed by al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* iv, 364, who places it in Rajab 819/end of August–September 1416 (wa-fihī nazala Qarā Yulūk ‘alā Arzinjān wa-afsada bilādahā fa-kataba nā‘ibuhā Bīr ‘Umar ilā Qarā Yūsuf fa-amaddahu bi-bnihi Iskandar fa-farra minhu Qarā Yulūk). See also Woods, *The Aqquyunlu*, *ibid*.

61 The Armenian sources corroborate Qarā Yūsuf’s incursion into Georgian territory, its death toll and its savagery. See Mecobec‘i, *Patmut’iwn* 77–8 = trans. 64–5 (“Taking the entire land captive, women and children, they filled up the entire world with Armenian slaves”); Sanjian, *Colophons* 138–40 (138: “the lawless tyrant named Xara Usuf [Qara Yūsuf], inflamed by evil, invaded Georgia [Tunn Vrac’]; [...] and he massacred all the men, and carried off the women and children into captivity”).

l-barīdiyya min al-jānībayn). He closes the letter with a scantily concealed threat reminding al-Muʿayyad Shaykh that if God favored the Mamluk sultan and his realms with resolution and huge financial means (*bi-miqdār himmatihī l-sharīfa wa-bi-l-amwāl al-jazīla*), He gratified Qarā Yūsuf's territories with countless troops (*bi-l-ʿasākīr ghayr maʿdūda wa-ghayr maḥṣūra*).

Al-Muʿayyad Shaykh's answer is a perfect example of duplicity, the sultan denying any collusion with Qarā ʿUthmān and confirming the necessity for maintaining enduring and strong ties of friendship between the two rulers. Al-Muʿayyad Shaykh did not lose an occasion, either, to remind Qarā Yūsuf of the seditions he had to face after his access to the throne and of the successful outcome on his side,⁶² a crystal clear response to the equally unambiguous threat Qarā Yūsuf posed at the end of his letter.

Thanks to the copy of Qarā Yūsuf's 819/1416 letter memorialized by Ibn Ḥijja, the fragments of the reconstructed letter dovetail with the events reported here. The first most obvious reference is related to Saʿd-i Vaqqāṣ's defection to Qarā Yūsuf (see table 12.5, l. 18), referred to as having taken place the preceding year in the 819/1416 letter. Second, ll. 19–20 in the fragments, where the names of Isfahan and Khurasan, followed by a Qurʾānic verse evoking the victory of the issuer's army,⁶³ echo the demarcation of the borders Qarā Yūsuf and his Timurid counterpart agreed upon and to which he alludes in his 819/1416 letter. Third, it has been established that the structure of the reconstructed letter corresponds to the pattern of a letter of response, meaning that Qarā Yūsuf received a letter from al-Muʿayyad Shaykh that prompted him to answer. Lines 15–6 can now be fathomed accordingly: "of joyous news announcing that he had driven away those [who] disobey him and reconquered the lands detailed in his letter". The "joyous news" refer to the letter where al-Muʿayyad Shaykh announced that he managed to overcome his contenders and to restore his power (*istilāʾihī thāniyan* in Arabic, i.e. for the second time) over the lost lands. These lines can only be interpreted as an allusion to al-Muʿayyad Shaykh's campaign in Syria against Nawrūz in 817/1414, an event that led to the issue, by Ibn Ḥijja, of a letter of glad tidings (*bishāra*) upon the sultan's victorious return to Cairo at the beginning of Ramaḍān 817/mid-November 1414.⁶⁴ Four, Qarā Yūsuf's insistence on an interrupted exchange of information, by means of envoys and couriers, in his 819/1416 letter, resonates with l. 21 ("to send envoys

62 The seditions in question were led by, respectively, Nawrūz in 817/1414 and Qānibāy in 818/1415, forcing al-Muʿayyad Shaykh to lead two military campaigns in Syria.

63 "And Our host—they are the victors" (Arberry's trans.), host being an English synonym of army.

64 Ibn Ḥijja, *Qahwat al-inshāʾ* 79–81 (no. 26).

In his 819/1416 letter to al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, Qarā Yūsuf was right in reminding him the links that they had forged in the past. During Barqūq's sultanate, Qarā Yūsuf had dispatched to the sultan one of Tīmūr's officers, not least his milk brother, Aṭlāmish (governor of Avniq), he had made prisoner.⁷⁰ In 806/1403, running away from Tīmūr, who considered him as the most promising and dangerous enemy for his generals and his offspring, he took refuge in Damascus, then governed by the future sultan Shaykh. Jailed and condemned to death by al-Nāṣir Faraj, he only survived thanks to Shaykh's refusal to obey the sultan's order. Shaykh's intention was to take advantage of Qarā Yūsuf's soldiers to seize power in Cairo, a scheme he eventually realized only a few years later. Qarā Yūsuf's help was however instrumental for Shaykh's first attempt and Shaykh let him go back to his possessions in Anatolia in 808/1405. In the following years, Qarā Yūsuf managed to impose himself as a great fighter and leader and was able to seize Azerbaijan in 809/1406 at the expense of the Timurids Mīrānshāh b. Tīmūr (d. 810/1408), whom he killed on the battleground, and his son Abā Bakr (d. 811/1409), whom he defeated at least twice.⁷¹ In 813/1410, he also took possession of Arab Iraq (*'Irāq-i 'Arab*) after he defeated and killed its ruler, the Jalayirid Sulṭān Aḥmad b. Shaykh Uways, his former ally.⁷²

5.1 *Qara Qoyunlu-Timurid Diplomatic Exchanges*

On the Timurid side, Shāh Rukh was still engaged in the succession struggle that broke out after his father's death. Though he succeeded in progressively securing his power over the other Timurid princes in the eastern areas of his father's dominion, he regarded Qarā Yūsuf as his greatest threat for the future which became even more real when the latter began to encroach on Persian Iraq (*'Irāq-i 'Ajam*), a region under Timurid control. The cities of Sulṭāniyya and of Qazwīn, both gateways to Gilan and major commercial centers, lay on the border of the spheres of influence of Shāh Rukh and Qarā Yūsuf.⁷³ The latter succeeded in imposing his authority on a local ruler, Biṣṭām-i Chākīr, who, in the preceding years, had switched from the Jalayirids to the Timurids, and, in 809/1406, opted for the rising ruler that Qarā Yūsuf was becoming. Emboldened

70 Broadbridge, *Kingship and ideology* 187.

71 Manz, *The rise* 143. Qarā Yūsuf triumphed over Abā Bakr for the first time at the Battle of the Aras (Jumādā 1 809/Octobre 1406; see Ḥāfiz-i Abrū, *Zubdat al-tavārikh* ii/1, 169–71), and for the second time at the Battle of Sardrūd (24 Dhū l-Qa'da 811/21 April 1408; see Ḥāfiz-i Abrū, *ibid.*, 227–9).

72 On these events, see Savory, *The struggle* 36–8; Wing, *The Jalayirids* 159–75; and the latter's article in this volume.

73 Manz, *Power* 34.

by his pledge to the latter, Biṣṭām set out for Sulṭāniyya which he conquered in 811/1408. Qarā Yūsuf approved the move by appointing Biṣṭām governor of the Persian Iraq, an undisguised challenge to Shāh Rukh's power in the region. It did not take long before Biṣṭām withdrew his allegiance to the Qara Qoyunlu leader (813/1410), because he had noticed that Shāh Rukh was winning over his other pretenders.⁷⁴ As a consequence, Qarā Yūsuf unsuccessfully tried to regain Sulṭāniyya and Qazwīn, laying waste to the population of the Persian Iraq during two campaigns, in 815/1412 and 816/1413.⁷⁵

Aware that if he did not take action against Qarā Yūsuf's incursions, he would be overcome in the future, Shāh Rukh decided to marshal his army in 817/1414 toward the West. En route, the rebellion of his nephew, Iskandar b. ʿUmar Shaykh in Isfahan,⁷⁶ compelled Shāh Rukh to first address this internal problem before facing the issue at the borders of his domain. The rebellion crushed, Shāh Rukh had no other choice than heading back for his capital Herat. In an attempt to deal the cards again and to consolidate his power as Tīmūr's successor, Shāh Rukh distributed among princes the leadership of several regions in Fars. Among these was his great-nephew, Sa'd-i Vaqqās, to whom he gave the city of Qum.⁷⁷ After Shāh Rukh's triumphant return to Herat (22 Rajab 817/7 October 1414), various ruling figures, among whom Biṣṭām, travelled to the Timurid capital to pay homage to its victorious ruler.⁷⁸ Biṣṭām's relation with Qarā Yūsuf had soured for a couple of years and his visit to Shāh Rukh meant nothing else than a change of alliance, a move that Qarā Yūsuf could barely allow given his pretensions to Persian Iraq. Qarā Yūsuf's reaction, at first, was to send an envoy bearing a letter addressed to Shāh Rukh that conveyed, according to the Timurid sources, flattering words and congratulations as well

74 Ibid. 131.

75 Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Zudbat al-tavārikh* ii/1, 483–7 (year 815) and 506–7 (year 816). See also Faṣīḥ Khwāfi, *Mujmal-i Faṣīḥī* iii, 1062 (year 815) and 1064 (year 816); Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿi sa'dayn* ii, 172 (year 815) and 181 (year 816); Album, A hoard 137.

76 According to Khwādamir, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* iii, 588 = trans. Thackston 326, Iskandar thought that Shāh Rukh's plan was in fact to attack him, using Qarā Yūsuf as a pretext, a miscalculation that led him to openly rebel against his uncle. The letter Shāh Rukh sent to Iskandar on that occasion can be found in Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Zudbat al-tavārikh* ii/1, 494–6.

77 Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Zudbat al-tavārikh* ii/1, 557–8; Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Jughrāfiyā* ii, 361. See also Faṣīḥ Khwāfi, *Mujmal-i Faṣīḥī* iii, 1070; Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿi sa'dayn* ii, 203; Khwādamir, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* iii, 591 = trans. Thackston 328.

78 He must have arrived shortly after Shāh Rukh's return, i.e. end of Rajab–early Sha'bān 817/mid- or end of October 1414. Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Zudbat al-tavārikh* ii/1, 564. See also Faṣīḥ Khwāfi, *Mujmal-i Faṣīḥī* iii, 1070; Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿi sa'dayn* ii, 204–5; Khwādamir, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* iii, 591 = trans. Thackston 328.

as expressions of friendship and affection.⁷⁹ Given what followed, some expression of goodwill and a more precise request must also have been imparted orally by the envoy to the Timurid ruler because, at the end of the same year (817/beginning 1415), he replied with another embassy led by an accomplished diplomat, not least one of his division commanders (*qushūn*), whose name was Ḥasankā. In the meantime, Bisṭām was allowed to depart and to go back to his territories. On 10 Muḥarram 818/22 March 1415, Ḥasankā was back in Badghis (Afghanistan), where Shāh Rukh was encamping after going for hunting, with intelligence on the current situation in Qarā Yūsuf's domains.⁸⁰ There is a sign that a negotiation took place on the occasion of this embassy: at the end of the same month, another envoy from Qarā Yūsuf arrived in Herat. This time, the Qara Qoyunlu ruler picked out a person from his entourage, Mardānshāh, who was renowned for his eloquence and indeed seems to have made a great impression on the court. According to the Timurid historians, Qarā Yūsuf specifically asked Shāh Rukh to grant him Sulṭāniyya against the payment of a tribute.⁸¹

Fortunately, Qarā Yūsuf's letter has been preserved and enlightens us on the context of these embassies.⁸² In it, Qarā Yūsuf addresses the issue of a covenant

79 Ḥāfiz-i Abrū, *Zudbat al-tavārikh* ii/1, 564. See also Faṣiḥ Khwāfi, *Mujmal-i Faṣiḥi* iii, 1070; Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿi saʿdayn* ii, 205. Qarā Yūsuf's undated letter to Shāh Rukh found in MS SP 1815 (Paris, BnF) and published by Navāʿī, *Asnād* 167–8 (see note 23) seems to correspond with the contents evoked by the Persian sources. If the identification is correct, it can be dated accordingly to the end of 817/beginning of 1415. In this letter, Qarā Yūsuf addressed Shāh Rukh as if he was his subordinate, opting for words that recognized the high rank of Shāh Rukh.

80 Ḥāfiz-i Abrū, *Zudbat al-tavārikh* ii/1, 577. See also Faṣiḥ Khwāfi, *Mujmal-i Faṣiḥi* iii, 1072; Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿi saʿdayn* ii, 211.

81 Ḥāfiz-i Abrū, *Zudbat al-tavārikh* ii/1, 585–6. See also Faṣiḥ Khwāfi, *Mujmal-i Faṣiḥi* iii, 1072; Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿi saʿdayn* ii, 215; Sümer, *Kara Koyunlular* 94–5; Aka, *İran'da Türkmen* 12.

82 The letter is found in MS SP 1815 (Paris, BnF), published by Navāʿī, *Asnād* 167–8. It seems that the copy in the manuscript is defective and that Navāʿī emended the lacunae on the basis of another source, though he does not say so. The same letter is in fact to be found in a epistolary collection (*munshaʿa*) contemporary with the events reported here as it was compiled (or completed) in 834/1430–1 (see Storey, *Persian Literature*, 251–2): Yūsuf-i Ahl's *Farāʿid-i Ghīyāthī* i, 190–3. The letter is dated, as it seems to have been a common practice in Qara Qoyunlu chancery rules, at the beginning of the text, after the protocol, with indication of the day and the month only (25 Muḥarram). The year can be found easily because the letter, which is a letter of response, mentions Shāh Rukh's envoy, Ḥasankā (Ḥasanak in Yūsuf-i Ahl's *Farāʿid-i Ghīyāthī* i, 191; in Navāʿī, *Asnād* 172, erroneously read Chinggiz Bahādur). Thanks to the letter we also learn that Ḥasankā was accompanied by another envoy whose name was Ḥājji Kūchuk.

(*ahd*) and contract (*mīthāq*), expressing his wishes that it will not be broken under any circumstances.⁸³ He then proceeds with his request which is to see the territories that were previously under the Jalayirid Shaykh Uways' rule granted to him. He further strengthens that he will regularly send envoys and gifts from Egypt and Syria to Shāh Rukh because his authority encompasses Syria and its environs. He concludes the letter by stating that other details will be directly discussed by his envoy, Mardānshāh. Qarā Yūsuf clearly wanted to see his authority on the territories that he had conquered acknowledged by Shāh Rukh and was ready, to achieve this goal, to recognize the Timurid ruler as his overlord. If Sulṭāniyya is not mentioned in the letter, the granting of the city must have been evoked by Mardānshāh. Sulṭāniyya had belonged to the Jalayirids before being lost to Biṣṭām and could thus be regarded as being part of the domain of the former rulers of Baghdad, a territory that Qarā Yūsuf claimed for himself. Qarā Yūsuf's offer to play the role of an intermediary between Shāh Rukh and the Mamluks is also significant in the way he considered his position between the two major states of the region. How did Shāh Rukh react to this discourse? According to the Timurid sources, he was poised to strike a deal with Qarā Yūsuf provided that the latter would send his own son in order to show his determination.⁸⁴

Qarā Yūsuf does not appear to have appreciated his conditions as his immediate reaction was to marshal his army and to head for Sulṭāniyya with the obvious intent to conquer the city.⁸⁵ Its ruler, Biṣṭām, feared for his life and left the fortress in the hands of his son, fleeing to Qum to seek help from Sa'd-i Vaqqāṣ. Against all odds, the latter had Biṣṭām arrested and chained. Then he dispatched a letter to Shāh Rukh asking for further instructions.⁸⁶ Shāh Rukh's

83 Yūsuf-i Ahl, *Farā'id-i Ghiyāthī* i, 191. The letter quotes a variation of two Qur'ānic verses in this respect: *law bussat al-jibāl* "if the mountains should crumble" (*al-Wāqī'a*, 56:5) and *aw inshaqqat al-samā'* "or heaven should be split" (*al-Hāqqā*, 69:16). Unfortunately, it is impossible, on the basis of the sole indication given by this letter, to determine who asked for the truce to be negotiated. If we consider that Qarā Yūsuf's letter that reached Shāh Rukh at the end of 817/beginning of 1415 corresponded to the opening of the negotiation, then Qarā Yūsuf can be regarded as the one who requested the conclusion of a truce.

84 Ḥāfiz-i Abrū, *Zubdat al-tavārikh* ii/1, 585 (bī tafakkur va-taraddud bih istizhār-i tamām pīsar-i khūd-rā pīsh-i mā firistad).

85 In Rabī' II 818/beginning of June–July 1415, one month after Qarā Yūsuf seized Sulṭāniyya, Qarā Yūsuf's son, Shāh-Muḥammad, who was in charge of Baghdad, also lead a military campaign in Persian Iraq against the fortress of Shushtar. The city, like Wāsiṭ and Bassora, was ruled by Jalayirid princes who had recognized Shāh Rukh as their overlord. The attack proved to be unsuccessful. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* iv, 317; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-ghumr* iii, 73.

86 The letter reached Shāh Rukh on 10 Rabī' I 818/20 May 1415, which helps to date Qarā Yūsuf's action against Sulṭāniyya shortly before. Ḥāfiz-i Abrū, *Zubdat al-tavārikh* ii/1, 588.

answer was full of anger against his great-nephew who, by his ill-considered backlash, was ruining his efforts to conceal the goodwill of one of Qarā Yūsuf's former allies who had just honoured him by paying his respects to him in Herat. He ordered Sa'd-i Vaqqāš to immediately release Biṣṭām and provide him with troops and financial means to help him regain Sulṭāniyya, which, in the meantime, had fallen in Qarā Yūsuf's hands. Once again, Sa'd-i Vaqqāš behaved unexpectedly. Badly advised by his entourage, who appears to have driven him to act so unwisely, he took Biṣṭām with him and he defected to Qarā Yūsuf.⁸⁷

For the contemporary historians, Sa'd-i Vaqqāš's behavior remains impenetrable and they fail to provide any explanation. Manz has argued that he probably feared that Qum would be Qarā Yūsuf's next military goal.⁸⁸ Other elements need to be taken into consideration here. Sa'd-i Vaqqāš belonged to the lineage of Timūr's son, Jahāngīr, who was, with his brother Jahānshāh, the only sons born to Timūr from a free wife.⁸⁹ Timūr designated Sa'd-i Vaqqāš's father, Muḥammad-Sulṭān, as his heir apparent, before 801/1398, passing over his eldest sons, Mīrānshāh and Shāh Rukh, and thus showing his preference for the descendants of his son Jahāngīr.⁹⁰ Sa'd-i Vaqqāš was also among the children that Timūr requested to be brought to Erzurum, at the end of his Anatolian conquest (Spring 805/1403), to attend the funeral cortege of their father, Muḥammad-Sulṭān, an event described as particularly wrenching for those children.⁹¹ Born in ca. 801/1398–9, Sa'd-i Vaqqāš was only about four years old at that time.⁹² In the light of these elements, Sa'd-i Vaqqāš's decision to join Qarā Yūsuf could be seen as an attempt to contest his uncle's rule. Whatever the case may be, his defection was seen by other local rulers and Timurid governors in Fars as a sign of Qarā Yūsuf's rise in power and they created several disruptions in the region that called for Shāh Rukh's second campaign in Fars a year later.⁹³

87 Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Zudbat al-tavārikh* ii/1, 588–9; Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Jughrāfiyā* ii, 366. See also Faṣīḥ Khwāfi, *Mujmal-i Faṣīḥī* iii, 1072–3; Samarqandī, *Maṭla'-'i sa'dayn* ii, 216; Khwādamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* iii, 593 = trans. Thackston 329; Sümer, *Kara Koyunlular* 94–5.

88 She also sees another reason of his erratic reaction in Biṣṭām's attitude in the past (he switched his allegiance from the Jalayirids to Qarā Yūsuf, then to the Timurids, first Iskandar, followed by Shāh Rukh). Manz, *Power* 132–3.

89 Woods, *Timur's genealogy* 112.

90 Woods, *Timur's genealogy* 133; Soucek, *Ibrāhīm Sulṭān* 28. After Muḥammad-Sulṭān's death (805/1403), Timūr appears to have chosen Pīr Muḥammad, another son of Jahāngīr, as heir apparent.

91 Soucek, *Ibrāhīm Sulṭān* 26.

92 According to Yazdī, *Zafarnāma* ii, 1340, he was six years old at Timūr's death (d. 807/1405). See also Khwādamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* iii, 541 = trans. Thackston 299.

93 Manz, *Power* 132 and 163.

As for Qarā Yūsuf, he warmly welcomed the Timurid offspring with his prisoner. Rather than chastising Biṣṭām for his defection, he released him in a wise political maneuver: Biṣṭām was certainly more useful to his plans alive than dead. He also charged Biṣṭām's son, Akhī Faraj, to ride, with some Turkmens, to Qum in order to fetch Sa'd-i Vaqqāš's family.⁹⁴ The latter's wife, Rajab-Sultān (also called Āqā Bīgī), was the daughter of Mīrānshāh who had been killed by Qarā Yūsuf. She valiently refused to join his husband in Tabriz, and ordered that her husband's reckless advisers be killed. She also wrote a letter to Shāh Rukh to inform him of her actions and for which the Timurid ruler praised her.⁹⁵ Sa'd-i Vaqqāš thus remained alone in Qarā Yūsuf's hands until his death, news of which reached Shāh Rukh at the beginning of Rabī' 1 821/mid-April 1418.⁹⁶

94 Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Zudbat al-tavārikh* ii/1, 589–91; Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Jughrāfiyā* ii, 366–7. See also Faṣīḥ Khwāfi, *Mujmal-i Faṣīḥi* iii, 1073; Samarqandī, *Maṭla'-'i sa'dayn* ii, 217; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* iii, 593 = trans. Thackston 329.

95 The following slightly adapted verse of al-Mutanabbī was declaimed on that occasion: law kāna l-nisā' bi-mithl ḥādhi la-fuḍḍilat al-nisā' 'alā l-rjāl ("Were all women like this one, women would be superior to men"). Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Zudbat al-tavārikh* ii/1, 591 and note 1 for the original verse in al-Mutanabbī's *Dīwān*. See also Manz, *Women* 129–30.

96 Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Zudbat al-tavārikh* ii/2, 673–4. See Faṣīḥ Khwāfi, *Mujmal-i Faṣīḥi* iii, 1082; Samarqandī, *Maṭla'-'i sa'dayn* ii, 254–5; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* iii, 602 = trans. Thackston 334. Bakiev, *Comparative analysis* 173, affirms that, according to the *Mujmal-i Faṣīḥ* (trans. 178), Sa'd-i Vaqqāš died between 14–27 August 1418 (thus the second decade of Rajab 821). The source in question does not say anything of this kind, rather that his death took place at an unspecified moment during 820/1417–8, not 821.

The month preceding the announcement of Sa'd-i Vaqqāš's death, an envoy from Qarā Yūsuf was received by Shāh Rukh (at least shortly before the month of Ṣafar/March when he was allowed to return to his master), but no information about the aim of that mission is available. Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Zudbat al-tavārikh* ii/2, 672. See also Samarqandī, *Maṭla'-'i sa'dayn* ii, 254. But the concomitance of this embassy with Sa'd-i Vaqqāš's death, at the age of 20, is, to say the least, curious.

As for Sa'd-i Vaqqāš's descendance, he had only one daughter named Īsiya (also Āsiya) Bīgī with his wife Rajab-Sultān, according to an anonymous work consisting of a genealogical tree of the Chinggisids and Timurids (*Mu'izz al-ansāb*), a work commissioned by Shāh Rukh in 830/1426–7 and thought to have been authored by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, at least the first part of it, before the additional parts that cover the period from his death in 833/1430 until the beginning of the tenth/sixteenth century were made to it (see Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks* 246–7; Binbaş, *Structure and Function* 517–21; on the work in general see Ando, *Timuridische Emire*). See *Mu'izz al-ansāb* 137; MS Persan 67 (Paris, BnF), fol. 118a; MS Or. 14306 (London, BL), 168; see also Woods, *The Timurid dynasty* 29, and chart 1 below. For the sake of completeness, it must be stressed that there is a mention of two sons and one grandson of a Sa'd in Faṣīḥ Khwāfi's *Mujmal-i Faṣīḥi* (iii, 1098). The author specifies that they were made prisoners, together with Qarā Yūsuf's son Iskandar and some of his brothers, by Shāh Rukh during his campaign in Azerbaijan in 824/1421. The editor of the text identifies this Sa'd with Sa'd-i Vaqqāš, by adding the second part of his name between square brackets, but without providing any evidence for this identification.

Between his seizure of Sulṭāniyya⁹⁷ and Shāh Rukh's campaign in Azerbaijan at the end of 823/1420, Qarā Yūsuf spent his time on consolidating his territories with the building of new fortresses or the repair of the old ones, and on giving fight to his other enemy on the western fringe of his domain, Qarā 'Uthmān, the Aq Qoyunlu ruler.⁹⁸ In 823/1420, Shāh Rukh, buoyed by his successes to impose his rule over his pretenders over the last few years, made two last attempts at curbing Qarā Yūsuf's ambition. At the beginning of the year, when he had decided that he could not remain idle in front of an increasingly more powerful enemy, he sent Qarā Yūsuf an envoy with a message that invited him to give up his rebellion against him.⁹⁹ Qarā Yūsuf's stubbornness in refusing to accept a settlement with Shāh Rukh led to the military campaign that was launched after the summer. Shortly before the inevitable confrontation, Shāh Rukh still tried to play the diplomatic game: he proposed to Qarā Yūsuf to conclude a truce by virtue of which the Qara Qoyunlu would surrender three cities, including Sulṭāniyya and Qazwīn. In exchange, he offered to recognize his rule over Azerbaijan, Arab Iraq, and Syria up to the borders of Anatolia. Piqued by such a request, Qarā Yūsuf had the envoy clapped in irons.¹⁰⁰ Qarā Yūsuf did not live long enough to take part in the hostilities because of his untimely death, just before the battle (7 Dhū l-Qa'da 823/13 November 1420).

5.2 *Qara Qoyunlu-Jöchid Diplomatic Exchanges*

Qarā Yūsuf's reconstructed letter also made reference to the receipt of envoys and letters from the Golden Horde. The formula used to allude to it (lines 21–2:

97 Confirmed by the coins issued there in his name in 818/1415–6. See Album, A hoard 138 (no. 23). Qarā Yūsuf kept control over Sulṭāniyya as well as Qazwīn until his death (823/1420). Ibid. 137.

98 Qarā 'Uthmān's first diplomatic contact with Shāh Rukh is attested in 819/1416, but his envoy was intercepted by Qarā Yūsuf, who transmitted the message to the Ottoman Mehmed I. In his message, Qarā 'Uthmān pledged to provide support to Shāh Rukh's attack against Qarā Yūsuf with the cooperation of Mamluk governors in Syria and various other local rulers. In 821/1418, a second envoy finally reached Herat with a message whose content is unknown but that must not have been so different from the first. As Woods put it, Qarā 'Uthmān's "promise of extensive support in the west lent a fillip to Shahrukh's decision to invade Azerbaijan in 1420/823 for the first time". See Woods, *The Aqquyunlu* 47. It appears that al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh also contacted Shāh Rukh with the same promise. See below, the section on the Qara Qoyunlu-Mamluk diplomatic exchanges.

99 Ḥāfīz-i Abrū, *Zubdat al-tavārikh* ii/2, 711–2. See also Samarqandī, *Maṭla'-'i sa'dayn* ii, 272–4; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* iii, 604 = trans. Thackston 335.

100 Ḥāfīz-i Abrū, *Zubdat al-tavārikh* ii/2, 722. See also Samarqandī, *Maṭla'-'i sa'dayn* ii, 276–7; Faṣīḥ Khwāfi, *Mujmal-i Faṣīḥi* iii, 1093; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* iii, 606 = trans. Thackston 336.

“Also reached us from the sultans of the lands of Berke Khān—may God elucidate his proof—envoys and letters”) may reflect the political instability that prevailed in that region at that time. Tīmūr’s third campaign had weakened the position of the Jöchid khan Toqtamish (r. 778–97/1377–95). One of the latter’s amirs, Edigü, took advantage of the situation to impose himself as the effective ruler of the *ulus* and to exercise power in the name of Chinggisid puppet-rulers, particularly after the deaths of Tīmūr (807/1405) and Toqtamish (808/1406).¹⁰¹ Between 797/1395, the year Toqtamish was replaced by Tīmūr Qutluğ b. Tīmūr Malik, and 822/1419 (Edigü’s death), at least ten princes from two branches of the Jöchid family (Tīmūr Malik and Toqtamish) ruled, sometimes simultaneously. This situation may have prompted Qarā Yūsuf to mention the “sultans” of the lands of Berke Khān.

The year Qarā Yūsuf’s letter was issued (818/1415), two khans were presiding over the fate of the Golden Horde: Kebek, son of Toqtamish,¹⁰² and Čakrī, a puppet Chinggisid from the Togha-Timurid branch,¹⁰³ whom Edigü had installed on the throne in 816/1414. After three years, Čakrī was replaced by Darwīsh.¹⁰⁴

101 On Edigü’s career, see Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde* 136–54, and more recently, Favereau, *La Horde d’Or* 196–7; on the fame he reached in later centuries, particularly in local popular tales, see DeWeese, *Islamization* 336–52. His biography in al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-‘uqūd al-farīda* i, 432–6 (no. 353), a source that was only made available recently and that has largely been ignored by specialists of the Golden Horde, is also worthy of some attention.

102 The dates of his reign are uncertain and this remark is valid for most rulers of the Golden Horde of that period. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde* 454, gives 817/1414–5. According to Aġat, *Altınordu (Cuçi Oğulları) Paraları Kataloġu* 113, he ruled between 815/1413 and 819/1416 (in fact, he says 1414–6 but the first date is erroneous as 815 corresponds to years 1412–3), but the coins struck in his name are dated between 817/1414–5 and 819/1416–7. According to Frank, *The western steppe* 239, his name is found on coins struck between 817/1414 and 820/1418, though, as stated by other sources, Kebek was killed by one of his brothers in 819/1416. See more recently, on the basis of numismatic evidence, for the years 817–9/1414–7, Reva and Kazarov, *Ulus Dzhuschi*. For the chronology of the Jöchids in general, Gaev, *Genealogiya*.

103 According to Frank, *The western steppe* 239. The *Shajarat al-Atrāk* 240 rather says that he was the son of Toqtamish, while for al-Qirimī, *‘Umdat al-akhbār*, fol. 273a, he lived in Turkestan and was a descendant of Shaybān. If we give credit to the Bavarian traveler Johann Hans Schiltberger (1380–ca. 1440), who spent several years in the region, Čakrī, whom he names Tzeggra/Zeggra, was living in the Timurid Abā Bakr b. Mīrānshāh’s (d. 811/1409) company when he was asked to return home at Edigü’s request. Schiltberger was part of his retinue when he traveled back to the steppes. See Schiltberger, *Reisebuch* 37 and 39 = trans. 33 and 35. For Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde* 153–4, Čakrī “hat offenbar keine Bedeutung erlangt.”

104 Al-Qirimī, *‘Umdat al-akhbār*, *ibid.* For Schiltberger, he ruled only for nine months, but regained power after several others of his successors. Schiltberger, *Reisebuch* 41–2 = trans. 36–7.

The coins struck in his name span the three years of his theoretical rule, confirming the data provided by al-Qirimī (eighteenth c.), and cover a wide array of regions, showing that Edigü's power expanded from the Crimea to Dasht-i Qipchaq.¹⁰⁵ If Qarā Yūsuf decided to mention the existence of diplomatic exchanges with the Golden Horde to the Mamluk sultan, it was for a good reason: he wished to boast about his position in the political and military arena. Of course he knew that the rulers of the Golden Horde still enjoyed the highest status in Mamluk perception, a status confirmed by the chancery rules,¹⁰⁶ but also that they were the main providers of Tatar slaves. Even though the relations between the Mamluks and the Jöchids had waned during the second part of the eighth/fourteenth century, the former restored diplomatic contacts with the latter under Toqtamish's rule.¹⁰⁷ In Rabīʿ II 818/mid-June 1415, four months before receiving Qarā Yūsuf's letter, the Mamluk chancery requested that Ibn Hījja write a letter addressed to Čakrī, the ruler of the Golden Horde, to inform him that al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh was enthroned in 815/1412 and to invite him to dispatch envoys and merchants, by which one must understand slave merchants.¹⁰⁸ As noted by several scholars, the number of Tatar or Qipchak slaves significantly declined at the beginning of the ninth/fifteenth century. Though it has been claimed that their decrease in favor of Circassians might have been linked to the power shift witnessed by the Mamluk sultanate with Barqūq's accession at the end of the eighth/fourteenth century, it has recently been determined, thanks to corroborative data for the Italian markets, that the shift away from Tatar/Qipchak slaves was due to a deficit in supply that can be

105 Coins struck in Azāq (Tana, act. Azov) in 816, 818, Bik Bāzārī (coins were struck at that mint for the first time under Čakrī Khan; Pachkalov, O Monetakh "Bik-Bazara," proposes to place the mint in the Lower Volga region or the Lower Dnieper region) in 818, Bulghār in 817, Sarāy in 818, Sarāy al-Jadīda in 816, Hājjī Tarkhān (Astrakhan, right bank of the Volga on the Caspian sea, approx. 12 km north of the modern city of the same name) in 816, 817, 818, Urdū, Urdū Bāzār, Urdū Mu'azzam (i.e., the army market, capital of the Dasht-i Qipchaq) in 816, 817. See Fraehn, *Numi Muhammedani* 378–9; Fraehn, *Die Münzen* 34; Ağat, *Altınordu (Cuçi Oğulları) Paraları* 114–5; Mayer, *Sylloge* 28.

106 See Dekkiche's article in this volume, table 3.10.

107 Al-Qalqashandī, *Šubḥ al-a'shā* vii, 299–301, took note of a letter he composed during al-Nāšir Faraj's reign in 812/1409–10. See also Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde* 141–2.

108 Ibn Hījja, *Qahwat al-inshā'* 119–24 (no. 30). The letter composed by Ibn Hījja was deemed too impressive to be sent with the designated envoy and was archived in the chancery for a future embassy. In the wake of this decision, Ibn Hījja was asked to pen another letter (*ibid.*, 124–8, no. 31) that was eventually dispatched with the designated envoy. Considering that Čakrī Khān died the same year (818/1415–6), the first letter was probably never sent.

dated to al-Nāṣir Faraj's reign, i.e., in the first decade of the ninth/fifteenth century.¹⁰⁹ Though various reasons may be invoked to explain this shift, one key element must have been Edigü's decision, as reported by al-Maqrīzī, to prevent the Tatars/Qipchaks from selling their children.¹¹⁰ Needless to say, Qarā Yūsuf was aware of Edigü's order and may have acted as a broker card in this respect.¹¹¹ In his 819/1416 letter, Qarā Yūsuf stressed that his military actions contributed to the restoration of peace in his territories, thereby benefiting the merchants and caravans.¹¹² Another reason that could have induced him to refer to his diplomatic ties with the Golden Horde was an event that took place almost a year and a half later. In the winter of 819/1416, Edigü's wife reached Damascus with a retinue of 300 horsemen; her intention was to perform the pilgrimage.¹¹³ Such a long trip required preparations and Edigü may have interacted with Qarā Yūsuf to negotiate the passage of the caravan through his territories.¹¹⁴ In his turn, Qarā Yūsuf needed to inform the chancery in Cairo.

5.3 *Qara Qoyunlu-Mamluk Diplomatic Exchanges*

According to Mamluk sources, al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh received news of the truce concluded between Qarā Yūsuf and Shāh Rukh at the end of 817/beginning of 1415; this notice apparently concerned him.¹¹⁵ The spies who conveyed the intelligence were ill-informed in some ways, but not completely. If the idea of a truce was in the air, it was only confirmed via the two embassies that were exchanged

109 Barker, *Egyptian and Italian merchants* 135–6, 414.

110 al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'uqūd al-farīda* i, 436 (wa-huwa alladhī mana'a l-Ṭaṭar min bay' awladihim fa-li-dhālik qalla jalbuhum ilā l-Shām wa-Miṣr); Barker, *Egyptian and Italian merchants* 183–4, where she quotes al-Sakhāwī whose source was in fact al-Maqrīzī who was contemporary with Edigü.

111 At the announcement of Qarā Yūsuf's death, al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh did not refrain from showing his joy, a reaction that can be interpreted as an indication of his concern to see the commercial flow of commodities restored to friendly hands. See Woods, *The Aqqyunlu* 244, note 112.

112 Ibn Hījja, *Qahwat al-inshā'* 201 (wa-hādhā l-ḍa'if ṭahhara l-arḍ min hādhā l-jānib min ḥadd al-Furāt ilā ḥuddūd Iṣfahān min al-a'ādī wa-l-mufsidin wa-quttā' al-ṭariq ḥattā amina l-muslimūn min al-tujjār wa-l-qawāfil fi musāfarātihim wa-taraddudātihim).

113 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* iv, 371; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-ghumr* iii, 100; Favereau, *La Horde d'Or* 197.

114 One may consider that Edigü also negotiated directly with the Mamluk sultan by sending a reply to the 818/1415 embassy, but time constraints make such exchanges highly improbable in view of the arrival of Edigü's wife less than a year and a half after the departure of the Mamluk envoy for the Qipchak lands.

115 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* iv, 291; al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'uqūd al-farīda* iii, 580; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-ghumr* iii, 40; al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-jumān* 210. See also Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xiv, 25; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'* vi, 217. Ibn Taghrī Birdī is the only one to say something about al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh's reaction.

between Shāh Rukh and Qarā Yūsuf, between the end of 817/February–March 1415 and the beginning of 818/April 1415. The Mamluks were also aware that Biṣṭām had pledged his allegiance to Shāh Rukh and Sulṭāniyya was now under his (Biṣṭām's) authority.¹¹⁶ Sometimes, Mamluk sources reported information that was not confirmed by Timurid historians. Some information proved false, like Shāh Rukh celebrating the feast of the sacrifice (10 Dhū l-Ḥijja/20 February 1415) in Qazwīn¹¹⁷ while Timurid sources report that on that date he was in Herat, then he left in mid-Dhū l-Ḥijja/25 February 1415 for Sarakhs (north of Herat), to visit the tombs of several shaykhs.¹¹⁸ Two contemporary Mamluk historians even state that the truce between Shāh Rukh and Qarā Yūsuf took place after a battle between them, an event that is completely missing in the works of their Timurid counterparts on the year 817/1415.¹¹⁹ In other cases, Mamluk sources provide details that were ignored by Timurid historians; for example, that Shāh Rukh requested that Qarā Yūsuf give him two specific, named, horses, together with two Timurid princesses (Mīrānshāh's wife and daughter) that he had taken as spoils and prisoners after the battle that caused Mīrānshāh's death (810/1408). Shāh Rukh also insisted that Qarā Yūsuf pay him blood money for the deaths of his brother, Mīrānshāh, and his nephew, Abā Bakr, and return their effects to him, and acknowledge his overlordship by striking coins in his name and proclaiming his name at Friday sermons in his territories.¹²⁰ These requests would have provoked Qarā Yūsuf's military action.¹²¹

Another piece of information that the Mamluk historians were aware of and that their Timurid counterparts passed over in silence regards the fact that the truce was sealed by matrimonial bonds between the two rulers.¹²² Qarā

116 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* iv, 300 (*tasallama madīnat al-Sulṭāniyya*); al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda* iii, 580 (*wa-tasallama Shāh Rukh al-salṭana* [sic for *al-Sulṭāniyya*]: here al-Maqrīzī wrongly places it after the break of the truce); Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr* iii, 52 (*wa-tasallama Shāh Rukh al-Sulṭāniyya*).

117 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* iv, 300; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr* iii, 40; al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-jumān* 210.

118 Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Zubdat al-tavārikh* 2/1, 575. See also Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʾ-i saʿdayn* ii, 210.

119 Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr* iii, 40 (*fa-fihā tawāqaʾa Qarā Yūsuf wa-Shāh Rukh*); al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-jumān* 210 (*wa-fi hādhihi l-sana waqaʾat wāqiʾa bayna Qarā Yūsuf wa-Shāh Rukh b. Timur Lank thumma iṣṭalāḥā*).

120 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* iv, 300; al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda* iii, 580; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr* iii, 52. Qarā Yūsuf was not responsible for Abā Bakr's death though. He died fighting against one of his kinsmen, the Timurid governor of Kirman. See Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Zubdat al-tavārikh* ii/1, 255–7; Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Jughrāfiyā* iii, 204.

121 Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr* iii, 52, wrongly places this military action (against Sulṭāniyya) at the end of 817/early 1415.

122 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* iv, 291 (*wa-taṣāharā*); al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda* iii, 580

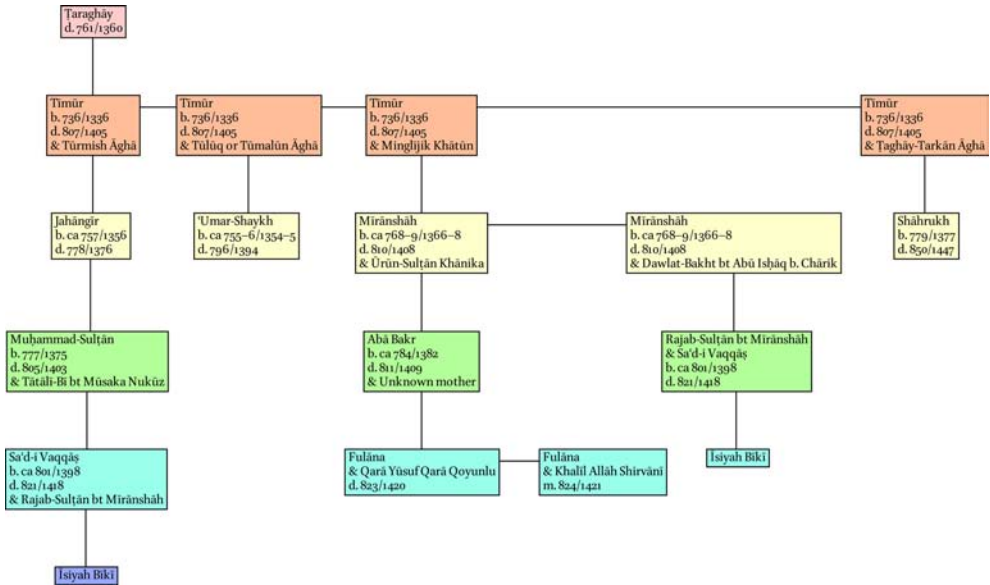


CHART 12.1 Partial genealogical tree of Timūr's offspring

Yūsuf's marriage to a Timurid princess is confirmed by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, a contemporary of the event.¹²³ The princess, whose name is not known, was a daughter of Abā Bakr b. Mirānshāh (see chart 12.1).¹²⁴ Ibn Ḥajar also reports that when Qarā Yūsuf took Mirānshāh's wife and daughter as prisoners, he in fact married them.¹²⁵ It is not improbable that the Mamluk historians mistook Mirānshāh's

(idem); Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-ghumr* iii, 40 (idem). Al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-jumān* 210, remains silent about this.

123 Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Zubdat al-tavārikh* ii/2, 758–60. See also Faṣīḥ Khwāfi, *Mujmal-i Faṣīḥī* iii, 1100; Samarqandī, *Maṭla'-'i sa'dayn* ii, 300–1.

124 She was taken prisoner with her servants and, given her young age, Qarā Yūsuf had her educated in his harem, until she reached an age that allowed him to marry her. According to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, on that occasion, he divorced his other wives out of consideration for her noble origin, a fact that is not supported by other sources. After Qarā Yūsuf's death, she managed to return to Shāh Rukh, who married her to Khalīl Allāh Darbandī, the Shirvan-shah. The Timurid sources only mention her marriage to Qarā Yūsuf on that occasion. See Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Zubdat al-tavārikh* ii/2, 758–60. See also Faṣīḥ Khwāfi, *Mujmal-i Faṣīḥī* iii, 1100; Samarqandī, *Maṭla'-'i sa'dayn* ii, 300–1; Khwādamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* ii, 609. For the fact that Abā Bakr's harem fell into Qarā Yūsuf's hands at the battle of Sarrūd (811/1408), see Khwādamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* iii, 570.

125 Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-ghumr* iii, 52 (wa-kāna Qarā Yūsuf qad asarahumā wa-yuqāl innahu tazawwajahumā).

daughter for Abā Bakr's.¹²⁶ On the other hand, Shāh Rukh is not known to have wedded any Qara Qoyunlu princess.¹²⁷

Be that as it may, Qarā Yūsuf did not lose any time in sharing the good news of his successes (Sa'd-i Vaqqāṣ's defection, his takeover of Sulṭāniyya, the subsequent conclusion of a truce with Shāh Rukh, and the demarcation of the borders of their respective territories)¹²⁸ with al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, as the reconstructed letter witnesses, with the hope that these favorable outcomes would foster future communication between the two rulers. Despite his enthusiasm, the letter seems to have remained unheeded as his second letter, sent a year later, confirms. As a matter of fact, when he received Qarā Yūsuf's letter in 819/1416, al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh had changed his mind regarding the Qara Qoyunlu ruler, whom he considered a dire threat to his own power in Syria.¹²⁹ Given his engagement to legitimate his access to power against rivals—first in 817/1414, then in 818/1415—al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh's only solution was to endure Qarā Yūsuf, as long as the latter did not encroach on his territories. The answer penned by Ibn Hījja only muddied the waters with the recognition of the bonds that linked the two rulers and the characterization of Qarā 'Uthmān as a common enemy to be defeated.¹³⁰ It also underlined al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh's own triumph over his rivals and his now undisputed power. Moreover, the Mam-

126 If she was too young to be married when she was taken captive (811/1409), as Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū stressed, the year 818/1415, when the truce was concluded with Shāh Rukh, might correspond to the matrimonial bonds reported by the Mamluk historians.

127 Yate, *Northern Afghanistan* 31; Yate, *Inscriptions* 293, advances that Shāh Rukh's wife, Gawhar Shād, was Qarā Yūsuf's sister, failing to provide any evidence for this, even though it is well known from the Timurid sources that Gawhar-Shād was in fact the daughter of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tarkhān. See Saljoqi, *The gravestone*. It is worth mentioning here too that the Byzantine author Chalkokondyles (d. 1490) declares that Qarā Yūsuf's son, Jahānshāh, was born to a daughter of Muḥammad Jūki b. Shāh Rukh, thus implying that Qarā Yūsuf had married Shāh Rukh's granddaughter. As noticed by modern historians, this is out of question: Jahānshāh was born in 799/1397 and Muḥammad Jūki in 804/1402. The mistake could be the result of a confusion: Muḥammad Jūki married a daughter of Qarā 'Uthmān, the Aq Qoyunlu, in 839/1435. See Chalkokondyles, *Historiarum* 166–7 = trans. 274–5 and 513, note 123; Kuršanskis, *La Descendance d' Alexis IV* 244–5.

128 The delineation of their respective borders is confirmed by al-Aynī, *Iqd al-jumān* 210 (waraḍīya kull wāḥid minhumā bi-mā a'ṭahu Allāh min al-bilād wa-l-'asākīr).

129 See Darrag, *L'Égypte* 373.

130 In Sha'bān 818/October 1415, while in Aleppo, al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh received a son of Qarā 'Uthmān sent as an envoy to inform the Mamluk sultan that his father had vanquished his enemies and to present him with a gift which was reciprocated with a similar one. See Ibn Hajar, *Inbā' al-ghumr* iii, 68.

luk chancery implicitly acknowledged that Qarā Yūsuf ruled over the destiny of the two Iraqs, as Ibn Hījja's description of Qarā Yūsuf's letter confirms.¹³¹

The following year, from Ṣafar/late March to Shawwāl 820/mid-November 1417, al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh conducted his third military campaign in Syria with the goal of strengthening the Mamluk positions in the northern marches. The Turkmen client-states of southern Anatolia—the Qaramanids, the Ramadanids, and the Dhulqadirids—threatened the stability of his own realm with numerous incursions of Turkmen soldiers. At the beginning of his campaign, while he was in Ḥiṣn Manṣūr (Adıyaman), al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh received, on 27 Jumādā I 820/12 July 1417, Qarā Yūsuf's answer to the previous letter.¹³² In addition to the usual expressions of friendship and affection, Qarā Yūsuf reiterated the historic bonds between the two rulers, bonds that went back to the sultanate of al-Nāṣir Faraj. More importantly, Qarā Yūsuf concluded his letter by saying that he was aware that the Egyptian sultan had undertaken a campaign in territories close to his domain and that his envoy, Bābā Ḥamīd al-Dīn, who was also the chief judge of his army, would convey more details about future actions.¹³³ Qarā Yūsuf was probably referring to his [Qarā Yūsuf's] intention to move against Qarā 'Uthmān. The offensive against the Aq Qoyunlu ruler took place shortly thereafter (end of Jumādā II 820/mid-August 1417) and resulted in Qarā 'Uthmān's request for protection from al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh and, eventually, the conclusion of a truce with Qarā Yūsuf, who returned to Tabriz (4 Sha'bān 820/16 September 1417).¹³⁴ When informed of the armistice, the population of Aleppo expressed joy (after their distress at the prospect of invasion

131 Ibn Hījja, *Qahwat al-inshā'* 198 (wa-mimmā warada 'alā l-abwāb al-sharīfa al-mu'ayyadiyya mithāl Qarā Yūsuf ṣāhib al-'Irāqayn).

132 Ibn Hījja, *Qahwat al-inshā'* 221–4 (no. 55). The letter was dated 27 Rabī' II [820]/13 June 1417 (ibid. 223). According to the Mamluk chronicles (al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* iv, 409; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-ghumr* iii, 130; al-'Aynī, *ʿIqd al-jumān* 291), Qarā Yūsuf's preceding envoy, who brought the 819/1416 letter to Cairo, accompanied the sultan and his army on his third campaign, leaving the capital on 4 Ṣafar 820/23 March 1417, and was sent back to his master with al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh's answer around 6 Jumādā I 820/21 June 1417. This sequence of events is at odds with the dates given for the redaction and the arrival of Qarā Yūsuf's answer that reached al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh in Ḥiṣn Manṣūr. At about the same time, two more letters arrived from governors who were under Qarā Yūsuf's authority: one from his son, Muḥammad-Shāh, governor of Baghdad, and another from Pīr 'Umar, governor of Erzincan. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* iv, 410; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-ghumr* iii, 130; al-'Aynī, *ʿIqd al-jumān* 291.

133 Ibn Hījja, *Qahwat al-inshā'* 224 (wa-bāqī l-harakāt wa-l-ḥalāt yuqarriruhā qāḍī l-quḍāt Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-mushār ilayhi mushāfahatan lil-masāmi' al-sharīfa fī waqt al-furṣa).

134 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* iv, 410 and 417; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-ghumr* iii, 131–2; al-'Aynī, *ʿIqd al-jumān* 292–4.

by Qarā Yūsuf's army).¹³⁵ Al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh's answer to Qarā Yūsuf's 820/1417 letter was only issued shortly afterwards (24 Rajab 820/6 September 1416) and was entrusted to his envoy, Ḥamīd al-Dīn. It contained little information, the main contents having been entrusted to its bearer.¹³⁶

Al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh's relation with Qarā Yūsuf definitely soured during the next year (821/1418), when the latter chased Qarā 'Uthmān into Mamluk territory. A *fatwā*, issued by the four chief judges of Cairo and countersigned by the caliph, validated the *jihād* against Qarā Yūsuf.¹³⁷ The clash was avoided by Qarā Yūsuf's retreat, but the ties were definitively broken.¹³⁸ In the meantime, contacts had been secured between Herat and Cairo. In the course of 822/1419, the Mamluk chancery addressed a letter to Shāh Rukh in which the sultan requested that he attack the Qara Qoyunlu in Azerbaijan.¹³⁹ In his answer that reached Cairo by courier (*sā'in*) on 24 Rabī' 1 823/8 April 1420,¹⁴⁰ the Timurid informed the Mamluk sultan that he was poised to take action against the Qara Qoyunlu, that he was mustering his armies from all parts of his domain, and that he would march toward Azerbaijan as soon as he was ready.¹⁴¹ At the beginning of Dhū l-Qa'da 823/ November 1420, another Mamluk envoy caught up with Shāh Rukh in Rayy, with yet another letter whose content is unknown.¹⁴²

135 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* iv, 417; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-ghumr* iii, 132; al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-jumān* 295–6.

136 Ibn Ḥijja, *Qahwat al-inshā'* 224–6 (no. 56).

137 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* iv, 459–60; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-ghumr* iii, 169; al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-jumān* 319–20.

138 The last documented communication between the two rulers is from Rabī' 1 823/March 1420, when Qarā Yūsuf demanded that the jewels that al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh had taken from him when he was his prisoner in Damascus be restored to him. If need be, he would devastate and conquer the Mamluk territories. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* iv, 524–5; al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-jumān* 319–20.

139 The letter is lost and no information is available about the embassy in the Mamluk and Timurid sources. We know of its existence thanks to the letter sent by Shāh Rukh the next year, as he mentions it there. See below, note 146. See Ibn Ḥijja, *Qahwat al-inshā'* 316 (wa-yunhī ... anna qāṣid al-ḥaḍra al-sharīfa al-shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn Burhān al-Muḥtasib qad waṣala fi l-'ām al-māḍī bi-mulaṭṭafatikum al-karīma wa-hya mushtamila 'alā ... wa-iltimāsikum masīranā ilā Adharbayjān li-daf' al-thulma ...).

140 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* iv, 525; al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-jumān* 385. Al-'Aynī gives 6 Shawwāl 823/14 October 1420 as the date of arrival of the letter, but this is hardly possible given the next Timurid embassy (see below, note 146).

141 The letter is not preserved but its contents are briefly summarized in a second letter dispatched at the end of the year. See Ibn Ḥijja, *Qahwat al-inshā'* 316 (wa-qarranā l-'azīma ilā l-tawajjuh ilā dhālika l-ṭaraf waqt al-rabī' wa-jahhaznā l-Ḥasan al-Sā'ī bi-l-mukātaba ilā l-maqām al-'ālī).

142 The letter is also lost but its existence is confirmed by Shāh Rukh's next letter (see below, note 146). See Ibn Ḥijja, *Qahwat al-inshā'* 316 (wa-waṣalnā awā'il Dhī l-Qa'da al-ḥarām

A few days later (7 Dhū l-Qa'da 823/13 November 1420), the report of Qarā Yūsuf's death was announced. Shāh Rukh preferred to wait until the end of the month before dispatching a response to al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh. After a digest of the exchanges between Cairo and his chancery, his letter confirms the good news of Qarā Yūsuf's passing from the mortal world,¹⁴³ stresses that the territories were pacified and that his wish, for the near future, was to crush the Shirvanshahs and the Turkmens. He also conveyed that his plans were to spend the winter in Qarabagh and head for Ala Dağ for the summer pastures. He then apologized for entrusting his letter to a courier rather than to an envoy,¹⁴⁴ but explained that he intended to send back the Mamluk envoy with his ambassador once he reached Qarabagh.¹⁴⁵

When Shāh Rukh's letter arrived in Cairo, at the end of Muḥarram 824/beginning of February 1421, al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh had just died (9 Muḥarram 824/14 January 1421). The new sultan, al-Muẓaffar Aḥmad, his infant son, was only twenty months old. Real power laid in the hands of the future usurper Ṭaṭar. At the latter's request, Ibn Ḥijja penned a response in which he barely concealed the child's incompetency.¹⁴⁶ The secretary did not hide the Mamluks' relief from the threat that Qarā Yūsuf still represented; they attributed Qarā Yūsuf's sudden death to his fear of Shāh Rukh. At the same time, the Mamluks could not overlook the fact that the Qara Qoyunlu had received help from the Mamluks on several occasions. Nevertheless, as the letter emphasizes, that generosity was not repaid. Yet, Shāh Rukh's conquest of Qarā Yūsuf's territories

baldat al-Rayy wa-jā'anā l-qāṣid min ḥaḍratikum al-sharīfa) and 317 (fa-jā'a qāṣidukum thāniyan bi-mulaṭṭafa ukhrā). The news it conveyed might have referred to the fact that another *fatwā* had been issued by the four chief judges and countersigned by the caliph. It endorsed the fact that due to Qarā Yūsuf's illegal actions, which conflicted with Islamic law, he was an infidel and it was licit to fight him in the frame of a *jihād*. On these grounds, amirs were summoned to head for Syria and a public call for support was declared on 4 Sha'bān 823/14 August 1420. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-ghumr* iii, 222–3; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xiv, 99–100.

143 News of Qarā Yūsuf's death had already been dispatched to Cairo by the Ayyubid sultan of Ḥisn Kayfā, who informed the Mamluk sultan that he had been poisoned. Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* iv, 432.

144 His name was Maḥmūd, according to Ibn Ḥijja, *Qahwat al-inshā'* 315.

145 See Ibn Ḥijja, *Qahwat al-inshā'* 315–8 (no. 85). A similar letter was dispatched to Meḥmed I. See Ferīdūn Beg, *Mecmū'a* i, 159–61. The use of couriers rather than envoys for both Timurid letters indicates that the goal was to have the news exchanged as quickly as possible. For couriers in the Mamluk period, see Bauden, *D'Alexandrie à Damas*.

146 Ibn Ḥijja, *Qahwat al-inshā'* 319 (wa-qara'at a'yān al-dawla al-sharīfa lammā jalasnā 'alā l-kursī).

created a new political order for the Mamluks. Thus the letter concludes with hope for an auspicious future and for their ever closer relations.¹⁴⁷

TABLE 12.6 Diplomatic exchanges between Qarā Yūsuf, Shāh Rukh, and al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh between 817/1415 and 824/1421

Sender	Addressee	Date of redaction	Date of arrival	Date of departure	Envoy	Ref.
Qarā Yūsuf	Shāh Rukh		end 817/beg. 1415			148
Shāh Rukh	Qarā Yūsuf			end 817/beg. 1415	Ḥasankā	149
Qarā Yūsuf	Shāh Rukh		end Muḥarram 818/beg. April 1415		Mardānshāh	150
al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh	Qarā Yūsuf	Spring 818/1415	Summer 818/1415			151
Qarā Yūsuf	al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh	ca. Jumādā 11 818/August 1415	Sha'bān 818/October 1415			152
Qarā Yūsuf	al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh	mid-Rajab 819/early September 1416	6 Shawwāl 819/27 November 1416		Dankiz	153
al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh	Qarā Yūsuf	beg. Muḥarram 820/mid-February 1417		ca. 6 Jumādā 1 820/21 June 1417 (?) ¹⁵⁴	Muḥammad al-Turkumānī	155

147 Ibid., 319–20. Shortly later, Shāh Rukh presumably sent a *fathnāma* of which a copy in Persian may be found in Navā'ī, *Asnād* 208–14.

148 Qarā Yūsuf's undated letter to Shāh Rukh is found in MS SP 1815 (Paris, BnF) and was published by Navā'ī, *Asnād* 167–8. See also Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Zudbat al-tavārikh* ii/1, 564; Faṣīḥ Khwāfi, *Mujmal-i Faṣīḥi* iii, 1070; Samarqandī, *Maṭla'-i sa'dayn* ii, 205; Rumlū, *Aḥsan al-tavārikh* i, 97.

149 Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Zudbat al-tavārikh* ii/1, 577; Faṣīḥ Khwāfi, *Mujmal-i Faṣīḥi* iii, 1072; Samarqandī, *Maṭla'-i sa'dayn* ii, 211.

150 Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Zudbat al-tavārikh* ii/1, 585–6; Faṣīḥ Khwāfi, *Mujmal-i Faṣīḥi* iii, 1072; Samarqandī, *Maṭla'-i sa'dayn* ii, 215.

151 The source is the reconstructed letter which was a response to a correspondence addressed by al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh to Qarā Yūsuf. The periods indicated for the redaction of the letter and the arrival of the envoy are tentative.

152 Reconstructed letter; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* iv, 329.

153 Ibn Ḥijja, *Qahwat al-inshā'* 198–202 (no. 48); al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* iv, 368; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-ghumr* iii, 130.

154 See note 133.

155 Ibn Ḥijja, *Qahwat al-inshā'* 202–7 (no. 49); al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* iv, 409; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-ghumr* iii, 130; al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-jumān* 291.

TABLE 12.6 Diplomatic exchanges between Qarā Yūsuf, Shāh Rukh, and Shaykh (*cont.*)

Sender	Addressee	Date of redaction	Date of arrival	Date of departure	Envoy	Ref.
Qarā Yūsuf	al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh	27 Rabī' 11 820/13 June 1417	27 Jumādā 1 820/12 July 1417		Bābā Ḥamīd al-Dīn	156
al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh	Qarā Yūsuf	24 Rajab 820/6 September 1417				157
Qarā Yūsuf	Shāh Rukh			beg. Šafar 821/March 1418		158
al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh	Shāh Rukh		822/1419		Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn Burhān al-Muḥtasib	159
Shāh Rukh	Qarā Yūsuf			beg. 823/1420	Šiddīq	160
Shāh Rukh	al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh		24 Rabī' 1 823/8 April 1420		al-Ḥasan al-Sā'ī	161
Shāh Rukh	Qarā Yūsuf			Shawwāl 823/October	Pāyandah	162
al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh	Shāh Rukh		beg. Dhū l-Qa'da 823/beg. November 1420			163
Shāh Rukh	al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh	end Dhū l-Qa'da 823/beg. December 1420	end Muḥarram 824/beg. February 1421		Maḥmūd al-Sā'ī	164
al-Muẓaffar Aḥmad 11	Shāh Rukh	end Muḥarram 824/beg. February 1421				165

156 Ibn Ḥijja, *Qahwat al-inshā'* 221–4 (no. 55); Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-ghumr* iii, 130 and 132; al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-jumān* 291.

157 Ibn Ḥijja, *Qahwat al-inshā'* 224–6 (no. 56).

158 Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Zudbat al-tavārikh* ii/2, 672; Samarqandī, *Maṭla'ī sa'dayn* ii, 254.

159 Ibn Ḥijja, *Qahwat al-inshā'* 316.

160 Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Zudbat al-tavārikh* iii, 709–12; Samarqandī, *Maṭla'ī sa'dayn* ii, 273; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* iii, 604.

161 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* iv, 525; al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-jumān* 385. Al-'Aynī erroneously gives 6 Shawwāl 823/14 October 1420 as the date of arrival of the embassy.

162 Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Zudbat al-tavārikh* iii, 722; Samarqandī, *Maṭla'ī sa'dayn* ii, 277–8; Faṣīḥ Khwāfi, *Mujmal-i Faṣīḥi* iii, 1093; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* iii, 607.

163 Ibn Ḥijja, *Qahwat al-inshā'* 316.

164 Ibn Ḥijja, *Qahwat al-inshā'* 315–8 (no. 85).

165 Ibn Ḥijja, *Qahwat al-inshā'* 318–20 (no. 86).

6 Conclusion

The documents reconstructed in my 2004 article were dramatic in the sense that they were linked to a person who, by petty treason, provoked the fall and death of a would-be sultan. The Qarā Yūsuf letter reassembled, analyzed, and contextualized in this study is no less thrilling.¹⁶⁶ These fragments of original documents offer a unique insight into events partially reported by contemporary documentary and narrative sources, sometimes contradictorily. The perusal of copies of documents issued by the Qara Qoyunlu, the Mamluks, and the Timurids, combined with the scrutiny of Arabic and Persian chronicles helps to refine our understanding of these events.

The diplomatic study of the preserved Qara Qoyunlu letters from the ninth/fifteenth century enabled me to identify, in the fragments al-Maqrīzī reused as scrap paper in his holograph manuscripts of *al-Muqaffā*, a response issued by the Qara Qoyunlu chancery. Some significant parts tally with the structure of three letters of response that were preserved in Ibn Ḥijja's *Qahwat al-inshā'*, all dated or datable between 820/1417 and 825/1422. The analysis of the structure of the Qara Qoyunlu letters of response, together with a consideration of basic physical features, like line spacing, allowed me to reassemble with some confidence the fourteen fragments and assign each of them to two of the three main parts of letters: the protocol and the text.

A document, even one that has been reconstructed, is worthless from the historical point of view if its most suggestive parts are lacking. In this case, several lines provide details that help to identify the issuer, the addressee, and on what basis the letter was produced. The contextualization of the most significant sections, like the mention of the arrival of a Timurid scion, Sa'd-i Vaqqās, was also decisive. Thanks to all these elements, we know that the letter was likely sent in 818/1415 by Qarā Yūsuf, in response to a missive addressed to him by al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh.

We thus unraveled the context of the diplomatic relations established by the Qara Qoyunlu ruler with the Mamluk sultan. In his correspondence, Qarā Yūsuf never missed an opportunity to remind al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh of their historic bonds, built when al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, still governor of Damascus, disobeyed al-Nāṣir Faraj's order to kill Qarā Yūsuf, who was in his custody, and instead released him and permitted him to reorganize his army. Shaykh's choice was undoubtedly the result of a careful political calculation designed to work in

¹⁶⁶ The reason for their presence in al-Maqrīzī's holograph manuscripts is addressed in my state of research on diplomatics at the beginning of this volume.

his favor in his ascent to the throne. The move was not ill-advised. In the aftermath of Tīmūr's death, it was more rewarding to have a free Qarā Yūsuf in the midst of the Timurid scions, as he was someone who was fully engaged in their contention for supreme power. Clearly, from his base in Azerbaijan, Qarā Yūsuf disturbed the balance of power by threatening the major rulers on the eastern and western fringes of his domain. What al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh failed to anticipate was Qarā Yūsuf's growing appetite for power and his lack of gratitude. His continuous incursions into Mamluk territory became a major concern for the ailing sultan. Against all of Shāh Rukh's expectations, his plans to face the Qara Qoyunlu ruler remained unworkable.

On the Timurid side, Qarā Yūsuf took advantage of the power struggle that raged among Tīmūr's offspring. Step by step, he managed to get rid of his former ally, the Jalayirid Sulṭān Aḥmad, and to take control of his territories, before starting to encroach on Shāh Rukh's domain. His recurrent intrusions into Persian Iraq and his conquest of Sulṭāniyya and Qazwīn were among his major achievements that raised the concern of the Timurid ruler. Some of Shāh Rukh's relatives distracted him from addressing other external threats, like the encroachments of Qarā Yūsuf. The situation favored the conclusion of a truce between the two rulers. The negotiations, spanning 817–18/early 1415, should have led to a deal in which Qarā Yūsuf recognized Shāh Rukh's suzerainty. In exchange, the Qara Qoyunlu ruler would be granted authority over his territories. Other requests—the restitution of Timurid princesses on the Timurid side; the hand-over of Sulṭāniyya on the Qara Qoyunlu side—seem to have thwarted the chances for a truce. The dramatic event that took place in the fallout—Sa'd-i Vaqqāṣ's defection to Qarā Yūsuf that led to his conquest of Sulṭāniyya, critical circumstances that Qarā Yūsuf did not fail to report to al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh in the reconstructed letter and in the letter he addressed to him the following year—changed the perspective. If we are to give credit to Qarā Yūsuf's words in his letters to the Mamluk sultan, a truce was finally concluded with the Timurid ruler, but once he was in a stronger position to negotiate, i.e., after Sa'd-i Vaqqāṣ's desertion and his subsequent conquest of Sulṭāniyya. The truce validated the respective borders of the two rulers and was sealed by marriage bonds—these are confirmed on the Qara Qoyunlu side. If the following years were marked by a relative absence of conflicts between the Timurids and the Qara Qoyunlu, thus confirming the existence of a truce—an untroubled situation he took advantage of to attack Qarā 'Uthmān and the Syrian border—it was not long before Shāh Rukh was upset by the Qara Qoyunlu expansion.

In the game of alliances, the balance of power continually shifts. In 822/1419, anxious about the future of the northern Syrian border, al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, whose health was declining, provided a fillip to Shāh Rukh by requesting his

intervention against Qarā Yūsuf. While in a better position to muster his troops and direct them to Tabriz, Shāh Rukh seized the opportunity to revenge his brother, Mīrānshāh—and probably Sa‘d-i Vaqqāṣ as well. The untimely death of Qarā Yūsuf, before the engagement, deprived him of his vengeance but allowed him to regain control of Azerbaijan and subdue Qarā Yūsuf’s sons, who then became his vassals. When Shāh Rukh sent news of Qarā Yūsuf’s demise to al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh, the letter reached Cairo after the latter’s death. In a way, this was the end of a relationship between two major actors of the beginning of the ninth/fifteenth century, actors who owed each other, at least in part, for their ascent to power. There could be no better epilogue to the story.



FIGURE 12.4 MS Or. 1366c, fol. 15b
COURTESY LEIDEN, UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK



FIGURE 12.6 MS Or. 1366c, fols. 25a–27b virtually reconstructed
LEIDEN, UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK

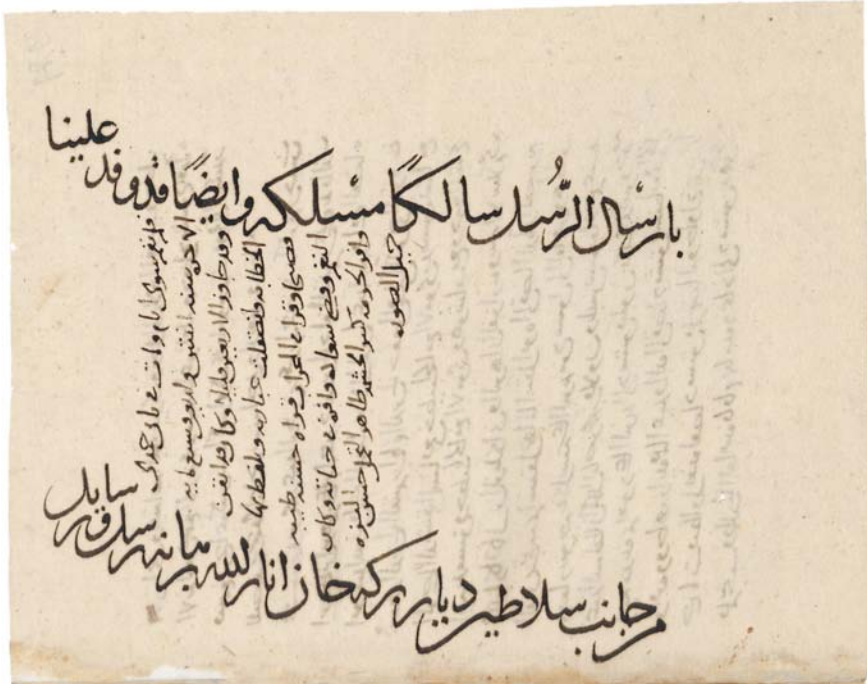


FIGURE 12.8 MS Or. 1366c, fol. 29b
COURTESY LEIDEN, UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK

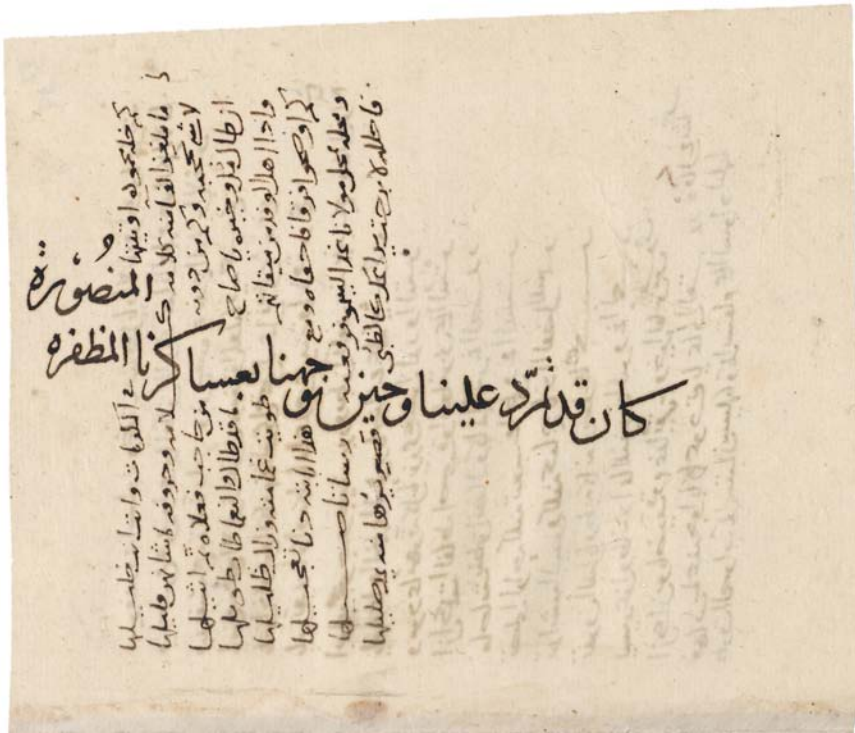


FIGURE 12.9 MS Or. 1366c, fol. 37b
 COURTESY LEIDEN, UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK

٢١٧
 اللهم جارتنا لعراشك: والسلام
 الصقلي وعرفه الى
 فلما خرج البعراذي فورت
 غلاما ومغني حسان
 الفراء عابنه ثياب
 وشهدوا حاضرا حسن
 ولا زالوا يكرهوا ضيعه كبرا
 فجاهاه اصفويها بين يديه
 يا مولاي هذا ما اعظمه مال
 اعظم منه ارفعه مباركا لك
 كما اجمع من اج حسن الخراز
 وكان كاسب مؤننه وما كان
 وكان طيله وبعث البعراذي
 الا يبعثه فوالله لعنك وانتم سبها واسفي فزما فزما كسبوكي
 لا كصنوبريا افضل فوالله امره تد على الحجة فموقها الامس
 تطوك ملع ذلك لا يرمعها واستغفنه وكأنا جمعنا في طلبة حتى انتم
 اللار

FIGURE 12.10 MS Or. 14533, fol. 331b
COURTESY LEIDEN, UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK

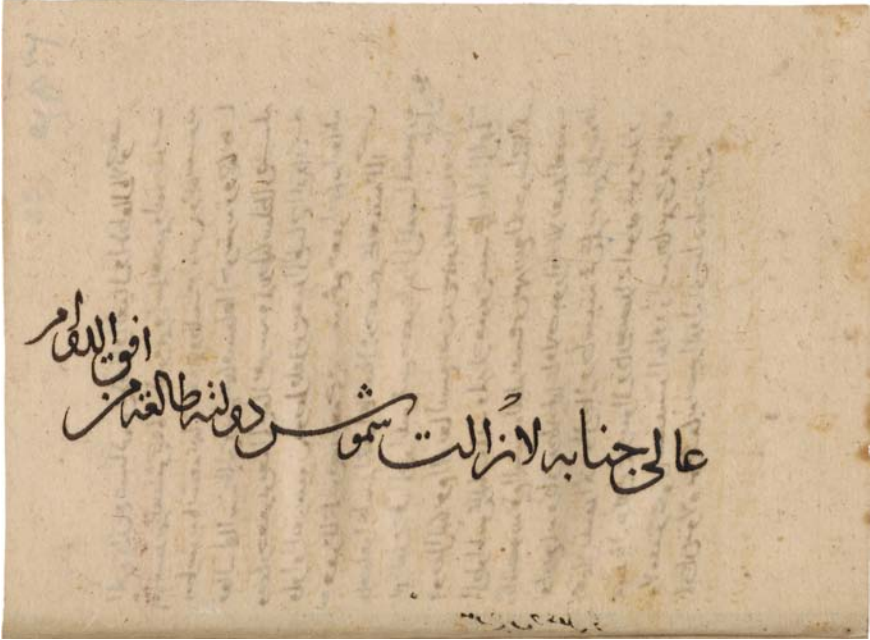


FIGURE 12.13 MS Or. 14533, fol. 372b
COURTESY LEIDEN, UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK



FIGURE 12.14 MS Or. 14533, fol. 373b
COURTESY LEIDEN, UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK



FIGURE 12.15 MS Or. 14533, fol. 388b
 COURTESY LEIDEN, UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK

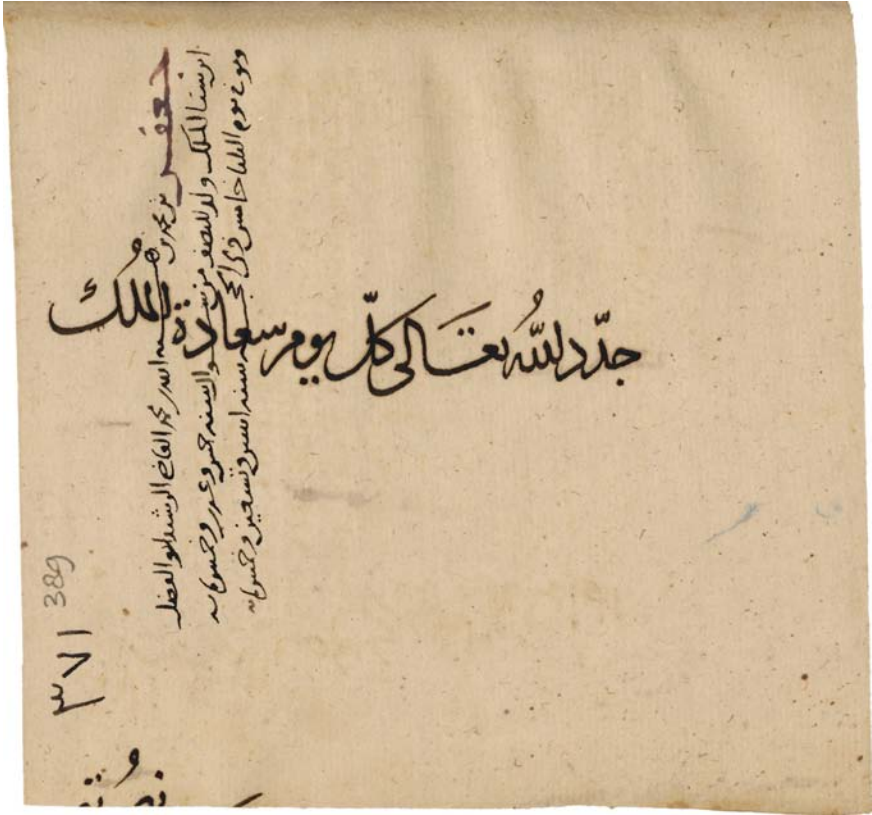


FIGURE 12.16 MS Or. 14533, fol. 389a

COURTESY LEIDEN, UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK

Bibliography

Primary Sources (Handwritten)

- Anonymous, *Mu'izz al-ansāb fī shajarat al-ansāb*, MS Or. 14306, London, BL; MS Persan 67, Paris, BnF.
- Anonymous, *Munsha'a* (Arabic), MS Arabe 4440, Paris, BnF.
- Anonymous, *Munsha'a* (Persian), MS Sup. Persan 1825, Paris, BnF.
- al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ta'rikh al-kabīr al-muqaffā*, MSS Or. 1366c and Or. 14533, Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek.
- al-Qirimī, 'Abd al-Ghaffār, *Umdat al-akhbār*, MS Esad Efendi 2331, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Istanbul.

Primary Sources (Printed)

- al-'Aynī, *ʿIqd al-jumān fī ta'rikh ahl al-zamān: al-ḥawādith wa-l-tarājim min sanat 815h ilā sanat 824h*, ed. 'A. al-R. al-Qarmūt al-Ṭantāwī, Cairo 1985.
- Chalkokondyles, *Laonici Chalcocondylae Atheniensis Historiarum Libri Decem*, ed. I. Bekker, Bonn, 1843; trans. A. Kaldellis, *The Histories*, 2 vols., Cambridge, MA 2014.
- Faṣīḥ Khwāfī, *Mujmal-i Faṣīḥī*, ed. S.M.N. Nāṣrābādī, 3 vols., Tehran 1386 Sh/2007–8; trans. D.Y. Yusupova, Tashkent 1980.
- Feridūn Beg, *Mecmū'a-yi münṣe'āt-i selāṭīn*, 2 vols., Istanbul 1857–9.
- al-Ghazzī, *Lutf al-samar wa-qatf al-thaman min tarājim a'yān al-ṭabaqa al-ülā min al-qarn al-ḥādīya 'ashar*, ed. M. al-Shaykh, 2 vols., Damascus 1981–2.
- Ḥāfīz-i Abrū, *Jughrāfiyā-yi Ḥāfīz-i Abrū: mushtamil bar jughrāfiyā-yi tārikhī-i diyār-i 'Arab, Maghrib, Andalus, Miṣr va-Shām*, ed. Ş. Sajjādī, 3 vols., Tehran 1375–7 Sh/1997–9.
- Ḥāfīz-i Abrū, *Mu'izz al-ansāb (Proslavl'jajuščee genealogii)*, Russian trans. by A.K. Muminov with facsimile of MS Persan 67, Paris, BnF, Almaty 2006.
- Ḥāfīz-i Abrū, *Zubdat al-tavārikh*, ed. S.K.H.S. Javādī, 4 vols., Tehran 1380 Sh/2001.
- Humāyūn Farrūkh, R. al-D., *Farmānī az davrān Abū l-Muẓaffar Jahānshāh Qarā Qu-yūnlū*, in *Barrasihā-yi tārikhī* 5.3 (1349 Sh/1970), 39–51.
- Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-ghumr bi-abnā' al-'umr*, ed. Ḥ. Ḥabashī, 4 vols., Cairo 1969–72, repr. 1994–8.
- Ibn Ḥijja, *Thamarāt al-awraq*, ed. M.A. al-F. Ibrāhīm, Beirut 1987.
- Ibn Ḥijja, *Qahwat al-inshā'*, ed. R. Veselý, *Das Rauschgetränk der Stilkunst oder Qahwat al-inshā' von Taqīyuddīn Abū Bakr b. Alī Ibn Ḥiġġa al-Ḥamawī al-Azrārī*, Berlin 2005.
- Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*, 16 vols., Cairo 1929–72.
- Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Ḥawādith al-duhūr fī madā l-ayyām wa-l-shuhūr*, ed. F.M. Shaltūt, Cairo 1990.

- Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā*, ed. M. Qazvīnī, 3 vols., Tehran 1382 Sh/2003–4.
- Khwāndamīr, *Tārīkh-i Ḥabīb al-siyar fī akhbār-i afrād-i bashar*, ed. J. al-D. Humāī and M. Dabīr-Siyāqī, 4 vols., Tehran 1333 Sh/1954; trans. W.M. Thackston, *Habibu's-siyar, Tome Three, Pt. 1 Genghis Khan–Amir Temür*, Cambridge, MA 1994.
- al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda fī tarājīm al-aʿyān al-mufīda*, ed. M. al-Jalīlī, 4 vols., Beirut 2002.
- al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, ed. M.M. Ziyāda and S.ʿA. al-F. ʿĀshūr, 4 vols., Cairo 1934–72.
- Mecobecʿi, Tʿovma, *Patmutʿiwn Lank-Tʿamuray ew yajordacʿ iwrocʿ* [The History of Tamerlane and His Successors], ed. K. Shahnazarean, Paris 1860; trans. R. Bedrosian, *Tʿovma Metsobetsʿi's History of Tamerlane and His Successors*, New York 1987.
- al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī šināʿat al-inshāʿ*, ed. M.ʿA. al-Q. Ḥātim, 14 vols., Cairo 1913–9, 21963.
- al-Saḥāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ al-lāmiʿ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsiʿ*, 12 vols., Cairo 1934–6.
- al-Saḥmāwī, *al-Thaḡhr al-bāsim fī šināʿat al-kātib wa-l-kātim al-maʿrūf bi-ism al-Maqṣid al-rafiʿ al-munshaʿ al-hādī li-dīwān al-inshāʿ lil-Khālīdī*, ed. A.M. Anas Mursī, 2 vols., Cairo 2009.
- Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿ-i saʿdayn va-majmaʿ-i baḥrayn*, ed. ʿA. al-Ḥ. Navāī, 2 vols., Tehran 1383 Sh/2004.
- Schiltberger, J., *Reisebuch, nach der Nürnberger Handschrift herausgegeben*, ed. V. Langmantel, Tübingen 1885; trans. J. Buchan Telfer and P. Bruun, *The bondage and travels of Johann Schiltberger, a native of Bavaria, in Europe, Asia, and Africa, 1396–1427*, London 1879.
- Shajarat al-Atrāk*, trans. Col. W. Miles, *The Shajrat ul Atrak, or Genealogical tree of the Turks and Tatars*, London 1838.
- al-Ṭayyibī, *Jāmiʿ maḥāsīn kitābat al-kuttāb*, ed. Ṣ. al-D. al-Munajjid with black-and-white facsimile, Beirut 1962; ed. ʿA. al-ʿA. b. N. al-Mānīʿ with color facsimile, Riyadh 2015.
- Yazdī, Sharaf al-Dīn, *Ẓafarnāma*, ed. S.S. Muḥammad Ṣādiq and ʿA. al-Ḥ. Navāī, 2 vols. Tehran 1387 Sh/2008.
- Yūsuf-i Ahl, Jalāl al-Dīn, *Farāʿid-i Ghīyāthī*, ed. Ḥ. Muʿayyad, 2 vols., Tehran 2536–8/1977–9.

Secondary Sources

- Ağat, N., *Altınordu (Cuçi Oğulları) Paraları Kataloğu, 1250–1502: Ek Olarak Şecere ve Tarih Düzeltilmeleri*, Istanbul 1976.
- Aka, İ., *İran'da Türkmen Hâkimiyeti (Kara Köyunlular Devri)*, Ankara 2001.
- Album, S., A hoard of silver coins from the time of Iskandar Qarā-Qoyūnlū, in *Numismatic Chronicle* 16 (1976), 109–57.
- Ando, S., *Timuridische Emire nach dem Muʿizz al-ansāb: Untersuchung zur Stamme-saristokratie Zentralasiens im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1992.

- Aubin, J., Note sur quelques documents Aq-Qoyunlu. Archives persanes commentées, 1, in *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, vol. 1, Damascus 1956, 123–47.
- Aubin, J., Un Soyurghal Qara-Qoyunlu concernant le bulük de Bawānāt-Harāt-Marwast (Archives persanes commentées 3), in S.M. Stern (ed.), *Documents from Islamic chanceries*, Oxford 1965, 159–70.
- Bakiev, A., Comparative analysis of Timurids [*sic*] genealogy in historiography, in A. Kara, and Ö. İşbilir (eds.), *Ölümünün 600. Yulunda Emir Timur ve Mirası Uluslararası Sempozyumu = International Symposium on Amir Timur and His Heritage in the 600. Death Anniversary, 26–27 Mayıs 2005*, Istanbul 2007, 165–76.
- al-Baqlī, M., *Fahāris Kitāb Şubḥ al-a'shā fi şinā'at al-inshā' lil-Qalqashandī*, Cairo 1972.
- Barker, H., *Egyptian and Italian merchants in the Black Sea slave trade, 1260–1500*, PhD dissertation, Columbia University 2014.
- Bauden, F., *Al-Maqrizī's Collection of Opuscles: An Introduction*, Leiden and Boston, forthcoming.
- Bauden, F., D'Alexandrie à Damas et retour. La poste privée à l'époque mamlouke à la lumière d'une commission accomplie pour le compte d'un Vénitien (821A.H./1418 È.C.), in U. Vermeulen and K. D'hulster (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk eras, VI. Proceedings of the 14th and 15th International Colloquium Organized at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in May 2005 and May 2006*, Leuven, Paris, Walpole, MA 2010, 157–89.
- Bauden, F., Maqriziana x: al-Maqrizī and his *al-Ta'riḫ al-Kabīr al-Muqaffā li-Miṣr*. Part 1: An inquiry into the history of the work, in S. Massoud (ed.), *Studies in Islamic historiography: Essays in honour of Professor Donald P. Little*, Leiden and Boston, forthcoming.
- Bauden, F., The recovery of Mamlūk chancery documents in an unsuspected place, in M. Winter and A. Levanoni (eds.), *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society*, Leiden and Boston 2004, 59–76.
- Bauden, F., Les Relations diplomatiques entre les sultans mamlouks circassiens et les autres pouvoirs du Dār al-islām. L'apport du ms. ar. 4440 (BNF, Paris), in *AI 41* (2007), 1–29.
- Ben Azzoune, N., La Question des niveaux de production à travers trois études de « codicologie comparée » (Iraq, Iran occidental, XIII^e–XIV^e s.), in *JIM 6* (2015), 133–56.
- Binbaş, İ.E., *Intellectual networks in Timurid Iran: Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī and the islamicate republic of letters*, Cambridge 2016.
- Binbaş, İ.E., Structure and function of the genealogical tree in Islamic historiography (1200–1500), in Binbaş and N. Kılıç-Schubel (eds.), *Horizons of the world: Festschrift for İsenbike Togan = Hudūdül-Âlem: İsenbike Togan'a Armağan*, Istanbul 2011, 465–544.
- Broadbridge, A.F., *Kingship and ideology in the Islamic and Mongol worlds*, Cambridge 2008.

- Busse, H., *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen an Hand Turkmenischer und Safawidischer Urkunden*, Cairo 1959.
- Darrag, A., *L'Égypte sous le règne de Barsbay (825–841/1422–1438)*, Damascus 1961.
- Dekkiche, M., The letter and its response: The exchanges between the Qara Qoyunlu and the Mamluk sultan: MS Arabe 4440 (BnF, Paris), in *Arabica* 63 (2016), 579–626.
- DeWeese, D., *Islamization and native religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and conversion to Islam in historical and epic tradition*, University Park, PA 1994.
- Dhabihī, M., Dū sanad az Gurgān, in *Majallah-yi Rāhnāma-yi Kitāb* 15 (1351 Sh/1972), 311–4.
- Dozy, R.P.A., *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, 2 vols., Leiden 1881.
- Ehlers, E., Ālā Dāg, in *Elr*, London 1982–, i, 769.
- Favereau, M. and J. Raymond, *La Horde d'Or: les héritiers de Gengis Khan*, Lascelles 2014.
- Fekete, L., *Einführung in die persische Paläographie: 101 Dokumente*, ed. G. Hazai, Budapest 1977.
- Fraehn, C.M., *Die Münzen der Chane vom Ulus Dschutschis' oder von der Goldenen Horde*, St. Petersburg and Leipzig 1852.
- Fraehn, C.M., *Numi Muhammedani, qui in Academiae Imperialis Scientiarum Petropolitanae, Museo Asiatico asservantur. Tomus I*, St. Petersburg 1826.
- Frank, A.J., The western steppe: Volga-Ural region, Siberia and the Crimea, in N. Di Cosmo, A.J. Frank, and P.B. Golden (eds.), *The Cambridge history of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid age*, Cambridge 2009, 237–59.
- Gaev, A.G., Genealogiya i Khronologiya Dzhuchidov. K Vvyasneniyu Rodosloviya Numizmaticheskoi Zafiksirovannykh Pravitelei Ulusa Dzhuchi, in *Drevnosti Povolzh'ya i Drugikh Regionov* IV/3 (2002), 9–55.
- Gacek, A., *Arabic manuscripts. A vademecum for readers*, Leiden and Boston 2009.
- Gully, A., *The culture of letter-writing in pre-modern Islamic society*, Edinburgh 2008.
- Humbert, G., Papiers non filigranés utilisés au Proche-Orient jusqu'en 1450. Essai de typologie, in *JA* 286 (1998), 1–54.
- Kalus, L., and F. Soudan, *Thesaurus d'épigraphie islamique*, 14^e livraison, Geneva 2017 (<http://www.epigraphie-islamique.org/epi>).
- Kuršanskis, M., La Descendance d'Alexis IV, empereur de Trébizonde: contribution à la prosopographie des Grands Comnènes, in *Revue des études byzantines* 37 (1979), 239–47.
- Manz, B.F., *Power, politics and religion in Timurid Iran*, Cambridge 2007.
- Manz, B.F., *The rise and rule of Tamerlane*, Cambridge 1989.
- Manz, B.F., Women in Timurid dynastic politics, in G. Nashat and L. Beck (eds.), *Women in Iran from the rise of Islam to 1800*, Chicago 2003, 121–39.
- Mayer, T., S. Heidemann, and G. Rispling, *Sylloge der Münzen des Kaukasus und Osteuropas im Orientalischen Münzkabinett Jena*, Wiesbaden 2005.

- Mitchell, C.P., Safavid imperial *Tarassul* and the Persian *inshā'* tradition, in *SIr* 26 (1997), 173–209.
- Mitchell, C.P., *The practice of politics in Safavid Iran: Power, religion, and rhetoric*, London and New York 2009.
- Mudarrisi-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, Ḥ., Haft farmān-i dīgar az Pādshāhān-i Turkumān, in *Barrasīhā-yi tārikhī* 11.2 (2535 shāhānshāhī/1976), 85–126.
- Mudarrisi-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, Ḥ., Vaqf-nāma-yi az Turkumānān-i Qarā-Quyūnlū, in *Farhang-i Īrān Zamīn* 20 (1353 Sh/1974), 245–65.
- Navā'ī, 'Abd al-Ḥusayn, *Asnād va-mukātabāt-i tārikhī-i Īrān az Tīmūr tā Shāh Ismā'īl*, Tehran 1370 Sh/1991–2.
- Pachkalov, A.V., O Monetakh “Bik-Bazara” i “Timur Bik-Bazara” (Dzhuchidi, xv v.), in *Rossiiskaya Arkheologiya* 2 (2007), 33–8.
- Papazian, A.D., *Persidskie dokumenty Matenadarana: 1 Ukazy (15–16 vv.)*, Erevan 1956.
- Potts, D.T., *Nomadism in Iran: From Antiquity to the Modern Era*, Oxford 2014.
- Qājār, N.M., *Tārikh va-juḡhrāfi-i dār al-saltānah-yi Tabrīz*, Tehran 1905.
- Reva, R.Y., and A.A. Kazarov, Ulus Dzhuchi v 817–819 gg.kh.: Rekonstrukciya sobytiĭ s uchetom novykh numizmaticheskikh dannyx [Ulus of Juchi in 817–819 ah: A Reconstruction of events based on the new numismatic data], in *Vostochnaya Numizmatika v Ukraine* 3 (Kiev, 2013), 60–75.
- Saljoqi, F., The gravestone of Gawhar Shad, in *Afghanistan* 25.4 (1973), 29–31.
- Sanjian, A.K., *Colophons of Armenian manuscripts, 1301–1480: A source for middle eastern history. Selected, translated, and annotated*, Cambridge, MA, 1969.
- Savory, R.M., The struggle for supremacy in Persia after the death of Tīmūr, in *Der Islam* 40 (1965), 35–65.
- Soucek, P.P., Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's military career, in K. Eslami (ed.), *Iran and Iranian Studies: Essays in honor of Iraj Afshar*, Princeton 1998, 24–41.
- Spuler, B., *Die Goldene Horde: Die Mongolen in Rußland, 1223–1502*, Wiesbaden 1943, 2nd rev. ed. 1965.
- Stewart, D.J., Ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī, in J.E. Lowry and D.J. Stewart (eds.), *Essays in Arabic literary biography, 1350–1850*, Wiesbaden 2009, 137–47.
- Storey, Ch.A., *Persian literature: A bio-bibliographical survey*, vol. III, part 2, Oxford 1990.
- Sümer, F., *Kara Koyunlular (Başlangıçtan Cihan-Şah'a kadar)*, Ankara 1984.
- Wing, P., *The Jalayirids: Dynastic state formation in the Mongol Middle East*, Edinburgh, 2016.
- Woods, J.E., *The Aqqyunlu: Clan, confederation, empire*, Salt Lake City 1999.
- Woods, J.E., *The Timurid dynasty*, Bloomington IN 1990.
- Woods, J.E., Timur's genealogy, in M.M. Mazzaoui and V.B. Moreen (eds.), *Intellectual studies on Islam: Essays written in honor of Martin B. Dickson*, Salt Lake City 1990, 85–125.

Yate, C.E., Inscriptions formerly in the Musalla of Herat, in *JRAS* (1926), 290–4.

Yate, C.E., *Northern Afghanistan, or letters from the Afghan Boundary Commission*, Edinburgh and London 1888.